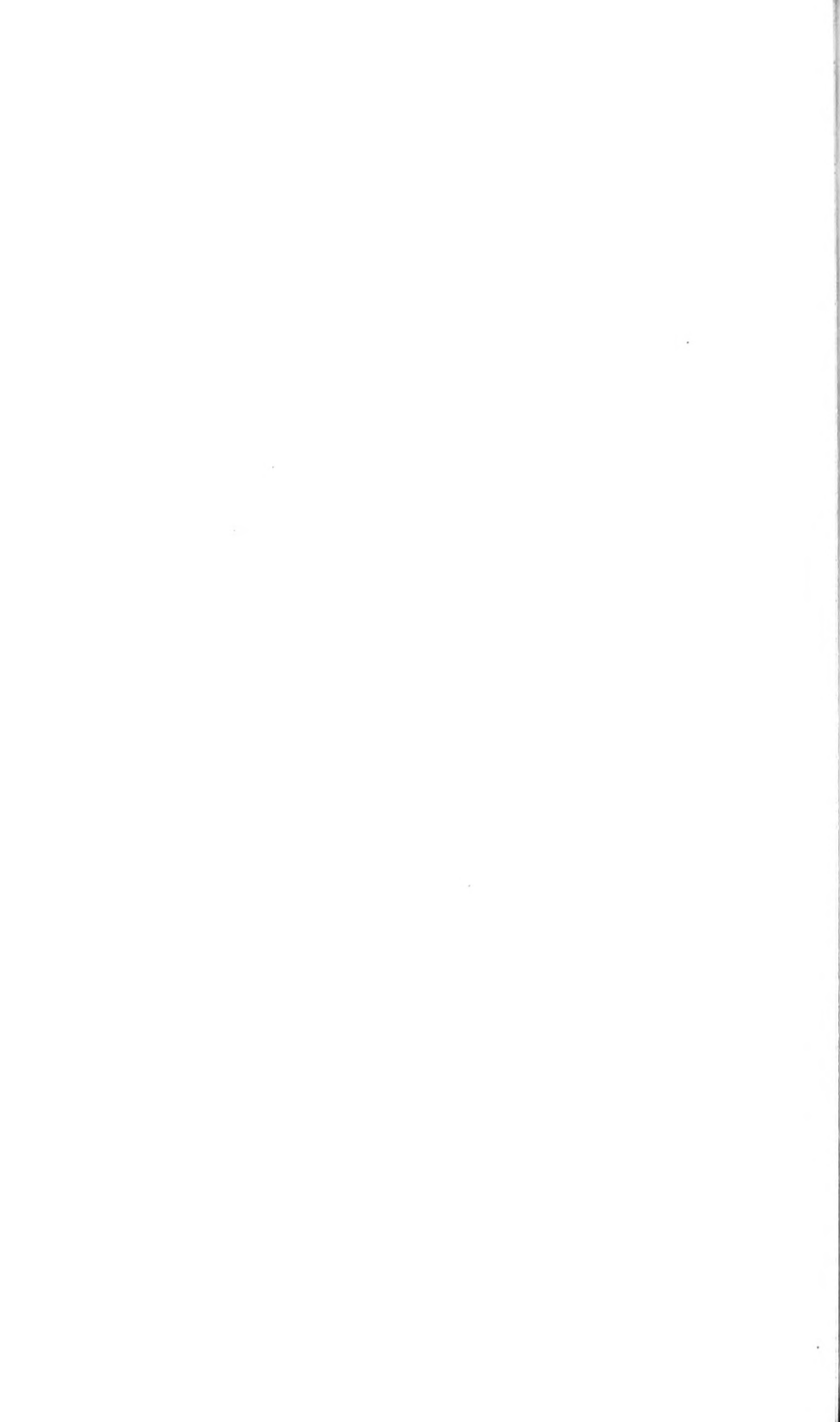
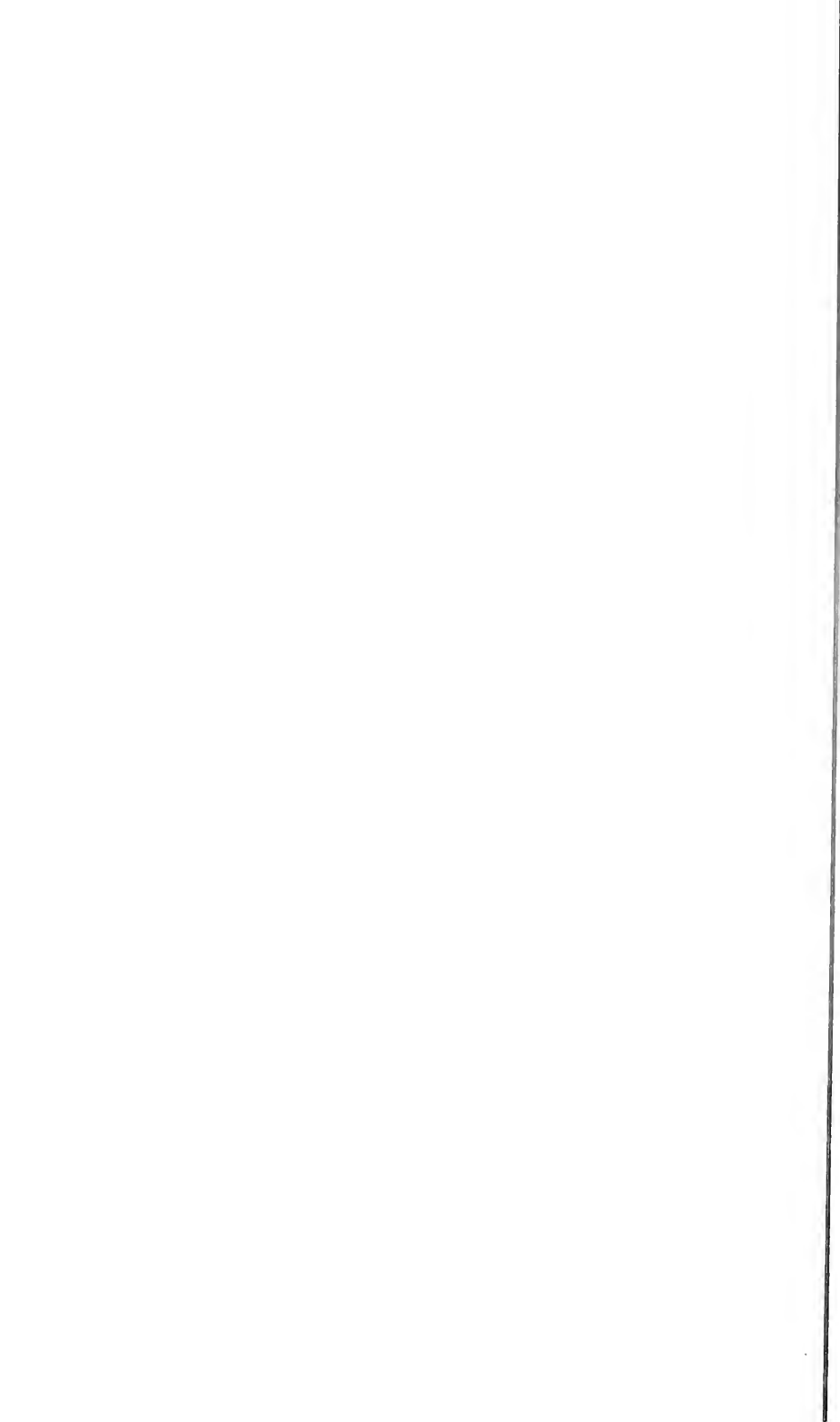




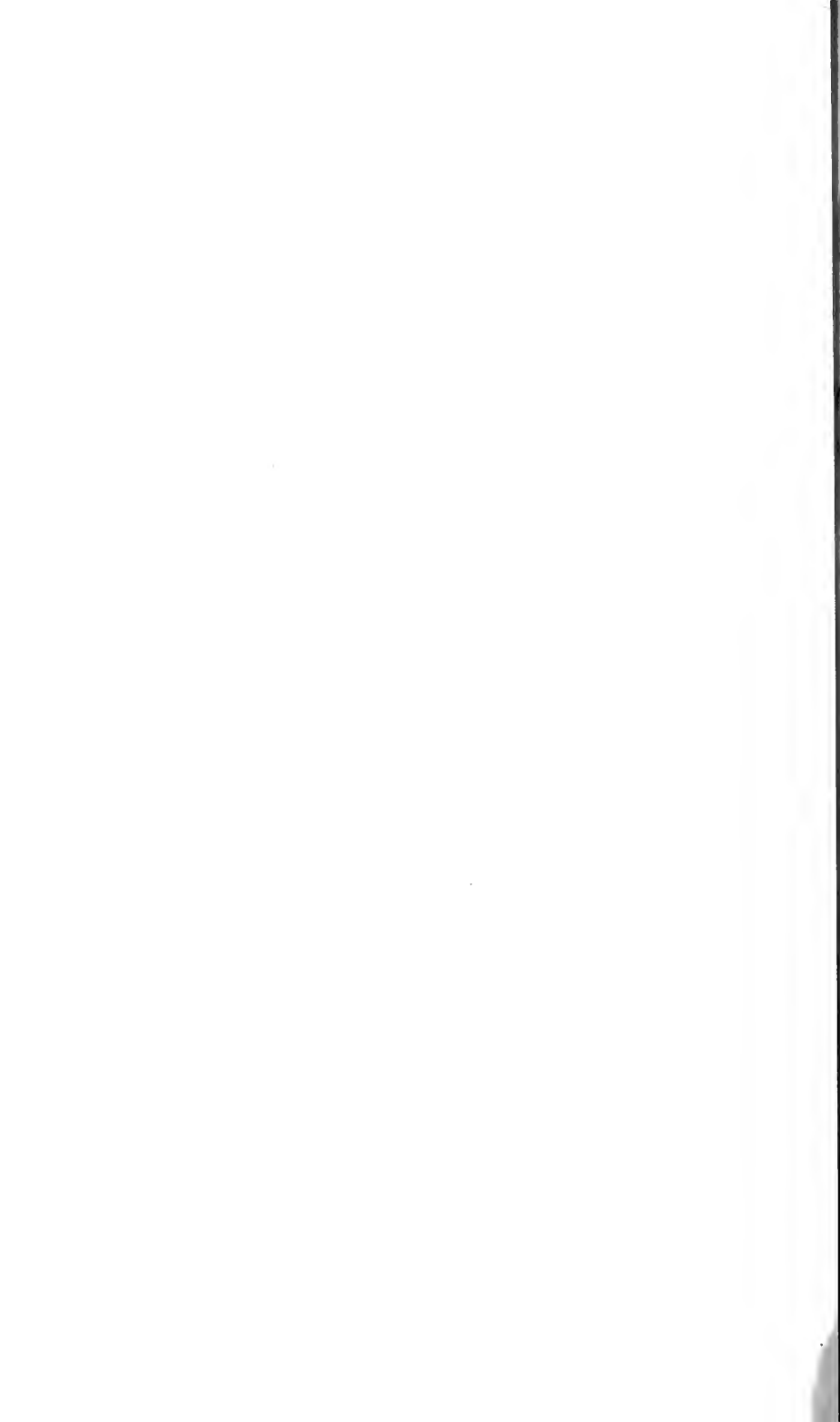
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//A

LECTION OF TRACTS, //

ON

SEVERAL SUBJECTS,

CONNECTED WITH

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF CATHOLICS.

BY THE REV. J. LINGARD, D.D.

LONDON:

KEATING AND BROWN, DUKE STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE,

AND

PATERNOSTER ROW.

1826.



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SHACKELL, ARROWSMITH, AND HODGES, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

FOR the information of the Reader, it may be expedient to premise, that the Tracts contained in this volume, owe their existence to the publication of a Charge, delivered by the Bishop of Durham, to the clergy of his diocese, in 1806. That Charge, while it professed to delineate the creed of the Catholic church, attributed to it doctrines, which its professors disclaim, and loaded it with imputations, which they contend it does not deserve. An answer was published, under the title of "Remarks on a Charge, delivered by the Bishop of Durham."

Whatever might be the merit or demerit of that little tract, it appears to have excited no small commotion among the established clergy. A host of writers was soon embattled under the episcopal banner; and all their efforts were employed to chastise the temerity of the Remarker. He was not, however, dismayed by the number or the abilities of his opponents; and the Tracts which he wrote in his own defence, are presented in this collection to the public.

After a long interval, and at a time when the

controversy seemed to be forgotten, the right reverend Prelate thought proper to descend into the field himself, and point his spear against the popish shield of the Remarker. In a letter to his Clergy, he endeavoured to refute the Catholic doctrine respecting the eucharist, to give a plausible meaning to the doctrine of the church of England on the same subject, and to fasten on his adversary the guilt of his misrepresentation. This letter provoked a reply, under the title of "Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entitled, the Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome, reconsidered." It closes the present collection.

The fate of the last publication was similar to that of its elder brother. It was assailed by a number of writers, both with and without names. Of these, the most distinguished, if not by the public, at least by their patron, were the "Parochial Minister," and the Rector of Newnton Longville. To the former the Remarker *could* not, to the latter he would not reply. What cannot be understood, cannot be answered. The Parochial Minister had called his publication "Three more Pebbles fresh from the Brook; or, the Romish Goliath slain with his own Weapon:" nor were the contents of the work any disgrace to the title. It faithfully observed the precept of Horace:

Servetur ad imum,
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.

To Mr. Le Mesurier he did not conceive it neces-

sary to reply. Notwithstanding the confident denial of that gentleman, he trusted his readers would give him credit for the knowledge of his own belief; and after so many replies and rejoinders, he thought it time that this religious war should terminate. In that opinion he was happy to find himself supported by the conduct of the right reverend Prelate himself, who, in his next Charge, though he took care to mention, did not think it proper to resume, the controversy.

Against the Remarker it has been repeatedly urged by most of his adversaries, that he is an unfair disputant; that he has disguised the real doctrines of his church; that he has attempted to deceive the credulity of his readers, by presenting them with a false but flattering portrait of the Catholic creed. He will reply, that the Charge is both improbable and unfounded. It is improbable, because the fraud could be productive of little benefit, and must have been the cause of much mischief. He is not so weak-sighted a politician as to purchase a momentary victory, at the expense of future defeat and lasting infamy. Had he descended to so disingenuous an artifice, it must soon have been detected, and the detection would have necessarily served to confirm the hostility of the Protestant, and to loosen the attachment of the Catholic, to that cause which he had undertaken to defend. Neither does he hesitate to say that it is unfounded, and to stake his character on the accuracy of the assertion. For this purpose he has been induced to prefix his name to the present edition.

The right reverend Prelate, in his last address to his clergy, was induced to hail as “a favourable omen the abhorrence which papists express in general terms against the charges of idolatry, blasphemy, sacrilege, and impiety;” and to cherish a hope that “such dispositions might ultimately lead to the long desired measure of Catholic union between two so large portions of the church of Christ as the churches of England and Rome.” That were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished: and as a preliminary step, to which no candid man will object, it may be requested, that the Protestant prelates would condescend to learn the Catholic doctrines from the Catholics themselves, and would renounce the right which they so frequently claim and exercise, of dictating to us the articles of our belief. Let them distrust the assertions of interested polemics, and venture to study our creed in some of those authors, who have carefully distinguished the doctrines of our church, both from the erroneous tenets attributed to us by our adversaries, and the unauthorised opinions of private individuals in our communion.* This would, indeed, require the sacrifice of many prejudices, to which education and reading have given the form of undoubted truth: but that sacrifice would be amply repaid by its beneficial effects. It would shew them that the partition wall, which has hitherto divided the two

* Such as Holden, *Analysis fidei*; Veron, *Regula fidei*; Bossuet, *Exposition de la doctrine de l'église Catholique*; and *An Essay on Catholic Communion*, by a Minister of the Church of England.

churches, is not composed of such stubborn materials as they have been taught to believe; and that if on some points the doctrines of Catholics and Protestants are opposed to each other, yet on many the opposition is more imaginary than real. It would sweep away the rubbish which has been accumulated during three centuries of religious altercation, and would do more towards the effecting of a Catholic union, than the preaching of fifty charges, replete with the misrepresentations of antiquated controversialists.

But this Preface must not be closed without some notice of another objection, which, with much real or affected indignation, has been urged against the Remarker: that he has not treated his adversaries with that respect which they may justly claim. He may reply with truth, that his object was not so much to wound their feelings, as to teach them to respect the feelings of others. The Charge of the Bishop of Durham was not certainly of a nature to excite very pleasurable sensations. Infallible in his decisions, the right reverend Prelate convicted, without ceremony, the great body of christians at the present day, and with them their predecessors through a long succession of ages, of many of the worst crimes of which human nature is capable,—of idolatry, of sacrilege, of blasphemy, of impiety, &c. &c. &c. His advocates were eager to tread in his footsteps; and most of them improved on his example. With pious industry they raked together the filth of ancient controversy, and poured it without mercy on the Remarker and the church,

of which it is his pride to be a member. Certainly men who deal so copiously in hard words, should not complain, if they sometimes meet with them in return. If they demand respect themselves, let them also respect a much more numerous society of christians, who have no reason to think themselves their inferiors in talents, learning, or judgment.

Yet let it not be thought that the Remarker is an advocate for what the bishop has called "impassioned controversy." He believes that the discussion of religious subjects may be conducted with temper and forbearance; and under this impression he has reviewed the following pages, and carefully expunged the few passages which he thought might reasonably give offence. If he has occasionally laughed at the errors, the wiles, or the zeal of his adversaries, he trusts the reader will not condemn him.

Ridentem dicere verum

Quid vetat?

Homy, Feb. 20th, 1813.

THE preceding observations regard only the first collection of Tracts, which was confined to the controversy arising out of the Charge delivered by the Bishop of Durham: in the present, several others by the same author, relating to the civil or religious principles of the Catholics, have been added.

Homy, Nov. 10th, 1825.

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

SINCE the first publication of these Remarks, the Charge of the Bishop of Durham has gone through a second edition, and has been honoured with a second title: "The Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome." With due submission to superior judgment, I think the alteration impolitic. To discuss the reasons, which induced the English Protestants to separate from the Catholic communion, is a subject of dangerous investigation. There is much in the reformation more adapted to scandalize than to edify the dispassionate enquirer. In its origin and progress there was too much of human policy and human passion, too much of intrigue, duplicity, and violence, to characterize a work inspired by God for the amelioration of mankind. The Protestant is the established church. This should satisfy her ambition. In the present temper of mankind, while she remains in

possession of wealth and honour, she may deem herself secure. Let her be content with her present glories, and cast a decent veil over the infirmity of her birth. But if her Prelates will provoke the discussion; if they will drag into public notice the motives, which influenced the establishment of protestantism in these realms, let them not be surprised if some Catholic writer step forward to reveal the scandal of former times, and paint the true characters of "the magnanimous fathers of the reformation." He will probably assign as the cause of their separation from the Church of Rome, not the motives so zealously inculcated by the Bishop of Durham, but the impetuous passion of Henry the Eighth, who renounced the authority of the Pontiff, that he might give to his mistress a seat on his throne; the rapacity of the courtiers of Edward the Sixth, who to fill their own coffers, promoted with all their influence the godly work of the reformation; and the policy of Elizabeth, who rejected an authority which she could not acknowledge, without confessing her mother's shame, and her own illegitimacy.

But without discussing at present the real causes, which produced the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, it may be fairly assumed that the arguments by which the Bishop of Durham has attempted to justify that separation, are the most plausible and satisfactory that can be adduced. To think otherwise would be an insult to the learning of the Prelate, and the discernment of the auditory, at whose urgent request he consented.

to publish his Charge. If then, in the following pages, I have shewn that these arguments are weak and inconclusive, that some of them recoil with double force against himself, and that the others are founded, not on the real doctrines of the Catholics, but on the calumnies of their adversaries; it will naturally follow that the cause of the Church of England has failed in the hands of a Prelate, the most able, the most willing, and the most interested, to support it. But of this the impartial reader must judge. One thing only let him bear in mind, that the Bishop was the aggressor. His zeal led him to the attack. From one extremity of his diocese to the other, he preached a crusade against the opinions, I had almost said the persons, of Catholics. He described them as idolaters, as children of ignorance, detractors from the merits of the passion of Christ, and enemies to the honour of God. The limits of his diocese were too narrow to confine his benevolence: he resolved to extend the benefit of his Charge to the whole nation. He presented it to his Majesty at a very critical period; he published it and re-published it; he gave it first one title, and then another; he printed it in quarto for the rich, and in duodecimo for the poor; he made himself all to all, that he might communicate to all his enmity to the opinions of Catholics. After so much provocation we certainly may be allowed to speak in our own defence.

Ενεστι και μυρμηκι και σερφω χολη.

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REMARKS

ON

A CHARGE

DELIVERED TO

The Clergy of the Diocese of Durham,

BY

SHUTE, BISHOP OF DURHAM,

AT THE

ORDINARY VISITATION OF THAT DIOCESE IN THE
YEAR 1806.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Exod. xx. 16

Les sophismes les plus brillans disparaissent devant la simple verité.

La Harpe.

MEMORANDUM

TO : [Illegible]

FROM : [Illegible]

SUBJECT : [Illegible]

[Illegible text follows, appearing to be a memorandum format with several paragraphs of text that is too faint to transcribe accurately.]

REMARKS,

&c. &c.

A PAMPHLET has lately been published under a title calculated to command respect, and ensure popularity; *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham*, by Shute, Bishop of Durham. It is, or would seem to be, the dying exhortation of a venerable prelate, “whose years have already exceeded the “ordinary age of man;” his last instructions to his reverend brethren, the clergy of his diocese; a legacy of love, which, in the fervour of affection, he has bequeathed to his spiritual children. With eagerness I opened the book; and my wishes anticipated the moderation, the liberality, the benevolence of an aged prelate, who was unwilling to sink into the grave, without leaving to posterity a lasting monument of his piety and pastoral solicitude. I saw him, like the Saviour of mankind, entertaining himself for the last time with his disciples; and anxiously enforcing, by his example and discourse, those sentiments of universal charity so beautifully described in the charge which Christ delivered to his apostles on the eve of his passion.* I must confess, I was most grievously disappointed. The Christian bishop had dwindled into the angry polemic; and the object of the publication

* St. John, xiv. xv. xvi.

appeared to be, not to draw nearer the bands of unity and affection; not to exhort his clergy to a conscientious discharge of their respective duties; but to quicken the diffusion of religious prejudice, and to misrepresent the creed of a most numerous class of his majesty's subjects. I treated it with the inattention which I conceived it to deserve; and, till I learned that it had been presented to the king by the zealous prelate himself, I almost persuaded myself that it was the fabrication of some obscure controvertist, who, to exalt his own insignificancy, had assumed the venerable name of Shute, Bishop of Durham.

The man who embraces a religious opinion from conviction, has undoubtedly the right to maintain it by argument. But truth will be his first and principal object; and the champion of truth will disdain the petty artifices of substituting assertion for proof, and misrepresentation for fact. He will never condescend to swell the crowd of disputants, whose ingenuity first frames a creed for the church of Rome, and then, after combating a phantom of its own creation, exults in an easy and decisive victory. That this expedient should have been frequently adopted by the herd of minor and hungry writers, is not surprising. It has often proved the most certain road to reputation, and, what they probably valued more than reputation, to wealth and preferment.* But the Bishop of Durham is placed far above such paltry temptations. The reputation which he enjoys, may satisfy his utmost ambition; and the ecclesiastical dignity which he fills, if not the first in rank, is at least the first in opulence in the United Kingdom. If then, notwithstanding his great age and high occupations, he be still inclined to shiver a lance in the lists of controversy, we may safely affirm, that his motives are laudable, and trust that his conduct, like his courage, will be fair and honourable.

* Thus when the Duke of York asked Archbishop Sheldon, if it were the doctrine of the Church of England, that Roman Catholics were idolators? he answered, "that it was not; but that young men of parts would be popular, and such a charge was the way to it." *Barnet, History of his own Times, anno 1673.*

The Charge, which I purpose to review, was delivered in circumstances peculiarly solemn. It was addressed to the numerous clergy of the diocese of Durham, in a temple dedicated to the worship of the Most High, and from the pulpit, the oracle of truth. On such an occasion, we may justly presume, that no unguarded word would be permitted to drop from the mouth of the learned Prelate. Each assertion would be previously weighed, and its accuracy anxiously ascertained. The erudition of the audience, the sacredness of the place, the sanctity of the episcopal character, demanded that truth and charity should guide and restrain the zeal of the preacher. If, then, in the following pages, I shall have occasion to complain, that the tenets of Catholics have been incorrectly stated, and their practises unfairly described, I would not be understood to impeach the sincerity or veracity of the Bishop of Durham. But while I applaud the uprightness of his intention, I may be allowed to lament the influence of prejudice, which could conceal the truth from his view, and prompt him to study the doctrine of the Catholic Church in the writings of her adversaries. I may regret that he should condescend to join the company of those misinformed but positive writers, who,

Without the care of knowing right from wrong,
 Always appear decisive, clear, and strong,
 Where others toil with philosophic force,
 Their nimble nonsense takes a shorter course,
 Flings at your head conviction in a lump,
 And gains remote conclusions at a jump.

I am persuaded that the learned author of the Charge will not be offended at the liberty with which I may animadvert on some of his assertions. By assuming the privilege of attack, he has not wished to deprive his opponent of the right of defence. His object was to convince our understandings, and not to wound our feelings; and if we conceive ourselves injured, he will not refuse us the consolation of attempting to prove the justice of our complaints. His love for truth will

lead him to recal errors which may have been unintentionally adopted; and his zeal for the established Church will rejoice to learn, that she is descended from a parent less corrupt than he has been taught to imagine.

The Bishop begins his Charge by reminding his Clergy, “that, at a former meeting, he had imputed “the overthrow of the ancient government of France, “and all its tremendous consequences, ultimately, to “the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and its wide “departure from the simplicity of the Gospel.”*

Before we subscribe to so disgraceful an accusation, we may be allowed at least to inquire, on what proof it is founded? And the only proof which his lordship has yet condescended to produce, is briefly this: that the horrors of the French revolution arose from the infidelity of its authors, and that their infidelity is to be ascribed to the corrupt doctrines of the Church in which they were educated. Popery is, in his opinion, the prolific parent of religious indifference, of deism, and of atheism.†

From what period his lordship will date the origin of Popery (by that word I mean the religious creed of the nations in communion with the Bishop of Rome,) I am not able to determine. Catholics maintain, that it is coeval with Christianity; Protestants do not deny it an existence of at least a thousand years. Now, taking it at the lowest computation, is it not extraordinary, if Popery be naturally pregnant with infidelity, that the birth of the monster should have been retarded till the close of the eighteenth century? A thousand years are a long period of gestation; and unless the Bishop, with the aid of his prophetic friends, Messrs. Faber and Granville Sharpe, can mysteriously account for so late a parturition, I shall be induced to conclude, that he has mistaken the true parent, and ought to recommence the inquiry.

In several French writers of great and acknow-

* Charge, p. 1.

† Bishop of Durham’s Sermon before the lords, 1799 p. 10. et seq.

ledged eminence,* I have met with a very different opinion respecting the origin of deism and atheism. Instead of considering them as the offspring of Popery, they persist in making deism the grandchild, and atheism the great grandchild of Protestantism. According to them, Protestantism begat Socinianism, Socinianism begat deism, and deism begat atheism. The accuracy of this genealogy they have supported with much plausibility; and, by comparing their arguments with those of the Bishop of Durham, the reader will be able to judge which of the two systems is the more deserving of credit.

The Right Reverend Prelate builds his opinion respecting the origin of infidelity on this basis, “that Popery, from its corruptions, is liable to the objections of thinking men.”† If his reasoning be just, it will naturally follow, that in Catholic countries either the number of thinking men is exceedingly small, or the number of unbelievers immensely great. The latter consequence he adopts in all its latitude, and with much solemnity assures us, “that in the nations in communion with the Church of Rome, both the members of the government and the higher classes of the people are habitually insincere; and have continued for many years to profess the Popish creed, not from any opinion of its evidence, but from an utter indifference to all religious truth whatever.”‡ It would, undoubtedly, be an insult to his candour and liberality, to question the truth of a fact which he thus unequivocally asserts: on his authority then we will endeavour to believe, however improbable it may appear, that for many years all the higher orders of foreign Catholics, all who have been eminent for virtue, learning, or rank, Popes, Princes, Statesmen, Nobles, and Prelates, and even the French clergy, who, in support of their religion, offered themselves to proscription, exile, and death, were habitually insincere, hypocrites, scep-

* Bergier, *Traite Hist. Dogmat. de la Religion*, vol. 12. *Encycloped.* tom. 17. Art. *Unitaires*.

† Sermon, p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*

tics, and unbelievers. This, indeed, to many readers' will appear extraordinary, and, had not the Bishop of Durham asserted it, incredible: but what to me appears more extraordinary and more incredible is, that these thinking men did not, when they discovered the errors of Popery, adopt the pure, rational, unadulterated system of Protestantism. What induced them to prefer to it the absurdities of infidelity? This is a mystery which the bishop has not attempted to explain.

The patrons of the opposite genealogy are accustomed to appeal in favour of their opinion to the testimony of history. They maintain that infidelity did not publicly appear till after the commencement of the Reformation, and that its apostles, with perhaps one or two exceptions, proceeded, during more than two centuries, from the ranks of Protestantism. They observe that the very principle, which introduced the Reformation, naturally leads in its consequences to religious scepticism. The rights of reason were extolled at the expense of those of revelation. Each individual was made, for himself at least, the sole judge in matters of religion. His private reason became a tribunal from which no appeal was permitted. The effect of this doctrine was soon manifest; and the fathers of the Reformation saw, with the keenest regret, their own weapons turned against themselves by their own children. It was in vain that Calvin burnt Servetus at Geneva, and that Gentilis shortly afterwards lost his head in the same city. Long before the close of the sixteenth century, a sect of innovators had established themselves in Poland, who judging, like their masters, of the sense of Scripture by the infallibility of their own reason, presumed to reject all the mysteries of christianity, because they were unable to comprehend them. Their opinions were gradually disseminated through the other kingdoms of Europe, and in most of the Protestant states found a soil the best adapted to their culture. In England, the proselytes to the new doctrines were numerous; and though the fires of Smithfield, in the reigns of Edward, Elizabeth, and

James, blazed in support of the tenets of the established Church, Socinianism continued to make a steady and certain progress. Among its abettors, however, there were many, whose reason was uneasy even under the small restraint which it imposed. They at length condemned the timidity of their teachers, and, arguing from the same principles, proved that the Scriptures themselves ought to be rejected. If it were the right of reason to decide, what necessity, they asked, could there be for revelation? A new system, known by the name of natural religion, was recommended, and its partisans distinguished themselves by the appellation of Deists.* Yet, even in natural religion, much was discovered that the human intellect could not comprehend; its mysteries were, in their turn, exploded by reasoners of greater intrepidity; and deism in a few years was improved into atheism.

The first who claimed the merit of forming deism into a complete system, was our countryman, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. He published his first treatise on the subject in 1624. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the monopoly of infidelity. The praise which he had obtained, or the benevolent design of illuminating the ignorance of mankind, induced a crowd of writers to offer their discoveries also to the public. Hobbes entered on the career in 1650, Blount in 1680, Toland in 1698, Lord Shaftesbury in 1711, Collins in 1713, Woolston in 1727, Tindal in 1730, Morgan in 1737, and Hume in 1742. By their posthumous works, published in 1748 and 1754, Chubb and Lord Bolingbroke appeared as champions in the same cause. The singularity of the opinions which these writers maintained, gave them a momentary reputation; their works were industriously read, and sometimes translated by foreigners acquainted with the language; and the principles of deism were by degrees adopted by gay, profligate, and unthinking men in France and the north of Germany. The French

* See Hume, Hist. c. 71.

and German infidels were the mere echoes of their English masters.

Whatever the Bishop of Durham may think of this genealogy, he must at least acknowledge, that religious scepticism has flourished as much in the Protestant as in the Catholic states; and, if he persist in attributing its progress in the latter to the corruptions of the national religion, he must not complain if we attribute it in the former to a similar cause. As to the French revolution, that much of its horrors was the work of the French deists, is perhaps true. As the scum ascends to the surface, so, during the momentary phrenzy of the revolution, they rose to the head of the government, and improved the opportunity to attempt the destruction of religious order. But their conduct shewed that, far from thinking, with the Bishop of Durham, that catholicity was favorable to their projects, they treated it as their natural and most formidable enemy.* The German deists have never been placed in a similar situation; but there can be little doubt, that much of the indecision, perfidy, and injustice, which for a while made the Prussian government the wonder and the scorn of Europe, was owing to the deistical and atheistical principles on which it was founded. Both French and Germans have already received their reward.

After all, it appears, that the Bishop does the English Catholics the honour to think less unfavourably of them than of their brethren on the continent. There Popery makes deists, here it makes zealots. Had he believed us, as he has represented the foreign Catholics to be, indifferent to all religious truth whatever, he would not have thought it necessary to sound

* "If catholicity be congenial to atheism, and favourable to the propagation of impiety, as some of our Protestant countrymen have asserted, the very incongenial and unfavourable manuer in which atheism and impiety have treated their good ally, are circumstances so paradoxical, that I think no ingenuity but their own can either penetrate or explain them." *Reflections on the Spirit of Controversy*, p. 208. To those who wish to see a more ample discussion on the subject, I would recommend the perusal of this acute and animated publication.

the tocsin of alarm, and to animate the zeal of his clergy against us. I am sorry we cannot thank him. Better were it for us would he, would the more bigoted part of our countrymen, form of us as unjust a notion as of the foreign Catholics; then, perhaps, like them, we might be permitted not only to shed our blood, but also to attain preferment in the armies of our country.* Then perhaps, as well as Jews, deists, and atheists, we might aspire to places of trust, emolument, and rank, and obtain the privileges for which our fathers fought, and which are the birth-right of every Englishman.

There is something ingenious, though quaint, in the manner in which the Right Reverend Prelate has marshalled his objections to what he conceives to be the Catholic creed. He affects to interest in his quarrel the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity; and very prudently places them in the front of the battle, "The doctrines and ordinances of the Church of Rome are," as he affirms, "derogatory,

" 1. From the honour of God the Father ;

" 2. From the mediatorship of the Son; and,

" 3. From the sanctifying influences of the Holy

" Spirit."†

These are certainly bold assertions, and if he can prove them by argument, I shall not be surprised at his enmity to the Catholic, or his attachment to the Protestant faith.

1. That the church of Rome derogates from the ho-

* In 1804, a law was passed without opposition, enabling his majesty to grant, at his discretion, all military commissions whatever to foreign catholics, though they had not disclaimed the erroneous tenets unjustly imputed to their religion: in 1807, an act was proposed to enable his majesty to grant similar favours to English catholics, who have disclaimed such tenets, and it was refused, and the nation was thrown into a ferment, as if both the throne and the church were in danger.

† Charge, p. 10.

nour of God the Father, he infers from the second precept of the Decalogue; *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath.* "It is in vain," he tells us, "to allege that images are used as the aids and not the objects of devotion. It is impossible to preserve the distinction in the minds of the people. Abuse is unavoidable. Idolatry is the inevitable consequence."* In favour of this accusation, so unfounded in fact, so injurious to the feelings of a people as zealous for the honour of God as the Bishop of Durham himself, the only thing that can be said is, that it has been often and vehemently urged by the adversaries of the Church of Rome. It has also been often and victoriously refuted: but, probably, the reading of the bishop has been principally confined to our accusers, and has been seldom extended to our apologists. The opinions, which in his youth he imbibed from the bigotry and prejudice of Controvertists, he still cherishes in his old age, and condemns us as idolators, when he might any day, by an easy experiment, convince himself of the falsity of the accusation. Let him interrogate the first Catholic child of ten years of age, whom he may chance to meet in the streets, whether it be lawful to worship images? and he will receive for answer: "No, by no means; for they can neither hear, nor see, nor help us."† This is the lesson which is impressed on our minds in our infancy; and it is so consonant to religion and common sense, that, I believe, it is never effaced. I may certainly claim a more extensive acquaintance with Catholics than the bishop of Durham; but I never yet met with any so ignorant, as to pay adoration to either images or pictures.

The bishop proceeds to observe that this practice "is repugnant to the letter of God's commandments."‡ But, as to the letter of the commandments, it may be observed, that the practice of Catholics is not more re-

* Charge, p. 11.

† Cath. Catechism, I. Command.

‡ Charge, p. 12.

pugnant to it that the practice of Protestants. Taken literally, the commandments prohibit, without exception or qualification, the making of any graven thing, or the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath. If we are to be judged by the letter of the law, let our adversaries submit to the same trial; and let the bishop of Durham justify, if he can, the graven things, and the likenesses of things in heaven above, and on the earth beneath, which still exist in his cathedral. It was formerly ornamented by the ingenuity of the sculptor and the painter: and of these ornaments, if many have been effaced by the Gothic fanaticism of the first reformers, many are still preserved by the pious care of their posterity. Aware of this difficulty, he has prudently inserted in his edition of the commandment, the words, “for the purpose of religious worship;”* an explanation which I cordially approve, as it perfectly agrees with the catholic doctrine. “This commandment,” says our catechism, “forbids the making of images so as to adore and “serve them: that is, it forbids making them our “Gods.” If then Catholics be idolators, tell me, what is the bishop of Durham?

“To us,” he continues, “it cannot be surprising, “that the same superstition which could induce any “one to believe that bread and wine (mere bodily elements, of earthly manufacture) were converted into “the real body and blood of Christ; should without “much difficulty worship a creature image instead of “the Creator.”† In this eloquent passage, dictated by moderation and liberality itself, I have long been at a loss what to admire the most, the politeness of the expression, or the acuteness of the reasoning. The Catholic intellect, it seems, is, in the opinion of the Bishop of Durham, deeply and incurably diseased. The belief of the real presence is a kind of original sin, which vitiates all the faculties of the mind, deprives it of the power of distinguishing truth from falsehood, and prepares it for the reception of every absurdity.

* Charge, p. 11.

† Ibid.

It is in vain that the Catholic may appeal to the express words of Christ: *This is my body*; in vain that he urge his adversary to adduce in support of any other tenet, words equally plain and significative: in vain that he advert to the consentient belief of all other Christian Churches on the face of the globe. It is a superstition, replies his lordship; its professors must be idolators; there can be little difficulty with them to worship a creature image instead of the creator.

The Right Rev. Theologian has thus laid down the law: his candour certainly will not refuse to be tried by it. He believes, according to the creed of his church, that Christ was truly God: but he cannot be ignorant, that several writers in this country, and those too men of talents and erudition, have maintained that he was a mere man. Now, were one of these to observe, that the same superstition (they think it so) which could induce the Bishop of Durham to believe that a person, clothed in the same flesh, and subject to the same infirmities as ourselves, was the very God who framed the heavens and the earth, might, with equal facility, persuade him to worship the creature image for the creator: were this remark to be made, I could wish to learn what would be his reply. Would he cite the texts which, in his opinion, establish the divinity of the Messiah? The Catholic with equal justice, may cite those which as evidently establish the real presence. Would he argue, that because you conceive the opinion of your adversary to be erroneous, you have no right to accuse him of other erroneous opinions which he disavows? The Catholic may make the same reply. In this respect, the Catholic and the Bishop of Durham stand on the same ground. I do not mean to infer that he is an idolator; but I am anxious to know how, while he maintain the justness of his own reasoning, he will prove that he is not.—Again it appears that the learned Prelate *disbelieves* the real existence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper: and at the same time, as a true child of the Church of England, *believes* them to be

taken and received *verily* and *indeed* by the faithful. Now, to me, this doctrine of receiving that which *does not really exist*, has always appeared something like a paradox. Yet far be it from me to infer, even though I should be authorized by his lordship's conduct, that because on this subject he speaks what to me seems nonsense, he therefore is accustomed to talk nonsense on other occasions.

“To disguise such repugnance,” observes the Charge, “an artifice was adopted in Romish books of religious institution, as contrary to the honour of God, as image worship itself. In the enumeration of the ten commandments the second is wholly suppressed, and the number ten completed by dividing the tenth into two: and this in direct violation of the injunction: *Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you; neither shall ye diminish aught from it.*”* I am astonished that so grave and discreet a Prelate should have hazarded so dangerous an assertion. Had he opened a Catholic Bible, Catholic Prayer Book, or Catholic Catechism, he would have found this commandment expressed in the same words as in Protestant books of religious institution.† He would have learned that the Decalogue in both was the same; that the only difference consisted in the division: and that the Reformers had been pleased to separate the first precept into two, and to condense the ninth and tenth into one. He would not have advanced an assertion, which, had it come from any other person than the Bishop of Durham, I should not hesitate to pronounce an insult to the credulity of the public, and a cruel calumny against the consciences of Catholics.

* Charge, page 12.

† I consider the graven image of the Protestant as equivalent to the graven thing of the Catholic translation. The latter is perhaps more comprehensive. As for the division of the Decalogue, it is in itself a matter of inferior consequence. The whole number of precept and prohibitory clauses is fourteen; and to reduce these into ten divisions has been the object of different systems both among Jews and Christians. The division, which for many centuries has been adopted by Catholics, is that recommended by St. Augustine. It is therefore unjust to represent it as an artifice to disguise an unlawful practice.

Do I then impeach the veracity of his Lordship? No, I doubt not, that what he asserted, he also believed to be true. Do I accuse his ignorance? I do: he ought to have known better.

2. To prove that the usages of the Church of Rome were injurious to the honour of God the Son, the writer of the Charge instances the custom of "praying to the Virgin Mary, to Angels, and to Saints."* To pray to the Angels and Saints is, in the language of the Catholic Church, to solicit their intercession, and it is recommended by her as a pious and useful practice. But is it evident, as asserted by the Bishop of Durham, that it derogates from the one mediatorship of Jesus Christ? The inference to me is illogical and unjust. With him I am ready to acknowledge, that there is one only name under heaven, whereby we must be saved; that there is one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus: that he ever liveth to make intercession for us; that he is our intercessor with the Father; and that through him we have access by one spirit unto the Father.† But does it necessarily follow, that it is unlawful to desire others to intercede for us with Christ, and through his merits? Did not the Apostle St. Paul beg the prayers of the Romans, Corinthians, and Ephesians? Does not the Church of England command her ministers to pray for the king, the high court of parliament, the clergy, and men of every condition? Does not Dr. Porteus exhort "every sincere christian to persevere in that "most benevolent office of INTERCEDING for all mankind?"‡ Certainly the Bishop of Durham will

* Charge, p. 13.—How different is this doctrine from that of Dr. Montague, bishop of Norwich. "I grant," says he, "Christ is not "wronged in his mediation. It is no impiety to say; Holy Mary, "pray for me. Holy Peter, pray for me."—Treatise on the Invocation of Saints, p. 118.

† Charge, p. *ibid.*—Apprehensive of incurring the curse, which the Bishop of Durham (p. 12.) informs us hangs over the head of him, who adds to the word of God, I have not ventured in quoting these texts, to improve them, as he has done, by the occasional insertion of the word ALONE.

‡ Sermons by Bielby Porteus, Bishop of London, vol. ii. p. 381.

not contend that the Apostle was ignorant of the mediatorship of Jesus, or that he himself, when he complies with the orders of his church, “detracts from “the all-sufficiency of our Saviour;” or that his right reverend brother does not know that “Christ liveth to “make intercession for us.” Yet, if to employ the intercession of a third person be to derogate from the mediatorship of Christ, I cannot understand what difference it can make, whether that person be still living, or numbered with the blessed. The Catholic, like the Protestant, expects salvation from the merits of Christ only; from the Saints he asks neither grace nor salvation; he only solicits their friendly intercession for him with Christ, who is his and their Saviour, his and their God.*

The Bishop of Durham is not, perhaps, aware how easily his reasoning may be turned against himself. As a specimen, I will undertake to prove that the practices of the Church of England are derogatory from the honor of God, and my reasoning shall be an exact parody of his. In the collect for the feast of St. Michael, she prays, that, “the holy angels may, by “God’s appointment, succour and defend us on earth;” a petition which detracts from the all-sufficiency of God’s providence, and teaches the people to place

* After this explication of the Catholic doctrine respecting the invocation of the Saints, I may venture to ask the right reverend theologian, whether he really thinks it idolatrous? I am not so sanguine as to expect that he will give it his approbation: but, if he be not convinced that it amounts to idolatry, I could wish to learn how he can with a safe conscience make the following declaration, before he takes his seat in the House of Lords: “I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence “of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe—that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, as now “used in the Church of Rome is superstitious and idolatrous.” That to adore the Virgin Mary, or any saint, would be idolatry, is evident; but no such adoration is used in the Church of Rome. The invocation of the Saints is indeed used in the sense explained in the text; but such invocation is certainly not idolatrous. It seems to have been reserved for the wisdom of this enlightened nation to make it a necessary qualification for a legislator, that he should be able to swear to the idolatrous nature of a practice, which the majority of Christians declare not to be idolatrous, and which he has probably never viewed but through the deceitful medium of controversial misrepresentation.

their confidence in the angels, who are God's creatures, rather than in God their creator. "God *alone*, (I have " as good a right to insert the word *alone* as the Bishop " of Durham) God alone is our rock, our fortress, and " our deliverer: he alone is a rock to save us; he alone " is the saving strength of his anointed, our help and " our shield; the salvation of the righteous is of the " Lord alone." The practice, therefore, of the Church of England, in multiplying succourers and defenders, detracts greatly from the providence of God, and leads to a communication of the divine attributes to beings who are creatures and servants like ourselves. This reasoning I acknowledge to be futile: but I have learned it from the Bishop of Durham; and he must either admit it, or abjure his own Charge.

"But the imposition of penances, as purchases of " pardon, and remedies of past sin, was a denial of the " efficacy of the great sacrifice which Christ made for " us by his death."* I must confess myself at a loss to understand the meaning of the term, "purchases of pardon." It is unknown in Catholic theology, and has been probably framed by the inventive genius of the Reformation. If by it the Bishop of Durham wish to insinuate, that Catholics teach works of penance to be of themselves a sufficient compensation for sin, he has still to learn the first rudiments of our doctrine. If he mean, that we consider them as one of the conditions on which Christ is willing to communicate the merits of his passion to the soul of the sinner, his meaning is just, though his expression be inaccurate. But does he seriously condemn this doctrine, founded as it is on the clearest evidence of scripture, and confirmed by the practice of the most early ages? If I understand his reasoning, he does. He is the zealous champion of the all-sufficiency of Christ: and, in his opinion, to do penance for sin after the great sacrifice consummated on the cross, is to offer an injury to the honour of God the Son, and to deny the efficacy of his passion. His creed must, at least, be a

* Charge, page 13.

very consoling one. *Indulge your passions*, it exclaims to the sinner, *indulge your passions now, and cease to sin, when you can sin no longer. Fear not the rigours of penance. To weep and pray, to fast and give alms, to repent in sackcloth and ashes, were external ceremonies confined to the Jewish dispensation. To practice them now, would be to “seduce from the grace and truth that “came by Jesus Christ,—to carry us back from the “Gospel to the Law,—to deprive ourselves of the inestimable advantages which the law of Moses could “not give us.”** It is curious to observe how much the Gospel, which is preached in these enlightened times, has improved on the rough sketch that was delivered to our fathers. St. Paul was accustomed to keep under his body, and to bring it into subjection.† I have no doubt that he thought he was acting in a manner pleasing to Christ, and yet we now learn from the Bishop of Durham, that he was actually derogating from the efficacy of the passion of Christ. The penitents, in ancient times, often spent whole years in works of penance. They fasted and prayed; they lay prostrate at the porch of the church; they solicited the intercession of their less guilty brethren.‡ By these austerities they hoped they were fulfilling the will of their Redeemer: but now we know, that they were adding sin to sin, and augmenting the guilt of their former offences, by denying the efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ. Even the learned men, who compiled the Book of Common Prayer, seem to have been involved in this damnable error. “There was formerly,” they tell us, “a godly discipline, that at the “beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted “of notorious sins, were put to open penance, and “punished here, that their souls might be saved in “the day of the Lord. And it were much to be wished “that the said discipline may be restored again.”§

* Charge, p. 14.

† ἑπιτιμᾶμαι I chastise or tame. The learned Prelate will excuse me, if, notwithstanding his prohibition, I appeal to the Greek.

‡ Bingham, Orig. Eccles. tom. 11, p. 207.

§ Book of Common Prayer.

Little did they imagine, that this godly discipline of penance and punishment, by means of which the souls of sinners were to be saved in the day of the Lord, would be proved by one of their successors in the ministry, to be an impiety, derogatory from the mediatorship of the Redeemer. Yet so, (if I can understand his meaning) says the Bishop of Durham; and he is a master of Israel.*

The writer of the Charge has a third argument in reserve to prove his accusation. "The Roman Church "denies the use of the cup to the Laity at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: which is derogatory "from the honour of our Saviour, as it is a violation "of his express command: drink ye *all* of this. It is "not only an unjust infringement of the rights of the "Laity, and a daring mutilation of the holy sacrament, "but also dishonours him who instituted and ordained "it."† It is with regret I notice these bold assertions, which cannot be supported by argument. So learned a Prelate as the Bishop of Durham knew, or ought to have known, that the custom of communicating under one kind, is sanctioned not only by the practice of the Latin, but also of the Greek Church, on several days of the year; and he should have hesitated before he condemned on his own private authority nine-tenths of the great body of Christians, as violators of the command of Christ, and mutilators of the sacrament. He knew, or ought to have known, that some of the most eminent writers of the Church of England have maintained, that communion under both kinds was not commanded by Christ,‡ and that the Synod of French Protestants holden at Poitiers in 1560, decreed that only the bread of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered to those who cannot drink wine.§ He

* I could wish to know what is the meaning of the Fast Day, ordered by the King, every year. Is it not considered as a work of penance?

† Charge, p. 15.

‡ Bishop Montague, Orig. tom. 1. p. 396.

§ Chap. 13, Art. 7.—For instances of communion under one kind among the eastern nations, see Renaudot, Liturgiarum Orient. Collect.

knew, or ought to have known, that the manner of communicating is a mere matter of discipline, which may vary according to times and circumstances: that the use of the cup has been sometimes granted and sometimes denied to the Laity; and that the communion has on some occasions, been lawfully administered under the sole form of bread, and on others, under the sole form of wine.* The Apostles, it is true, communicated under both kinds. But would he bind us to imitate every particular of their communion? Then we (I mean the men only, for as no women were present, they will be excluded), must receive in the evening, after supper, and sitting at table. Will he maintain that all Christ's words were at that time directed to all the faithful? Then every individual may claim the right of consecrating the elements. Some distinction must be drawn, and as the scripture is silent, we must have recourse to the practice and authority of the Church of Christ.—But did not our Saviour say: “Drink ye *all* of this.†” I answer, I, That from St. Mark it appears, “they *all* drank of it:” whence it may be inferred, that the command of Christ was addressed not to the whole body of Christians, but to all present, that is, to the twelve apostles, on whom he then conferred the power of consecrating the eucharist. 2. That the practice of the Christian Church is a sufficient explanation of the meaning of her divine Master. Nor is this a principle which the Bishop of Durham can consistently reject. From the

tom. 11. p. 123, 370. Arcudius, de Concord. Eccl. Occident, et Orient. p. 382, 396. Among the Copths it is the custom to communicate children under one kind, by dipping the finger into the chalice, and then putting it into their mouths. Renaudot. tom. 1. p. 291.

* From the expression of St. Paul, it appears that the communion was sometimes administered under one kind in the most early times. Whosoever shall eat this bread, *or* drink this cup, 1 Cor. xi. 27. But for this reading I must refer the bishop to his Palladium, the Greek text: Ος αν εσθιη τον αζτον τωτον, η πινη το ποτηριον. The English Protestant translators have thought proper to transform the disjunctive *or* into the copulative *and*.

† Charge, p. 15.

expressions of scripture, and the practice of the first Christians, it is evident that the sacrament of baptism was, in its first institution, conferred by immersion: yet what Protestant clergyman hesitates at the present day to adopt the contrary method of aspersion or affusion? Christ forbade his disciples to swear at all: yet, does not the Bishop of Durham permit oaths to be taken in his courts, to the no small emolument of his officers? Christ commanded his disciples, after his example, to wash the feet of each other: yet who is there at the present day that complies with this injunction? The apostles, in the Council of Jerusalem, declared that to abstain from blood was a necessary thing: yet what Christian scruples now to transgress that prohibition? For these, and several other deviations from the exact letter of the scripture, no other satisfactory reason can be given, than the authority of the Pastors of the Church, whom Christ has established the interpreters of his law. Since then communion under one kind has for several centuries been established, and was always partially admitted, the Bishop of Durham will excuse us, if, in defiance of his censure, and in obedience to an authority, to which he himself must bend on other occasions, we continue to adhere to our ancient custom, without conceiving that we either transgress the command, or dishonour the mediatorship of Christ.—As to the reproach of mutilation, it may with equal justice be retorted on the Protestant. He condemns the Catholic for mutilating the sacrament—Of what? Of a cup of mere wine. The Catholic condemns him for mutilating it of its very essence, the body and blood of Christ.

3. We now proceed to the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. From these, we are told, the Church of Rome derogates by “the great stress which she “lays on external and ritual performances:” a stress “which tends to lessen the spirituality of religious “duties, and teaches the mind to rest on outward and “carnal observances, instead of placing its whole “trust on Christ’s promised assistance of the Holy

“Spirit, and the sufficiency of his grace.*” To this vague and general accusation, I scarcely know what answer to oppose. The Bishop, before he ventured to condemn, should at least have condescended to explain the doctrine of the Catholics on the subject of ritual observances. He should have pointed out in what it differed from that of the Church of England †, and have shewn, not by mere assertion, but by facts, that it was pernicious in its consequences. This would have been fair and manly. It would have enabled his readers to judge of *its* merits, and of *his* censure. He has, however, thought proper to adopt a different method, more convenient, it is true, to the writer, but certainly more calculated to mislead the judgment of the reader. He has described the Catholic doctrine in terms the most loose and indefinite, which may mean any thing or nothing, and which convey no precise idea to the mind, but envelope the object in a mist through which it is seen magnified and distorted. As, then, I cannot ascertain the exact meaning of the accusation, I hope I may be excused from attempting to refute it: but be that meaning what it may, I strenuously deny the inference which the Bishop has deduced from it; and maintain that the conduct of Catholics, however they may be attached to external ceremonies, is not such as to justify the assertion, that they are more hostile than their neighbours to the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. As to ritual performances, I know not what

* Charge, p. 15.

† “The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies.” Articles of the Church of England, Art. 20. “The prescribing stated forms for the several acts of religious worship, and not leaving that to the capacities or humours, to the inventions, and often to the extravagancies of those who are to officiate, fall within the general rules given by the apostles to the churches in their time. . . . We ought to acquiesce in such rules as have been agreed on by common consent; and which are recommended to us by long practice, and that are established by those who have the lawful authority over us. Nor can we assign any other bounds to our submission in this case than those the gospel has limited. We must obey God rather than man.” Exposition of the 39 articles, by Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum, p. 193, 94.

place they may hold in the estimation of the Bishop of Durham. If he reject them, I fear he knows little of human nature. In religion they are necessary to attract curiosity, stimulate languor, and fix attention. The experience of ages shews, that, without them every profession of religious worship, though it may be kept alive by the cordials of wealth and distinction, must yet subside into a state of torpor and indifference. If the zealous Prelate wish for a spiritual religion, he may congratulate himself on the completion of his wish. With the general state of the diocese of Durham, I cannot be so well acquainted as his Lordship; but if it resemble that of the other dioceses in this kingdom, there are few, very few, Protestants, whose minds rest on outward and carnal observances. The solitude of the churches testifies, that if they worship at all, they worship in spirit alone. They may indeed perform their religious duties in a spiritual and invisible manner; corporal attendance, and external observance, they certainly disdain.*

“But,” resumes the writer of the Charge, “the sacred influence of the Holy Ghost was still more dishonoured by the presumptuous doctrines which were maintained concerning the merit of good works.”† This is another vague and indeterminate accusation, from which I should be inclined to suspect that the Bishop of Durham is not better acquainted with the doctrine of the Catholic Church respecting good works, than with the other parts of her religious creed. May I then be allowed to inform him of that which is familiar to every Catholic from his childhood? We are taught, 1. That the Scripture

* The Bishop of London, in his Charge for 1790 (p. 11,) very truly observes: “Scarcely one symptom of religion ever appears amongst us except on the Lord’s day.” He might have added, and very few even then. “It must be acknowledged,” says he, in another place, “that the present remarkable thinness of our churches on Sundays, at the east as well as the west end of the town, is a proof that the neglect of divine worship is not confined to the great, but has pervaded almost every class of people in this capital.” Sermons, vol. i. p. 212.

† Charge, p. 15.

perpetually inculcates the utility of good works. *What doth it profit, says St. James, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him? If faith have not works, it is dead, being alone. By works a man is justified, and not by faith only.** St. Paul prayed that his converts might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work: and that Christ might comfort their hearts, and establish them in every good word and work.† He advises those who have believed in God, to be careful to maintain good works; and charges the rich, that they do good, that they be rich in good works, that they may lay hold on eternal life.‡ 2. We believe that a reward has been promised to the performance of good works. *Love ye your enemies, and do good, and your reward shall be great. God will render to every man according to his deeds: to them, who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life. There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing.§* 3. Hence, though with the Bishop of Durham, we acknowledge ourselves to be unprofitable servants, though it be the Holy Spirit that worketh in us, both to will and to do of his good pleasure, yet, as God is faithful to his promises, and not unrighteous to forget our work and labour of love, we piously trust he will fulfil his engagements, and reward with his glory in heaven the works which by his grace (for grace is necessary), he has enabled us to perform upon earth. This is the Catholic doctrine respecting the merit of good works; and it is so very consonant to reason and religion, that I conceive the mere explanation of it will silence every objection.||

* St. James ii. 14, 17, 24.

† Coloss i. 10. 2 Thess. ii. 17.

‡ Tit. iii. 8. 1 Tim. vi. 18. See also Gal. vi. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 13.

§ Luke vi. 36. Rom. ii. 6. 7. 2 Tim. iv. 8.

|| Besides the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of London is also in

Thus have I endeavoured to answer, and I trust with some success, the principal arguments of my Right Reverend opponent. He has added a few exceptions, of minor consequence it is true, but which ought not to escape without notice. Of these, the first is the old tale of indulgences. To the apprehension of many of my readers, I have no doubt that an indulgence appears a monster of most hideous aspect, engendered from clerical avarice and popular credulity. But, if they will have a little patience, I hope to convince them that it is a being of a most harmless nature. In ancient times, as we have seen already, the sinner who by public crimes had afflicted the zeal of his more innocent brethren, was subjected to a course of public penance, which was not confined to the duration of a few weeks, but frequently extended to several years, sometimes to the whole life of the offender. The bishops, however, claimed the power of abridging the time, or mitigating the severity of the

the habit of delivering lectures from the pulpit. He seems to think that, though Christ has paid our ransom, yet good works are necessary for us, and that to perform them is not to deny the efficacy of his passion. "All these sacrifices," says he, "must be made. It is the price we are to pay (besides that price which our Redeemer paid), and surely no unreasonable one, for escaping eternal misery, and rendering ourselves capable of eternal glory." Lectures on St. Matt. lect. vi. p. 143. In another place he perfectly agrees with the Catholic doctrine of good works. "Our heavenly father expects and commands us to be rich in *good works*, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, &c." Lect. xviii. p. 165. Nor do I believe that he has the same opinion as the Bishop of Durham on the subject of ceremonies. He calls those "enthusiasts who trample under foot ancient ceremonies and institutions." Lect. viii. p. 199. Let the two prelates mutually reconcile their respective creeds, in points of such importance so diametrically opposite to each other. Bishop Watson, as Regius Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, has published a collection of theological tracts, among which is a treatise entitled a Key to the Apostolic Writings (vol. iii. p. 315). I do not conceive in what the doctrine delivered in this tract respecting the necessity of good works differs from that of Catholics. Thus, p. 391, he says, "We are to go through a course of well-doing in order to our reaping eternal life; which we shall not obtain, if we faint, or are weary in well-doing. The doctrine which teaches us the performance of all good works is the sound, uncorrupt doctrine of the gospel." P. 401.

punishment, as the fervour and circumstances of the penitent might require : and this abridgment or mitigation was termed an indulgence. On some occasions they commuted, according to their discretion, a part of the penance, into other pious works, such as the giving of alms, assisting in the erection of churches, and contributing towards charitable institutions. These commutations are what the Bishop of Durham has called the sale of indulgences. Now, it is proper to observe, that this kind of discipline was not peculiar to the Church of Rome : it was adopted by other churches, and has even been adopted by the established Church in England. As a proof of the assertion, the curious reader may peruse the following writing of Archbishop Grindall, laid before the synod of the province of Canterbury in 1580, and approved by that assembly. “ I wish,” says he, “ at every public penance a sermon, if it be possible to be had. — Let the offender be set directly over against the pulpit during the service or homily, and there stand bareheaded with the sheet or other accustom'd note of difference, and that upon a board raised a foot and a half at least above the church floor, that they may be in a higher place, and above all the people.” He next directs the preacher to interrogate the penitent, whether he confess that by his crimes he has deserved everlasting damnation and offended the church of God ; whether he be heartily sorry ; whether he ask God and the congregation forgiveness ; and whether he promise never to commit the like again ? To these questions answers are to be returned in the affirmative. He then continues : “ Provided always that order be given by the ordinaries, when they assign penances, that if the penitents do shew themselves irreverent, or impenitent at their penances, that then their punishments be reiterated, and be removed from the church to the market-place. — If the ordinary see cause to *commute* the wearing of the sheet only, (for other commutation I wish none) then appoint a *good portion of money* to be delivered immediately after the penance done in

“ form aforesaid, by the penitent himself, to the collectors of the poor, with this proviso, that if he shew not good signs of repentance, he is to be put again into his penance with the sheet, and then no money at no time to be taken of him.”* Here then we have a Protestant commutation of penance, sanctioned by the approbation of the Church of England, and, in the language of the Bishop of Durham, a Protestant sale of indulgences. By both churches, the monies arising from this source were destined for pious purposes: both had occasionally to lament that their intentions were not faithfully fulfilled. From the numerous complaints made in the convocations of the years 1584, 1597, 1599, 1640, 1710, 1714, it appears, that the fines thus paid to the Protestant clergy of England amounted to no inconsiderable sum, which the avarice of the collectors frequently tempted them to divert from the proper channel into their own purses. To remedy this abuse, canons were framed, which do honour to the zeal of their authors. It was decreed, that the power of granting commutations should be taken from the inferior clergy, and confined to the bishops and their delegates; that the officers of the ordinary should be contented with their accustomed fees; that the ordinary himself should inspect the distribution of the money, and annually audit the accounts; and that the transgressors of these regulations should be suspended from their functions during three months, or a whole year.†

From this view of the subject, it follows that the sale of indulgences, if sale it must be called, was common to the clergy of the Protestant as well as of the Catholic church; and the impartial reader, while he condemns the avarice of those who may have converted this practice to their private emolument, will acquit each of the two churches, because each in her public canons expressed the highest disapprobation of so heinous an abuse. I shall only add, that the Bishop

* Wilkins, Concil. tom. iv. p. 298.

† Ibid. p. 315, 355, 362, 552, 638, 654.

of Durham ought to be no enemy to indulgences : for his doctrine, that works of penance are a denial of the efficacy of Christ's passion, offers to sinners a more extensive indulgence than any Pope, in the plenitude of his power, has yet ventured to grant.

He next reprehends the adoption of an unknown tongue in the public services of religion.* I conceive he means in the celebration of the liturgy, as he knows that the Catholic priests read prayers, and deliver instructions to the people, in the English language. It cannot be necessary, that I repeat the arguments by which the Catholic divines have defended a custom consecrated in their eyes by the approbation of so many centuries. If the Bishop of Durham conceive himself and his colleagues the most proper judges of the language which is best adapted to their service, I hope he will allow the same privilege to the Catholic Prelates with respect to theirs. The English Church is a modern church ; its language therefore should be modern, that its liturgy may announce to posterity the era in which it was framed. But the Church of Rome is an ancient church : it therefore preserves its ancient liturgy, the language of which remounts to the origin of Christianity. I do not believe that history can furnish an instance of a people, who ever changed the language of their liturgy, and did not at the same time change their religion. The Christians of the Latin rite are not singular in the use of an ancient tongue in their service. The Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Syrians, Cophts, Ethiopians, Georgians, and the other Christians of the East, all retain the liturgies which they received from the fathers of their faith, and which are written in languages unintelligible to the vulgar. The same was the discipline of the Jews after the captivity ; nor do we learn that it was ever blamed by our Saviour. Neither is it true, that the modern Church of England has always held in such abhorrence the celebration of the divine service in an unknown tongue. In the year 1560, an Act was passed for the introduc-

* Charge, p. 16.

tion of the English Book of Common Prayer among the natives of Ireland, who were compelled by the severest penalties to assist at the celebration of the English liturgy, though they were utterly unacquainted with the language.* Nor do the English Prelates appear to have always been enemies to the Latin tongue. In the Act of Uniformity, the reformed minister in Ireland, if he could not read English, was permitted to read a Latin translation, which probably was equally understood by his parishioners : † and in the same year, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the colleges of Eton and Winchester, obtained permission from the head of their church to perform the divine service in the language of Rome. ‡

“ But,” observes the writer of the Charge, “ the Scriptures themselves were, at the time of the Reformation, removed from the reach of the common enquirer, and concealed in the obscurity of an unknown language.” § Certainly the Bishop of Durham cannot be ignorant that the art of printing was then in its infancy, and the art of reading confined of consequence, almost exclusively, to the learned. Would he then have had the Catholic Prelates to publish versions of the Scriptures for the very rational purpose of putting them into the hands of those who could not read ?

He proceeds to describe the Catholic Church as an enemy to biblical learning, and to the study of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written. To the truth of this assertion I cannot subscribe ; its refutation has been already

* Heylin, *Hist. of the Reform*, Eliz. p. 128. “ The people by that statute are required under several penalties to frequent their churches, and to be frequent at the reading of the English liturgy, which they understand no more than they do the mass by which we have furnished the Papists with an excellent argument against ourselves, for having the divine service celebrated in such a language as the people do not understand.”—*Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Wilk. Conc. tom. iv. p. 217.*

§ *Charge, p. 17.*

anticipated by many Protestant writers.* The odious task of comparing the Protestant with the Catholic universities I willingly leave to others; † but I must say, that I am probably as well acquainted with the latter as he is, and have no hesitation to assert that his statement is uncandid and unjust. I would ask, from whom it was that the first reformers acquired the knowledge of the oriental languages, if not from the catholic monasteries, and catholic universities? I would ask, who published the Complutensian Polyglott? a Catholic cardinal. The Antwerpian Polyglott? a Catholic King. The Parisian Polyglott? a Catholic gentleman. All these were published before the English Polyglott; and are we to be told that Catholics are enemies to biblical learning? The first editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch and of the Greek Testament were given by Catholics: the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopian versions of the Bible, and the Chaldaic paraphrases, were first edited by Catholics: and are we still to be told that Catholics are enemies to biblical learning? The bishop glories in the numerous and improved editions of the Greek Testament

* “A single benedictine monastery, says Gibbon, has produced more valuable works than both our universities. Notwithstanding the Codex of Dr. Kipling, and the Septuagint of Dr. Holmes; notwithstanding Bampton Lectures, and Seaton Prize Poems; notwithstanding even the Strabo with which the Clarendon press has been 30 years parturient, the assertion of Gibbon remains true.”

Aikin's Annual Rev. 1802, vol. 1, p. 1579.

† I will only recommend to the Bishop's attention, a short passage, which I have extracted from a *Charge* composed by an old heathen:

Οσις τοι δοκεει τον πλησιον ιδμεναι εδεν,
 Αλλ αυτος μωνος ποιικιλα δηνε' εχειν,
 Κεινος γ' αφρων εσι, νοε βιβλαμενος εσθλιε.
 Ισως γαρ παντες ποιικιλ' επισαμεθα.

Θεογ;

“Ye Popish blockheads,” mitred D——m cries,
 “Begone: I, and my friends, alone are wise.
 “Rich with the spoils of Babylon, 'tis fit,
 “That we should claim monopoly of wit.”——
 Whoe'er adopts this idle vaunting strain,
 Shews but the vapours of an empty brain:
 For, spite of party rage, the gifts of heaven,
 To every sect, with equal hand are given.

given by Protestant writers. I bear a willing testimony to their merit, but express a hope that at the same time the labours of the Catholics who preceded, and who accompanied them in their career, will not be forgotten. The education of a Protestant Clergyman ought indeed to lead him to the study of the Greek text of the New Testament. He may be ignorant of ecclesiastical history and theological learning; the only qualification, or at least a qualification which covers every other defect, is a sufficient knowledge of the Greek Testament.* Yet, with all this application to that language, I have not yet observed that a single error has been corrected in the English translation adopted by the Protestant Church, or that a Greek text has been yet produced superior in accuracy to the Latin vulgate.†

* “The general neglect in these seminaries (the universities) of almost every study that has any connection with revealed religion, in particular of what is distinguished by the appellation of *divinity*, immediately recurs to our notice. Hence we cannot be surprized at the too general insufficiency of candidates for orders; that they are often very ignorant of the scriptures, and I may add, even of the duties of piety and morality; that they are also unacquainted with the peculiar concerns of a parochial minister; and what is still worse, that they are not disposed to feel an interest and pleasure in the discharge of the duties of that station, for which they are destined.—The small share of religious knowledge, that is commonly possessed by these, who offer themselves as candidates for orders, from the universities, being no more than what may be easily acquired in any other situation of life, the church has hence become open to men of every rank and description. It has only been requisite for an unsuccessful tradesman or officer to revise the little Latin and Greek he had acquired in his earlier years at the country school, and apply himself a few weeks to the study of divinity, that is to say, as much as is comprised in Welchman’s Explanation of the Articles, and he was then in possession of every requisite qualification for orders, and as well prepared as many that went from the universities.”—Ingram on the Necessity of Divinity in Academical Studies, p. 19, 35, anno 1792.—Indeed, as Mr. Burke observes, “little else is necessary than to be able to read the English language.”

† “Some Roman Catholic and even Protestant writers of eminence,” observes the learned author of the *Horæ Biblicæ*, “have contended, that considering the present state of the Greek text, the vulgate expresses more of the true reading of the originals or autographs of the

“The doctrines and usages of the Romish Church,” infers the Bishop, “are obstructive to the diffusion of “scripture knowledge, and therefore to the progress of the gospel.”* I blush, when I reflect, that this assertion is made by a man, who cannot be ignorant that every pagan nation, which has yet been converted to the christian faith, has been converted by Catholic missionaries.

In controversy, as well as natural philosophy, it is often more advisable to attend to facts than to speculation. If the doctrines of the Romish Church be, as the Bishop affirms, obstructive to the diffusion of Christian knowledge, it ought to follow, that her disciples must be more destitute of religious principles than the members of those churches, that, by quitting her communion, have emancipated themselves from these obstructions. But is he prepared to hazard such an assertion? I appeal with confidence to any person of ordinary information, whether the Catholics of this kingdom are not, on the subject of religion, as well instructed as their Protestant brethren. I appeal to those, who have travelled on the continent, and witnessed the attention, with which the Catholic clergy are accustomed to attend to the improvement of the children in their respective parishes, whether the lower classes in Catholic countries, do not possess a greater fund of religious knowledge, than the lower classes in England. “I have myself,” says a modern writer, “had “some opportunities of ascertaining the comparative “knowledge, which the vulgar French and the lower “classes of my own countrymen possess of their “respective religions. I say it, without partiality, “after making the comparison, I do seriously believe, “that, speaking in general, the religious knowledge “of the poorer French, was erudition, compared “with the slender notions of the poorer English. If “this assertion should, to any one, appear the dictate

“sacred penman, than any Greek edition that has yet appeared, or “can now be framed.”—*Hæcæ Biblicæ*, p. 196, Oxford edition.

* Charge, p. 18.

“ of prejudice, I will present a single cause, which
 “ alone, may seem to account for the striking differ-
 “ ence:—it is the method, by which the minds of the
 “ French were trained to the science, and practice of
 “ religion.—No sooner had a child, in France, been
 “ taught to lisp the language of reason, than its pa-
 “ rents, (who it is already supposed had taught it the
 “ usual prayers for children,) were compelled to usher
 “ it into the parish church, to learn and repeat its ca-
 “ techism. These repetitions were exacted every
 “ Sunday of the year; with the exception, sometimes,
 “ of the season for the harvest. During some parts of
 “ the year, in Advent and Lent, they were exacted
 “ more frequently. A catechism in France, was not,
 “ like our common Protestant catechism in this coun-
 “ try, the immense length of half a dozen questions,
 “ with the same formidable number of answers: it was
 “ a *book* adequate from its size, to contain, and by its
 “ clearness, convey a very comprehensive and accurate
 “ knowledge of religion. This was learnt verbatim, by
 “ heart. The *Curé*, or his *Vicaire*, explained: and
 “ as the French possess an ease and happiness of
 “ expression, which we, in general, do not, they
 “ explained it clearly, naturally, and pleasingly. The
 “ series of these instructions was continued during the
 “ space of several years; always, till the period when
 “ the child was deemed sufficiently informed, to be
 “ admitted to the participation of the holy Eucharist.
 “ the degree of knowledge, which was required for
 “ this purpose, was not inconsiderable. It was re-
 “ quired, that the person to be admitted, should not
 “ only understand the importance and obligation of
 “ this sacred action, and the nature of the sacred rite,
 “ but should, also, be able to conceive, and give a
 “ tolerable account of all the great mysteries and pre-
 “ cepts of religion.—I might have added to this me-
 “ thod, by which the children, in France, attained the
 “ knowledge of religion, the attention of parents, the
 “ assiduity of their schools, the frequency of other
 “ private and public instructions. I might add also,
 “ that the knowledge, which was thus acquired in

“ youth, was afterwards maintained and increased by
 “ the weekly admonitions of their pastors; by sermons
 “ and discourses; by the use of the sacraments, and
 “ by the circulation and gratuitous distribution of
 “ pious books. There were circumstances in the re-
 “ ligious education of the French, which rendered it
 “ difficult for them to be ignorant, with ease. Even
 “ the poorest, that were ignorant, were ignorant amid
 “ the fairest opportunities, and in spite of the strongest
 “ inducements to knowledge.”*

Before the Bishop of Durham repeat this reproach against the Church of Rome, I would advise him to enquire how far the knowledge of religion has flourished here, under the fostering care of the established clergy. The attention of the nation has been lately turned to the subject, by Mr. Whitbread’s plan for the instruction of the poor: and the result has been a general conviction, that the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of the lower orders, are an evil of the most alarming magnitude. If the Bishop of Durham alone be ignorant of this truth, let him ask his venerable brother the Bishop of London, who will inform him that in several parts of his diocese, there are “ many hundreds of ignorant, wretched young creatures, of both
 “ sexes, totally destitute of all education, totally un-
 “ acquainted with the very first elements of religion,
 “ and who perhaps never once entered within the walls
 “ of a church.”† Let him ask that intelligent magistrate, Mr. Colquhoun, and he will inform him, that in the population of England alone, “ 1,170,000 children,
 “ it is much to be feared, grow up to an adult state,
 “ without any education at all, and also without any
 “ useful impressions of religion or morality. To these
 “ are to be added, many of those who have had
 “ the advantage of some education, but in ill re-
 “ gulated schools, in which proper attention is not
 “ given to religious and moral instruction. So that in
 “ the present state of things it is not too much to say,

* See the Spirit of Religious Controversy, p. 159.

† Bishop of London’s Charge, 1790, p. 14.

“ that every thirty years (the period assigned for a
 “ new generation) at least four millions and a half of
 “ adults must, in case a remedy is not applied, mingle
 “ in the general population of the kingdom, without
 “ any fixed principles of rectitude, and with very little
 “ knowledge either of religion or morality.”* Such
 are the blessed effects of the meritorious labour of the
 Church of England, in editing and illustrating the
 Greek text of the New Testament. Had the English
 clergy, like those of the Church of Rome, whose zeal
 the Bishop thinks highly worthy of imitation, made
 the diffusion of religious knowledge the great object of
 their labours and solicitude, we should not now have
 to view with fear and astonishment, the ignorance and
 immorality with which we are surrounded.

From the establishment of Catholic seminaries in
 this kingdom, the zealous Prelate next draws an argu-
 ment to enforce on his clergy the necessity of preach-
 ing against popish doctrines.† I hope he does not
 envy us this small indulgence. While a code of san-
 guinary and vindictive laws rendered us aliens in our
 own country, we were compelled to seek an education
 in more hospitable climes. The toleration which has
 been granted us by a gracious Sovereign and an en-
 lightened ministry, has encouraged us to open schools
 in England. The country will not lose by it. A do-
 mestic education will strengthen our attachment to
 our native land, and will retain at home the sums which
 formerly were of necessity expended abroad. The
 present ruler of France has made us the most tempting
 offers to resume our former plan of education in that
 country. His offers have been refused by our Pre-
 lates. The Bishop of Durham will, I trust, applaud
 their patriotism, and wish success to their endeavours.

In the conclusion of his Charge, the eloquent Pre-
 late pathetically informs his hearers, that he then ad-
 dressed them, in all probability for the last time. I

* Colquhoun's New and Appropriate System of Education, p. 72,
 73. I have adapted his calculations to England alone.

† Charge, p. 19.

may how ever venture to hope, that Providence will add several more *lustra* to his years ; and that time and reflection, will teach him to adopt a less positive and injurious tone ; to doubt the honesty of charging others with doctrines which they disavow : and to think it the duty of a Christian Prelate, rather to inculcate the virtues of charity and forbearance, than to seek the gratification of bigotry, by the revival of acrimonious controversy.

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FROM
DR. J. H. GOLDSTEIN

TO
DR. R. M. MAYER

RE
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

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FROM
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TO
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A REVIEW

OF A

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED

“ A PROTESTANT'S REPLY.

“ For truth hath such a face, and such a mien,
“ As to be loved, needs only to be seen.”

DRYDEN.”

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE author of the Remarks on the Charge of the Bishop of Durham had prefixed to his pamphlet a motto from La Harpe. The gentleman who undertook to reply, whether a Jewish rabbi, as his name would indicate, or a clergyman, as I should guess from his zeal, after endeavouring to shew his knowledge of the French language by giving a false translation of the motto, informs us in an advertisement that he does not know who Mr. La Harpe is. This probably may be true; though I should wish to learn in what part of the literary world our learned controvertist has been slumbering during these last twenty years. To relieve his anxiety, then, La Harpe was a French academicián, celebrated for his lectures at the Lyceum, and distinguished by the title of the French Quintillian. An abstract of his life may be read in the Oxford Review, for February. Thus far to satisfy the enquiries of the gentleman styling himself Elijah Index, and dwelling in Protestant-Row, South-Shields. To the reader I have only one word to premise. Should many passages in the following sheets be deemed too light for so grave a subject, or too severe for so feeble an adversary, I trust a sufficient apology may be found in the multifarious merits of the pamphlet, which I have attempted to review, under its different pretensions, as a vehicle of humour, of controversy, and of abuse.

A REVIEW,

§c. §c.

IN the course of the last summer, the Bishop of Durham made the usual visitation of his diocese. The charge which he then delivered was received, as all such charges should be, with attention and respect. With much feeling he informed his clergy, that it was his dying speech: and their affection induced them to request that, by the aid of the press, he would leave it behind him to edify and console his afflicted flock. However, for reasons which it is not my province to explain, their request appeared to be forgotten; and the charge, to the great disappointment of the public, was confined, during several months, to the obscurity of the bishop's desk. At length, when expectation was almost exhausted, it was ushered into the light under the most favourable auspices, and at the very moment when the intrigue which succeeded in removing the late ministry from the cabinet, had arrived at maturity. The first who was permitted to feast on the spiritual manna, was his Majesty: and the Charge, as soon as it had been presented to him, was published, and circulated through these two counties, with an industry equal to the solicitude with which it had been previously withheld. To those who combined the

time of its appearance with the nature of its object, it seemed designed to prepare the way for the warwhoop of no popery, which many reverend gentlemen have of late so creditably but unsuccessfully attempted to excite.* I am far, however, from attributing such worldly motives to the right reverend Prelate. At his years, (“they have exceeded the ordinary age of man,”) he is too old to defile himself with the dirt of political intrigue, or “to wish the revival of persecution and impassioned controversy.”† His object, I have no doubt, was to defend what he conceived to be the truth, and to guard his flock against seduction to what he conceived to be error.

In the prosecution, however, of this object, the venerable Prelate thought proper to direct a very impassioned attack against the doctrines of the Catholic Church. He described its members as the parents of infidelity, as idolaters, as mutilators of the sacrament, falsifiers of the Scriptures, enemies to the passion of Christ, patrons of religious ignorance, and adversaries to the diffusion of scriptural knowledge. It was not, I think, in the nature of things, that the Bishop should expect such a charge to remain unanswered. Be that as it may, a Catholic writer ventured to meet his lordship in the field of controversy; and the issue of the conflict was, at least in the opinion of many Protestants, that the Bishop was fairly unhorsed by his adversary: when lo! a second champion started up—Mr. Elijah Index, and with officious celerity interposed his mantle between the fallen Prelate and the strokes of his opponent. Now, whether this doughty warrior, this new Elijah, be descended from the prophet of old, I am not genealogist enough to determine: but of this I am certain, that from the accuracy of his statements, and the cogency of his rea-

* He foresaw, probably, the temper of the times, and what events were likely to ensue. Protestant's Reply, p. 4.

† Sermon of the Bishop of Durham before the House of Lords, 1799, p. 13.

soning, he must be twin-brother to a "liege subject," whose loyalty prompted him not long ago, to disprove the loyalty of others, by imposing on the public the work of a Protestant controvertist for a Catholic catechism!

"Ovo prognatus eodem:"

(or, that I may not speak in an unknown tongue)

"A chicken hatched from the same egg."

That the author of the Remarks on the Charge of the Bishop of Durham will condescend to notice so puny an adversary as our Elijah is, I think, hardly to be expected. Yet, as many are accustomed to mistake assertion for fact, and invective for argument, it may not, perhaps, be improper to point out the weakness of the reasoning which he has adopted in his pamphlet. He has volunteered as second to the Bishop of Durham in this controversial duel: why may not I step forward as second to the author of the Remarks? Certainly it cannot be presumption in me to think my services of equal value at least with those of Elijah Index.

Elijah begins by informing us, that he considers his own church "as the best constructed and the most beautiful fabric upon earth." For this I am willing to give him credit. Every sectarist naturally loves and admires his own creed, because it is the child of his own judgment. I also esteem the Church of England, not indeed as the best constructed and most beautiful fabric upon earth, but as receding the least of all the reformed churches from the beauty and construction of the Church of Rome. It is, to use the words of Dryden—

"The less *deformed*, because *reformed* the least."

The reformation has, indeed, proved a prolific parent. She has produced Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Jumpers, and a thousand other sects, which

it would be a difficult task to enumerate.* But were I a Protestant, I think I should most admire the creed of Socinus. The Socinians are of all Protestants the most consistent. They adopt without hesitation the principles which gave birth to the reformation; nor refuse to admit the consequences that naturally flow from them. Their arguments against the faith of the established church, are but transcripts of those which the fathers of the reformation urged against the Church of Rome. The Catholic cannot without a smile behold the orthodox divine sweating and writhing under the difficulty of proving and disproving the validity of the same argument; of proving it, when it is urged by himself against the papist, and of disproving it, when it is urged against him by the Socinian. But what part of the Protestant church may be the most truly Protestant, is foreign to the present enquiry. Leaving Elijah, therefore, to gaze at the beauty of his own church, we will return to his pamphlet.

His great object in the preliminary observations is to shew, that the first provocation was given, not by the Bishop of Durham, but by the author of the Remarks. To most of my readers this assertion will appear extraordinary; and they will naturally conceive that our Israelite entertains far different notions of

* Elijah is fond of poetry. Let him, then, take the poet's account of the first reformers and their off-spring:—

“ Church quacks, with passions under no command,
 “ Who fill the world with doctrines contraband,
 “ Discoverers of they know not what, confined
 “ Within no bounds—the blind that lead the blind;
 “ To streams of popular opinion drawn,
 “ Deposit in those shallows all their spawn;
 “ The wriggling fry soon fill the creeks around,
 “ Poisoning the waters where their swarms abound.
 “ Scorn'd by the nobler tenants of the flood,
 “ Minnows and gudgeons gorge the unwholesome food.
 “ The propagated myriads spread so fast,
 “ Even I ewenhoeck himself would stand aghast,
 “ Employed to calculate the enormous sum,
 “ And own his crab-computing powers o'ercome.”

provocation from the generality of mankind. The Bishop had painted the tenets of the Catholic church in the most odious colours; he had held up its members to the detestation and contempt of every sincere christian; "and yet," says Elijah, "here was no challenge offered, no provocation given, no attack made."* This is really very pleasant. In the opinion of our new doctor, if you insult your neighbour, and he repel the insult, it is not you, but he who is the aggressor. Such a doctrine might suit the creed of tyrants and persecutors—it will be reprobated by Englishmen and Christians. Law, reason, and religion, give to the accused the privilege of defence. Had the Bishop of Durham been content to assert that the doctrines professed by Catholics are false, no man could have complained of an attempt on our part to prove them true; but to condemn us to silence, when opinions are imputed to us which we abhor—when we are represented as enemies to all that Christians venerate as sacred, is an insult to humanity and common sense.

"But," resumes Elijah, "the Bishop did no more than his duty; he preached the doctrines of his church." Be it so. I do believe that the doctrines of the established church are in general mere negatives. They are only denials of opinions imputed, whether justly or unjustly, to the Church of Rome. If its admirers can only persuade themselves that the Pope is antichrist, and Rome the whore of Babylon, they appear in their own eyes profound theologians. I know also that many clergymen, when they have declaimed against what they are pleased to term Popery, think they have satisfied all their obligations. To explain and enforce the mild and amiable virtues of the gospel, is, in their opinion, a work of far less merit than to display their enmity to the Catholic doctrines, and to instil their own prejudices into the minds of the audience. But even supposing that the Bishop, in preaching against our principles, did *his*

* Reply, p. 6.

duty, I hope Elijah will allow, that the remarker did also *his* duty in defending them.

“ Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.”

Whatever may be the opinion of the second on this point, I am convinced that his principal is too liberal to require that we should sit down contented under the lash of misrepresentation, and by our silence subscribe to the inferences that our enemies may draw against us.

The Bishop, in his Charge, had accused the Catholics of idolatry, and had rested this accusation on the assertion, that the abuse is inseparable from the use of religious images, and that idolatry is the inevitable consequence. The remarker, in his reply, had maintained that the imputation of idolatry was groundless; that the worship of images was forbidden by the Catholic Church, and that the Bishop might convince himself of the soundness of our doctrine on this subject, if he would only consult our catechism, or interrogate the first Catholic child of ten years of age, that he might chance to meet in the street.* In this state of the controversy, Elijah comes forward with an air of importance, and informs us—of what? That the catechism does teach the worship of images?

* The Bishop of Durham had employed in this part of his Charge a very illiberal kind of argument against the intellectual powers of the Catholics; and the remarker had, in the character of a deist, retorted a similar objection against the Bishop. To escape from the pressure of this mode of reasoning, Elijah has recourse to a most miserable quibble. That he may not, however, wander from the real subject, I will not attempt to shew, the inutility of the artifice; but supposing the Bishop to be a disciple of the Athanasian creed, will beg leave to substitute in the Remarks the word *person* instead of the word *man*. The passage will run thus: “ Should a deist observe, that the same “ superstition (he thinks it so) which could induce the Bishop of Durham to believe, that a person clothed in the same flesh, and subject to “ the same infirmities as ourselves, was the very God who framed the “ heavens and the earth, might with equal facility persuade him to “ worship the creature image for the Creator, I could wish to learn “ what would be his reply.” Whatever that reply may be, if it be of any weight, it will prove a sufficient answer to the Bishop’s argument against the Catholics.

That he has interrogated some Catholic child, and discovered him to be an idolater? No: but that sometimes in Catholic countries images are carried in public processions. Reader, take his words—"The sole end of producing these images in their gaudy trappings is, not to move God, but—must I speak out?" Yes, good Elijah, pray do speak—"to move the populace—to persuade the multitude—of what? either that there is a power in the image itself, which can draw down blessings upon them; or, that their mediator, represented by his or her image, can prevail upon God in their behalf."* How contracted must be the ingenuity of our Jewish theologian, if he can discover no other motive than these two! How blunt his logical acumen, if he conceive that there is no medium between them! Let Elijah mount his blazing chariot, and witness one of these processions; and he will probably discover that it is composed of the incorporated companies of the town, and of the clergy attached to the different churches. Before the former, he will see borne the emblems of their respective trades; before the latter, the pictures or the images of the saints in whose names their churches are dedicated; and he will learn that as much divine worship is given to the one as to the other. If after this he be still convinced that to carry images in procession is idolatry, let him condemn Joshua of idolatry, for having caused the ark to be carried in procession across the Jordan, and David for having danced before it in procession at its entrance into Zion; let him proclaim the Mayor of Newcastle an idolater, whenever the mace is borne before him; the free-masons idolaters, when they carry their mystic emblems in public; the king, lords, and commons, of Great Britain, idolaters, when they decree, in honour of the illustrious dead, the pomp of a national funeral. In reality, the carrying of images in procession has no more to do with the Catholic creed, than the carrying of them at the interment of

* Reply, p. 10

Lord Nelson had to do with the thirty-nine articles.*

But the Bishop, not satisfied with accusing the Catholics of idolatry, has added another crime of still blacker dye. He has charged us with having suppressed the second commandment in our books of religious institution, in order to conceal the impiety of the practice from the eyes of the vulgar. Fortunately the absurdity of the charge carries with it its own refutation. Does the Bishop of Durham think—Does even his champion, Elijah, think, that Catholics are so infatuated as to believe, that they can escape the guilt of idolatry by the suppression of the commandment which forbids it? But what proof does the Bishop bring to substantiate his assertion? Nothing more than his own word, his *αυτος εφρα*. In reply, the Remarker denies the odious calumny, and appeals to the justice of any of his readers who will take the trouble to consult a Catholic catechism, Catholic prayer book, or Catholic bible. Here Elijah rushes in between the two combatants, and bids them both to be silent. Perhaps he has discovered that the commandment is *suppressed* in the Catholic catechism, or the prayer book, or the bible. No, he acknowledges that it is retained; and yet, with this avowal still warm on his tongue, he has the effrontery to assert that it is in reality suppressed. What then, the reader will say, are to retain and to suppress the same thing? In Elijah's logic they are. "You blend," he exclaims, "the first and second commandment together; you mix two distinct subjects together; you

* Conscious of the emptiness of his own reasoning on the subject, Elijah has appended to it, as a make-weight, a passage from Stillingfleet. That Stillingfleet was an adept in the art of spinning the web of sophistry, is well known; but in the present instance, his usual discernment seems to have forsaken him; for his arguments, if they prove any thing, prove this, that God himself soon violated his own commandment, and introduced idolatry among his chosen people, when he ordered Moses to make two cherubim of gold, of beaten work, in the two ends of the mercy seat, the one on the one end, and the other on the other end.—Exod. xxv. 19.

“ make the second an adjunct to the first, and thus “ you sophisticate it out of the decalogue.”* Good Elijah, instead of attempting to demonstrate what you know to be impossible, look at your own Hebrew bible, and you will find that the Catholics place this commandment exactly where Moses placed it, and express it in the very same words in which Moses expressed it. If, then, the guilt of the suppression be imputed to the Catholics, the Jewish legislator must share it with them. As to the Bishop, I can excuse him from the crime of calumny. He had probably read the tale in some old controvertist, and was credulous enough to believe it. His mistake was therefore unintentional. But for Elijah I know not what apology to frame. He knew the calumny had no foundation in truth, and yet he assisted with all his might to prop it up.

But hold, cries Elijah—“ talking and reasoning “ are not the same thing. Go to an old friend of “ mine, Dr. Hey, and he will tell you that in a church “ about 35 miles S. E. of Paris, are the ten com- “ mandments in old French, round the chancel: the “ second is entirely left out. The ninth is—Give not “ up yourself to the flesh, and *marry but once*. The “ tenth—Desire not the goods of others, *and lie not at “ all*.” This is undoubtedly a most curious discovery, and I congratulate the public, and in particular the biblical student, on the important information which they may derive from Dr. Hey’s travels. With that gentleman I have not the honour to be personally acquainted; but I have no doubt that Elijah has dropped his mantle upon him, and imparted to him a portion of his spirit.†

* Reply, p. 14.

† The story about the commandments in the church S. E. of Paris, reminds me of the two travellers (Elijah Index and Elisha Hey perhaps) described by the poet:

“ Surprised at all they meet, the gosling pair,
“ With awkward gait, stretched neck, and silly stare,

Before I proceed to the next charge adduced by the Bishop, I must notice a few other subjects which Elijah has woven into the former discussion. He wishes to know whether St. Paul reasoned inconclusively, when he called the elements bread and wine, after the consecration. I answer, no. St. Paul believed and spoke as Catholics still believe and speak. Though we believe Christ to be truly present in the eucharist, yet we have no difficulty of calling it bread and wine, even after the consecration. Did Elijah never meet in scripture with texts which attribute motion to the sun, and stability to the earth? He ought to know that in discoursing on subjects of this description, men generally speak of things as they appear to the senses, and not as they are in reality.

The Remarker had asked, how the Bishop of Durham could reconcile his disbelief of the real presence with his belief that *the body and blood of Christ are received verily and indeed in the Lord's Supper*. How can they be received if they are not there? Elijah answers—that the catechism of the Church of England is wrong, when it asserts *the body and blood of Christ to be received verily and indeed*, (in this case can the Bishop, with a safe conscience, suffer it to be taught in his diocese?) and refers us to her 28th article, in which she says, “that the body of Christ is “received and eaten in the supper, only after an “heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means “whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten, “is faith.” But truly the meaning of this doctrine is not so clear as to be obvious to every understanding. The manner in which the eucharist is received, is evidently by eating and drinking; but whether eating and drinking be an heavenly and spiritual, or an earthly and bodily operation, is a matter of little consequence.

- “ Discover huge cathedrals built with stone,
- “ And steeples towering high, much like our own;
- “ But shew peculiar light by many a grin
- “ At popish practices observed within.”

What I could wish to learn is, whether the body of Christ received in the eucharist be his real body or not. If it be, it must be there, and a real presence must be admitted. If it be not his real body, pray do inform me what kind of thing that is, which is the body of Christ, and not his body, and which may be received at the Lord's Supper, without being there?

To the second charge of the Bishop, respecting the invocation of the saints, the author of the Remarks had replied by a clear and perspicuous statement of the catholic doctrine on that subject. Elijah is not satisfied with it, and he objects that God is a jealous God; *i. e.* he will not suffer his honour to be given to the creature. This is undoubtedly true, and I congratulate our Israelite that he has for once at least stumbled on the truth. But it is evident, that to invoke the intercession of the saints is to give them the honour due to god? Is it the same thing to beg a fellow-creature to pray for us, and to beg of God to grant us his blessings? The very act of desiring the prayers of the saints proclaims that we do not think them Gods, but look upon them as only the *servants* of God.* In treating this subject, the Bishop had quoted several texts of scripture, and improved the greater part of them by the addition of the important word *alone*. Elijah is convinced that this addition was introduced by his lordship, not as *cited*, but as *inferred* from Scripture.

* On this subject our Christian rabbi calls in a second time the friendly assistance of Doctor Stillingfleet. From him we learn that it is not so much the invocation of the saints that gives offence, as the invoking them "on our knees with all the solemnity used to God himself." This kneeling, it seems, constitutes the deadly sin. Yet I am surprised that any Protestant should have objections to it. Does not the orthodox churchman, when he communicates, kneel before the bread and wine, "mere bodily elements of earthly manufacture," as the Bishop of Durham calls them, Charge, p. 11? Is kneeling, then, necessarily an act of divine worship? Elijah must own that it is not. But to return to the catholic: by his creed he is allowed to beg the prayers of the saints as often as he pleases, and in whatever posture he pleases, by sitting, standing, or kneeling, provided he mean not by that posture to pay them any divine honour.

It may be so. The Bishop, perhaps, in the delivery of his discourse, was careful, by a particular inflexion of voice, to distinguish the passages which were *inferred*, from those which were *cited* from Scripture. But how was the reader to learn the difference? In the printed charge there is no mark to point out the inference; and I have little hesitation in saying, that many of those who perused it, were led to believe that the word *alone* formed a part of the texts which were quoted.

The doctrine of the catholic church, respecting the nature of penance, which the Bishop had described as a denial of the efficacy of Christ's passion, and that respecting the merit of good works, which he had declared dishonourable to the sacred influence of the Holy Ghost, the Remarker explained, not as they are misrepresented by Protestants, but as they are taught by Catholics. He expressed a conviction that this explication was so consonant to reason, that no one who considered it attentively, would dare to gainsay it. In this he does not appear to have been disappointed. On the subject of good works, Elijah, by his silence, testifies his assent: on that of penance he seems to differ from the Remarker, but that difference is rather apparent than real. Elijah says, that we are commanded to perform works of penance, "but forbidden to set a value on these ordinances as good in themselves, since they are means only of promoting vital godliness in us." The Remarker says, that they are not to be considered "as a sufficient compensation for sin, but one of the conditions on which Christ is willing to communicate the merits of his passion to the soul of the sinner." The words are different; the sense is nearly the same.*

* Our Israelite is not pleased that the author of the Remarks should prefer *σπουδαίω* to *σπουδαζω* in quoting St. Paul. I have no objection to either. The Remarker, I imagine, transcribed the word from the Greek Testament edited by Mr. Reeves, the king's printer of the bible, and dedicated by him to his majesty. Now, knowing the king to be the head of the established church, he could not suspect that he should

Elijah, before he closes the subject of penance, requests that he “may be allowed to indulge a vein of what is very natural to him, and what Mr. La Harpe would call naïveté or originality, but which he thinks is more like ridicule, and flows too freely from him.” This is really *naïf*, though Elijah seems not to know it. I am happy in having it in my power to agree with him for once. I think, like him, that the *ridicule* flows too freely from him, and that the whole of the passage is sovereignly *ridiculous*.

The Bishop of Durham had charged the Church of Rome with violating the command of Christ, by denying the use of the cup to the laity in the Lord’s supper. Of the very cogent arguments, by which the writer of the Remarks had proved that no command was violated, because none had been given, Elijah takes no notice; probably for this very substantial reason, that he found himself unable to refute them. He has, however, had recourse to a stratagem, which demonstrates that he is no enemy to pious frauds, if they prove serviceable to his cause. He attributes to the Remarker an inference which is not to be found in his pamphlet, and then shews it to be inconclusive, that he may impress the reader with an idea that the reasoning of his adversary is weak and contemptible. From the change which has taken place in the manner of administering the sacrament of baptism, the Remarker did not directly “infer that the cup may be denied to the laity;” but from that, and several other instances, he justly deduced this consequence—that in the administration of the sacraments, and other points of religious discipline, the pastors of the church must be

be reprimanded by an orthodox clergyman for making use of such an edition. Elijah, however, is at liberty to prefer, if he chuse, the authority of Courcelles to that of Mr. Reeves; the Remarker’s argument is equally powerful with either reading. He also reminds us in a note, of the “*flagellants*, or flogging orders of monks and nuns in the Romish church.” Perhaps he was ignorant that the *flagellants*, or flogging orders, were not members of the Romish church, but sects of fanatics, who appeared in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and were always anathematized by the Popes. On this subject he may consult Mosheim, in his account of the centuries before mentioned.

acknowledged the legitimate interpreters of the intention of their divine legislator. He shewed, that unless the Bishop of Durham admitted this principle, he could not justify the custom of baptism by aspersion or affusion, nor the oaths which are taken in his courts, nor the eating of blood, nor the omission of the practice of washing the feet of others. So much for the fairness with which Elijah answers the arguments of his adversary.*

It is probable, that when our zealous Israelite first imposed on himself the task of refuting the *Remarks*, he over-rated his own abilities, or undervalued those of his opponent. With vigour he rushed to the attack, but his courage soon forsook him; and now, before he has skirmished with one half of the enemy's posts, he is preparing for a precipitate retreat. Still, like the Parthian, but with less dexterity, during his retreat he shoots a few random arrows, which are incapable of injuring his adversary, but may with advantage be retorted on himself. The Bishop had accused the Church of Rome of resting on ritual ordinances, hostile to the influences of the Holy Spirit; and the Remarker had repelled the charge, by advancing what he called a fact, that the moral conduct of Catholics was not inferior to that of their Protestant brethren, and by draw-

* In a note, he appeals to Bingham, and with the appearance of much learning triumphs in the discovery of a passage from a letter of Pope Gelasius, by which he thinks communion under one kind is forbidden. He would have shewn more ecclesiastical knowledge, if he had first discussed the authenticity of the decree, since it is doubted by the best critics. But if he thought the authority of Gratian sufficient to establish it, he should also have admitted the remainder of Gratian's text, viz. that it related (not to the communion of the laity, but) to some priests, who, after consecrating both the bread and the wine, refused through superstition, to receive the latter. (De Consec. dis. ii. c. 12.) This is still reprobated by the Church of Rome. Pope Leo is also referred to: but he only condemns the Manicheans, who refused the cup through the idea that wine was unclean. Indeed I cannot see the reason of all this pother. If the Catholic opinion respecting the real presence be true, the same effect follows from the communion under one kind as under both: if the Protestant opinion be true, all that is refused by the refusal of the cup, is a drop of mere wine. Certainly the death of the Lord may be commemorated as easily by eating only, as by eating and drinking.

ing this inference, that their ritual observances were not more hostile to the influences of the Holy Spirit, than the naked, lifeless worship of their adversaries. The silence of Elijah will justify me in the supposition that he assents to this position: but he is angry that curiosity should be numbered by the Remarker among the motives which may induce christians to frequent places of public worship. I acknowledge that it is not the most perfect of all motives: but we must take mankind as they are, not as we could wish them to be; and, like skilful workmen, we must mould the materials which we possess into the best possible form. A man, whom curiosity among other motives excites, may, from his attendance at the public service, learn what he knew not before, and be induced to serve the Almighty with greater fervour than he had before experienced. We have in us an insatiate thirst after novelty, which, in some degree must be satisfied: and I have no hesitation to ascribe, partially at least, the solitude of the Protestant churches to the constant monotony—the eternal sameness of the service. As to the sarcastic expressions of *scenic worship* and *nominal christians*, they only expose the ignorance of their author. Let him attend but once at any of the Catholic chapels in his neighbourhood, and then say whether he has not observed in them as much attention, as much real and solid devotion, as he ever witnessed in any other place of religious worship, or even in his own church.

On the subject of indulgencies, the Remarker had asserted some curious observations on the sale of indulgencies in the established church, and had paid a few well-turned compliments to the zeal which the clergy had displayed in their attempts to eradicate the abuse. To these three pages Elijah makes this forcible and comprehensive reply—"You then cite Archbishop Grindall's instructions to his clergy, &c. &c. " &c." Alas!

“———Vox faucibus hæsit.”

The custom of reading the mass in the Latin tongue, is another subject which has been debated between

the Bishop and the Remarker. Elijah here, instead of answering the arguments of the latter,* is pleased to misrepresent them, that he may impress his reader with an idea that they are absurd. The Remarker did not infer that, because the universities and the colleges of Eton and Winchester had obtained permission to perform divine service in Latin, it ought also to be performed in Latin in every village in the kingdom; but he contended, and that too with some appearance of reason, that those, who had by act of parliament compelled, under the severest penalties, the native Irish to assist at the service in English, a language to them unintelligible, should blush when they reproached the Catholics with the custom of celebrating the mass in the language of ancient Rome. Nor was this inference his own: it was that of a pillar of the Protestant church—Dr. Heylin.

Biblical learning was another topic which the Bishop had introduced into his charge; and with respect to which, he endeavoured to countenance a belief, that the Catholics were wretchedly ignorant. He would persuade us, that whatever has hitherto been done for the elucidation of the sacred text, has been done by Protestants. In reply, the Remarker reminded him, that the reformers derived their knowledge of the ancient languages from the Catholic universities: that the three first polyglotts which have appeared, with the first editions of almost all the oriental versions,

* He has, however, inserted a note, in which he begs that St. Paul, whose opinion, he says, is *diametrically* opposite to ours, may be allowed to decide the question. The catholic will cheerfully submit to the decision of St. Paul, but will not submit that Elijah should be the sole interpreter of his words. Now, if our rabbi will take the trouble to peruse, without prejudice, the chapter to which he refers, he will, I think, acknowledge that St. Paul does not so much as mention the use of an ancient tongue in the liturgy, but directs his animadversions solely against some of the Corinthians, who, through ostentation, affected to preach to their brethren, and to recite their prayers in languages utterly unknown. If Elijah reject this explanation, I hope for the future he will adopt in his church the discipline of the quakers, and “let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.” 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 31.

were given by Catholics ; and that the study of theology and its sister sciences, were and are pursued with far greater application in the Catholic, than the Protestant universities. To all this Elijah replies not one word. He deserts his Bishop in his utmost need.

He chuses, however, to show his own biblical knowledge, by a criticism on the Latin vulgate. " In Genesis iii. v. 15. the vulgate has (ipsa) she," i. e. " She shall bruise thy head." " Now this is a gross error : " an alteration purposely made to countenance the " worship of the Virgin Mary."*

From this passage I begin to think it probable that our Elijah is the Jewish prophet himself ; at least he must have been born about eighteen hundred years ago : for had he not been contemporary with the translator of this passage, it is not likely that he could have known his real motive for preferring the feminine to the masculine pronoun. The passage is taken, not from St. Jerome's version, but from one much more ancient, called the *Vetus Itala*, and believed to have been made in the first century of the christian era. If, then, the translator purposely corrupted the passage, in order to " countenance the worship of the " *Virgin Mary*," it will follow that the worship of the *Virgin Mary* was established in the christian church as early as the first century. But this is all folly—the fancy of

A shallow brain behind a serious mask,
An oracle within an empty cask.

The worship of the *Virgin Mary* never was admitted by Catholics, either in the first or the nineteenth century. They respect her, indeed, as the mother of the *Messiah*, but they do not worship her ; and if Elijah will consult the English version of the vulgate, he will find the following note, which proves, that if the wish of the translator was to countenance the worship of the *Virgin Mary*, he was deficient in not leaving some memorial of it to his successors, as they appear to be

* Reply, p. 23.

ignorant of his intentions. The note is—“ *She shall “ crush,” ipsa*, the woman: so divers of the fathers read this place, conformably to the Latin; others read it *ipsum*, the seed. The sense is the same: for it is *by her seed, Jesus Christ*, that the woman crushes the serpent’s head.*

The last attempt of Elijah is an insinuation, that if the Catholic Church has been the herald of the gospel to infidel nations, her zeal has always been inspired by the hope of temporal reward. This feeble sarcasm can reflect disgrace only on its author. As long as it remains in his pamphlet, he will have no other means of escaping the imputation of falsehood, than by avowing his ignorance of ecclesiastical history. He appeals indeed, to the authority of a poet. But poets are too frequently employed in the manufacture of fable, to adhere to the sober truth of history.†

“ ——— Pictoribus atque poetis
“ Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas.”

Yet even Hudibras, had he been fairly transcribed, confines his fiction to the Spanish territories of South America.

Thus have I arrived at the termination of Elijah’s pamphlet. I shall conclude, as he has begun, by observing, that every man has a right to embrace that

* Several of the ancient Latin versions appear to have retained the feminine pronoun. By St. Augustine the passage is quoted thus: “ *Ipsa tibi servabit caput, et tu servabis ejus calcaneum.*” St. Augus. De Gen. ad lit. l. xi. c. 36. See also De Gen. adversus Manich. l. 11. c. 18. St. Ambrose, de fuga, sæc. c. 7. Beda, Expos. in Gen, p. 25. The ancient copies of Josephus also seem to have had the same reading, since Refinus thus translates the passage in the third chapter of the first book: “ *Præcepit, ut mulier capiti ejus plagas inferret.*”

† It is a suspicious circumstance, that when writers attempt to refute what they call the errors of the Church of Rome, they are careful to argue not so much against her real tenets, as those imputed to her by her adversaries. One can hardly think that a good cause should require the aid of so mean and unworthy an artifice. For the satisfaction of the Bishop and Elijah, I shall state our real doctrine on the principal subjects of this controversy. The Bishop asserts that we derogate from the honour of God the Father by maintaining the worship of images: the doctrine of the Catholic Church is, that it is unlawful to worship pictures or images, but that it is lawful to place them in

creed which he is convinced to be founded on the unerring authority of the Word of God; and I will also venture to add, that every man has a right to defend that creed, which he has thus embraced, when it is unjustly and illiberally attacked. This the author of the Remarks undertook to do, after the publication of the Charge by the Bishop of Durham. He could have no personal enmity to that Prelate. The Bishop is an exalted character. His age, his station, his private virtues, demand respect. But if, forgetful of all these, he put on the armour of a youthful warrior, and direct an impassioned attack against the religious opinions of his neighbours, he must abide by the consequences. Truth and reason have always proved more than a match for misrepresentation. It had been better if the Bishop had not provoked the contest: it had been better still, if Elijah, by attempting to palliate, had not emblazoned the disgrace of his defeat.

churches, and improper to treat them with disrespect under the pretence that they are idols. The Bishop asserts, that we derogate from the mediatorship of Christ, by admitting the saints and angels as mediators, and from the efficacy of his passion, by considering works of penance as purchases of pardon. The Catholic doctrine is, that we have but one mediator, Christ Jesus, and that he alone by his death has paid the ransom of our iniquities: but that it is lawful to desire the saints and angels to pray for us through his merits, and that works of penance are one of the conditions on which he is willing to communicate the efficacy of his passion to the soul of the sinner. The Bishop asserts that we derogate from the influence of the Holy Spirit by our presumptuous doctrine respecting the merit of good works, and our reliance on external performances. The Catholic doctrine is, that Christ will grant to good works the reward which he has promised, and that "his church has the authority to decree rites or ceremonies," such as she thinks proper for the celebration of the divine service. Let the Bishop, or his champion Elijah, prove these doctrines to be false, and they will confer an immortal benefit on the Catholic public. Till they do this, they "fight as one beating the air," and all their charges and replies are no more than "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals."

A GENERAL
VINDICATION
OF
THE REMARKS ON THE CHARGE
OF THE
BISHOP OF DURHAM,
CONTAINING
A REPLY
TO A LETTER FROM A CLERGYMAN OF THE DIOCESE OF
DURHAM, (SECOND ED.)
A REPLY
TO THE OBSERVATIONS OF THE REV. THOS. LE MESURIER,
RECTOR OF NEWNTON LONGEVILLE,
A REPLY
TO THE STRICTURES OF THE REV. G. S. FABER, VICAR
OF STOCKTON UPON TEES,
AND SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE MORE FASHIONABLE METHODS OF INTERPRETING
THE APOCALYPSE.

Let not those (who charge the Papists to be Idolaters) lead the People by
the Nose to believe they can prove their Supposition when they cannot.

Thorndike, Just Weights, p. 11.

VINDICATION,

§c. §c.

TH**ERE** are scarcely any subjects of literary investigation, which at certain periods take a stronger hold of the mind, or more readily awaken the passions, than those which are connected with religious controversy. The Remarks, which a Catholic writer lately ventured to offer on the Bishop of Durham's Charge (a Charge containing, in the opinion of unprejudiced judges, a cruel and unprovoked attack on the opinions of Catholics), appear to have alarmed and irritated the zeal of several among the watchmen of the holy city. I say of several, because I know that many members of that respectable body, the established clergy, have condemned the acrimony of the Bishop's pamphlet, and have lamented that it was ever made the subject of public discussion. Scarcely, however, had two months elapsed from the publication of the Remarks, before two reverend apologists had emptied the vials of their vengeance on the head of the writer. Their characters and pretensions seem to be of very different orders. The first that appeared in the field was a gentleman of Rabbinical descent, by name Elijah Index, whom gaiety instead of learning furnished with arms, and zeal instead of prudence urged to the contest. But

his campaign was speedily terminated. Elijah, after a short struggle, found his own *naïveté* and *ridicule* so successfully retorted on himself, that he had the good sense to seek a timely and precipitate retreat. At his departure, a clergyman of the diocese of Durham volunteered as his substitute, but wisely refused to wear his uniform. Instead of *naïveté* and *ridicule*, he seized the rusty weapons of antiquated controvertists, and endeavoured to overpower his adversary with scraps and extracts from their writings. His name, indeed, he has judged it prudent to conceal: yet to aid the conjectures of his readers, he has kindly condescended to favour them with his portrait. "I am," he says, "of a heavy disposition, clumsy and awkward, and a dull matter-of-fact enquirer."* His claim to these admirable qualifications it would ill become me to dispute. Indeed, his work appears to depose in his favour; and I have traced, with considerable satisfaction, the features of the parent in those of his offspring. One expression only I beg leave to improve, by adding, that if he be a matter-of-fact enquirer, he has seldom the good fortune to be a matter-of-fact discoverer.

The matter of fact, to which the clergyman had devoted his attention, was not a subject of very difficult investigation. It required no extraordinary diligence of research, no peculiar powers of discrimination. It was merely to decide, which of the two, the Bishop of Durham, or the author of the Remarks, had delineated with greater accuracy the doctrines of the Catholic church. That their delineations are contradictory, is evident; and the consequence must be, that one of them has knowingly or ignorantly incurred the guilt of misrepresentation. The charges which the Bishop has so pointedly preferred, the Remarker has as emphatically denied: the odious doctrines which the first has with so much liberality bestowed, the other has with equal pertinacity refused. Now the presumption is, as far as I may be allowed to judge, in favour of the Remarker. It is not natural to suppose, that a Ca-

* Clergyman's Letter, p. 8.

tholic clergyman, who has studied in a Catholic university, and has been in the habit of teaching the Catholic doctrine, can be ignorant of his own creed. But it is possible that his Right Reverend opponent may have applied with greater industry to the study of the thirty-nine articles, than of the canons of the council of Trent. It is possible that he may have derived his knowledge of the Catholic tenets from a suspicious and impure source, the writings of Protestant controvertists. It is possible that education may have given a bias to his mind, and warped it with prejudice. It is possible that partiality for his own creed, a creed as bountiful to him as could have been the waters of Pactolus, may have taught him to view with a less friendly eye the creeds of others. However this may be, an adversary cannot at the best be considered as the most unexceptionable witness: and a Protestant prelate, how splendid soever may be his talents, may, without offence, be challenged as an unsafe expositor of the Catholic doctrine. The clergyman is, notwithstanding, of a contrary opinion. He sturdily maintains the infallibility of his bishop, repels with indignation the very suspicion of ignorance or illiberality, and opposes with pious officiousness his cobweb shield to the spear of the Remarker.

I have often considered it as an extraordinary phenomenon in the history of the human mind, that in England the Catholics are not allowed the faculty of understanding their own belief. Of the myriads of declaimers against popery, with whom this island abounds, from the unlettered female who reads theological lectures to her pupils in the nursery, to the Right Reverend divine who instructs his brethren the clergy of his diocese, there is not one who does not appear to claim a more accurate knowledge of the Catholic doctrine than the very Catholics themselves. Their decisions are more infallible than those of the Roman pontiff. It is in vain that we disclaim the odious tenets which they impute to us; in vain that we appeal to our professions of faith, and the canons of our councils. Our complaints are disregarded, and our protestations

treated with contempt: the obstinacy of our adversaries will neither yield to argument or authority: objections, which have been a thousand times refuted, are confidently brought forward as demonstrations of our folly and impiety; and the misrepresentations of prejudice are eagerly received with the veneration due to simple unvarnished truth.

In the present instance, however, the Bishop's apologist has condescended to acknowledge that the the author of the Remarks may have been acquainted with creed of his own church; but this acknowledgment is coupled with an insinuation more insulting and illiberal than could have been the denial itself. Assuming the prerogative of him who searches the reins and heart, he accuses the Remarker of artifice, insincerity, and fraud. "His conscience," he boldly affirms, "bore witness to the accuracy of the Bishop's charge. His object was to disguise the truth from the eyes of the public; and, as he was a disciple of the doctrine which teaches that the end consecrates the means, he had adopted stratagems proscribed by the laws of literary warfare."* Language such as this, the Remarker certainly will not honour with a reply. He would say with the poet:—

A moral, sensible, and well bred man
Will not affront me, and no other can.

If abuse can ever prove an useful auxiliary, it can only be in the absence of argument. It may, indeed help to conceal the weak side of a bad cause; but must injure and disgrace a good one. Yet I may be allowed to ask what possible motive the Remarker could have to disguise the doctrines of his church, at the expense of sincerity and truth? Was it that he was sensible they could not be maintained by argument? But, in that supposition, why should he rather disguise than renounce them? I know of no motive that can bind a Catholic clergyman to his faith, but the conviction of its truth. His mind cannot be influenced by grati-

* Clergyman's Letter, p. 7, 30, 41, 42.

tude for past favours, or by the hope of future preferment. The Catholic church has not, like the established church, in this kingdom, rich and easy livings to bestow on her champions: she cannot invite them, after the heat of the contest, to repose in the lap of wealth and indolence. Was it that he was ashamed to avow his real belief? I can see no reason for such shame. His belief is not the belief of a single nation, nor of the growth of a few years. It is the belief of the great majority of christians. It is, and for centuries has been, the belief of learned and polished nations; the belief of scholars, philosophers, and divines; of generals, statesmen, and princes.* Proudly as I may think of my own country, I cannot persuade myself that intellectual excellence is exclusively confined to this island: and when I look on the continent, and view the populous nations which there profess the Catholic faith,—when I look back into past ages, and behold millions of men, during a long series of generations, reckoning it their pride and their happiness, I can smile at the invectives of its adversaries, and despise the disgrace which is heaped upon it here.

I am well aware of the daring and adventurous spirit of controversy. I know that in the eager pursuit of victory it is not to be appalled by ordinary difficulties; that in the hope of subduing an opponent, it will heedlessly endanger its own security. But there are some objects to which no religious disputant ought to be indifferent; and to vindicate the truth of Christianity must certainly be as important a duty as to crush the corruptions of popery. Now it has always appeared to me no easy matter to reconcile the opinions of these reverend and right reverend theologians with the avowed object of Christ's mission, or the real nature of the gospel dispensation.*

* “Catholicity, which has been this night the subject of so much abuse, has been the belief of the most extensive and enlightened nations in Europe, and of the most illustrious characters that ever did honour to the name of man.”—Speech of Lord Hutchinson in the House of Lords, May 10, 1805. Cuthell, p. 110.

For what end did “the mighty God, the equal of “the Father, the Lord of all things, both in heaven “and earth,” assume the lowly nature of man, suffer the disgraceful death of the cross, and atone for the sins of mankind? Was it merely to scatter the seeds of a pure and celestial religion among the nations, to watch over its increase till it had spread through the Roman empire, and then to suffer it to wither away and die? Was it to establish “not a glorious church, “without spot or wrinkle, holy and without stain,” but a church which should speedily revive the superstition and idolatry that he had so much laboured to extinguish? Was it to offer to his Father, not “a “chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, who should shew forth “his praises,” but a race of men, enemies to the purity of his worship, patrons of religious ignorance, and derogators from the honour of the Father, from the mediatorship of the Son, and from the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit? Whoever will consider the remote antiquity and wide diffusion of the Catholic faith, will acknowledge that these consequences appear to flow from the accusations preferred in the Bishop’s charge; and if they do, where, I ask, are the invaluable blessings which Christianity has conferred on mankind? Where the promises of Christ that his church should be built on a rock, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it? In my opinion, and that is also the opinion of many eminent Protestants, to ascribe such absurdities and impiety to the great body of christians during so many centuries, is to question the truth of the gospel, to libel the veracity of Christ, and to aid the infidel in his attempts to undermine the very foundations of our holy religion.*

* The clergyman, in a note, (p. 11,) protests against our taking the name of Catholics. I should have thought, that the prescription of so many centuries would have given us as clear a title to the name of Catholics, as our adversaries can have to that of Protestants. As the English church has not had the presumption, like the magnanimous parent of the reformation, to insert in the creed the *holy Christian*

These preliminary remarks will not, it is hoped, be deemed less interesting than the polite insinuations which occupy the first and last pages of the clergyman's letter: and may, perhaps, induce the impartial reader to suspend his assent to the confident assertions of our adversaries, till he has heard what we may say in our own defence. I shall now proceed to the matter-of-fact enquiry. The Right Reverend prelate had drawn up his bill of impeachment with all the formality and accuracy of an attorney-general. It was divided into three heads, and each head contained several different counts. As both the Remarker and his opponent have followed the order laid down by the Bishop, I shall not think myself at liberty to deviate from it. Each observation of any importance I shall discuss with patience: minor exceptions I shall neglect. To reply to them would swell this pamphlet beyond its natural size. An objection may be compressed within a single line: its refutation may demand several pages.

1. The first charge is idolatry: a charge as old as the reformation; but which has been long since abandoned and ridiculed by the more candid and moderate of our opponents. To the Bishop of Durham, Elijah Index, and the clergyman of the diocese of Durham, we may oppose the more respectable names of Thorndike and Grotius, of Bishop Parker and Bishop Montague.* Were their respective merits to be weighed

Church, instead of the *holy Catholic church*, I trust the clergyman will acknowledge that such a church somewhere exists. Now if it be not our church, I would ask him what church it is. Is it the collection of sects which have sprung from the reformation? But then it would not be Catholic. For as they are the smaller number, they cannot claim an universality, which they would deny to us, though incomparably more numerous. Does he conceive that it is a theological hodge podge, a farrago of all the religions which believe in the gospel? Then it cannot be holy; for we should form the principal part of it; and our doctrines, he knows, are so far from being holy, that they are impious and idolatrous, derogatory from the honour of God the Father, from the mediatorship of God the Son, and from the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. I think then he had better leave us in the quiet possession of our old inheritance.

* I will add Mr. Thorndike's argument. It is obscure but solid

in the balance, our modern accusers would, I suspect, fly up and kick the beam, though they were to take with them as make-weights, the book of homilies and the statute of Charles the Second.* In his Charge, the Bishop made, but did not take the trouble to prove, the accusation. The author of the Remarks was content in reply to refer him to the following question and answer in the Catholic catechism. Q. “*Do Catholics pray to images?*” A. “*No, by no means, for they can neither see, nor hear, nor help us.*” He had flattered himself that the testimony of an authorised catechism would have subdued the scepticism of the most incredulous. But he was disappointed. The prejudices of education are stubborn things: they frequently refuse to yield even to the clearest evidence. The dispute is not to be decided, replies the Durham clergyman, by an answer which may be given by rote, but by the practice of those who give it. Now this answer appears to me no very favourable sample of his boasted sincerity. I should rather consider it as the trick of a controversial juggler, the artifice of some theological Proteus,

Mille adde catenas
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

Few of my readers will, I conceive, be inclined to think that any church can teach her disciples to believe one doctrine in theory, and to follow the contrary in practice; can launch her anathemas against those who approve, and yet countenance the conduct of those who adopt, the idolatrous worship of images.

“They which profess the only true Christ, and therefore the only true God, do necessarily profess to detest all idolatry. And so doth the Church of Rome still as seriously profess, as they who charge them to be idolaters. And therefore cannot easily be convinced to profess idolatry. For without expressly renouncing this profession, they cannot expressly be idolaters.” *Just Weights*, p. 6. Hence he infers: “Should this church (as the Bishop of Durham has done) declare that the change which we call reformation, is grounded on this supposition, I then must acknowledge that we be the schismatics.” p. 7.

* Homily 2, on the peril of idolatry. 30 Charles ii. c. 1.

An ingenuous opponent would rather have said, "I acknowledge that your church condemns idolatry as forcibly as our own: nor have I yet discovered any traces of that impiety among the Catholics of this country. Yet, if we may believe the testimony of travellers, there is reason to fear that foreign Catholics cannot be entirely exempted from the imputation." To such an opponent I would answer, that in the testimony of travellers much must be allowed to the prejudices of education: that a person who leaves this country with the conviction that Catholics worship images, will naturally conclude that the first Catholic whom he sees kneeling before a crucifix, is addressing his prayers not to Christ but to the image: that in foreign countries, expressions and demonstrations of respect have not the same value or import as in England: and that if some should be found, whose conduct it would be difficult to justify, yet candour would forbid that their guilt should be imputed to those by whom it is abhorred and condemned. Where are superstitions more prevalent, than among the vulgar in many parts of England? Yet he would be an unjust critic, who should impute them as a crime to the established clergy.

The incredulity of the Durham clergyman has induced me to examine with greater accuracy the contents of the Catholic catechisms. With this view I have consulted not only those which are in use among the English Catholics, but also many of those which are adopted in France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Germany: and in all without exception have I found every species of idolatry condemned in the most pointed terms. Now if he will consider the earnestness with which the Catholic clergy are generally accustomed to impress on the minds of children the doctrine of the catechism, the familiar manner in which they study to explain it, and the diligence with which they repeat their instructions every week, and often several times in the week, I think he will be induced to pause before he again ventures to charge Catholics with a practice, which they so emphatically reprobate. But from catechisms, let me lead him to an authority

which he cannot refuse, to the decree of the council of Trent. He himself appears to acknowledge that he would free the Catholics from the guilt of idolatry, were they exempt from the impious persuasion that there exists any inherent power or divinity in their images.* Now in the very chapter to which he refers his reader, the council expressly declares that in images there does not reside any divinity, or power on account of which they ought to be worshipped: that nothing ought to be asked from them: and that no confidence should be placed in them.† If this declaration do not satisfy him, I beg he will have the goodness to compose one for us, more explicit and more intelligible.

Here, perhaps, it may not be improper to point out the origin of this accusation. It is our doctrine that pious pictures and images ought not to be treated with disrespect, under the false pretence that they are idols: and this doctrine, reprobated as it formerly was with contempt and detestation, is now, I observe, gradually making its way into the creed of the Established Church, in proportion as the fanaticism of the first reformers subsides, and reason and common sense recover their authority. The piety of our fathers, two centuries ago, would have condemned the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo to the flames and the mattock, had they discovered them in their churches: but modern Protestants have learned that they can pray in the presence of a painting or a statue without experiencing any impediment to their devotion, or any temptation to idolatry. It is unfortunate that similar sentiments did not animate their progenitors. We should not now have to lament our inferiority in the elegant productions of the chisel and the pencil; nor would our native artists be compelled to visit foreign countries that they may study the master-pieces of the painter and the statuary. It is, indeed, true, that besides the pro-

* The Clergyman's Letter, p. 11.

† Non quod credatur inesse aliqua in eis divinitas, vel virtus propter quam sint colendæ: vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum; vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda. Con. Trid. Sess. 25.

hibition of disrespect, our church also maintains it to be lawful to treat them with respect, in as much as they are the representations of our Blessed Redeemer, and of his faithful followers; and this respect has been by our adversaries, with as much injustice as ingenuity, transubstantiated into an idolatrous worship. I could, however, wish they would, once at least, inform us in what idolatry consists. Is it in paying divine worship to images? Such worship we condemn as sincerely as themselves. The respect which we allow is of a much inferior, a very different, description. It is the same as a subject may pay to the effigy of his sovereign, such as nature prompts a child to pay to the portrait of a deceased parent.* Or is any respect whatever idolatrous? Then the Christians of the east were idolaters, when they were accustomed to burn incense before the statues of the Christian emperors: the peers of the united kingdom are idolaters, as often as they make a reverence to the vacant throne; the Protestants of the Established Church are idolaters, as often as they kneel before the consecrated bread and wine. For what are the consecrated bread and wine? “Mere bodily elements of earthly manufacture,” replies the Bishop of Durham. But if the Protestant may kneel before these “bodily elements of earthly manufacture,” without committing idolatry because he directs his attention to the worship of God, I hope the Catholic, for the same reason, may kneel before a crucifix of earthly manufacture, and be equally free from guilt. *With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*†

* According to the council of Nice, *τιμητικὴν προσκυνῆσαι, οὐ μὲν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἢ περιεπι μὴν τῆ θεοῦ φύσει.* Bin. Cou. tom. v. p. 198.

† I shall here add the opinion of Bishop Montague. “The pictures of Christ, the blessed Virgin and saints, may be made, had in houses, set up in churches. The Protestants use them: they despight them not. Respect and honour may be given unto them. The Protestants do it, and use them for helps of piety.” Gagger, p. 318. In almost every language the words which denote veneration and respect, are of ambiguous signification, and their purport must frequently be fixed by the nature of the object, and the intention of the agent. Thus, 1 Chron. xxix. 20, it is said that all the congregation

I shall moreover observe, that in the sacred writings occur many instances of a respect paid to inanimate objects, which cannot, without impiety, be termed idolatrous. Thus, in the Old Testament, God commanded Moses to walk barefoot on Mount Horeb, because *it was holy ground*. From the period of the fabrication of the ark, to the time in which it was placed in the temple, we have several instances of the respect which the Israelites were ordered to bear it, and of the severe punishments which God inflicted on those who either touched it, or looked on it, with irreverence or inattention. Yet what was this ark, the object of so much veneration to the children of Israel? A square chest of wood, in which were contained the tables of the law, and perhaps the rod of Aaron, and the golden pot of Manna. In the New Testament, we are commanded to bow the knee at the name of Jesus; and in the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and the eighteenth canon of the second year of James I., it is ordered, that “at the name of Jesus due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness of courtesie, and uncovering of the heads of mankind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong.”* Now it will, in my opinion, require some ingenuity to explain, why it should be a *duty* to bow when I hear the sound of his name, and a *crime* to bow when I see the representation of his sufferings. In both instances the real object of my respect is the same,—the only difference is in the organ of perception. In the former the ear is affected by the motion of the fluid, which is the vehicle of sound; in the latter the eye is affected by the impulse of the rays of light. By both I mean to honour the Redeemer of mankind; and if the first mode be lawful and pious, the other cannot be unlawful and impious.

worshipped God and the king. Now this ambiguity has furnished an ample field for the invectives of our adversaries. Because the word *worship* is now generally confined to the honour due to the Divine Being, many controversialists argue as if it had never had any other meaning: yet some vestiges of its ancient signification still remain in the title of worshipful, which we give to magistrates, and in the marriage ceremony, when the husband addresses the bride with these solemn words,—*With my body I thee worship.*

* Wilkin's Con. vol. iv. p. 188, 382.

In opposition to this doctrine, our matter-of-fact enquirer adduces, what he considers as a matter of fact, that some among the most celebrated divines of the Church of Rome, Aquinas, Bonaventure, and Cajetan, assert the highest kind of adoration, *latria*, to be due to the images of God.* Were this really the case, it would not invalidate the doctrine which I have laid down in the preceding pages. I have undertaken to vindicate the creed of the Catholic church, not to justify all the extravagant opinions which may have been hazarded by ingenious men in her communion. If he expect this from me, I hope he will also, on his side, accept the office of vindicating a small portion of the impious, impure, and immoral doctrines advanced and taught, not by private divines, but by the magnanimous fathers of the reformation. We should neither of us have a very pleasant, or a very easy task. However, in the present instance, the Catholic writers whom he has impeached stand not in need of any apology. The doctrine which, from his language, we should expect to find in their works, was most foreign from their real belief. I do not accuse his sincerity: inattention, perhaps, to the purport of their language, or zeal for the honour of his bishop, or, what is still more probable, confidence in the assertions of some former controversialist, prompted him to misrepresent their doctrine. If then, in my attempt to explain it, I lead the reader among the metaphysical subtleties of the ancient schoolmen, the blame, I trust, will not attach to me, but to him who has imposed the obligation on me.

To illustrate their meaning, it will, perhaps, be most convenient to employ a comparison. It will probably be conceded to me, that a husband may feel a sincere affection for his wife, and consequently may entertain a regard for her picture. Now let us suppose two idle logicians, fond of wrangling, undertake to discuss the real nature of this affection for the person, and this re-

* Clergyman's Letter, p. 13. I shall take no advantage of his mistake in inserting *God* instead of *Christ*. It is not even agreed among Catholic divines whether it be lawful to make images or representations of God.

gard for the picture. One of them shall maintain that they are of different natures, as the affection has for its object an animate, the regard an inanimate being. The other, with equal pertinacity, shall contend, that they may be said to be both of the same nature, because of both, though the immediate object be different, the ultimate object is the same: both are ultimately referred to the wife. The reader may smile at these subtleties, but I trust he will not thence infer that the second reasoner considered the picture as of equal value with the lady, or that he was a friend to conjugal infidelity. Now this is a case in point: it is precisely the dispute of the old schoolmen. One party contended that as the worship of Christ, and respect for his image or picture, had two different immediate objects, they were of two different natures. Their opponents contended that as both were ultimately referred to the same object, Christ, they might both be said to be of the same nature. This was the important subject of the dispute. The reader may smile, or lament that ingenious men should give their attention to such trifles, but certainly he will not infer that the patrons of the latter opinion considered the image of Christ as equally worthy of adoration with Christ himself, or that they taught and enforced the practice of idolatry. As to the impiety of worshipping Christ and his representation in the same manner, both parties were agreed. Their debate was about words, not things; and they never could have suspected that these metaphysical subtleties would expose them to so severe and unmerited an imputation.* Trusting then that what I have already said will prove satisfactory to every unprejudiced judge, I shall here close this subject with the observation of the learned Protestant divine, Mr. Thorndike:—*Let not them (who charge the papists to be idolaters) lead the people by the nose, to believe that they can prove their supposition when they cannot.*†

* The Clergyman's quotation from Bellarmine (p. 13) merely evinces the great anxiety of that divine to prevent even metaphysical disputes which might be the occasion of error to the unlearned.

† Just Weights, p. 11.

The Clergyman (p. 14) produces a few texts from Scripture with an

It is with considerable reluctance that I proceed to the next accusation. For the honour of its author, I wish I could pass it over unnoticed. Disgraceful as it must prove to us, if it be true; still more disgraceful will it be to him, if it be false. I do not impeach his sincerity; but if on the word of another he publish a calumny to the world, he must submit to take the odium on himself. I am not to sit down in silence under a false accusation, lest the proof of my innocence should reflect on the character of my accuser. The Bishop charges the Catholic clergy with having suppressed the second commandment, in books of religious institution, that they might disguise the repugnance of their idolatrous worship to the letter of the decalogue.* This is certainly a charge of no ordinary consequence. If the catholic clergy plead guilty, they must acknowledge themselves traitors to that God, whose ministers they are, and traitors to the people, whom it is their duty to instruct. They have corrupted the laws of their sovereign, and have put it out of the power of the people to discover their disobedience. Fortunately for us, unfortunately for his Lordship, the accusation is as

air of triumph. Seldom, perhaps, were these sacred volumes more palpably misapplied. In Isaiah, xl. the prophet describes the power of God in the deliverance of his people from the Bablylonian captivity, and then asks, To whom they can liken him? The artists of Babylon could make representations of their gods, but what likeness could represent the omnipotent and eternal God of Israel? And this text is gravely adduced to prove that it is unlawful to make a representation of Christ hanging on the cross! The passages from St. Paul are equally irrelevant. That from Acts xvii. 29, is thus paraphrased by the learned Dr. Hammond:—"God cannot be supposed to be the work of our hands, such as a piece of gold, or silver, or stone, with a signature upon it." Hammond, hic. He tells us (p. 15) that we are like the pagans, many of whom through their idols worshipped the great Maker of the world. This may be so; but then we must acknowledge that St. Paul was not inspired, when he asserted that the things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to *devils* and *not to God*. 1 Cor. x. 20. See also p. 106, v. 37. The Durham clergyman may also, if he please, adore the divinity of Jupiter, whom he conceives to be the true God; I shall be content with the divine Being described to us in the sacred writings. As for Julian, he was posterior to St. Paul, had been a christian, and endeavoured to soften the harsher features of paganism.

* Bishop's Charge, p. 6, first edit.

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absurd in itself, as it is unfounded in fact. One falsehood is assumed to give an air of plausibility to another. The crime of idolatry is taken as proved, and on this imaginary basis is built the charge of the suppression. I would ask the right reverend Prelate by what authority the commandment was suppressed? By the bull of some pope, or the decree of some council? Then let him name it, if he can. By private consent? But private consent, in a body so widely extended as the Catholic clergy, is impossible. What advantage did they expect from this suppression? Would it justify their idolatry? No, it would aggravate its guilt. Would it conceal their impiety? From whom could it conceal it? Not from their adversaries, who would be eager to reproach them with it. Not from the more learned of their own communion, who would thus be taught to execrate their hypocrisy; but only from the more illiterate of the people, the very class from whom they had the least opposition to apprehend. How could they suppress it? Certainly by no other method than by expunging it from every bible, from every prayer-book, and from every catechism; in a word, to use the Bishop's expression, from every book of religious institution. For if they had left it in any, the fraud must have been discovered, and must have exposed them to the indignation and contempt of the public. Now it so happens that these bungling politicians have left it in every edition of the bible; and even in every catechism and every prayer-book which professes to explain the commandments at length. Let the Bishop of Durham, let any of my readers, consult such books of Catholic institution as they can procure, and they will be compelled to acknowledge the truth of this assertion.

After the first edition of the Bishop's Charge, the Remarker gently admonished him of his mistake. Whether his Lordship thought it worth his while to enquire into the truth or falsehood of the admonition, I know not: but two editions of his work have since been published, and the accusation still stands un-

blushingly in its original form. Some Protestant writers, however, have made the experiment which was recommended, and the result has been a conviction, which they have publicly expressed, of our innocence. But evidence, which may be deemed satisfactory in other parts of the kingdom, is condemned to lose its force in the diocese of Durham. Prejudice appears to have drawn a magic circle around us, impermeable to the rays of truth. First our Jewish friend Elijah, and next the Durham clergyman, have come forward to substantiate the justice of the accusation. Elijah perished by his own weapon, and died *felo de se*. The clergyman approaches with a load of erudition, but which is of little service to his cause, and of less to his "sincerity." His pamphlet bears sufficient testimony that he had consulted, with no ordinary degree of diligence, Catholic books of religious institution, not only those of easy access, but also those which for near two centuries have been neglected and forgotten. He has told us, that in four Catholic books, which I shall notice below,* he did not find the exact words of the

* In the note, he appears to have discovered, after a long and painful search, seven books, in which the express words of the sacred text are wanting: but, as of these, four are only different editions or translations of the same treatise, I may reduce them to the number mentioned above. One of these is entitled *Officium B. Mariæ Virginis*, at the commencement of which the printer, of his own authority, added a small tract of three pages, called *Institutio Hominis Christiani*, in which occurs an abstract of the decalogue, without the prohibition, in express words, of idol-worship. The other three books are catechisms by Vaux, Ledesma, and Du Roy, names, that I dare assert, not one Catholic in a thousand has heard of before. Vaux was an Englishman, an exile for his faith, and a schoolmaster in Germany: he composed and published a catechism in 1567: He does not indeed give the very words of what Protestants call the second commandment, but he refers to them *Exod. c. xx.* informs us that all idolatry is prohibited, and that the reverence which may lawfully be given to the images of Christ and his saints, is the same as that which we give to parents, superiors, and other reverend persons. The catechisms of Ledesma and Du Roy I have not been able to procure. They are, probably, as free from all just reason of censure. To these he might have added an Irish prayer-book, in which the words are omitted: yet the same prayer-book forbids all kind of idolatry.

second commandment: but he has not told us in how many he did find them. I will, however, for once appeal to his boasted sincerity: and will venture to assert, that if he have the courage to speak the truth, he must acknowledge, that for one Catholic book in which he did not read the words in question, he discovered twenty in which he did. I will also tell him in what books he or any of his friends may read them. They may read them in every edition of the bible that has been printed by Catholics, in any language. They may read them in the different authorised catechisms to which I have also referred in the note below: * and they may also read them in almost every Catholic book of popular instruction.

Here I may be allowed to ask two questions. 1. By what system of casuistry can a sincere and ingenuous adversary reconcile it with his conscience, to accuse a church of suppressing a particular doctrine, because, though he has discovered it in the majority, he has not discovered it in a few of the books written by members of her communion? 2. By what laws of reasoning can a fair disputant attempt to shew that a church endeavours to conceal a doctrine from the eyes of the people, when she publishes it in almost every book, which she exhorts them to read? It must be evident that if the words of the commandment are not fully expressed in every catechism, the omission cannot be justly attributed to the cause which it has pleased the zeal of our adversaries to assign: and that they may not in future be obliged to plead their ignorance as an excuse, I hope they will have no objection to learn the true reason. It is well known, that for many

* *Catechismus Romanus*, part 3. *Institutiones Christianæ pietatis a Petro Canisio*. (To this Vaux was much indebted.) *Catechismo di Napoli*, par. 3. The Flemish catechisms: *Christelyke leering voor de Catholycke jonkeyt*, p. 30. *Christelyke onderwizing*, p. 167. The German catechism, *Catholischer Catechismus*, Hamburg, 1769. The French catechisms, *de Montpellier*, *des Evques*, *de Meaux*, or that lately published for the use of the French empire. The English catechisms, &c. If these be not sufficient to convince him, I will furnish him with fifty more.

centuries before the birth of the reformation, the Catholics were accustomed to arrange, on the authority of St. Augustine, the decalogue in such manner, that whatever regarded the worship of God should be comprised under one division. Thus, what Protestants call the first and second commandments we call the first. The relative merit of the two divisions is foreign to the present subject. I merely state the case. Now as children among Catholics are taught the catechism almost as soon as they begin to lisp, it was thought adviseable to abridge the commandments, for their use, so that each precept should be confined to one line, which generally is in rhyme. The commandment in question was expressed in these or similar words. *One God alone thou shalt adore.* Now it is evident, that here can be no intention of suppressing the prohibition of idolatry. 1. Because even these words prohibit it: 2. Because as the children grew up, they were compelled to learn the larger catechism, in which the commandments are repeated at full length, and the prohibition is carefully enforced in the questions and answers. It is tedious to be so diffuse upon trifles. Had the accusation been made by some obscure controversialist, I should have treated it with the neglect it deserved: but it derives importance from the dignity of its author, and from the repeated though feeble efforts of his apologists. It was therefore a duty to display our own innocence, and to remind our adversaries, that besides the prohibition of idolatry, the decalogue contains another precept: *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.**

* Page 17 is beneath criticism. The Durham clergyman seems to be alarmed with the consciousness that he has undertaken a weak cause. His imagination is perpetually conjuring up spectres to affright him. At every step he fancies himself caught in a trap laid by his crafty adversary. The Bishop had said: "To disguise such repugnance to the letter of God's commandment, an artifice was adopted, &c." To what did *such repugnance* refer? To the practice of Catholics. Where then was the dishonest expedient, to make the Bishop say, that the practice of Catholics was repugnant to the letter of God's commandment? The clergyman says that the Bishop *does not* found his censure on that ground. I am happy to learn it. Our doctrine then is *now* confessed not to be contrary to the letter of the commandment. But he *did* found

In the progress of his reasoning, the Bishop's antipathy to the Catholic faith drew from him an argument, at which candour and liberality would blush. The Remarker disdained to give it a direct answer, but hurled it back with contempt to his opponents. If it were conclusive, it would undermine the whole fabric of the established church: he therefore desired them to solve it themselves. The attempt has been made. Elijah made it, and ended by abjuring the Athanasian creed.* The clergyman endeavours to improve the argument by illustration, and his illustration has exposed it in all its nakedness. He states it in this manner: "We cannot be surprised that those who believe bread and wine to be the real body and blood of Christ, that is, truly God, and deserving divine worship, as such, should likewise, without much difficulty, believe, that an image may partake of the divine nature of Christ, and may therefore deserve, as such, the worship due to God; that if the body and blood of Christ may subsist under the accidents of bread and wine, they may also subsist under the accidents of carven wood, or molten brass." To refute such empty reasoning is of itself a humiliation. Without adverting to the inaccuracy of the expression in the first part of the argument, it may be sufficient to reply:—That we believe the body and blood of Christ to subsist under the accidents or appearances of bread and wine, because he has expressly asserted that they do: but that he has not asserted that they subsist under the accident or appearances of carven wood, or molten brass?

The clergyman proceeds to shew that the argument, as retorted by the Remarker, does not apply to the right reverend Prelate. I must acknowledge, that in this part of his pamphlet I should have more admired, not only his powers of reasoning, but also his sincerity, had he not "adopted an artifice, proscribed by the

his censure on that ground: and if he did not think it repugnant to the letter of the commandment, why did he assert that we had suppressed the commandment in order to conceal its repugnance to the 1st 'ter?

* A Protestant's Reply, p. 10.

“ laws of literary warfare.” The three whole pages which he devotes to the solution of the difficulty, do not even remotely refer to it. They indeed prove, that the belief of the divinity of Christ is no superstition, which the Remarker did not dispute; but they do not prove that any answer can be given to the Unitarian by the Protestant, which, in the mouth of a Catholic, will not be equally powerful against the Bishop. I shall therefore, take the liberty briefly to restate the argument of the Remarker, and to solicit an answer from some of the admirers of the charge. If to believe that the body and blood of Christ can subsist under the appearances of bread and wine, necessarily *dispose* the Catholic to worship the creature image instead of the Creator; it follows that to believe the Divinity existed on earth with a body made of the same flesh, and subject to the same infirmities as our own, must also *dispose* the Protestant to worship the creature image instead of the Creator. If the Bishop or his apologist reply by proving the divinity of Christ, I hope they will also approve of the answer which I have given in the preceding paragraph. If they prefer any other mode of reasoning, I will pledge myself to shew that it will equally furnish a solution of the argument employed by the Prelate against the Catholics.*

* The Clergyman denies that the scripture is as clear for transubstantiation as for the divinity of Christ. This is, I fear, a shuffle. What the Remarker contended for was the real presence of the body of Christ in the eucharist: when once that is settled, it will be time enough to decide whether it be there by transubstantiation or by any other means. Till this be done, I will, with his permission, undertake to produce texts as evident in favour of the real presence, as he shall produce in favour of the divinity of Christ. As to the assertion that the belief of the divinity of Christ is very different from a tenet, which is contradicted by the evidence of the senses, and can be proved to be true, only by destroying the foundation of our assent to all truth, I ask whether the divinity of our Saviour was not contradictory to the evidence of the senses? The clergyman proves that he was God, not from the immediate testimony of sense, but by arguing from his actions and declarations, that though in appearance he was man, yet he also was God. In like manner, do we not argue from the words of our Saviour, that though the eucharist be in appearance bread and wine, yet in reality it is the body and blood of Christ? If I perfectly understand my opponent, I should not doubt

With a light and indulgent hand, the author of the Remarks had ventured to touch an ancient sore, the established doctrine on the subject of the Lord's supper. His sacrilegious temerity has alarmed the piety, and provoked the indignation of my opponent. That learned clerk seems to fancy that the Catholic tenets alone are fair and open game. At them every hungry or ill-natured divine, every hunter after favour and preferment, may direct the shafts of ridicule and misrepresentation. It is one of the graces of the reformation; an appendage to the liberty of the children of God. But the doctrines approved in the thirty-nine articles are sacred things. If a Catholic writer presume to enter the veil of the sanctuary, to draw them out of their obscurity, and exhibit them in their native colours, a thousand arms are raised to lash his arrogance and impiety. The Remarker had observed that the Protestant doctrine on the Lord's supper, appeared to his judgment something like nonsense. It was indeed a harsh expression; but I do not conceive that could offend the ears of those, who so liberally bestow the terms of absurdity, superstition, and idolatry, on their adversaries. Neither do I think that it was very difficult to vindicate the propriety of his language. Let us go to the catechism, which the Durham clergyman is supposed to teach, and to the thirty-nine articles, which he has subscribed. The catechism is meant for the use of children; we may, therefore, conclude that it is accommodated to the weakness of their capacity, and drawn up in plain and perspicuous language. Now in this catechism we are taught "that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed received by the faithful in the Lord's supper." May I then ask, whether the body and blood of Christ be there, or not? They are not, replies my opponent; nothing more is received than the graces, which Christ's sacrificed

that had he been present at the baptism of Jesus, he would not have believed in the descent of the Holy Ghost over his sacred person, lest he should destroy the foundations of our assent to all truth. He perhaps never learned that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."—Rom. x. 17.

body can yield us. Now I appeal to any person acquainted with the English language, whether to receive Christ's body and blood *verily* and *indeed*, can naturally mean any other thing than to receive it in very truth and deed;* and whether the Remarker committed a very egregious blunder when he asserted that to receive in the Lord's supper, in very truth and deed, that which was acknowledged not to be in the Lord's supper, appeared to his judgment something like nonsense. But from the catechism let us proceed to the articles. Had the bishops and doctors, to whose learning and ingenuity we owe them, been possessed of the clear perceptions of the Durham clergyman, they would have told us, that the instrumental cause, by which we are put in actual possession of *all* the graces which Christ's crucified body can yield us, is given, taken, and eaten, in the Lord's supper. This doctrine, whether it be true or false, would at least have had the merit of being intelligible. But they, poor souls, went a more awkward way to work; they were like the man,

——— Who now to sense, now nonsense leaning,
Means not, but blunders round about a meaning.

They thought it best to declare that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby it is received and eaten is faith. Now, that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, is the doctrine

* "The declaration against transubstantiation," says the Annual Review, "is yet extorted from the members of the house of commons, although the Church of England consecrates that doctrine by maintaining that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed received by the faithful at the Lord's supper. This may be called consubstantiation by Lutheran sophistry; but it only removes the transubstantiation of the sacramental elements from the chalice of the priest to the mouth of the communicant. We comprehend not, how any evangelical christian, or sincere member of the Church of England, can assent to this declaration without feeling the remorse of perjury."—Review for 1806, p. 565, 566.

of Catholics, and necessarily flows from our belief in the real presence: for though his body be really there, it is only there after a spiritual and heavenly manner. But this cannot be the true meaning of the article; and to understand it, we must conceive "the body of Christ" to be a metaphorical expression for the "graces which his body can yield us." "The mean whereby the body is received and eaten is faith." This appears to me equally unintelligible. Whatever may be understood by faith (I suspect it to be an assurance of salvation, and then fanatics only will receive the graces of Christ's body), it is evident from it that the unfaithful do not eat the body of Christ. Now if this had been the doctrine of the apostle, I suspect he would not have said, that the unworthy communicant is *guilty*, but that he is *deprived* of the body and blood of Christ.* This at least, will, I trust, be conceded to me, that no man could, from the mere perusal of the article, deduce either what then was, or now is, the real doctrine of the established church. Whence then, I may perhaps be asked, did this obscurity arise? Was it intentional or unintentional? Had the framers of the articles no fixed notions on the subject, or did they differ in their respective sentiments? If I might be allowed to reveal the scandalous secret, I would say that the whole business was a mere politico-theological juggle. The fathers of the reformation could agree in repudiating the Catholic creed: they could not agree in any other to substitute in its place. Truth is one: it is the centre of the circle; recede from it, and you may wander to any point of the circumference. The new doctors, in the pride of evangelical liberty, believed one day one thing, and another day another; and as men and circumstances changed, the creed of the English church was improved or corrupted by successive alterations. The first book of common-prayer

* On this subject I will refer the reader to Bishop Beveridge's explanation of the catechism, p. 145. It is amusing enough to observe with what ingenuity the right reverend prelate gradually slides through three pages from the body and blood of Christ, till he at last rests on a secure standing-place, the graces of the body and blood of Christ.

was a work of godly travel: the commons, lords, and infant head of the church, pronounced it to have been composed with the aid of the Holy Ghost;* and in this second gospel the communion was ordered to be delivered with the following words:—*The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life.* But it was soon discovered that this form savoured of the corruption of popery; within a few years, though it had been adopted by the aid of the Holy Ghost, it was expunged, and a new form substituted by the aid of the same divine spirit. The eucharist was no longer the body of Christ; by the magic touch of an act of parliament, it was converted into a bare remembrance of his death:† *Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thy heart by faith and thanksgiving.* At the same time the articles of religion were framed, and by them it was declared, that *it did not become any of the faithful to profess that there is a real or corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist.* This new form, with the declaration in the articles, gave offence to many whose minds could not keep pace with the principal reformers, in the godly career of innovation; and in the third of Elizabeth it was determined to quiet their alarms, and to allure them to the established church, by adopting a language more conformable to their feelings and belief. Hence, in the delivery of the communion, both the forms of Edward VI. were ordered to be united, that the objections of the Catholic might be removed, without offending the scruples of the orthodox believer; and in the article, the denial of the real presence was obliterated, and in its stead an explication introduced, which, according to the prejudices or judgment of the reader, might from the manner in which it was worded, denote either the real existence or the real non-existence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's supper. This, I believe, will prove to be the true history of the obscurity which

* 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. i.

† 5 and 6 of Ed. VI. c.

prevails in every official document on the nature of the sacrament; the best interpretation of the unknown tongue, under which the established church has chosen to veil her real sentiments.*

2. On the invocation of saints, the clergyman asks one question, and hazards two observations. He asks, whether in the supposition that their intercession be solicited, not with Christ, but with God the Father, or the blessed Trinity, the Remarker be willing to allow that an injury is done to the one mediator-ship of Christ? I will answer for the Remarker in the negative, provided their intercession be supposed to rest on the merits of Christ. Now if he will take the trouble to look at the five prayers which he has transcribed, he will find that they all end with the words "*Through Christ our Lord.*"

He asserts that when Protestants pray for their fellow-creatures here upon earth, their prayers are imputed to their own account. "We may hope, indeed, but dare not affirm, that they may sometimes be serviceable to them who are the subjects of them." If this doctrine be true, it must follow, that St. Paul was no Protestant; for he desired the Romans to pray for him, not that their prayers might be imputed to them, but that *he* might be delivered from the unbelievers.† I even tremble for the orthodoxy of the venerable Bishop of London himself, who exhorts every sincere christian to persevere in that most *benevolent* office of interceding for all mankind.‡ Were that learned Prelate to study theology at the feet of our Durham Gamaliel, he would learn that to intercede for others, instead of being a benevolent, was a selfish office; that it might indeed be imputed to us, but no one could affirm that it was beneficial to them. From what part of the sacred text did the clergyman glean this article of his creed?§

* See Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum, on the 39 articles, art. 28.

† Rom. xv. 30, 31.

‡ Sermons, vol. ii. p. 381.

§ Perhaps from Gen. xviii. 32, where God promises, upon Abraham's intercession, to spare Sodom for the sake of ten men, if ten

He proceeds to insinuate, that when Catholics solicit the intercession of the blessed in heaven, it is, "because they dare not address our Redeemer for mercy, dare not rely on his merits alone for the acceptance of their sincere and humble supplications; of consequence, that they distrust and dishonour his mediation, and, by such usages, deserve the censure of every zealous christian." I must again beg of him to look at the example of St. Paul. When that apostle desired the Romans to pray for his deliverance, was it "because he durst not address his Redeemer, or rely on his mercy alone for the acceptance of his supplication?" Did he then "distrust and dishonour the mediation of Christ, and deserve the censure of every zealous christian?" Either St. Paul was ignorant of the rudiments of christian theology, or our new teacher has yet to learn them.

The next subject in the order of the Bishop's Charge is that of penance. To learn on what terms the sinner may expect to make his peace with an offended God, is certainly a matter of great importance, and, from its importance, must forcibly arrest the attention of those who undertake to frame a religious creed. In the primitive church, the penitent sinner was condemned to a long course of fasting and austerity, and this discipline was then conceived to be founded on the clearest evidence of the inspired writings. When the reformation began to prosper, there was reason to fear that its authors, from their *known* partiality to primitive fervour and primitive doctrine, would introduce the ancient system; but fortunately for mankind, they compassionated the weakness of our nature, and instead of subjecting their disciples to the penitential canons of past ages, very liberally emancipated them, even from the restraints which popery still continued to impose upon sinners. Now

righteous men were found in it; perhaps from Exodus, xxii. 30, where Moses makes atonement for the sin of the people; perhaps from Job xlii. 7, where the Lord receives the intercession of Job for his friends.

as the Bishop had condemned the Catholic doctrine on the subject of penance, it was not rash to infer that he concurred in opinion with the fathers of his faith; and the Remarker had in consequence commented on his right reverend adversary with some degree of severity. His comments have provoked the indignation of the clergyman, who feels, or affects to feel, for the insult offered to his Bishop, and, with a stentorian voice, accuses the Remarker of "a gross and glaring perversion of the opinion of the prelate." "It would be a mockery," he exclaims, "to pretend to think it unintentional; it would be a mere affectation of charity to regard your insulting tone," &c. &c.*

— Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ!

If I know the Remarker, he would not, I am sure, pervert or misrepresent the opinion of any man, much less of so respectable a prelate as the Bishop of Durham. But is it certain that the Bishop's opinion has been perverted? By condemning the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as a denial of the efficacy of Christ's passion, does he not also deny the necessity of works of penance? Is it not his opinion, that nothing more is necessary for repentance than sorrow for past sin, and a sincere desire to amend in future? If I am mistaken, I shall be happy to acknowledge my mistake; but if I am not, does not his doctrine then whisper these comfortable words into the ear of the sinner? *You need not fear the rigours of penance. To weep and pray, to fast and give alms, to repent in sackcloth and ashes, belonged only to the Jewish dispensation. All that is now required is to be sorry, and amend; and this may be done when you can sin no longer.* I do not mean to say that the right reverend prelate would preach in this manner; but I maintain that his doctrine, supposing it to be as I have conceived it, will naturally lead to such consequences.

But let us listen to the declamation of the clergy-

* Clergyman's Letter, p. 30.

man. In his zeal to convict the Remarker, he has had the misfortune to condemn the Bishop; and while he accuses his opponent of the crime of misrepresentation, he imputes the disgrace of ignorance to his patron. The doctrine, he tells us, which the prelate meant to condemn, was that which teaches "the im-
 " position of penances to be absolutely necessary to
 " obtain pardon for sin, and the performance of the
 " penance enjoined (or indulgence for non-perform-
 " ance) to be requisite for the restoration of the sin-
 " ner." If this be all, the Remarker, I have no doubt, will subscribe to his lordship's censure. It is a doctrine which we are as willing to anathematize as he is: it would not be suffered, without animadversion, in any Catholic writer. I am happy to find that for once we can agree.

The next point in succession is communion under one kind. I am sorry to lead the reader to such uninteresting subjects. The Bishop had, at least, the merit of exhibiting his old matter under a new form, and, by marshalling his arguments in three divisions, was enabled to intrust one to the patronage of each of the three persons of the most blessed Trinity. This was novel and curious. But the clergyman "is a
 " dull matter-of-fact enquirer."* He has been content to revive antiquated objections, and to dress them in the same garb they wore two centuries ago. I am compelled to reply in the same style; and if the reader be sometimes fatigued with the dulness of the matter or the method, I hope that, instead of accusing the insipidity, he will compassionate the fate of the writer, condemned to the wearisome task of refuting sophisms, and unmasking misrepresentations, which have been refuted and unmasked a thousand times before.

The clergyman's first observation is, that the argument from authority will weigh nothing against the express injunction of our Lord. The Remarker did not adduce it to prove that it is lawful to violate the

* Clergyman's Letter, p. 8.

injunction of our Lord, but to prove that no such injunction was ever given. The clergyman maintains that there was; the Remarker that there was not. Supposing them equal in judgment, the dispute must either be decided by authority, or must remain for ever undecided.*

He continues to observe, "that the Bishop and the church of which he is a member, consider the wine as part of the matter of the sacrament: that there is no authority to affirm the sacrament to be received at all, if all that constitutes the matter is not received: that there is no more reason for considering the reception of the cup as only a part of the manner, than for thinking the same of the bread also; and that if each may be omitted separately, both may be omitted together. †" This is a most curious specimen of logical acumen. So then, if the Durham clergyman have a rich living in view, and know of two methods by either of which he may procure it, he will sit down in his chair, and thus reason coolly with himself. I may procure the living by either of these two methods; therefore each may be omitted separately: but "if each may be omitted separately, both may be omitted together:" therefore I will omit both, and I shall infallibly procure the living! But is it certain that the church of which he is a member, teaches the wine to be part of the matter of the sacrament; and that if it be not received, there is no authority to affirm that the sacrament is received at all? I have some reason to doubt it. 1. It is very probable that a great, if not the greater, part of the wine used in the church, is of English manufacture, that is to say, no wine at all. If then without the wine there be no sacrament, it will not be rash to as-

* The clergyman wishes for some proof that communion under one kind was always partially admitted. I shall at present refer him to Pope Leo, *Serm. IV. de Quad.* tom. i. p. 217; Eusebius, *Hist.* l. vi. c. 44, p. 200; the Eleventh Council of Toledo, *Concil.* tom. vi. can. 11; St. Cyprian de *Lapsis*, p. 133; St. Augustine, *Epist.* 98, olim 23; Paulinus, *Vit. St. Ambrosii*, No. 47; Tertullian *ad Uxor.* lib. xi. c. 5. p. 169.

† Clergyman's Letter, p. 31.

sert that the communion is frequently administered to very little purpose. 2. I have a very great authority to produce against the Bishop, even the authority of own church. In the first of Edward VI. c. 1, it was enacted, “ that the most blessed sacrament be here-
 “ after *commonly* delivered and ministered unto the
 “ people under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and
 “ wine, except necessity otherwise require:” and the king, immediately after, in his quality of head of the church, issued a proclamation to the same effect, in the very same words. This statute was, indeed, repealed by Mary, but was re-enacted by 1 Elizabeth, c. 1. Now, unless we say that Edward, in the plenitude of his ecclesiastical power, with the concurrence of his parliament, dispensed from the injunction of Christ, it will follow that the English church did not originally conceive the wine to be an essential part of the sacrament. For those who say that one kind should not be administered *commonly*, grant that it may be done sometimes: and by specifying the case of necessity, acknowledge the propriety of the doctrine that teaches only one kind to be essential to the sacrament. But if he object to the authority of his own church, he certainly will yield to that of its great forefather, the adventurous Luther. According to that infallible divine, “ They sin not against Christ, who use one kind only,
 “ seeing Christ has not commanded to use both.
 “ Though it were an excellent thing to use both kinds
 “ in the sacrament, and Christ has commanded nothing
 “ in this as necessary, yet it were better to follow peace
 “ and unity, than contest about kinds.” So much for authority.*

The clergyman again endeavours to prove that Christ actually commanded all christians to receive under the form of wine. The only semblance of such a command is to be found in the words—*Drink ye all*

* Lib. de Capt. Babyl. c. de Euch. Epist. ad Bohemos, in declar. Euch. et in Serm. de Euch. I quote from an English translation, as the original Latin is not in my possession. I know he also wrote against communion in one kind; but that reformer built his faith on scripture, and he could make scripture speak pro and con, just as it suited his purpose.

of it. Now let us consider the circumstances in which these words were spoken. Our blessed Redeemer was seated at supper with his twelve apostles: he took the bread and brake it, and divided it among them: he then took the cup, but as he could not divide it in like manner, he gave it among them, saying, — “Drink ye all of it.” And, observes an Evangelist, “they all drank of it.” Now these words, we are told, were addressed not only to the apostles, but also to every christian. Yet is there the least proof of the assertion? I have never met with any. And still, because we are unwilling to submit our own judgment to that of men, who have no reason to suppose themselves superior in that faculty to ourselves, and who acknowledge themselves to be the fallible disciples of a fallible church, we are to be abused as corruptors of religion, derogators from the command of Christ, and mutilators of the sacrament! As to the distinction between the matter and the manner: we acknowledge the wine to be part of the matter of the sacrifice, but we deny it to be necessarily part of the matter of the sacrament.* I could wish to know,

* In answer to the Remarker’s observation on 1 Cor. xi. 27. the clergyman maintains that the true meaning is evident from the preceding verse, in which is mentioned communion in both kinds. I am not convinced that this will serve his purpose. The twenty-sixth verse is addressed in the plural number to the whole body of the Corinthian converts; and from it may be justly inferred, that the usual method of administering the communion in that city was under both kinds. But, in the next verse, the apostle changes his language, and addresses them individually, and tells them that whosoever ate *or* drank unworthily, was guilty of the body and blood of the Lord: from which it may with equal justice be inferred that, though the principal part of the congregation received under both kinds, some received under one only. The clergyman is unwilling to relinquish the *and* in the English version. He says, that though the edition in which the Remarker may read the Greek testament has the disjunctive *or*, yet several of the oldest MSS. and versions have the copulative *and*. I could wish to learn in what edition he has ever read the Greek testament with the copulative *and*. I suspect in none: and notwithstanding the authority of his MSS. and versions, I have never yet met with any editor, who has had the boldness to foist it into the text. In the old version of the English established church (so I am assured, for I have not the means of consulting it) originally the disjunctive *or* was retained. But it was then the doctrine of the same church that communion under one kind was lawful in some cases. Now that opinion is condemned, and therefore in the new

what makes the clergyman so positive, that wine is part of the matter! The scripture, indeed, mentions the cup, but it no where mentions that the liquor which it contained was wine; and, if I mistake not, according to Protestant principles, nothing is to be believed as of faith, but what is expressly asserted in the holy scriptures.

3. The subject of ritual observances shall soon be dismissed. The clergyman observes that, "if they do not not promote the cause of true piety, they must injure it." To this position I most cordially assent: and from it draw an inference equally favourable to the Remarker, and unfavourable to the Bishop and his advocate. If the necessary effect do not follow, we may infer that the cause does not exist: if true piety be not injured among Catholics, it will follow that their ritual observances, so far from proving injurious, are even serviceable to the cause of virtue. Now this may be decided by an easy experiment. Let the Durham clergyman compare the morals and piety of the next Catholic congregation with those of his own parishioners, and then let him say whether the former are inferior in that respect to any of their neighbours. If he cannot, let him cease to affirm that the rites of the Catholic church are injurious to piety, or derogatory from the sanctifying influence of the holy spirit.

We cherish with respect such rites and ceremonies as really belong to our religion.* They are as monu-

translation of James I. which is still in use, the disjunctive *or* has been magically converted into the copulative *and*. Thus it appears that the good people of England, while they are persuaded that they build their belief on the words of scripture, are in reality building it on the whims, or prejudices, or judgments, of translators and editors as fallible as themselves.

* The clergyman objects to pilgrimages, and rosaries or beads. As to the first, they may be of advantage or disadvantage, according to circumstances. They form no part of the Catholic doctrine: they may be made or not, as may be judged proper. See an account of ancient pilgrimages in the *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church*, vol ii. page 122. Rosaries are also a matter of discretionary devotion. They were first adopted for the use of the vulgar, who could not read. Whether they consist of *Pater Nosters*, or of *Ave Marias*, is of little consequence. Some use one, and some the other. The *Ave Mari*:

ments which attest its antiquity and authenticity: they have descended to us from our fathers, and prove that our faith is not of modern birth. Let the Durham clergyman read the oldest liturgies still extant, and he will find many of them there. Let him read the pentateuch of Moses, and the gospel, and he will find many of them there. He will learn that some are of divine origin, and others almost as ancient as christianity. It was, however, well done of the reformers to abolish them. What has a modern religion to do with ancient ceremonies? Or what has the belief of the metaphorical presence of Christ's body to do with rites established in honour of its real presence? He is angry that prayers of benediction should be read over the vestments used in the celebration of the mass. Let him peruse the benediction of the sacerdotal vestments recorded by Moses, or St. Paul's epistle to Timothy, and he will then learn, that God himself appointed such ceremonies, and that "every creature is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer."

When the magnanimous fathers of the reformation separated from the Church of Rome, one object which engaged much of their attention, was to justify or palliate their schism. For this purpose every species of expedient was adopted; and among the Catholic doctrines which they misrepresented and vilified, was that which teaches the utility and necessity of good works. The piety of Luther urged him to retire as far as possible from the corruptions of Babylon. With one dash of his pen, he magnanimously abolished the obligation of good works, and opened the gates of heaven to every man who could only boast the gift of an all-saving faith.* This solifidian tenet, it must be ac-

consists of two passages of scripture commemorative of the incarnation of Christ, and of a petition that his holy mother would pray for us. The Durham clergyman may, if he please, become an orthodox Catholic, and never repeat it to his death.

* *Sola fides est necessaria ut justi simus, cetera omnia liberima.* In cap. 2 ad Gal. Nullum peccatum inferre potest damnationem, sed sola incredulitas. De capt. Babyli. tom. ii. fol. 171. De lib. Christ. tom. v. fol. 311.

knowledged, with the Church of England in her articles, "is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort."* The restraints of religion are too unpleasant to the passions of men.

'Tis prudence to reform her into ease,
And put her in undress to make her please.
A lively faith will bear aloft the mind,
And leave the luggage of good works behind.

On this head we have undoubtedly great obligations to Luther. Our blessed Redeemer died for us, and still left the way to happiness strait and rugged; the new apostle rushed to the arms of his faithful Catharine, and made it spacious and commodious. After Christ, it was still so uninviting, that, as he declared, few would chuse to walk in it: after Luther, it was cleared of the thorns of virtue, and might with ease be trodden by thousands. His disciples, however, have gradually learnt to blush at the extravagance of their master: in the course of time they have silently abandoned his school, and have returned, on this point at least, nearer to the doctrine of scripture and common sense. But the unnatural portrait which their great patriarch had drawn of the Catholic doctrine, they still cherish with filial respect, and consider as an invaluable legacy. It appears to be at present in the joint possession of the Bishop of Durham, and the clergyman of the diocese of Durham: poor Elijah, if I may judge from his pamphlet, has no share in the property. The right reverend prelate, in his charge, was content to advert to what he called the presumptuous doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning the merit of good works; and the author of the Remarks demonstrated in reply, that this presumption existed no where but in the heated imagination of his lordship. The clergyman will not permit such an answer to escape uncensured. In the most forcible language, he contends that his caricature is a faithful likeness, and that the pencil of the Remarker has treacherously concealed every harsh and forbidding feature. "You tell us something," he

* Art. xi.

exclaims, "but you do not tell us all. Does not your church also require you to believe that good works actually *merit* their reward, and that they may do more than merit it? That, unprofitable servants as you are, some among you may yet bestow of their superabundant goodness, to improve the condition and alleviate the punishment of their less righteous brethren?" Such interrogations appear to him equal to a victory; and he concludes, at some distance, with advising the Remarker "never more to yield to the tempting hope of strengthening his cause by stratagems, which have been hitherto proscribed by the laws of literary warfare." As to his advice, his opponent, probably, would send him to those lines of the poet:

Dii te, Damasippe, deæque
Verum ob consilium donent tonsore.

In answer to his questions I shall reply, that our church does *not* require us to believe either that our good works *merit* their reward, in the sense which he attaches to the word merit, or that they may do more than merit it, so that some among us may bestow of their superabundant goodness to their less righteous brethren. In effect, the whole controversy between us at present on this head is, I believe, a mere logomachia, "a windy war of words." If a person promise me a reward on certain conditions with which I comply, I may, I trust, without offering considerable violence to propriety of language, say that I have merited or earned my reward; even though the reward were in its own nature to exceed the exact value of my services. However, should the propriety of the word, merit, be disputed, I would not contend; the acquisition of the reward would be my object, and if I obtained that, I should be content, whether I were allowed to say I merited it or not.

From good works we naturally proceed to indulgences; a subject which has often been discussed by Protestant writers, but with more passion than sincerity. If frequency of repetition could give to

misrepresentation the substance of truth, an indulgence would be of all scandalous things the most scandalous. The Bishop of Durham seems to have adopted this principle: he conceived he might justly assume the privilege of saying what had been said by hundreds before him; and therefore, without hesitation, condemned the practice of indulgences in terms the most pointed and severe. But the Remarker was not to be intimidated by an episcopal frown: he tore the visor from the face of the supposed monster; and lo, its deformity vanished, nor could the critical eye of the Durham clergyman discover in it one forbidding feature. But how was this gentleman's astonishment increased, when he learned that indulgences had also been favourites with the clergy of the established church; that his reverend brethren had frequently condescended to be the venders of wares, which he had thought the exclusive property of a lady, sometimes politely termed the w—— of Babylon? He had recourse to his usual theme, the insincerity, artifice, and legerdemain of the Remarker. He accused him of having varnished over, with a deceitful gloss, the doctrine of his church; of confessing, indeed, that indulgences are remissions of ecclesiastical censure, or mitigations of punishment in this world, but of concealing that they are also "remissions of every sin, and promises of eternal life." Having thus shewn, as he conceives, the difference between Protestant and Catholic indulgences, he recovers his usual temper, and very charitably affects to fear for the orthodoxy of his dear friend the Remarker, to tremble lest his doctrine should involve him in the same fate with Luther, the parent of the reformation. I will endeavour to quiet his alarm. The Remarker is in no danger of meeting with the fate of Luther in this world; and if he will follow my advice, will not be very ambitious of sharing it with him in the other. For the information of the clergyman, I will add, that the Catholic doctrine does not teach, that indulgences are "a remission of all sins," or even of any

sins,* or that they are “ applications of the superfluous merits of Christ and the saints.” The first of these assertions is contradictory to the Catholic creed; the second is an opinion which has been maintained by speculative and ingenious men; but it forms no part of the Catholic faith, and may, without danger of censure, be believed or disbelieved according to the judgment of each individual.

Before I conclude this subject, I may be allowed to ask, how the clergyman will prove that the doctrine of the Catholic is more indulgent to the sinner than the doctrine of the Protestant church. According to the latter, as far as I can learn, all that is required for the remission of sin, is a hearty sorrow for the offence, and a fixed determination to amend. Now all this the popes require in their bulls, and besides this, confession and the performance of some good work. Our indulgences considered in this light, cannot be more subversive of morality than the practices of the established church. If the purity of our doctrine has sometimes been polluted by the vices of its teachers, it ought not to be matter of surprise. Avarice could infect one of the apostles of Jesus: can we wonder if, at different periods, it infected some of their successors? It could even creep into the church of England; a society small in comparison, and but recently established to put down the errors and corruptions of

* When these expressions *peccatorum indulgentia* or *remissio* occur in grants of indulgences, they are perfectly understood by Catholics, though not in the sense of the Durham clergyman. As an indispensable condition, it is required that the sinner shall have previously performed whatever the Catholic Church considers necessary for the remission of sin; and then only she grants him a remission of the canonical penance, or temporal punishment, to which he ought to be subjected. Hence it is evident that an indulgence cannot be a pardon for sin, since the sin is supposed to have been already pardoned. As to the ingenious comment on attrition in page 37, it is founded on a mistake. No Catholic divine ever taught that the sinner could be reconciled to God without a firm resolution of amendment; neither did the council assert that attrition *sufficed*, but that it disposed the sinner to obtain the remission of his offences. Sess. 14, c. 4.

popery: can we wonder, if it has sometimes found its way into a body infinitely more numerous, and which has subsisted through a long succession of ages? Catholics have lamented these abuses as much as Protestants can do:—and if my opponent will consult the acts of the councils during the two centuries preceding the reformation, he will find in them canons as severe and apposite, as any which, for a similar purpose, have been enacted by the present church of England. Should it then be asked, why these abuses were not abolished before the council of Trent, the clergyman cannot be at a loss for an answer. He must be well aware of the common defect of all religious establishments. “When abuses have once crept into them, which will ever attend every government and every institution administered by men, the want of that quick discernment of faults, which is oftener found in enemies than in friends, prevents many disorders from being rectified, many abuses from being reformed, and many spirited, yet salutary, measures from being carried into execution.”* This truth

* See an elegant and instructive tract, *An enquiry into the moral and political tendency of the religion called Roman Catholic*, printed for Robinsons and Faulder, 1790, p. 27. As the Remarker is indebted to the Durham clergyman for an indulgence published by Gregory VIII., I hope he will accept in return one or two Protestant indulgences. The first was published by the pious Luther, and contains a perpetual indulgence for the commission of adultery in certain circumstances. That it may be concealed from the eye of the profane, I shall transcribe it in the original language. “Ut non est in meis viribus situm, ut vir non sim, tam non est etiam mei juris, ut absque muliere sim. Rursum ut in tua manu non est, ut femina non sis, sic nec in te est, ut absque viro degas. . . . Tertia ratio divortii est, ubi alter alteri se subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum eo renuerit.—Hic opportunum est, ut maritus dicat: *Si tu nolueris, altera volet: Si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla.*” Oper. Luth. Ed. Wirt. tom. v. fol. 119, 123. The second was an indulgence granted by Luther and seven other divines, to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, to have two wives at the same time. For the edification of the public I shall extract a few passages, and translate them into English. The bull itself may be seen in the original Latin, in Bossuet’s Variations, l. vi. In his declaration to Luther and Melancthon, the Landgrave had informed them, that he had never loved his wife, that he had not been faithful to her more than three weeks, and that he could

has been fully exemplified in the reformed church of England.

On the celebration of the liturgy in an unknown tongue, the clergyman is content with referring his adversary to 1 Cor. xiv. which he considers a positive condemnation of the Catholic practice. I have read the whole chapter with great attention, and the consequence is a conviction in my mind, that our intellects have been cast in two very different moulds. Of that which he sees so clearly, I have been unable to discover the faintest trace. I do not observe that the apostle ever mentions the liturgy, or so much as refers to it: all his animadversions seem to be directed against the vanity or insubordination of the converts, who were eager to display, in the assembly of the faithful, the graces which they had received, and, by their extemporary discourses, frequently disturbed the harmony of the service. Still the apostle indulges them in the use of unknown tongues, but under certain limitations, to prevent disedification and scandal;

not abandon the dissolute state of life in which he lived. For these reasons he begs a dispensation to have two wives. In their answer, after some preliminary observations, they proceed thus:—"But if your highness do not abstain from an impure life, because you say it is impossible for you to do so, we should wish that your highness were in a better state before God. . . . But if your highness be fully resolved to take another wife, we judge that it ought to be done secretly, as we have said above with respect to the dispensation; that is to say, that none but the lady herself, and a few trusty persons obliged to secrecy under the seal of confession, know any thing of the matter. Hence it will not be attended with any important contradiction or scandal. For it is not unusual for princes to keep mistresses; and though the vulgar should be scandalized, the more prudent would understand this moderate method of life, and would prefer it to adultery, or other brutal and foul actions. There is no need of being much concerned for what men will say, provided all go right with conscience. . . . Your highness hath therefore not only the approbation of us all, in a case of necessity, but also the considerations which we have made thereupon. . . . We are most ready to serve your highness. Dated at Witttemberg, the Wednesday after the feast of St. Nicholas, 1539.

" MARTIN LUTHER,	ADAM,
" PHILIP MELANCTHON,	JOHN LENINGUE,
" MARTIN BUCER,	JUSTICE WINTFERTE,
" ANTHONY CORVIN,	DIONYSIUS MELANTHER."

and I hope that those who so forcibly urge against Catholics the obligation of complying with the command of St. Paul, will not refuse to give us the example by following it themselves. We will suppose, for a moment, that my reverend adversary has assented to this proposition; then the service in his church will be arranged in the following very edifying manner.

As soon as the clergyman shall have read the liturgy according to the book of common prayer, one of his parishioners (whether clerk or layman is no matter) will rise, and, in a most impressive manner, harangue the audience in some foreign language, perhaps in High Dutch. The moment he is silent, a second preacher will succeed in Arabic; and he will be followed by a third in Chinese. After the orators, the apostle commands the interpreter to explain; and the clergyman must take this difficult office on himself, unless he chance to be assisted by the learned Messrs. Faber and Granville Sharpe, the enlightened expositors of the book of Revelations. Prophesying will close the service; and every man who can persuade himself that he feels the impulse of the Holy Spirit, will claim a right to groan out the yearnings of his soul into the ears of his brethren. In this place, however, I am sorry to inform the ladies, that, though the female tongue appears to be far better adapted to the office of prophesying than that of the other sex, yet the apostle is positive in his prohibition. They must be content to sit in silence, and listen with deference to the lectures of the male prophets.* This is a picture of the system of divine service, which the imprudence of the converts compelled the apostle to sanction with his approbation. But it is evident that

* If any speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two or at most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one. Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak. 1 Cor. xiv. 27, 29, 30, 31, 34.

both his approbation and censure were confined to a temporary object; and that, at the cessation of miraculous gifts, they became a dead letter, the mere testimony of disorders which once had existed, and were never likely to be revived.

Sometimes, when I have amused myself with looking into the book of common prayer, I have found it difficult to persuade myself that I was not reading an unknown tongue. I will instance a passage or two for the instruction and edification of my readers. "Let them not see the sun. Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns; so let indignation vex him even as a thing that is raw.* Judah is my lawgiver. Moab is my wash-pot. Over Edom will I cast my shoe. Philistia, be thou glad of me.† Though ye have lien among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove; that is, covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. And the hill of Basan, so is God's hill; even an high hill, as the hill of Basan. Why hop ye so high, ye high hills?"‡ Nor is this unknown tongue confined to the book of common prayer: it is extended even to the book of homilies, that model of pastoral eloquence, which the church of England proposes to her clergy. What female of the present day could understand the following elegant apostrophe?—"O thou woman, not a christian, but worse than a panim, thou minister of the devil, why pamperest thou that carrion flesh so high, which sometimes doth stink on the earth as thou goest? Howsoever thou perfumest thyself, thy beastliness cannot be hidden, or overcome with thy smells and savours: but, perchance, some dainty dame will say, and answer me," &c.

On the vulgate translation of the scriptures, the clergyman has been sparing of his comments: I shall beg leave to be more diffuse. It is a subject, respecting which much misrepresentation was formerly circulated, and which has been treated with no

* 11th day, morning prayer.

‡ 13th day, morning prayer.

† Same day, evening prayer.

small degree of prejudice by some modern controversialists.*

* Here I may be allowed to observe, that the blast of the episcopal trumpet has lately awakened from his slumbers a watchman of the holy city, the Rev. George Stephenson, M. A. vicar of Kelloe, curate of Bishopwearmouth, and formerly fellow of Magdalen College. In consequence of the Bishop's charge, this indefatigable divine has composed, preached and published twenty sermons, for the charitable purpose of exposing the abominations of the Church of Rome. His work does at least honour to the moral character of the inhabitants of Bishopwearmouth. It proves that, in the opinion of their pastor, during twenty weeks there was no need of proposing to their consideration any subject of piety or morality. At the same time, I fear, it is some reflection on their intellectual attainments. I do not conceive that the curate of Bishopwearmouth, had he believed his parishioners to be possessed of common sense, could have thought it necessary to warn them against seduction to a religion so absurd as that which he has delineated in his pages. I may also say, that I admire the taste of the man who could delight in raking together so much filth out of the common sewers; his book is scarcely made up of any thing else. But my principal reason for calling the attention of the reader to this publication, was, to notice the manner in which he has treated the subject on which I am now engaged; and, unfortunately, he has treated all the rest in nearly the same manner.

Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnes.

He tells us, p. 325, that the Church of Rome has declared, "that the holy scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude, but only of their spiritual teachers; and, under this pretext, has ordered them to be taken from the people," &c. I answer that the Church of Rome never did issue such a declaration. If I am wrong, let him produce it. "In Spain the Bible," he says, "is locked up from the laity: the use of it, in their own tongue, is forbidden, under the severest penalties." Yet in Spain it is permitted in their own tongue, and the Spaniards boast, that their translation is the most elegant of all those that have hitherto been made in any of the vulgar languages. He says, p. 329, that the English Romanists have a version, but are not permitted to read it without a licence. Let him ask the first Catholic he meets in Bishopwearmouth, and from him he may learn the contrary. The French Romanists, he continues, have no authorized translation in their language. I answer, that they have several, some of great antiquity, others of more modern date. They have a version by Des Moulins made in 1294, and one by De Presle in 1380, a third by Le Fevre printed in 1528, a fourth by the Louvain doctors in 1530, a fifth by Corbin in 1613, and a sixth by Sacy in 1672. There are also authorised translations in Germany and Italy, and, I have no doubt, in all other Catholic countries. Hence we may form some judgment of Mr.

1. Of all the ancient versions of the sacred writings, the Vulgate has obtained the highest degree of praise from the ablest biblical students, both Protestants and Catholics; and it possesses, in another respect, an invaluable advantage over all modern translations. It was adopted in the Latin church long before the birth of those controversies, which at present divide the children of the reformation from the communion of Rome. Its author or authors, therefore, cannot be accused of any bias or partiality, which might induce them to pervert the meaning of the passages connected with the subjects in debate.

2. Soon after the reformation, Europe was inundated with a flood of biblical translations, some of which were disgraced by the most corrupt doctrines, and glaring perversions of the meaning of the original. In these circumstances, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to fix on some particular version, and propose it for the instruction of her children. The judgment of the fathers of the council of Trent selected the Vulgate; and it was decreed that in all public lectures, disputes, sermons, and interpretations, that version alone should be considered as *authentic*. The meaning of this word has been perverted by the ingenuity of our adversaries. By the council it was understood to denote, that, in all points of importance, the Vulgate contained the true word of God, so that it might be safely perused without any danger of error in faith and morals: and here I may observe, that by this decree the Catholic Church did no more than Luther and Calvin did by their respective versions and the Church of England does, at the present day, by her translation of the scriptures.

3. By declaring that, among the *versions* of that period, the Vulgate alone should be considered as

Stephenson's attention to veracity, and wonder how any man could utter such falsehoods from the pulpit, and in the name of the God of truth,—or how he could conceive, that, by such misrepresentation, he was fulfilling his duty of announcing glory to God on high, and *peace* to men on earth. If the reader will take the trouble to compare Mr. Des Mahis' work with its pretended refutation by Mr. Stephenson, he will easily learn which of the two defends the better cause.

authentic, the council did not mean to confer on it a superiority over the *originals*. Yet this is a calumny, which has given birth to much petulant invective against the spiritual tyranny of the Catholic Church, and much insulting commiseration for the spiritual blindness of her disciples. Would those who use such language, spend a year in some Catholic university, they would learn with what application the originals are studied, with what freedom they are cited, and how often their authority is alledged against certain passages of the Vulgate in the public disputations. Before the decree of the council, the Catholics had published, and after it continued to publish, corrected and improved editions of the Greek and Hebrew scriptures.

4. Much less was it the intention of the council to decree, that the Vulgate was free from faults. It has frequently been emended by the orders of the Roman pontiffs, and many Catholic writers have exercised their abilities in discovering and publishing the nature of these errors. Is there nothing to correct in the authorised version of the present church of England?

5. Neither is it true that Catholics lock up the scriptures from the knowledge of the laity. Let our adversaries, if they can, produce for this assertion the decree of any council, the bull of any pope, the statute of any provincial synod, or the order of any bishop. They know that they cannot. Their only resource is the prohibition in the index. I must, however, observe, that the index has not the power of declaring articles of Catholic faith, or of forming canons of general discipline. Its authority was always very confined, and in many Catholic countries was never acknowledged. Yet this very prohibition contained in the index, is only conditional, and has always been considered as a temporary regulation. At a time, when every species of impiety was taught by fanaticism, and supported by texts from the vernacular versions of the scripture, Pius IV. thought it adviseable, that in every parish, the propriety or non-propriety of reading the sacred writings in the vulgar tongue, should be left to the discretion and judgment of the curate.

Had this regulation been adopted in the Protestant churches, it would have spared the christian religion many an extravagance, at which she was compelled to blush. We should not then have heard of the famous John of Leyden, who, by interpreting the bible, made himself king of Munster, and introduced polygamy among his disciples; nor of David of Delft, who, besides the virtue last mentioned, taught another equally creditable, that of incest; nor of Hermannus, the cobbler of Optzant, who professed to be the son of God, drank in the spirit from a hogshead of strong beer, and then exclaimed, "Kill, cut the throats of all the monks and popes. Repent, repent; for your deliverance is at hand." Neither should we have heard of William Simpson, "who was moved of the Lord to go naked in markets, courts," &c. nor of Nailor, who, freed from the incumbrances of dress, entered Bristol on horseback, while the inspired multitude shouted *Hosanna to the son of David*; nor of the London leather-seller, with the edifying name of *Praise-God Barebone*, and his still more saintly brother with the more impressive name of, *If Christ had not died for thee, thou hadst been damned, Barebone*. During this period of religious insanity, while the human mind was prepared for the reception of every extravagance, it was, perhaps, wisely done to prohibit the lecture of the scripture to those whom their pastors did not think incapable of such folly. What has the reformation obtained by the opposite conduct? It has divided Christendom into a thousand different sects, disseminated an indifference to all religious truth, and kept the poor in a state of the most distressing ignorance: and still, with these facts staring them in the face, men can come forward, and reproach the Catholic church with obstructing the diffusion of scripture knowledge; that church which, since the reformation, has been constantly employed in carrying the light of the gospel to infidel nations; which, before that period, subdued the ferocity of the barbarous tribes that dismembered the Roman empire; which led our pagan ancestors from the altars of Woden to those of the living God; and to which every people

that has learned to bow the knee to the divinity of Jesus, is indebted for the knowledge of that sacred name.

Thus have I patiently travelled through the pages of a pamphlet, which its own author has ingenuously pronounced to be dull and heavy. The tediousness of the road was not relieved by one object capable of awakening curiosity, or of arresting attention. I am glad we have done. The clergyman concludes his letter with an advice, to which the Remarker probably would answer in the words of an old proverb: *Physician, cure thyself.* At parting I may be allowed to add one observation: That at a time when every arm should be raised to repel the common enemy, it is folly to disturb unanimity by disseminating religious discord. Of those who have thought proper to adopt such conduct, I may applaud the intentions, but I must condemn the bigotry. They may be friends to the church in their hearts: their pens are its most dangerous enemies.

REPLY
TO
THE REV. THOMAS LE MESURIER,
RECTOR OF NEWNTON LONGVILLE.

Alter rixatur de lanâ sæpe caprinâ,
Propugnat nugis armatus: scilicet; ut non
Sit mihi prima fides, et vere quod placet, ut non
Acriter elatrem, pretium ætas altera sordet.

WITH the preceding pages I had flattered myself that the controversy was closed: a recent publication has convinced me of my mistake.* From the county of Bucks, from his watch-tower of Newnton Longville, the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier has sounded the alarm. His orthodoxy has been taught to tremble for the safety of the Established Church; and an imperious duty has compelled him to warn his brethren against the delusive sophistry of a work, “ which, from its lively and enter-

* See a pamphlet with the multifarious title of “ A reply to certain observations of the Right Reverend Dr. Milner, including some notice of the transactions of 1791, and 1793; of Dr. Troy’s pastoral charge; of the Pope’s rescript; of the Remarks upon the Bishop of Durham’s charge; of the acts of the council of Constance; Mr. Sydney Smith’s sermon, and other matters.” Farrago libelli!

“ taining stile, he fears is likely to become popular.”* What pleasing tales the vanity of an author may have whispered in the ear of the rector of Newnton Longville, is not for me to divine. His, undoubtedly, is a name well-known among the amateurs of the art of wrangling. He has measured weapons with the Edinburgh reviewers, and the Monthly reviewers; with Dr. Lawrence, Dr. Milner, and Dr. Troy; and his numerous scars, the evidences of many a well-fought battle, bear an honourable testimony, if not to his success, at least to his courage. If then he be dissatisfied with the services of those, who have already undertaken the defence of the Bishop’s charge; † if he think himself better qualified to meet the Remarker in the field of controversy, he has certainly a right to make the experiment. It will be for the church, in whose cause he professes to fight, to appreciate his merits, and to reward his success, or lament his temerity.

Mr. Le Mesurier appears to have studied controversial tactics in the classic pages of Homer. Like the heroes of that poet, he does not rush inconsiderately to the conflict, but arrests his impetuosity to inquire into the parentage and character of his opponent. It will be uncourteous in me to refuse so small a satisfaction. Be it then known to him that the Remarker is no “ false brother of the Established Church,” even though he may display “ a familiarity with Greek epigrams and Greek proverbs.” Neither is he joined in communion with “ the Socinian Aikin;” though it be his opinion, that of all the sects which have sprung from that prolific parent the reformation, the Socinians have the fairest claim to the name of Protestants. ‡

* Ibid, p. 208.

† See two publications entitled, a Protestant’s Reply, and a Letter to the author of the Remarks, by a clergyman of the diocese of Durham.

‡ If Mr. Le Mesurier will honour the last page of the Remarks with a second perusal, he will learn that its author had directed his attack, not against the doctrine of the Trinity as taught by the Established Church, but against the doctrine of the Bishop respecting the practices of the Catholics. In p. 173, he also accuses the Remarker of ridiculing the doctrine of the Trinity, because Gregory XIII. had --

Nor of the Edinburgh and Monthly reviewers does he know much more, than that they have often taught him to laugh at the expense of the rector of Newnton Longville. The Remarker is a Catholic, not one, "whose religious sentiments sit very loose upon him," but a Catholic from conviction, who, though he has never taken the oath or creed of Pious IV. believes all the religious tenets of his church with as much sincerity, to say the least, as Mr. Le Mesurier does the thirty-nine articles to which he has subscribed; and who esteems it his pride and happiness to belong, not to any modern sect, but to that great society of christians, which derives its descent in a direct and uninterrupted succession from the apostles. With this explanation I trust he will be satisfied.

The subject which Mr. Le Mesurier has selected for the first trial of his strength with the author of the Remarks, is an accusation which the Bishop has frequently brought against the Church of Rome; that by its corruptions it had been the parent of French infidelity, and of course was chargeable with all the horrors of the French revolution. To this indictment the Remarker, in the name of his church, pleaded not guilty. From the speculations of the Bishop he appealed to the evidence of history. He moved for a writ to enquire who was the true parent of the child. He contended that, in reality, modern atheism was the offspring, not of popery, but of Protestantism: that the French were only the scholars of the English infidels: and that these were indebted for their superior illumination to the intrepidity with which they pushed, to their full extent, the fundamental principles of the reformation.* To a genealogy so well corroborated by

communicated the *Trinitarii*. But to be a polemic it is not necessary to be acquainted with ecclesiastical history: otherwise Mr. Le Mesurier must have known that the persons, who in that age were called *Trinitarii*, were those who rejected, not those who admitted, the doctrine of the Trinity.

* In the very outset Mr. Le Mesurier gives a very favourable specimen of his abilities as an advocate. The Bishop had assigned as one of his reasons for ascribing infidelity to popery, that it was liable to

dates and facts, Mr. Le Mesurier found himself compelled to yield a faint and reluctant assent; but for the concession he has amply consoled himself by the discovery of an argument, which he trusts will still prove the Bishop's accusation to be perfectly correct. He tells us, that in England the writings of the infidels made no impression on the great body of the inhabitants; because the common people, having the word of God before their eyes, were not to be talked out of their religion. They only became mischievous, when they were translated into the languages of the countries in which the people were debarred all access to the truths of the gospel, and their minds revolted at the superstition and frauds of the Romish priests.* Here again we have speculation: let us try its accuracy by the most faithful of tests, its agreement with facts. In comparing the common people in England with the common people in France, does Mr. Le Mesurier take the latter as they were before, or as they were during the revolution? In the first supposition, he has assumed that which it will be incumbent on him to prove. I have no hesitation to assert that, before the revolution, the writings of the infidels had made but little impression on the mass of the common people in France. Their attachment to all the practices of their religion was equal, or rather it was far superior, to that which is manifested at the present day by the same class in England. Whoever has witnessed the crowds, which filled on a Sunday the parish churches in France, and the scanty attend-

the objections of thinking men: and the Remarker very naturally expressed his surprise that these thinking men did not, after discovering the errors of popery, discover also the truths of protestantism. Why did they prefer atheism to it? Oh! says Mr. Le Mesurier, thinking does not always imply *thinking right* (p. 196). Be it so. It will only follow that, in the Bishop's opinion, the thinking men, who have objections to popery, are those who do not *think right*. Pray! how did the Bishop *think*, when he objected to popery, that it was derogatory from the honour of God the Father, the mediatorship of God the Son, and the sanctifying influence of God the Holy Ghost? Is he also to be excluded from the number of thinking men, who think right?

* Le Mesur. p. 107.

ance which is generally given to them in this country, will acknowledge the truth of my assertion. The religion of the great body of the French people might be termed enthusiasm, in opposition to the indifference, the cold neglect, of the common people in this kingdom.

If, on the other hand, Mr. Le Mesurier meant to compare the religious conduct of the English, at the present day, with that of the French during the revolution, the comparison was unfair. You must place each in a similar situation, before you can legitimately draw the inference. During the paroxysm of revolutionary phrenzy, it was not surprising if the infidels, who had assumed the powers of government, were able, under the influence of terror, and the seduction of liberty, to persecute the ministers, and suspend for a time the exercise of religion. For this temporary desertion of their creed, the great body of the people atoned by the alacrity with which they returned to the Catholic worship, at the first dawn of internal tranquillity. Their subsequent conduct has shewn that the doctrines of infidelity had never taken root in their hearts. If, for the sake of argument, England instead of France had been the theatre of the revolution, and the English clergy had displayed that determined opposition to the views of the demagogues, which distinguished the French clergy, does not Mr. Le Mesurier believe, that the established church also would have fallen, its dignities have been abolished, and its wealth confiscated? Yet could he justly have ascribed such a catastrophe to the infidelity of the common people?

But, he will ask, were not the people in France “debarred all access to the truths of the gospels, and “were not their minds revolted at the superstitions “and frauds of the Romish priests?” The first part of the interrogation alludes, I conceive, to the well-known objection respecting the scriptures in a vulgar tongue, which has been already noticed in several parts of this controversy. Here I shall only add, that in most, perhaps in all, the dioceses in France, the more advanced among the children were obliged, on every

Sunday and many holidays, to repeat by heart in the parish church, the epistle and gospel for the day: a singular method of "debarring them all access to the truths of the gospel!" As to the frauds of the Romish priests, I can only pity the prejudice or the ignorance of the man who has brought the objection. A Romish priest is no longer an unknown character in this island. There was a time, when Protestant liberality was allowed to paint him in the most hideous colours: and I have known many an orthodox churchman stare at a Catholic clergyman, as if he were an ourang outang, or an infernal being in human shape. But these days have passed away. Hundreds of Romish priests, and those too from the very country to which Mr. Le Mesurier alludes, have lately dwelt among us. Their moral and religious conduct has been open to the eyes of every beholder: and I am convinced that no one, who cultivated their acquaintance, will be ashamed to assert, that they were as sincere in their belief, and as incapable of fraud, as the Rector of Newnton Longville or his brethren.

Were I to follow Mr. Le Mesurier step by step through the remaining pages of his pamphlet, I should only weary both myself and the reader. Of his arguments, many have been already noticed in the course of this controversy; and those who wish for more information on such subjects, may consult the theologians, who have professedly discussed the opposite claims of the two churches. My object will only be to offer a few observations on certain passages, which strike me as peculiarly novel, or peculiarly interesting.

In page 201, Mr. Le Mesurier has amused himself with drawing a long and tedious parallel between the real or supposed doctrines of the churches of Rome and England respecting the remission of sin. Now, reader, what think you is the object of this parallel? A singular one indeed it is: no other than to determine, which of the two holds out to her children the greatest encouragement for the perpetration of crimes. The claim of superiority, as was to be expected, he awards to the Church of Rome: but before I state the reason

on which he grounds his decision, I may be allowed to observe, that, if the Catholic doctrine invites to sin, the conduct of Catholics exhibits a moral phenomenon, highly deserving of investigation. We are made, I presume, of the same materials as our protestant neighbours ; our breasts feel the influence of the same passions ; our virtue is exposed to the same temptations. Thus far our circumstances are similar : but then comes the great discriminating difference. It is the happiness of the Protestant to practice a pure, unadulterated worship, which unfolds to his eye the moral truths of the scriptures, opposes a strong barrier to the impulse of the passions, and checks the diffusion of vice : while it is the misfortune of the Catholic to profess a religion, which studiously conceals the scriptures from the eyes of the people, encourages sin, and urges to the gratification of illicit desire. Now, if these premises be true, what other conclusion can be drawn from them, than that of all classes of christians, the Catholics must be the most depraved. But is such reasoning justified by experience ? I call on the Rector of Newnton Longville to make the enquiry. Let him compare the morals of the nearest Catholic congregation with the morals of his own Protestant parishioners, of those who have had the happiness to receive from his own lips the saving truths of the gospel, and then let him say whether the Catholics yield to them in piety or virtue. If they do not, as I trust they do not, let him endeavour to reconcile this fact with his opinion respecting the immoral tendency of their creed. A similar invitation I have already made to two of the Remarker's opponents. They have had the prudence to decline it. We shall soon learn if Mr. Le Mesurier be more adventurous.

Knowing, as from my profession I must know, the true nature of the Catholic worship, and convinced, as from long experience I am, that it is hostile to the existence of vice in any of its shapes, it was with much surprise that I first read Mr. Le Mesurier's extraordinary assertion. I was anxious to learn on what foundation it rested ; and was informed, that, according to

the Catholic doctrine, “be you as great a sinner as you please, the church has power to absolve you, if you will but submit to the penance which she may impose.” Were even such our doctrine, I might still doubt whether the inference were legitimate: but I must be allowed to ask Mr. Le Mesurier, from what profession of Catholic faith he drew his information? Had the assertion been only sported in one of those ephemeral sermons, which the charity of some Protestant clergymen prompts them occasionally to preach against us, it might have passed unnoticed. From his pulpit, the Rector of Newnton Longville may pour the stream of his eloquence without the risk of contradiction. There, probably, he will be opposed by no sceptic who may doubt, no critic who may refute his accusations. With gaping mouths the pious flock will devour his words, and bless the orthodox shepherd who feeds their souls with such delectable manna. But to hazard a charge, so devoid of foundation, and so easy of detection, in a publication open to the perusal both of friends and foes, is a dangerous experiment. The victims of calumny will not be slow to assert their innocence; and the man who values his character as a minister of the God of truth, should be careful how he disgrace it with the imputation of forgery. Far be it from me to impute to Mr. Le Mesurier any intentional misrepresentation; but I may be permitted to lament, that neither the experience of age, nor the advantages of an academical education have been able to eradicate from his mind the prejudices of the nursery:

The priest continues what the nurse began,
And thus the child imposes on the man.

The truth is, the doctrine so confidently ascribed to us is not only not our doctrine, but the very opposite to it. We do not teach, that the church has power to absolve the sinner as often as he pleases, provided he submit to the penance enjoined him; but we do teach, that no penance whatever, though even united with absolution, will suffice for the remission of one grievous sin, without contrition: that is, without a true sorrow

for the offence committed against God, a firm resolution of amendment, and a disposition of mind to repair, as circumstances will permit, every injury offered to our neighbour. These are considered as conditions indispensably necessary for the forgiveness of sin. Without them we are taught that no penance, no absolution, can be of any avail. And will Mr. Le Mesurier undertake to prove that such a doctrine is an encouragement to sin?*

2. But the Rector of Newnton Longville is not so easily satisfied. He tells us, that the Catholic church "grants indulgences prospectively for sins to come;"† and chastises the insincerity of the Remarker, who had preserved the most obstinate silence on that head. It is no difficult task to vindicate the Remarker. He knew that indulgences for sins to come are only ideal beings, which exist no where but in the writings of our

* To a Catholic reader nothing can appear more extraordinary than the confidence with which Mr. Le Mesurier decides what is and what is not our belief, and the profound ignorance, which on such occasions he invariably betrays. Of the numerous instances of this assertion, with which his answer to these pages abounds, I shall be content to notice one. The doctrine delivered above is familiar to every Catholic from his childhood, and is contained in every book of Catholic instruction which I ever saw. Yet Mr. Le Mesurier is confident it is not our doctrine: he terms my assertion bold and unwarranted: he defies me to produce any authority in its support. (Supplement to reply, p. 5.) The following authority is sufficiently long for a note, and sufficiently explicit to satisfy an unprejudiced mind. It is taken from a book of prayers composed by a Catholic prelate, and published for the use of the Catholics serving in the army and navy. "You know from the catechisms you have learned, and the books of Catholic instruction you have read, that the absolution of a priest can be of no service to you, unless you be duly disposed to a reconciliation with your offended God, by true faith, by a sincere sorrow for all your sins, by a firm resolution never to commit them again, and by a willingness to satisfy God, and your neighbour also, as far as justice requires. Without these dispositions on your part, the act of the priest would not be ratified in heaven; you would be guilty of a profanation of the sacrament of penance, and provoke the indignation of the Almighty instead of obtaining his mercy. It is only when he sees you thus duly disposed, that God looses in heaven, what, by his authority, and according to the conditions of his institution, his minister looses on earth."

† Le Mesur. p. 202.

adversaries: that they are no more than spectres, conjured up by religious bigotry, to frighten the imagination of the vulgar; or rather, that they are, to use the words of the late Mr. Fox on a similar subject, no better than "good, sound, Protestant lies." But will it be so easy to vindicate the conduct of Mr. Le Mesurier? How will he apologize for his adoption of this antiquated forgery? Will he say that he had not sufficiently examined the subject, or that he retailed the calumny on the authority of others? If so, let me advise him to add the following maxim to his collection of controversial canons, that "it is a breach of common honesty, either to advance an accusation against any man, or body of men, without having examined into its truth, or to repeat it, when it has been proved to be false, and without foundation."*

3. Mr. Le Mesurier has a third and still more powerful argument in reserve. He hopes to silence his adversary by the testimony of a book, which has long been the pride of the bigot and the polemic; has often reddened with shame the cheek of the most obdurate papist; and, what is of still more utility to mankind, has furnished the learned, pious, and visionary Mr. Granville Sharp with a key to unlock to astonished mortals the secrets contained in the book of Revelations.† This book, so pregnant with important consequences, is the *Liber Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ*, or a tariff of the prices at which sins may be redeemed in the Roman chancery, the great custom-house of human guilt. If the reader will be at the trouble to peruse the different articles of this valuable code, he will at least acknowledge, that the pope is extremely moderate in his demands, and wonder, that his holiness has not employed a British financier to improve the receipts of his treasury. In England, you cannot obtain a licence to keep a setting dog, without paying a tax of ten shillings: at Rome, it seems, a man may murder his father, and enjoy the estate, for the payment of the

* Aikin, Annual Review for 1806, p. 595.

† See Observations, &c. at the end.

same duty. Here, one and twenty shillings are demanded for permission to powder your hair once in twelve months: there, for an equal sum, you may keep a mistress, without endangering your salvation. However, should Mr. Le Mesurier, and his friend, stray as far as Rome, I would not have them rely with too much confidence on the *Liber Taxæ Cancellariæ*; they might find themselves in the same unpleasant situation as the Roman nobleman, mentioned by O'Leary, who, when he was accused of having three wives living at the same time, attempted to justify his conduct by observing, that he had not been able to meet with one with whom he could be happy. "Since it is so difficult," replied the pontiff, Sixtus Quintus, "to please you in this world, you shall go and try your fortune in the other. There, women are more numerous, and you may find one to your liking." The *Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ* could not save him. He was tried for polygamy, and executed.

The Roman Chancery is a very ancient establishment, the regulations of which were originally formed by John XXII., and brought into their present form by Nicholas V. At the death of each pope these regulations are supposed to expire: but his successor is always careful to revive them; and thus they remain, at the present day, substantially the same as they were some centuries ago. From them, the *Regulæ Cancellariæ Romanæ*, it appears that the causes brought before that tribunal, regard the temporalities of vacant bishoprics; the collation, permutation, or resignation of benefices; absolution from canonical censures; and dispensations from the canonical impediments of marriage. With the guilt of sin the Roman chancery has no concern whatever. All its absolutions are styled in *foro externo*: they regard only the punishments inflicted by the canons; and of course all the reasonings and accusations, the pious invectives, and indignant exclamations, to which the contrary supposition has given birth, are the offspring of error or fiction. It is indeed true, that, for the transaction of business in the papal chancery, as well as in the ecclesiastical courts

adieu to the liberty of the children of God. He must submit his judgment to the infallible decisions of his church, or he must forfeit, what many men will prefer to the exercise of their judgment, the civil rights to which, as an Englishman, he is entitled by his birth. So erroneous was that saying of our Redeemer, *my kingdom is not of this world*.

Let not Mr. Le Mesurier, however, suppose that I shall grant the truth of his assertion. It is one of the many mistakes into which those frequently fall, who study books instead of facts; and judge of the present practices of Catholics from the bold assertions of prejudiced controvertists, who lived a century ago. In defiance of his prohibition, the Catholics, both laymen and ecclesiastics, do read, and will continue to read, the sacred volumes, even in their native tongue. But how, perhaps it may be asked, are we then to account for the contrary assertion so frequently and so confidently made by our adversaries? I conceive it must be a theological axiom, which is taken for granted, to spare the labour of enquiry. To doubt its truth would mar many a controversial sermon, and deprive the preacher of an eloquent triumph over the superstitions of popery. But were Mr. Le Mesurier to enquire of his next Catholic neighbour, he would learn that this axiom is, like many other axioms, admitted only because its truth has not been examined.

To his observation respecting the prohibition of books of controversy, the same answer may suffice. I am, however, happy in being able to relieve his anxiety respecting his own works. The church of Rome is not so impolitic as to forbid the perusal of writings which are so favourable to her cause. If ever she condescend to notice the controversial lucubrations of the Rector of Newton Longville, it will be to recommend them to the perusal of her children. For Catholics, when they observe one of their most eager opponents directing his fiercest attacks against imaginary articles of their creed, will naturally infer, that if he has spared their real principles, it has been

because he felt himself unable to refute them. The power might, the will could not be wanting.

It cannot have escaped the notice of the attentive reader, how frequently, since the very commencement of this controversy, doctrines have been ascribed to us which we most emphatically disclaim. Had not the history of mankind explained the baneful influence of the odium theologicum, how rapidly it obscures the understanding, and palsies all the more generous feelings, it might have been expected that our reverend and right reverend opponents, men, who from their education and their rank in life should be, and on other occasions are, liberal, dispassionate, and enlightened, would take the trouble to study our religious belief, before they attempt to refute it. Yet so it happens, that they generally choose to frame for us such a creed as they think proper, and then insist on our admitting it as our own, whether we will or not. How far this may be reconcileable with theological sincerity, I shall not determine: it is certainly an ingenious and politic device. It establishes a kind of barter, without any reciprocity of risk. The profit is all theirs: the loss must fall upon us. They take from us our civil rights, and in return give us erroneous articles of faith. All the emoluments, all the honours in the state, they confine to themselves: and then very charitably bid us to console ourselves with the belief of the absurd and impious doctrines, which they have so liberally bestowed on us.

When we claim the faculty of knowing what it is we believe, we certainly ask but little. Yet this little is refused us. Our opponents arrogate to themselves a privilege which no pontiff ever dared to claim, even in the proudest days of the papal power. The successors of St. Peter might decide what each Catholic *was bound* to believe: these new inquisitors decide what each Catholic actually *does* and *shall* believe. The pontiff might define, but he could not compel the assent of the understanding: these men define, and will not allow us even the power of dissent. Their

infallibility extends over all our faculties, both physical and moral. The papist must necessarily be whatever they please to represent him. To disclaim the false and odious tenets which they have added to our creed, is an idle, hopeless task. They laugh at our protestations, and condemn us of insincerity. Among the graces of their ordination, they appear to have received the peculiar privilege of penetrating into our breasts, of discovering our most secret sentiments, of analyzing and exposing the hidden motives of our conduct. To every argument which we adduce, they haughtily and tauntingly reply, that we are shifters and equivocators, and that, as it suits our convenience, we can disguise or disown each article of our creed.* Whence they have learned to form so unfavourable a notion of our character, I shall not inquire: but if it be well founded, we must have been bunglers indeed, not to have escaped that load of penal restrictions, and legal disabilities, which their intolerance has heaped upon us. Were I disposed to retaliate, I would desire the Rector of Newnton Longville to look for instances of insincerity, shuffling, and equivocation, not among the Catholic writers, but in another class of men, among whom, if report belie them not, there are those, who have been accustomed to make religion a matter of calculation, to weigh tithes against subscriptions, and to estimate the orthodoxy of a creed by the amount of its temporal emoluments. But peace to the errors and weaknesses of human nature, when they do not wound the feelings, nor trample on the rights of others. Were the doctrinal forgeries of our adversaries of this innoxious character, we should not complain. Their false notes might be permitted to circulate without interruption, for the edification of the illiterate, and the amusement of the learned. They might then call for unlimited credit: they might draw to any amount on the igno-

* Le Mesurier's reply, p. 39, 42, 52, 197, &c. The Remarker has no reason to complain of such language, as he must share it with other writers more distinguished than himself.

rance or the prejudices of the public. But when their only object is to stop the current of national justice and national liberality, to deprive of their civil rights millions of his majesty's subjects as loyal as themselves, and to degrade them beneath a level with the meanest of their Protestant countrymen, their misrepresentations become an evil of the most alarming tendency, and deserve the execration of every honest man.

In his last page, Mr. Le Mesurier advises the Bishop of Durham to reprint some of the old tracts against popery. I am not surprised at it. He would be proud to appear in the company of his elder brethren, the controvertists of a former age. *Pares cum paribus, veteri proverbio, facillime congregantur.* Unfortunately he was born a century too late. The books, which he so much admires, have long lain covered with dust on the shelves of our libraries: and there, it is probable, they will continue to lie

Like rusty mail in monumental mockery.

At the present day, Englishmen are, I trust, too wise to fight with each other for modes of faith. They would rather unite men of every religious persuasion to oppose the designs of a bold, powerful, and fortunate enemy, who with all Europe at his back, threatens our very existence as an independent nation. Let Mr. Mesurier devote his abilities to this purpose, and he will deserve the gratitude of his country. As long as he continues to employ himself in collecting the superannuated follies of ancient polemics, and in republishing them to disturb the harmony, and consequently to divide the strength of the nation, his readers will be inclined to throw down his book, and to exclaim with the poet.

Hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

REPLY
TO
THE REV. G. S. FABER,
VICAR OF STOCKTON.

IT is truly edifying to observe the alacrity with which the clergy of the diocese of Durham continue to espouse the defence of the bishop's charge. Formerly, that prelate thought it his duty to accuse them of lukewarmness and indifference:* now, at least, he must recal his censure, and applaud the zeal and promptitude of their exertions. To the other adversaries of the Remarker, has lately been added, a new, and more celebrated champion—the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D., and vicar of Stockton-upon-Tees. This gentleman is certainly at liberty to select, for the exercise of his abilities, any subjects which suit his judgment or inclination: but I think that the reputation which he has already acquired, cannot be improved by his interference in the petty squabbles excited by an episcopal charge. Prophecy, not controversy, is Mr. Faber's peculiar department. In his progress through that region of mist and darkness, he has outstripped the speed of all his competitors. By his profound acquaintance with the helio-arkite mythology of the Cabiri, and

* Charge, p. 21.

the hieroglyphic language of the Apocalypse, he has already explained to the world the mysteries of the times past, of the time present, and of the time to come: * the success of his preceding exertions are an earnest of what we may expect in future; and his admirers will regret that a single moment of his time has been withdrawn from the pursuit of objects so interesting to the credulity of the pious and orthodox churchman.

It is, indeed, true that, in his pamphlet, the Remarker had named Mr. Faber; but he had named him with respect. He had given him, what it had long been his object to acquire, the title of a prophet; and had assigned to him a task the most congenial to his studies, the explication of a mystery. He did not wish to entangle him in the webs of controversial sophistry, but to open to him a new field for the excursions of his fancy. He had invited him to explain the meaning of a mystery, which is not, indeed, to be found in the Cabirian mythology, or the canonical books of scripture, but which is frequently announced, with considerable energy, in the sermons and charges of the Bishop of Durham. We read in the Apocalypse, of a woman in the heavens who brought forth a man-child, and then fled into the wilderness, where she was fed during the space of 1260 days, or perhaps years: we read in the works of the Right Rev. Prelate, of another woman who, though she became pregnant with infidelity at a very early period, did not bring forth her child till after a gestation of more than ten centuries. Mr. Faber had very satisfactorily explained the mystery of the apocalyptic woman; and the Remarker had hoped that the mystery of the retarded parturition in the second woman, would have been as easily elucidated by his experience and ingenuity. He has, however, declined the task. He seems to think, with the Remarker, that a millennial period of gestation

* See Mr. Faber's great works, *The Mysteries of the Cabiri*, and *The Prophecies that have been fulfilled, are now fulfilling, or will hereafter be fulfilled, &c. &c.* 4 vols. octavo.

bears a very portentous aspect; and therefore willingly acquits popery of the imputation of being naturally pregnant with atheism.* He rather leans to the opinion of Andrew Fuller, "who justly deems infidelity to be a putrid excrescence of the papal beast."† With the works of "this very able" genealogist, I have neither the means nor the inclination to be intimately acquainted; but from the preceding specimen, I have no doubt that he was a writer of most correct taste, and most delicate feelings. Mr. Faber's own opinion, however, is, that "infidelity may, *in some sense*, be "called the abortive offspring of popery, because sceptical inquiry produced it, by acting on the corruptions of popery."‡ Now, in almost every history of the reformation, I find the same origin assigned to Protestantism; and, as I cannot believe Protestantism and infidelity to be the same thing, I must conclude that they are twin brothers, both "the abortive offspring of popery." Thus, then, whatever may become of the millennialian gestation, it appears that, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the age of a thousand years according to the imputation of her adversaries, the old lady unexpectedly found herself the parent of two blooming boys, Protestantism and Infidelity. Nor does the birth of this "par nobile frutum" appear to have been unnoticed by the ancient prophets. Whether any allusion to it exist in the helio-arkite mythology, Mr. Faber alone can tell us; but it has certainly been predicted in the Apocalypse, by the two horns growing out of the head of the breast.

It is, however, "*in some sense*" only, that Mr. Faber calls infidelity the offspring of popery. He therefore proceeds to inform us, that the true parent is Socinianism. But whence did Socinianism derive its origin?

* Mr. Faber says, that the passage which he quoted from the charge, only asserted the revolutionary spirit to be, *in a great measure*, owing to the errors and defects of popery. In the passages to which the Remarker referred, the learned prelate seems to assert something more.

† Faber, Answer to Bicheno, &c. p. 92.

‡ Ibid.

It is on this point that the Vicar of Stockton joins issue with the Remarker; and while that writer describes the principles of Socinianism as a direct emanation from the principles of Protestantism, *he* contends that they come from a very different quarter, that they are the handywork of catholicity. For this very extraordinary assertion, he refers us to the authority of Mosheim, without reflecting, that the authority of Mosheim has very little weight with those who, from the tendency of the errors which abound in his work, have learned to esteem him rather as the advocate of a party, than the champion of truth. Yet what does Mr. Faber collect from the pages of this historian? That the formation and establishment of Socinianism were entirely owing to the labours of Lælius and Faustus Socinus; and that these new apostles were Italians; the former of whom, before he had conversed with the reformers, was compelled in 1547, to retire from his country, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery: whence he concludes, that the origin of Socinianism cannot be laid to the charge of Protestantism.* Mr. Faber, however, must excuse me if I hesitate to subscribe either to the accuracy of his statement, or to the validity of his inference. That the Socinians derive their name from Lælius and Faustus Socinus, the uncle and the nephew, but principally from the latter, is indeed true; it should, however, be remembered, that their principles are older than their name; and that before the birth of the elder Socinus, Luther had complained of the audacity of several among his disciples, who, usurping the privilege of their master, had erased from their creed the two great mysteries of the Trinity of God, and the redemption of mankind. Whether Lælius Socinus, before he left Italy, had conversed with any of the reformers, is what probably neither Mr. Faber nor the Remarker can determine. That their writings were then known in that country, is certain; and that the “disgust of Socinus against the “doctrines of popery” was derived from them, is at

* Faber's Answer.

least highly probable. After spending four years in different countries, and in the company of the most celebrated of the reformers, the Italian fixed his residence at Geneva. Here, by improving on the doctrine of his masters, he soon learned to reject the mysteries which they still retained : but the flames that consumed Servetus, taught him to respect the stern infallibility of Calvin, and he was prudently satisfied with the silent belief of his own creed, without presuming to illuminate the minds of his brethren. The letters, however, which he occasionally wrote to the members of his family in Italy, procured a few converts to his opinions ; among whom the most celebrated was his nephew, Faustus. At his uncle's death, this young man became heir to his papers ; and, after spending ten years at the court of Florence, formed the design of announcing to the world the theological discoveries of his uncle, improved and perfected by himself. With this view he left Italy, where he had reason to fear the incredulity of the inquisition, as much as Lælius had feared the zeal of Calvin at Geneva. Switzerland was the first theatre of his labours : from Switzerland he proceeded to Transylvania ; and thence, in 1579, passed into Poland. Poland was, at that period, the scene of religious dissension. Among the reformed churches within its limits, were reckoned no less than thirty different sects of Anti-trinitarians. To these Faustus applied ; and, after many fruitless negotiations, succeeded in collecting the most considerable into one society, in which his talents and credit gave him the most distinguished place, and the members of which afterwards assumed from him the name of Socinians.

But to judge of the origin of religious sects, we are not to look to the country in which some of their teachers may chance to have been born, but to the principles which they are acknowledged to profess. In the catechism of Racow, published by Socinus himself, we are told that the first, the most essential principle of their doctrine is, that the holy scriptures, interpreted by the private judgment of each individual, are the sole rule of faith. Now as this is the very

doctrine which Luther promulgated, the very privilege which he claimed, when he first separated from the church of Rome, many years before the birth of Socinus, I think I may be justified when I assert that the latter was indebted to *him* for the foundation of his religious creed; and that, of consequence, the Socinians are the legitimate children of the reformation. It is indeed true, that Faustus pushed the principles of his teachers to their full extent: that, with heroic intrepidity, he embraced every consequence naturally deducible from them: and that, while other religious innovators stopped short in their career, he was consistent with himself, and continued to argue and reject till scarcely a single doctrine remained, which had formerly been thought peculiar to christianity. But hence it will not follow that he was descended from a different stock from his reforming colleagues. The only inference we can draw is, that he was a bold, stubborn, and undutiful child, who knew the privileges of his birthright, and would not be deprived of them by the frowns or prohibitions of an unreasonable parent. His exploits were thus recorded in his epitaph:

Tota quidem Babylon destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus.*

From the origin of infidelity, Mr. Faber proceeds to the charge of idolatry. In support of his own opinion,

* To strengthen his reasoning on this subject, Mr. Faber gives his reader from Mosheim, a list of persons, mostly Frenchmen and Italians, whom he considers as infidels; and mentions a report that "in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected, from whence swarms of impious doctors issued out to deceive the simple and unwary." As these swarms of infidels, if they had ever existed, would have been easily traced to their hives, and the existence of these hives is only asserted on hearsay, we may reasonably consider them as the fabrications of prejudice or imposture. Of the names which he has mentioned, the greater part belong to men, who are well known to have lived and died in the christian faith; but what has this to do with the real point at issue between the Bishop and the Remarker? The latter had asserted, in answer to the Bishop, that the French infidels had learned their unbelieving system from the English deists and atheists: Will Mr. Faber undertake to prove that the latter were the disciples of popery?

and that of his bishop, he transcribes with an air of triumph, certain extracts from prayers contained in the Sarum Missal, once in use in this kingdom. They were originally collected by the orthodox zeal of his apocalyptic rival, Mr. Whitaker, and may be found among the two hundred pages which that interpreter of the book of Revelations has very wisely devoted to the exposition of the corruptions of popery. And here I may be allowed to admire the ingenuity of our Protestant adversaries, who, when they extract from our books of devotion, what they deem objectionable passages, are careful to suppress every expression which might elucidate their true meaning.* I acknowledge that the prayers transcribed by Mr. Faber, as they stand unconnected in his pages, appear to ascribe to the saints more than can with justice be given to them: but I also maintain, that had Mr. Whitaker transcribed other prayers, which he must have found in the same book, they would have explained the meaning of the former, and have shewn that it was easily reconcileable with the doctrine laid down by the Remarker. If I prove this to be true, it will be in vain that Mr. Faber has pointed the horns of his dilemma against that author. They may both be broken at a single stroke.

I have it not in my power to consult the Sarum Missal at the present moment: but trust that the Sarum Portiforium, printed at London in 1555, and used in the same church, will be admitted as equal authority. From it I shall transcribe two prayers, which I have selected from several others of similar import, for no other reason than because they are addressed to the same saints as two of those adduced by Mr. Faber.

“ Holy Mary, succour the miserable, help the faint-
 “ hearted, comfort the afflicted, pray for the people,
 “ intercede for the clergy, make supplication for the
 “ devout female sex. Let all feel thy help, who cele-
 “ brated thy holy memory. Be it thy care to pray
 “ assiduously for the people of God, as it has been thy
 “ happiness to bear the Redeemer of the world, Christ

* Faber's Answer.

“ Jesus our Lord.” “ Holy Alban, protomartyr of the English, pour forth thy prayers to the Lord for the safety of the faithful. Amen.” Whatever Mr. Faber may think of the prayers quoted by him, I trust he will acknowledge that in these nothing more is requested than the friendly and charitable intercession of those to whom they are addressed. Now the person who intercedes for a benefit, is essentially different from him who bestows it. The two ideas are so distinct, that they cannot be confounded. As long as I consider the saints as intercessors for grace and salvation, I cannot consider them as the bestowers of grace and salvation. Hence it seems to follow that, if the prayers quoted above have the meaning which I have affixed to them, the others must be explained agreeably to that meaning: and Protestants should learn what Catholics well know, that in every petition to the saints, whatever may be asked, their intercession is always expressed or understood. To consider them as the sources of grace, or the bestowers of favours, is a doctrine reprobated by the Catholic no less than the Protestant church: nor do we even believe that their intercession can be of any avail, but through the merits of Christ, their and our Saviour, their and our God.

Still, perhaps, it may be asked, can such prayers as those quoted by Mr. Faber, have the meaning which I contend ought to be given to them? This question can only come from one who has been inattentive to the ordinary use of language. By a species of metonymy we frequently employ the subordinate for the principal agent, and attribute to the intercessor what we know is the office of his superior. Let us suppose a criminal under sentence of death, who solicits the queen to obtain his pardon from the king. Were he in his petition to beg of her majesty *to save his life*, would Mr. Faber contend that he had ascribed to the queen the power which the constitution has intrusted to the sovereign alone, and on that account indict him for misprision of treason, or a contempt of the king's prerogative? Undoubtedly he would not. Let him only apply the same rule to the Catholic

prayers which he has condemned in his pamphlet, and he will readily acquit them of the guilt of idolatry.

Mr. Faber, in his theological studies, has chosen for his master, a visionary writer of the seventeenth century, whose orthodox imagination, aided by his hatred of popery, enabled him to make new discoveries in almost every page of the sacred writings. Treading in the footsteps of Mede, he informs us that the praying to departed saints to intercede with God for us, is neither more nor less than the revival of the old pagan theology of interceding demons, and *is* of consequence an apostasy from the faith.* Is Mr. Faber aware of the effects of the sentence which he has just pronounced? The custom of soliciting the intercession of the saints is, in my opinion, as old as christianity: our adversaries acknowledge that it was generally established in the beginning of the fourth century. It was then, even by their own account, practised by many of the martyrs, who laid down their lives in the cause of the gospel; by all the holy and zealous missionaries, who, by their preaching, converted to the faith our barbarous forefathers, the Saxons, the Franks, the Goths, the Lombards, &c.; by all who, during the eleven centuries preceding the reformation, had learned to bend the knee at the name of Jesus; and, with the exception of a few Protestant churches, by every christian in the world, who has existed since that period. I mention not this as an appeal to authority: but I do it to express my surprise, that any individual should presume, on his private authority, to cut off so large a portion of mankind from the fold of Christ, by pronouncing all of them to have been apostates from the faith of the gospel. What pontiff ever assumed a power equal to that of the Vicar of Stockton? Involved in the same guilt, and the same unhappiness with so many millions of my brethren, I may be allowed to ask in their name and my own, on what grounds this damning sentence has been pronounced. The demons, he replies, were the

* Faber's Answer, p. 103.

souls of the illustrious dead, whose office was intercession between God and man: consequently to attribute a similar office to the saints, is a revival of the pagan worship. Without admitting this account of the demons to be perfectly accurate, I may still doubt the validity of the inference which is adduced from it; and enquire whether Mr. Faber be prepared to assert that every resemblance between the rites and doctrines of a christian people, and the rites and doctrines of the pagan nations, be necessarily a revival of idolatrous worship, and an apostacy from the doctrine of the gospel. If he be, I hope he will not confine his reasoning to the christians in communion with the Bishop of Rome, but have the candour to extend it to every society to which it may apply. He will then, perhaps, discover that by his rule, Protestant churches are a revival of pagan temples, the Protestant hierarchy a revival of the pagan priesthood, and the spiritual supremacy of the king a revival of the pontifical power assumed by the pagan emperor. In the service of the established church, he will learn that the festival kept in memory of the restoration of royalty in the person of Charles II. is an imitation of the festival instituted in pagan Rome under the name of Regifugium, in memory of the establishment of Roman liberty; that the prayers in thanksgiving for the arrival of King William, are a transcript of those used at the pagan Bohedromia, to celebrate the arrival of Ion in Attica, to preserve the liberties of the Athenians: that the fast days annually appointed by the king, are copied from the *Feriæ imperativæ*, anciently appointed by the pagan Pontifex Maximus; and that the days of thanksgiving in honour of splendid victories, are a revival of the pagan supplications formerly decreed on similar occasions by the Roman senate. Indeed, were Mr. Faber's principle once admitted, I hardly know where we should be able to stop: our bench of bishops would be the pagan college of Pontifices, our agricultural societies the pagan *Fratres Ambarvales*, and our electioneering warwhoop of *no popery* the pagan cry of *Christianos ad leonem*, which so often re-

sounded in the amphitheatres. In short, we should soon be transformed into a nation of pagans.

To confirm his reasoning, Mr. Faber informs us, that this apostacy of the Catholic church was foretold by St. Paul, who wrote to his disciple Timothy, that “in later times some should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and *doctrines respecting interceding demons.*” The last words are Mr. Faber’s translation of *διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων.**

Happy, who can this talking trumpet seize :

They make it speak whatever sense they please.

’Twas framed at first an Oracle t’ inquire ;

But since each sect in prophecy grows higher,

The text inspires not them, but they the text inspire. }

DRYDEN.

It was not, indeed, my good fortune to study in any of the Protestant universities, among those who have acquired so much glory by “their labours in editing the Greek Testament.” At an early age I was compelled to quit my native country, and to seek the advantages of education in one of those foreign Catholic universities, in which we know, from the Bishop of Durham, that ancient and sacred learning languish in a state of the utmost depression.† However, even there, I was able to glean sufficient information to know that Mr. Faber’s version, or interpretation, is far from being accurate. How will he prove that *διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων* mean *doctrines concerning interceding demons*? The obvious signification of the words is, *the teachings of demons*: of their intercession the apostle says nothing: for that improvement the sacred text is indebted to the ingenuity of Mr. Faber. Neither is there any shadow of a proof that the demons mentioned by the apostle, are the souls of the illustrious dead: the following verses shew that they are false teachers, actually alive, and employed in the office of seduction: *εν υποκρισει ψευδολογων, κεκαυτηριασμενων τη ιδιαι συνειδησειν, κωλυοντων γαμειν, &c. who speak lies in hypocrisy, have their consciences scared, forbid to marry, &c.* Had

* Faber’s Answer, p. 103.

† Charge, p. 18.

Mr. Faber confined himself to the common English version, his mistake might have been excusable. There the sense is ambiguous. In the Greek text it is plain. The participles in the second and third verses cannot agree with *τινις*, but must be referred to *δαιμονιων*: and consequently point out the demons as the living authors, not the dead objects, of the condemned doctrine.*

I must apologise to the reader's patience for adding another observation on this uninteresting subject; but it has acquired importance from the confidence with which the words of the apostle are quoted by our apocalyptic adversaries. I have already shewn that, if by our doctrine respecting the intercession of the saints we are apostates, the whole body of christians during at least eleven centuries, and the great majority of christians during the last three centuries, must be involved in the same guilt. Now I ask, whether it be possible to apply the prediction of the apostle to so numerous a body, to so many hundred millions of the professors of the christian name? Does St. Paul say that all christians, or the greater number, or even that many among them would apostatize? No: only *some*, *τινις*, a word which to me appears to designate an inconsiderable sect, compared with the great society of christians. I may also add, that Mede's explanation was soon after refuted by the learned Protestant commentator Dr. Whitby, who shewed that the prophecy of the apostle regarded not the present, but the first age of the christian church.†

On the subject of indulgences, and works of penance, Mr. Faber, like his predecessors, has described indulgences as pardons, and works of penance as atonements of sin. In some of the preceding pages, this

* I know an attempt has been made to translate *εν υποκρισει ψευδολογων* through the hypocrisy of false teachers; but this meaning is forced, unnatural, and unnecessary.

† As Mr. Faber, after Mede, refers to St. Epiphanius, let him consult that father (Hæres, 48): he will find that, in his opinion, the prediction was *evidently* verified in the heresy of the Cataphrygæ, and similar sects: *σαφως επηληθευται*.

mistake has been already noticed: nor shall I fatigue the reader by a repetition of what I have previously advanced.* One line, however, has dropt from the pen of Mr. Faber, which requires some observation. The Bishop of Durham, he tells us, “does not censure the “austerities of penance, *if found to be of any use.*”† What are we to infer from this vague and uncertain information? That the Right Rev. Prelate has not yet made up his mind on the utility of works of penance, and therefore does not choose either to sanction or condemn them? This certainly displays a more amiable modesty, and less of a dogmatising spirit, than some persons have thought they discovered in his Charge: but it should be remembered that christianity has now been preached about eighteen hundred years, and that it is certainly time that those, who are teachers of Israel, should be able to afford some information on so interesting a subject. That in the ancient church, the austerities of penance were deemed of great utility, is evident both from the penitential canons, and the writings of the fathers. In modern times it seems that they present a problem of considerable difficulty, which the prelates of the reformed churches, after three hundred years deliberation, are unable to solve.

On the nature of the provocation given by the Bishop's Charge, Mr. Faber has also fallen into a mistake. The Remarker did not complain that the Right Rev. Prelate had attempted to prove the truth of the Protestant, or to disprove the truth of the Catholic creed.

* Perhaps the following passage from a Catholic divine, may convince him that we do not derogate from the efficacy of Christ's passion even by works, as they are called, of satisfaction. *Nulla prorsus est satisfactio ab homine quovis peracta, quæ Deo sit grata, vel quæ sit alicujus omnino valoris, nisi per merita Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Christus est, qui solum vere et plene pro peccatis nostris satisfacit, ex quo omnis nostra sufficientia. Nostra namque satisfactio, qualis est et quo modo nostra est, potius est quædam meritorum Christi nobis applicatio, quam propria aliqua satisfactio. Sicut autem per fidem, juxta aliquorum opinionem nobis applicantur Christi merita, ita et per quæcumque opera pia et in Deo facta. Nihil enim in nobis tanquam ex nobis, sed in eo qui nos confortat, omnia possumus, &c.* Holden, *Analysis Fidei*, c. v. § 5.

† Faber's Answer, p. 101.

This is a right which he will deny to no one. The subject of his complaint was, the unfair and uncandid manner in which the Bishop had conducted his attack. It was, that he had attributed to us doctrines, which we reprobate as sincerely as himself; and on the fictitious belief of such doctrines, had held us out to the contempt and execration of the public. When apocalyptic interpreters have recourse to such artifices to eke out their respective systems concerning the w—— of Babylon, we may amuse ourselves with the puny efforts of their bigotry or credulity. But the personal character, and the high station of the Bishop of Durham, bestow a dignity and importance on such imputations, when he is their author. Then we owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to the truth, to vindicate our innocence. This was the provocation which originally called forth the pen of the Remarker. Nor has he any reason to regret the occasion, or the issue of the contest. He may say with Ajax, (nor will the public voice dispute the truth of my opinion),

Si quæritis hujus

Fortunam pugnae, non sum superatus ab illo.

OBSERVATIONS

ON SOME

FASHIONABLE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Calvinus sapuit quia non scripsit in Apocalypsim.

SCALIGER.

DURING the long lapse of more than fifteen centuries, the visions of the apostle St. John had been enveloped in the thickest obscurity. At the era of the reformation, a strong ray of apocalyptic light dissipated the clouds which popery had raised: and since that period every old woman, of either gender, has been able to unravel with ease the web of mystery, and to reveal to the world the true meaning of the book of Revelations. From the days of Luther to the present, we have possessed a numerous and uninterrupted succession of translators, lecturers, expositors, and annotators, who may truly be said to have seen visions, and to have dreamed dreams: and, lest by some mishap the pious race should become extinct, Bishop Warburton has left a fund for the support or the reward of the more fiery among its members.* I may admire his

* According to his will, an annual sermon is preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, &c. &c.

zeal, but not his wisdom. He probably did not see that he was thus endeavouring to diffuse and perpetuate an alarming species of intellectual disease, which, for the sake of distinction, I shall beg leave to call the apocalyptic mania. It has not, indeed, been hitherto classed in any system of nosology; but it is not on that account less real, or less general; and, I trust, I shall confer a benefit on the public by proceeding to point out the origin, and to describe the symptoms of this theological malady.

When “the magnanimous fathers of the reformation” broke from the communion of the Catholic church, they found it convenient to justify their schism, by pleading that the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome the scarlet w—— of Babylon. This doctrine, while it inflamed the bigotry, flattered the spiritual pride of their disciples: with conscious superiority of birth, they sought in the apocalypse for proofs of the ignominious descent of their opponents, and their sacrilegious familiarity with the mysterious volume, quickly produced the disease, which is the subject of the present observations. Its progress was rapid. It soon pervaded every department in life; but its most distinguished victims were, and still are, chosen from among those churchmen, who, from the instructions of the nursery or the university, have imbibed a lively dread of the horrors of popery. The mania first manifests itself by a restless anxiety respecting the future fortunes of the church, and a strong attachment to prophetic hieroglyphics: the antichrist, and the man of sin; the beast with ten horns; and the beast with two horns; the armies of Gog and Magog; the fall of Babylon, and the arrival of the millennium, become the favourite, the only subjects of study; false and ridiculous perceptions amuse the imagination; the judgment is gradually enfeebled, and, at last, the most powerful minds sink into the imbecility of childhood. Of the truth of this description we have a melancholy proof in the great Sir Isaac Newton. To him Nature seemed to have unlocked her choicest secrets: as a philosopher he was and is still unrivalled: but no sooner did he direct his

telescope from the motions of the heavenly bodies to the visions in the apocalypse, than his head grew dizzy, the downfall of popery danced before his eyes, and he hazarded predictions which, on the scale of prophets, have placed him far beneath the well-known Francis Moore, physician and almanack-maker.

It should be observed, that this intellectual malady, like the other species of mania, assumes a thousand different shapes, according to the predisposition of the subject which it attacks. I shall produce a few instances. In 1789, Mr. Cook published a translation of the apocalypse, with keys to open its meaning to his readers. This reverend gentleman was Greek professor in the university at Cambridge; and, as his reading naturally led him to the Greek poets, he was determined that the author of the apocalypse should be a poet, and, moreover, the rival of Sophocles. In his opinion, the apocalypse is a tragedy formed on the same plan as the *Œdipus Tyrannus*. "The drama opens with the temple scene: the seals, the trumpet, and the vials unfold the plot; and though the anti-christ does not die, no more than *Œdipus*, yet he falls into such calamity as makes him an object of pity, and justifies the lamentations pronounced on his downfall." Nor is this all. By trying one of his apocalyptic keys on the *Odyssey* of Homer, he has discovered that poem also to have been inspired, and informs us that the suitors of Penelope represent the vassals of popery, who, under the pretence of courting the bride, the christian church, devour all the good things in her house, till Christ, the true Ulysses, the *ὄσος σῶος*; or safe way, arrives, and wreaks his vengeance on them.

In Mr. Granville Sharp, the favourite apocalyptic Nostradamus of the Rector of Newnton Longville, (Le Mes. reply, p. 193, 202,) the mania has shewn itself in a different manner. This gentleman is known to be singularly partial to monosyllables. He has written a volume on the Hebrew letter *vau*, and another on the Greek articles *ο, η, το*. From

letters and articles, he was induced, by his previous success and the importunity of his friends, to proceed to the explication of the visions in the book of Revelations. Here the apocalyptic mania soon discovered itself: but the appearance of the disease was modified by his previous habits of monosyllabic investigation. He convinced himself that the name of the beast was Lateinos, and that Lateinos must signify the Latin church. The proof is curious. Lateinos, he contends, is derived from the Hebrew monosyllable LAT, which means to cover or conceal. Now the Latin church, in the celebration of the mass, conceals some of the prayers from the people, by ordering them to be pronounced with a low voice: therefore the Latin church is Lateinos, the beast in the apocalypse. Moreover the head of the Latin church resides in the palace of the Lateran, a name derived from the same monosyllable LAT: and the Lateran palace is situated in the country anciently called Latium, an appellation also derived from the same monosyllable Lat: and Latium is a province of that part of Europe called Italy, which also derives its name from the same monosyllable LAT. Be not startled, gentle reader: apocalyptic maniacs can with equal facility read backwards or forwards; and Mr. Sharp informs us, that, if we read Italy backwards, we shall have Ylati, in the midst of which is the same Hebrew monosyllable LAT.* Naviget Anticyram!

In Mr. Galloway the visions of St. John assumed a different character, from the horror with which the interpreter viewed the French revolution. With him the beast of the bottomless pit was France, the little horn was France, the man of sin was France, and antichrist was France. Mr. Galloway was a punster; and, during his apocalyptic paroxysm, he was unable to distinguish between a pun and a syllogism. The beast, he tells us, is *revolutionary* France, because the beast sprung from the earth, which is a *revolutionary*

* Granville Sharp to the Hebrew nation, p. 127—131.

planet, performing diurnal *revolutions* round its axis, and annual *revolutions* round the sun.*

With Messrs. Kett and Bicheno, history appears to be the dominant idea. Mr. Kett has sent St. John to a cavern in the isle of Patmos, to employ himself in writing a prophetic history of England, describing in detail the miseries it should suffer under the iron yoke of popery, and its final liberation from them by the glorious revolution of 1688. Mr. Bicheno has transferred the scene from England to Germany; but, lest the distance should lessen the interest of the book, in the judgment of the English reader, he has added a discovery, which must bring it home to every heart. He assures us, that the present generation

(O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint !)

do actually enjoy, and have long enjoyed, the promised millennium of peace, virtue, and happiness.

Were I to describe all the varieties of the disease, these observations would swell to an unmeasurable bulk. I shall therefore content myself with noticing the prophetic, which is perhaps the most prevalent, species. When the mind is seized with this mania, the regions of futurity are instantly opened to its sight: it can point out the date and nature of every event which is to happen; it can inform us in what year popery, mohammedism, and infidelity are to perish; when and where antichrist is to be born, reign, and die; who is to restore the holy land to the Jews; and in what year the new Jerusalem is to descend from heaven. It is in vain that preceding prophets have frequently outlived their own predictions: the lessons of experience are heard with contempt: and each new seer is convinced of the truth of his own visions. Among those who have suffered lately under this form of the disease, the most distinguished are Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Faber, both scholars of ex-

* See Brief Commentaries on such parts of the Revelations and other prophecies, as immediately refer to the present times, by Joseph Galloway, Esq

tensive erudition, and both equally animated against the Church of Rome. They both agree that Luther is the angel with the everlasting gospel; and, if by his gospel they mean the solifidian doctrine already noticed, they have a chance to be right. It may justly be called everlasting; for it will probably find proselytes as long as man shall dwell on the earth. Mr. Whitaker discovers that the two horns of the beast are the two monastic orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Why they should claim the preference before their brethren, of greater antiquity, or more general diffusion, I know not; but it is certainly unfortunate that the beast has not four horns: then you, ye sons of Benedict and Loyola, might have had the honour of being seated on the remaining two. The same gentleman informs us that the Ottoman empire will soon fall, Rome be wrested from the pope, and the seat of the papacy be transferred to Jerusalem. Mr. Faber makes an equal display of erudition; but the third angel, Mr. Whitaker's Zuingle, he has placed in a most uncomfortable situation: he has bound him fast in the midst of the ocean, and transformed him into the *insular Church of England!* Nor does he always agree with his rival in more important points. The two beasts he shews to be the two contemporary Roman empires, temporal and spiritual, under the emperors and the popes; and gives his readers the pleasing intelligence, that both the Turk and the Pope will expire in the year 1868. Though he does not expect to witness this happy event himself, yet he has the goodness to promise a sight of it to many of the present generation:—

Τλητε, Φιλοι, και μεινατ' επι χρονου, οφρα δαμμεν
Ει ετεον Χαλχας μαντευεται, ηε και εκι.

Unfortunately for these two prophets, each disputed the accuracy of the predictions of his rival: an animated controversy followed; and the result has been a conviction in the minds of most of their readers, that each has completely succeeded in demolishing

the system of his adversary, and completely failed in established his own.

Thus have I attempted to describe the different symptoms of this disease; but I hope I shall be excused from indicating the method of cure. When the mania has once obtained possession of the brain, I doubt whether three Anticyræ would be sufficient to expel it. I would rather, like Dr. Trotter in his treatise on the nervous temperament, endeavour to correct that *predisposition* which naturally leads to it. I would advise the Protestant theologian to suspend, for a while at least, his assent to some of those doctrines, which education has taught him to revere as sacred. I would have him learn to doubt whether it be certain, that a long succession of bishops, through many centuries, can be that one individual described by St. Paul as the man of sin: or that the church, from which almost all other churches have received the knowledge of the gospel is, “the great mother of harlots,” and the kingdom of Antichrist. I would recommend to him, if he must decypher the apocalptic hieroglyphics, to attend to the solemn asseveration of their author, which is frequently repeated both in the first and the last chapters, that his predictions were, even at the time in which he wrote, on the point of being fulfilled. In the destruction of Jerusalem, and the first period of the christian history, he may find enough to exercise his ingenuity, and may perhaps stumble on the only clue which can lead to the solution of the difficulties contained in this mysterious volume. I am aware that what I ask, will not readily be granted to me. The doctrine that popery is the beast, the pope antichrist, and christian Rome the whore of Babylon, is, I know, an important part of the new gospel preached by Luther and his associates: it forms, to use the words of a learned prelate,* “a primary pillar of the reformed faith.” But when I consider the dangerous consequences of this doctrine,

* Watson's Theological Tracts, vol. v. p. 7.

its deleterious effects on the judgment of some among the most distinguished writers of the Protestant communion, the ridicule which it serves to throw on the inspired writings, and the handle which it gives to the sneers and contempt of the professed infidel, I indulge a well-founded hope that, for the sake of religion and humanity, it will meet with little support from the enlightened characters, who now preside in the established church. If it once formed a pillar of the reformation, I conceive it could only be a temporary support, which may now be removed without danger to the fabric. To the pious fraud, from its utility, the first reformers might easily reconcile their consciences; at the present day it may be rejected by their successors with some credit: it cannot be retained without disgrace.

A LETTER
TO
A CLERGYMAN
OF
THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM,
IN ANSWER TO
HIS SECOND LETTER
TO THE
AUTHOR OF THE REMARKS,
ON THE
BISHOP OF DURHAM'S CHARGE.

SIR,

AT last, after an interval of more than ten months, you have done me the honour to notice the Vindication of the Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge. There was an air of dignity in the length and obstinacy of your silence. It seemed as if the right reverend Prelate, conscious of the superiority of his cause, disdained any further defence. But your second letter has removed the mask, and has shewn, both how anxious was *his* wish, and how difficult was *your* task, to frame something like a specious reply. However, had you been content to oppose argument to argument, I should, without any apprehension of the result, have cheerfully left the decision of the controversy to the unbiassed judgment of our common readers. But, Sir, like a true son of the magnanimous parent of the reformation, you have sought to blacken the moral character of your opponent: and it is possible, that in minds unsuspecting of such artifices, the disgrace which you have attempted to fasten upon him, may injure the reputation of the cause which he has undertaken to defend. On this account I shall request the indulgence of my readers, while I make a few reflections, which may prove a short, but, I trust, a satisfactory refutation of the charges and mis-statements contained in your second letter.

You begin the attack, Sir, in the true spirit of theological chivalry. You point your spear with calumny, and attempt to bear down your adversary with abuse. You tell me that " I stand no longer on the same footing of credibility as yourself: that I

“ have been convicted of insincerity and misrepresen-
 “ tation : that I have offended less against the rules
 “ of logic than the laws of morality : that my lan-
 “ guage is equivocal, and adopted for the pious pur-
 “ pose of cajoling heretics : that I have been guilty
 “ of the most impudent and barefaced perversion of
 “ the testimony of ancient writings, that controversy
 “ even with papists can furnish ; and that, before I
 “ can claim even the distinction of being refuted, I
 “ must first regain that fair character of honesty and
 “ sincerity, which the public will not cease to require
 “ in me as an author, however I may elude its indig-
 “ nation as a man.*” Courteous and gentle clerk, I
 thank you. But you will do me the favour to remember,
 that the points at issue between us are to be deter-
 mined, not by invective, but by reasoning ; and ex-
 perience must already have taught you, that however
 willingly I may acknowledge the superiority with
 which you wield the weapons of abuse, I can have
 no reason to tremble before you in the field of argu-
 ment. We have both appealed to the public : the
 public must be our judge. If you think that the de-
 fence of the Bishop’s Charge cannot be conducted
 without invective and calumny, you have my hearty
 consent to use them. It is my good fortune to write
 in defence of a cause, which with conscious pride re-
 jects the aid of such paltry and unworthy artifices.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis.

You must therefore excuse me, Sir, if I do not detain
 either you or the reader, by refuting the charges which
 you have so wantonly advanced. As in the vindica-
 tion I proved the truth of all the Remarker’s state-
 ments, so in the present letter I trust to justify what-
 ever I asserted in the Vindication. Should I effect
 this (and of my success I entertain not the smallest
 doubt) all your accusations, urged with so much noise
 and vehemence, will prove but empty sounds, harmless
 to me, and injurious only to their author.

* Clergyman’s 2d Letter, p. 2, 3, 21, 52, 72.

The topics discussed in your introductory pages may be reduced to two,—whether Catholics may be believed when they explain their own creed, and whether to accuse them of impious and sacrilegious doctrines be to weaken the foundation of the christian religion. To your observations on each of these subjects I shall make a brief reply.

That it is ridiculous for any among us to claim belief to our statements of the Catholic doctrine, you assert, because we cannot point out any profession of faith, or any canons of our councils, universally admitted by Catholics; neither can we tell where the infallible authority of our church resides.* Now, Sir, in return, permit me to ask you “one very easy and simple question.” That both you and the Bishop of Durham are perfectly acquainted with the Catholic doctrine, cannot be doubted. That prelate, in his Charge, kindly presented us with a profession of Catholic faith, and though a Catholic divine has protested against its contents, you have written two pamphlets to prove that it is, in every title, most correct and accurate. May I then take the liberty to ask, from what sources you and the Bishop derived your statement of the Catholic creed? If from written documents, I trust these are as accessible to Catholics as to Protestants: if not, do, I pray, inform us of what colour was the spirit that so charitably instructed you. One of your predecessors, the illustrious Zuinglius, had also the advantage of a supernatural teacher, though it escaped his notice whether the doctor was white or black. *Nescio, albus an ater fuerit.*

To your question, where the infallibility of the Catholic church resides, I answer, in the episcopal college united to the pope. In return you will perhaps oblige me with the information, where the infallibility of the Established church resides. Say not, that you claim no infallibility. I talk not of words, but things: and it is evident that every sect, which possesses any church government, does in fact, and must exercise

* Id. p. 4.

the privilege of infallibility.* Now I suspect, but with deference to your better judgment, that it resides in the high court of parliament. I know I can bring no text of scripture in support of my opinion; but I can appeal to what no orthodox clergyman dares reject, to the authority of an act of parliament. “ Nothing shall
 “ henceforth be accounted heresy, but what is so ad-
 “ judged in the holy scripture, or in one of the four
 “ first general councils, or in any other national or pro-
 “ vincial council determining according to the word of
 “ God; or finally *which shall be so adjudged in the time*
 “ *to come by the court of parliament, with the assent of*
 “ *the clergy in convocation.*” 1 Eliz.

2. In the Vindication, I had asserted that the Bishop's Charge was a libel on the veracity of Christ, and that in its tendency it went to undermine the very foundations of the christian faith. To this you oppose an indignant answer. But, Sir, if the bill of impeachment drawn up by our Right Reverend accuser be true, it is also true that the whole christian church, for more than a thousand years before the reformation, professed doctrines derogatory from the honour of God the Father, from the mediatorship of God the Son, and from the divine influence of God the Holy Ghost. Now, Sir, can you think that it was to establish a church like this that the Saviour of mankind suffered on the cross? Can you believe that the eternal God would descend upon earth, submit to the infirmities of human nature, and undergo the most painful and disgraceful death, that he might leave behind him a race

* Of late we have heard much of a new species of infallibility, the peculiar privilege of a class of ancient politicians. It seems that the men, who settled the principles of the exclusive system about the time of the revolution, were not liable to error. Their doctrines, we are told by persons, who profess themselves the bitterest enemies of civil and intellectual thraldom, are too sacred to be controverted: their authority is superior to argument: and while men, and manners, and opinions are daily changing, the restraints and exclusions adopted by them are to be perpetuated in defiance of reason, policy, and justice. This infallibility is now the grand argument of our political adversaries. It is the cloak with which they cover their own nakedness. They appeal to the wisdom of their ancestors, to conceal their own folly.

of men, who, instead of serving him in spirit and truth, should contaminate his worship by carnal observances and falsehood; and who, worse than the very pagans that knew him not, should pretend to serve him, while they worshipped idols; and should in reality deny the efficacy of his passion, while they pretended to place in it their only hope of salvation? Can you believe that after so many magnificent promises, after doing and suffering so much for the accomplishment of the great object he had in view, he would entirely abandon it during so many centuries, and reserve the regeneration of mankind to the piety of the eighth Henry, and the persecuting policy of the virgin queen, his daughter Elizabeth? Truly, Sir, you must either acknowledge that the Bishop's zeal for what he thought the cause of truth, has carried him into the regions of fiction, or you must concede to the infidel, that the blood of Christ was shed in vain. You, indeed, tell us that the texts to which I alluded are misunderstood, and that among the popes there have been men of wicked lives. That I have given the true sense of the texts, I have no doubt; and, if some popes have disgraced their station by their vices, one of the apostles did so too. But this is foreign to our purpose. The true question between us is, how the doctrine of the Bishop can be consistent with the object of Christ's mission upon earth; and this question you very prudently evade. I therefore, a second time, request you will inform me, what answer you would give to the infidel, who should urge your opinion as a proof that christianity had not effected the purpose for which it was established, and who should thence infer that it was not in reality the work of God. This is a very serious difficulty, and deserves the attention of all those, whose zeal for the reformation prompts them to calumniate the Catholic church, at the expence not of truth only, but also of the gospel.

I. Of the subjects originally discussed by the Bishop of Durham, the first in order regards the meaning of these words of the decalogue: "Thou shalt not make
"unto thee any graven image—thou shalt not bow

“down thyself to them, and serve them.”* Testimonies of respect are in themselves of an ambiguous nature : and for the sake of perspicuity I shall distinguish between religious respect, and divine worship. By the former I would understand an inferior kind of veneration exhibited from motives of religion ; by the latter such as testifies the supreme excellence of its object, and cannot without impiety be offered to any but the divine Being. As graven images are allowed to be made among Protestants as well as Catholics, the true point in dispute between us will be, whether the reverence here forbidden to be shewn to them, be confined to divine worship alone, or should also include what I have termed religious respect. I maintain the former : you, Sir, are a strenuous advocate for the latter. I shall, therefore, beg the indulgence of the reader, while I lay before him the reasons on which I build my own opinion, and by which I hope to overturn yours.

1. In considering the decalogue, Protestant as well as Catholic divines are accustomed to distinguish the moral from the ceremonial parts of the law. The moral part depends on the nature of the actions commanded or prohibited ; and, as this never changes, is of eternal obligation. The ceremonial part was peculiar to the Jewish system of religion, and consequently ceased to bind, the moment that system was abolished. To which of these divisions do you, Sir, refer the prohibition of making and worshipping images? If to the latter, it is no longer in force : it no more binds the consciences of christians than the precept which commanded the Jews to keep the Saturday holy.† If to

* Exod. xx.

† This is expressly the doctrine of a celebrated Protestant divine. “The second commandment, as it is positive, and was given to the Jews on account of the circumstances of time and place, binds the new people of Christ no more than the commandment respecting the Sabbath.” Grotius. *Opor. theol.* Tom. 3. p. 485. Indeed without some such distinction, I know not how our reverend and right reverend accusers can justify their frequent violation of one or more of the prohi-

the former, you must acknowledge that the worship prohibited, is in its own nature immoral: whence I shall deduce this consequence, that it cannot be the religious respect which the Catholic church allows to be paid to images. Were such respect naturally immoral, it must be, because no reverence whatever can be lawfully exhibited to inanimate objects: an opinion, which I have already proved to be false, from numerous instances recorded in the holy writ. Your orthodoxy, indeed, has pronounced that they have no relation to the subject: as, however, I am of a different opinion, I shall offer no apology for recalling them to your recollection. If to pay religious respect to an inanimate object be naturally unlawful, why did Joshua “fall on his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord,” or why did David introduce it with so much solemnity into the city of Zion? Why were the Beth-Shemites smitten because they looked into the ark; or the anger of God kindled against Uzzah because he took hold of it? Why was Moses bidden to put off his shoes on mount Horeb, *because* it was holy ground; or why did the psalmist exhort the Israelites to bow themselves down to the footstool (the ark) of God, *be-*

bitions contained in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Their charity has a store of indulgence for their own appetites; it has none for the consciences of their Catholic brethren. If a Catholic say his prayers before a crucifix, their piety is alarmed. He is an idolator, they exclaim: he violates the second commandment, he derogates from the honour of God the Father. Now, when a clergyman eats a black-pudding to his dinner, does he not violate the prohibition of eating blood, published by the apostles: does he not know, that whoever despises them, despises him that sent them: and hence will it not follow, that he also derogates by his disobedience from the honour of God? If he say in his defence, that the prohibition was only temporary, why may not the Catholic say the same with respect to the prohibition of images? To me at least our Protestant black pudding eaters appear to stand in a very dangerous predicament. The prohibition is declared to be issued in the name of the Holy Spirit. It is express, without any limitation as to time or place. It is conceived in the same words as the prohibition of fornication. Now as their faith is, or pretends to be, built on scripture, and scripture alone, I could wish to know how they can without scruple continue to eat blood, unless the prohibition has been repealed by the infallible omnipotence of an act of parliament?

cause it was holy? * Why in short is the devout Protestant exhorted to kneel before that orthodox image of the Redeemer, “those bodily elements of earthly manufacture,” the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper? † From these instances it must be evident to every reader, that there is nothing naturally immoral in the mere exhibition of religious respect to an inanimate object: and hence I think myself authorized to infer that the worship prohibited by the commandment is of a different tendency, a worship which goes “to make images our Gods.”

2. That the prohibition is confined to a worship of this nature is, I think, evident from the very reason on which it is grounded: that “God is a jealous God:” one who will not permit the reverence due to himself to be given to another: and who consequently forbids *divine honour* to be paid to images. ‡

* Ps. xcix. 5. In the present Protestant bible we read, “worship at his footstool, because *he* is holy.” The original expression is the same here as in the commandment: I have therefore employed the same English phrase, suspecting that the present orthodox reading may have been inspired by that horror for popery which animated the industry of our translators. They had indeed received the plenitude of the spirit: for they not only reformed the church; they even reformed the scriptures.

† There is a rubric to explain this ceremony, the history of which is curious. It was first inserted in the book of common prayer by the authority of Edward, the infant head of the church. It was afterwards expunged by the superior illumination of his sister, his female successor in that ecclesiastical dignity. It was lastly restored with honour to its original place by the less fallible judgment of another head of the church, of mature age and of the male sex, Charles the Second. The policy of Elizabeth was to allure the Catholics within the pale of orthodoxy: that of Charles to soothe the resentment, and silence the scruples of the presbyterians.

‡ This also is the reasoning of a celebrated Protestant divine. The second commandment, says Thorndike, setting forth God for a God that is jealous of his people, whether they worship him or not, manifestly supposeth their covenant to forsake all other Gods beside him, a contract of marriage between him and his people, which if it be so, it is no less manifest that the images which the precept supposeth, are the representations of other Gods, which his people were wont to commit adultery with by worshipping them.

Thorndike, *Weights and Measures*, p. 166.

3. As soon as the ten commandments had been delivered to the Jews, Moses, at their request, entered the darkness to speak privately with the Lord. The first words addressed to him on this occasion, contain an evident allusion to the prohibition of image-worship. "Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make with me Gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you Gods of gold."* Now these words appear to me to prove, as forcibly as words can prove, that the worship forbidden to be paid to images, was divine worship, or such as would make them Gods. I omit many other passages of similar import, which occur in the Old Testament.

Having thus shewn you some of the reasons which induced me to assert that by this commandment was prohibited "the making of images so as to adore and serve them, that is, to make them our Gods," I shall proceed to notice the five arguments by which you have attempted to prove my opinion to be false.

1. You assert that in this hypothesis the words forbidding the worship of images would be only a weak and partial repetition of the preceding prohibition of false Gods. I answer that it is not a repetition, but an explanation. It extends the prohibition of having other Gods to the usual method of worshipping them by idols. Hence we perpetually find in scripture these two phrases, the worship of images, and the worship of other Gods, used indiscriminately for each other. See 1 Kings, xiv. 9. 2 Kings, xvii. 35. 41. Is. xliv. 15. 17.

2. To your question why we should depart from the obvious meaning of the terms, I reply that I have already shewn the obvious meaning to agree not with your opinion, but with mine.

3. Your reference to Deuteronomy, c. iv. is far from being conclusive. The reason there expressed does not, in my judgment, "clearly intimate that the commandment forbids to worship the true God by any image," but forbids the Israelites to make an image, and wor-

* Exod. xxi. 22.

ship it as the true God. Therefore Moses adds, "and lest thou lift up thy eyes unto the heaven, and when thou seest the sun and moon, &c. shouldst be driven to worship them and serve them."

4. You appeal in support of your opinion, to the idolatry of Jeroboam, who made two calves of gold, and said to the people, "Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt." This very text, if I can understand it, proves that Jeroboam meant to give divine honour to the idols. To you it appears otherwise; and in support of your opinion you have pursued a very ingenious train of argument through the two following pages. But it frequently happens that an orthodox imagination, while it employs itself in filling up the chasms, overlooks the express assertions, of the scriptures. Positive as you may be, that Jeroboam only intended to worship the God of Israel with the aid of these images, you will allow me to give more credit to the declaration of God himself, who says, that Jeroboam had done evil above all that were before him, because he had made him *other* Gods and molten images, and had cast God behind his back.*

5. Your last argument is drawn from the conduct of the Jews, "who declared to Pilate that their law was violated by the little images of eagles annexed to the Roman standards, and told Vitellius that the laws of their city forbade them to suffer an image to be brought into it." But permit me, Sir, to ask you whether these images were objects of pagan worship, or were merely intended for civil and military purposes. If the former, they can have no reference whatever to the present controversy: if you prefer the latter, you must admit that every kind of image, whether it be intended for a religious, civil or military purpose, is equally forbidden by the commandment. But this concession will necessarily defeat your own argument. From it will follow, either that the prohibition of images was a part of the ceremonial law, and

* 1 Kings, xiv: 9.

consequently abrogated by the introduction of christianity, or that Protestants no less than Catholics live in the habitual violation of the commandment, and of course are included in the Bishop's censure of derogating from the honour of God the Father. In either case I trust we must be acquitted even by our adversaries. I shall now proceed to your observations on the councils.

Educated from my infancy in the Catholic faith, and employed during many years in teaching its principles to others, I conceived myself as well qualified as any Protestant prelate could be, to inform the public what are our real sentiments with respect to the worship of images. I presumed therefore to observe, that the respect which we allow to be paid to them, is such as a subject may pay to the effigy of his sovereign, or such as nature prompts a child to pay to the portrait of a deceased parent.* To a respect of this description you have not dared to object: but you dispute my sincerity, and roundly assert that "the allegation "is false in fact." At this I was not surprised. I knew how testy some persons are when their favourite opinions are contradicted. But I was truly surprised when I found you appealing to the authority of the council of Trent! Now, Sir, what is there in the acts of that council, that authorises any other species of worship than such as I have described? Is it where we are told that there is no divinity or virtue in images, on account of which they are to be respected: that nothing is to be prayed from them: that no confidence is to be placed in them? No: but the council says, "that the honour, which is paid to them, is referred to the prototypes which they represent: so "that by the images, which we kiss, and before which "we uncover our heads, and prostrate ourselves, we "adore Christ himself." Here you fix your foot, and assert that in these words may be traced a wish to encourage the giving of divine worship to images. "Of "course," you infer, (reader, attend; such precious

* Vindic. p. 12.

specimens of theological reasoning are not frequently to be met with) “ the various acts of devotion, which “ it would be proper to exhibit, if the divine Redeemer “ were personally present, may with *equal propriety* be “ directed to his images, as long as we keep in mind that “ they are only the types and representations of his “ divinity. Such is the plain meaning of the words.”* Now, Sir, you perhaps may have seen the spiritual and temporal peers, in the house of lords, bow to the empty throne: your horror of popish rites may have induced you to demand an explication of this idolatrous custom, adopted even by Protestant prelates: and you may have received for answer, in the words of the council, that the honour which is immediately paid to the throne, is referred to the king whom it represents, and that through it the peers, when they bow before it, shew their respect to his majesty himself. But, Sir, could you infer from this explication that in the opinion of the house of lords, and consequently of the whole bench of bishops, the various acts, which it would be proper to exhibit, if the sovereign were personally present, may with equal propriety be directed to the throne? If such reasoning be admitted, we shall behold the next new bishop kissing the throne instead of kissing hands, on his promotion; we shall hear the archbishop of Canterbury, on the next birthday, addressing a speech of congratulation to the throne: and we shall perhaps see you yourself, should his majesty deign to notice your efforts in the defence of your prelate, and dole out to you a pittance from the loaves and fishes, expressing your gratitude, not to the royal donor himself, but to his parliamentary representative, the throne.

2. From the council of Trent we ascend to one of higher antiquity, the second council of Nice. It is with visible complacency you enter on this part of your subject: and while your humanity affects to pity the thralldom of the Catholic intellect, forced “ to “ gorge itself with so gross a meal,” your orthodoxy

* Second Letter, p. 15.

exults in the imaginary prospect of an easy victory. Perhaps, Sir, the few reflections which I am going to make, may induce you to lower your tone, and to doubt whether you had not better have allowed the old bishops, who composed this council, to sleep in peace, with all their miracles and images, than have disturbed their repose to make them bear witness against you.

1. With the false notion which you have formed of the Catholic doctrine, you will, perhaps, be surprised to learn, that there occur, in the publication called the acts of this council, histories, to which I am as little disposed to give credit, as you can be yourself: and that of the authorities quoted by the members, though many are authentic, there are also many, which Catholic writers have not hesitated to pronounce spurious or doubtful.

2. You will, probably, be still more surprised, when I venture to inform you, that the acts of this council are of no authority in the Catholic church. We assent, indeed, to the doctrinal decree passed in the last session, which was approved by the popes: but in the acts and canons, much is contained to which the Roman church would never impart its sanction. Sane notandum est, says Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who wrote within less than a century after the council, *quædam in hac synodo ex Apostolorum et sextæ universalis synodi canonibus et sententiis inveniri, quæ penes nos interpreta nec habentur, nec admittuntur.**

* I have transcribed the whole passage from Anastasius, that the reader may judge of the accusation which Dr. Phillpotts, after a silence of seventeen years, has brought against me, with much asperity of language, indecorous in a clergyman, and dangerous in a polemic. He asserts that I quoted the passage with an intention to deceive, and under a consciousness that the original had a very different meaning.—The confidence with which this charge is made, can be equalled only by the weakness with which it is supported. I may appeal to every reader who understands the Latin language, whether the obvious meaning of the words does not bear me out in my assertion; and to every one acquainted with the canon law, whether certain canons confirmed by the council were not, and are not, rejected by the Roman church. And how is the charge supported? By a translation, in

3. Should you even succeed in proving that the council allowed divine worship to be paid to images, what inference could you draw from it? That Catholics at the present day admit the same doctrine? I see not by what laws of reasoning such a conclusion can be established. Our present doctrine is a fact which cannot be set aside by argument: and all that the eight pages which you have devoted to this subject can possibly prove, is, not that we give to images the worship due to God, but that we are wrong in believing that the council of Nice did not. This, however, is a point foreign to the Bishop's Charge.

4. But, Sir, it would be uncourteous to dismiss your arguments with no further comment. The industry with which you have toiled through so many folio pages in the pursuit of an *ignis fatuus*, undoubtedly deserves to be rewarded with an answer. After a long and tedious ramble, you returned, it seems, to your desk, in possession of two important passages, which you considered as incontrovertible proofs of your accusation. But by some mischance, for which it is not my province to account, though you discovered these, you did not discover a hundred other passages, which would have solved every difficulty, and shewn an exact agreement between the doctrine of the council and the doctrine contained in the Vindication. Your love of truth, Sir, your candour and sincerity will undoubtedly thank me, if I lay some small part of that, which you omitted, before the eyes of

which Dr. P. with the aid of an interpolation of his own, makes his author speak nonsense; by another passage from Anastasius which evidently means the contrary of that which he would deduce from it; and by a train of reasoning, which is plainly erroneous, because it is built on a supposition that is false in fact. To fill up the measure of his blunders, Dr. P. proceeds to prove that the Roman church admits the seventh general council; and then, by some unaccountable hallucination of intellect, takes this to be the same thing as approving and adopting every word contained in a tract, purporting to be a report of the proceedings of the council, and of the speeches made by the different members! Of these, in defiance of Dr. P. we shall continue to think and speak as we please; to the doctrinal decree, and such canons as were approved, and to such only, it is our duty to submit.

our readers. They will be the better able to judge between us.

The short passage which I inserted in the Vindication from the doctrinal decree of the council, "that the only worship allowed to images was an honorary worship, not the true worship belonging to God alone," is repeatedly enforced and elucidated in different parts of the acts. The members there inform us, that in the Greek language, words expressive of respect, are of themselves ambiguous: but that, whenever they apply them to images, they wish to point out a species of reverence far inferior to that which is the exclusive right of the divinity: that they do not pay any respect to the matter or the colours of images; but by them are put in mind of the original, to whom they pay such honour as is due: that they do not call images Gods, nor serve them as Gods, nor place their hope of salvation in them, nor give them divine honour: that all such assertions are the calumnies of their enemies: (perhaps some bishop had been preaching a charge against them:) that they give not to images that adoration which is made in spirit and truth: and that they know images to be nothing else than mere imitations of the originals.* To these testimonies I may be allowed to add the following solemn address to our blessed Redeemer. "Never have we been perverted to offer to any creature under heaven the adoration due to thee. To thee alone, our Saviour, we sing: besides thee, O Lord, we know no other."† Certainly, no man can attentively and impartially consider these passages, and still believe that the council ordered divine worship to be given to images.

In the face, however, of these repeated professions of their faith, you still dare to accuse them of an idolatrous worship. They allow incense to be burnt, and tapers to be lighted, in honour of images. "Is this," you exclaim, "the respect which nature prompts a child to pay to the portrait of his deceased parent?" Why, Sir, did you not add the rest of the passage as it

* Labbè, p. 182, 185, 412, 454, 521.

† Ib. p. 484.

stands in the Vindication: "or which a subject may lawfully pay to the effigy of his prince?" Probably for this reason, that it shews at once the emptiness of your objection. The christians of the east were accustomed to light tapers, and to burn incense before the statues of the emperors. It was the very token of respect exacted from the subject towards the effigy of his prince. You could not be ignorant of it. You had partly read it in the Vindication: you had repeatedly read it in the acts of the council:* and as you yourself do not condemn such a respect, to be consistent with yourself, you must acquit the council. I acknowledge that this custom will appear very strange to a mere untravelled Englishman: but you, Sir, cannot be ignorant that the manners of different people are different, and that the exubarent ceremonial of the east is not to be estimated by the cold phlegmatic temper of the northern nations. The other circumstance which scandalizes you, is, that the council says, "we are made partakers of some sanctification through them." But this difficulty will be easily solved by a comparison. If when I bow my head at the name of Jesus, I mean to honour my Redeemer, I perform an action pleasing in his sight; and if I perform an action pleasing in his sight, I obtain some spiritual benefit to my soul, or, in the language of the council, I become partaker of some sanctification. Now, as no reason can be given why I may not bow when I see the representation of his sufferings, as well as when I hear the sound of his name, I cannot conceive why I may not then also be said to receive some spiritual benefit to my soul, or to become partaker of some sanctification.

These reflections will, I trust, suffice to vindicate the doctrine of the council, in the mind of the impartial reader. I shall proceed to notice your animadversions on the different speeches of its members. In the first session was read an epistle from Pope Adrian, declaring what was the faith of the Roman church on the subject of images: and to this faith the whole council declared its unqualified assent. From that moment

* P. 49, 60.

the great object of the meeting was accomplished: but on the following days several of the members were permitted to propose and explain their respective sentiments. With respect to doctrine, all were agreed: but their discourses prove that some among them were no great adepts in the art of criticism, or were possessed of a greater share of credulity than has fallen either to your lot or mine. One of them gravely told a story, ridiculous enough, of an old monk who was so harassed by the repeated assaults of the devil, that at length he entered into a sort of compromise with him. The bargain was made: but the conscience of the monk was not at peace. He consulted a neighbouring abbot; and it is of your translation of the answer attributed to this old gentleman that I conceive I have a right to complain. The abbot replied that the monk had better have yielded to the temptation than have "refused to honour "our Lord God Jesus Christ with his mother in the "image." With the propriety of the advice I have no concern: but may I ask why, instead of this expression, you have adopted the following words, "rather "than deny to worship the image in question."* That you attach some importance to them is evident, from your having printed them in italics: and that you would have the reader believe them to be the very words of the abbot, I may infer from your having placed them within inverted commas. Now, Sir, do you believe these two expressions to convey to the mind exactly the same idea? If so, why did you abandon that in the original, and prefer one of your own framing? Do you believe that they have different meanings? If so, I cannot conceive by what arguments you can reconcile it with your sincerity to have corrupted the writer whom you were translating. Had I been guilty of such a misstatement, how fervently would your orthodoxy have declaimed against the dishonesty and misrepresentations of popish controvertists! But it is a truth which experience has long

* Second letter. p. 19.

since established, that those are the first to suspect others of dishonesty, who are addicted to it themselves.

Among the articles which the policy of our enemies has added to our religious creed, is one of a most pernicious tendency: that faith is not to be kept with heretics. Were this the place, it would not, perhaps, be difficult to shew, that our adversaries themselves have a better claim to the honour of this doctrine. Of my readers, those who are conversant with the history of the revolution, must know that there was such a thing as the treaty of Limerick: and those who have watched the course of events during the present reign, will retain some faint recollection of a certain promise made to the Catholics of Ireland. That you, Sir, wish to uphold this baseless calumny against us, I do not mean to assert: yet I cannot conceive for what other purpose you have dragged into discussion the decree of the council of Nice respecting the oaths of the Iconoclasts. It will not be difficult to justify that decree. During a paroxysm of religious phrenzy, some zealots had bound themselves by oath to destroy every image. The council considered their conduct as impious, and of course pronounced their oath to be invalid. Now what is there to reprehend in such a decision? Were one of your parishioners to swear on the bible that he would burn the communion table in your church, would you maintain that he was bound to observe his oath?

From the scriptures, and from councils, you appeal to the ancient schoolmen. As if you had been delegated by the Almighty to visit the iniquities of the parents on their children, not merely to the fourth, but to the twentieth generation, you condemn us of idolatry, because you fancy you have found idolaters among our predecessors some centuries ago. If the old schoolmen really taught an idolatrous doctrine, it was their misfortune: let them answer for it. With their opinions the catholics of the present day have no concern. Why must I be an idolater, because a Spaniard or an Italian was an idolater in the fifteenth or six-

teenth century? The schoolmen were fond of subtle and metaphysical distinctions: they often endeavoured to explore the mysteries of religion till they were lost in an abyss of obscurity; but they laid no claim to infallibility, nor exacted from their brethren an unqualified assent to their opinions. We consider them as private unauthorised individuals. If their doctrine be conformable to that of the church, we admit it: if not, we reject it. We neither subscribe to all their opinions, nor have we to answer for their occasional errors.

But you say, "they were men celebrated in their generation." Why so were Luther and Calvin; they were also celebrated in their generation: they were the fathers, the saints of the reformation. But are you willing to be accused of favouring the impure doctrine that teaches the lawfulness of substituting on some occasions the handmaid for the wife, because it was preached by the magnanimous Luther;* or of believing that the God of all goodness is the great author of sin, because that opinion was sported by the piety of Calvin?† Undoubtedly you are not. Permit me then in like manner to spurn the impious doctrines, which you are pleased to ascribe to catholics, on what you conceive to be the authority of the ancient schoolmen.

With this answer I should have been content, had you not accused me of misrepresentation and perversion in the manner in which I treated this subject in the Vindication. I owe it to myself to repel a charge, of which I am conscious that I am not guilty. I asserted that when the old schoolmen allowed the worship of Latria to be given to the cross of Christ, they only meant an inferior honour, which might be termed Latria, because its ultimate object was Christ. It was from the object in which it terminated, that it received its denomination. To this plea you think proper to demur; and found your objection on the authority of Bellarmine, who, if we may believe you, "unable to reconcile the language of St. Thomas and his followers with the

* *Si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla.* Op. Luth. tom. v. fol. 123.

† *Calv. de prædes.* p. 727.

“ express words of the second council of Nice, which defines the worship due to images to be inferior to Latria,* rationally concludes that Aquinas had never heard of the acts of that council.” I have sought for this rational conclusion in the works of Bellarmine, and in the chapter to which you refer: but have not been so fortunate as to find it.† I do not, however, regret my trouble: as it has disclosed to me some circumstances to which it was your duty to attend. Bellarmine, indeed, disapproves of the language adopted by the schoolmen, not however because its meaning was idolatrous, but because it might be misunderstood;‡ a prediction, which you, Sir, have laboured with much industry to verify. Instead of attributing to them the doctrine, which on his authority you pretend to affix to them, and through them to the whole body of Catholics, he observes that it is evident from their works, that they speak not of a proper but an improper kind of Latria: and that they mean an imperfect worship, which analogically may be reduced to the species of worship due to the original: in other words, a worship which may be said to be of the same kind, because it is referred to the same object.§ Hence, Sir, our readers may see, with how much reason you have opposed Bellarmine to me on this subject. Were you conscious of the rectitude of your cause, what need was there of such an unjustifiable artifice?

It is, however, proper that I explain more fully the sentiments or rather the language of those, whom you have so rashly condemned. It is not a very amusing, or very interesting subject. But to my readers I shall offer no apology. If I lead them through an obscure and dreary path, to you they are indebted for whatever there may be unpleasant and tedious in the journey. You have chosen to build your fortress in

* So, Sir, it appears that you have at length discovered that the council did not allow divine worship to be paid to images. Had you discovered it sooner, it might have spared both our readers and ourselves no little trouble.

† Lib. 11. c. 22, de imag. Lugduni, 1587.

‡ Ibid.

§ Id. c. 23, 25.

this Sierra, and have intrenched yourself in it amid the metaphysical subtleties and Aristotelian distinctions, of the schoolmen. It is my duty, and I trust, will be my good fortune, to expel you from it.

The principal difficulty in understanding the language of these ancient divines arises from a partial acquaintance with their works, different passages of which mutually serve to elucidate each other. They were accustomed to divide respect into two species, which were denominated from their objects, latria and dulia. Latria was that respect, which had God for its ultimate object: dulia that which was paid to any created being. Each of these, if considered according to their acceptation in common language, might be subdivided into different classes: but considered strictly according to their ultimate object, they admitted of no division. Hence every demonstration of respect to an angel or a man, to the king or to his throne, was denominated dulia, because it was ultimately referred to a creature: and in like manner every demonstration of respect to Christ or to his cross, was denominated latria, because it was ultimately referred to Christ. In support of this language they urged, that the respect shewn to the image did not stop at the image, but proceeded to the original: * and hence inferred that the cross of Christ was adored with the same kind of worship as Christ himself, in the same manner as the purple of the king is honoured with the same honour as the king himself: † a comparison which is alone sufficient to vindicate them from all the charges which you have brought against them. I do not, any more than Bellarmine, approve of this lan-

* *Motus autem qui est in imagine, prout est imago, non sistit in ipsa, sed tendit in id, ejus est imago, et ideo ex hoc quod imaginibus Christi exhibetur religionis cultus, non diversificatur ratio latriæ.* St. Thom. 2a. 2æ. q. 81. art. 3 Thorndike's language is similar to this. "Indeed "and in truth, it is not the image but the principal that is honoured by "the honour that is said to be done to the image, because it is done before the image." *Weights and Measures*, p. 128.

† *Sicut purpura regis honoratur eodem honore quo rex.* Id. q. 103. art. 4. et 3. parte, q. 25. art. 1.

guage, because it may be misunderstood by those who are not conversant with it; but I contend that had they maintained the present Protestant doctrine respecting the duty of bowing at the name of Jesus, they would have adopted the same reasoning as you have selected from their works respecting the worship of the cross. They would have said that the name of Jesus ought to receive the adoration of latria, because the honour paid to the name does not stop at the name, but proceeds to him whom it represents. They would have argued like St. Thomas, that the name of Jesus receives no reverence in as much as it is a sound: that it is revered therefore as the denomination of Christ; and that of course the reverence paid to the name of Jesus must be the same as is paid to Christ himself: * or like St. Bonaventure, that we bow to the name of Jesus as to a rational being, therefore we bow to it as to Christ himself: but as we bow we worship; therefore we ought to worship the name of Jesus as Jesus himself. † To us accustomed to a different language, such conclusions appear at first sight very extraordinary: but in themselves they are innocent, and shew that the schoolmen meant no more by giving latria to the cross, than Protestants do by bowing to the name of Jesus. And here, Sir, to leave the language of the schoolmen, and to adopt a short sentence from your letter, perhaps by this time you may begin to repent your bold repetition of the assertion, that St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure and Cajetan do hold the idolatrous doctrine which in your first letter you ascribed to them. ‡

The heavenly seed which the Bishop of Durham so bountifully scattered from the pulpit, did not fall on a rocky or ungrateful soil. Whoever compares the few lines within which he comprised his first accusation, with the many pages into which it has been multiplied in your letter, must be convinced that the produce has been a hundred fold. This increase, the orthodox churchman may, perhaps, assume as an argument in

* Second Letter, p. 28.

† Id. p. 27.

‡ Id. p. 30.

favour of his cause; but the obstinacy of the Catholic will contend that an assertion, which required so many arguments for its support, must have been built on a very sandy foundation. From the charge against our intellects we now pass to a charge against our conduct. Hitherto we are supposed to have misunderstood the meaning of the commandment, now we are accused of having suppressed it. One accusation destroys the other. If we mistake the meaning of the commandment, what motive can we have to suppress it? If we have suppressed it from improper motives, how can it be that we have misunderstood its meaning? The whole charge appears to me the blundering job of some clumsy workman. It dies *felo de se*; and a jury may be impannelled to decide whether it deserves the honour of christian burial.

In the Vindication I had proved this part of the Bishop's accusation to be unfounded, from the absurdity and impracticability of the attempt. I had asked by what authority the suppression had been made? By the bull of what pope? By the decree of what council? In what manner it had been made? What advantage could result from it? To these questions you have returned no answer: nor do I blame you. You could return none that would have been satisfactory. But one thing I take upon me to blame: and that is, that with the consciousness of your inability to reply, you have still come forward, and in defiance of fact and argument have repeated the accusation. Had you made any new discovery since your first letter, you certainly had a right to state it; but I observe that your discoveries are at an end, and that you have confined yourself to a few cavils against certain passages in my answer. To these I shall now reply.

You accuse me in the first place, of shifting the question from a particular to an universal, and of insinuating that the Bishop speaks of the present time, and not of an artifice that *was* adopted in past ages. On the contrary I am ready to affirm, that the Bishop did speak of the present, as well as of any former period. I know that many, and I believe that all who

heard, or who have read his charge, will, on this point at least, agree with me. It is true that he said an artifice *was* adopted, though he had too much prudence to state the time when, or the author by whom it was adopted: but it is also true that he said, "in the enumeration of the ten commandments the second *is* wholly suppressed." If *was* necessarily refers to the time past, I conceive that *is* refers as necessarily to the time present: nor can I doubt that his Lordship meant to assert that Catholics not only have suppressed, but still continue to suppress the second commandment. However I did not confine my observations to the present day: whoever reads the Vindication, will find that my arguments refer not only to the *is* but also to the *was* of the accusation, and show that if in some few instances the words were omitted, that omission did not arise from any improper motive, but from reasons which every impartial judge must approve.

Among the books of instruction which I mentioned, was the Catechismus Romanus; on which you observe that you should, indeed, have been astonished, had it not contained the commandment. I, however, am at a loss to explain your astonishment. If your accusation be true, the omission would have been the most natural thing in the world. The catechism was compiled for the use of the curates. They were ordered to study, to explain and read it to their parishioners. If then the Catholic church had wished to withhold the knowledge of the commandment from the people, would she have inserted it in a book of this description: or if she did, would she not at least have admonished the curate of the necessity of suppressing it in his public instructions? The opposite conduct which she pursued, is, I think, a convincing proof of her innocence. Besides the Catechismus Romanus I had also referred to the Institutions of Canisius. Your observations on this reference are so very pertinent, and so very orthodox, that I shall beg leave to transcribe them, for the information and edification of the public. "What was my surprise," you exclaim, "and what will be the surprise and indignation of my

“ readers, when in this very tract, so daringly, and so
 “ unreservedly brought forward by yourself, the com-
 “ mandment, instead of being given entire, is presented
 “ to us only in the following corrupt and mutilated
 “ form! Non facies tibi sculptile ut adores illud. I
 “ will not characterize this proceeding with any epi-
 “ thet. I will only ask, whether the subornation of
 “ such testimony must not convince every unpreju-
 “ diced reader, of your utter inability to repel by
 “ honest evidence the accusation urged against your
 “ church.” In writing this did you not pray with
 the poet?

Pulcra Laverna,

*Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri,
 Noctem peccatis et fraudibus objice nubem.*

In defiance, Sir, of your real or pretended indignation, I shall still beg leave to refer to Canisius. The dispute between us is not respecting the abridgment, but the suppression of what you call the second commandment. Now I contend that in this abridgment of Canisius, “ thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing to worship it,” there is no suppression. Some of the words of the prohibition are, indeed, omitted: but the sense is preserved, not suppressed. Do you object to the phrase, to worship it, which is adopted instead of, thou shalt not worship it? I answer that these words present the true meaning of the original, and that Canisius may justify himself by the example of St. Stephen, who, in quoting the prophet Amos, adopts the same mode of expression: “ figures which ye made to worship them.” But, Sir, is it certain that you are correct in your account of this work? That it contains the passage, which you alledge, I am ready to confess: but if you mean to insinuate that it contains nothing more, you egregiously deceive your readers. The whole commandment at full length, copied verbatim from the twentieth chapter of Exodus, occurs in the same page.* And now, Sir, the public perhaps may think, that the merit of the fraud which

* Institut. Chris. Pietatis. Parisiis, anno 1579.

you so kindly attempted to transfer to me, belonged solely to yourself. I, however, still hope better of you: and shall suppose it possible that you employed a mutilated edition of Canisius, or that, satisfied with the discovery of the abridged passage, you thought it unwise or unnecessary to make any further enquiry.

In the progress of your observations you express a wish to decide the controversy by reference to books of religious institution, printed about the commencement of the reformation. This at first sight may appear plausible: but the inutility of the attempt is evident from your confession that to obtain such books is difficult, if not impracticable.* After a long search I have, however, discovered two, which though not

* I have discovered four English catechisms printed in 1730, 1702, 1649, 1639, all which contain the commandment. I have since met with the catechism published by John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, "in his provincial council, with the advice of the bishops and other prelates, with doctors of theology and canon law present at the time, in 1551. Printed at Sanct Androus the xxix day of August the zeir of our Lord M. D. lii." From it I shall extract what regards the present subject.

Fol. xii. Thow sall haif na other Goddis bot me. Thow sall nocht mak to thee (as Gods) ony gravit ymage, nother ony similitude of ony thing that is in the heum above, or in ye erd beneth, nor of ony thing yat is in the water under the erd. Thow sall nocht adorne yame nor worship (as Goddis.)

Fol. xxi. Thai syn agane this command, that committis corporall ydolatrie, quhilk is, quhen men or wemen, nocht only giffis till certaine creaturis or thair ymages ye service of yair hartis, yat is to say, faith, hoip, and lufe. quhilk aucht to be geven to God, bot alswa vai gif to yame the outward service of thair body, as honour, worschip, and reverence. quhilk aucht to be gevin to God.

Fol. xxviii. Ar ymages aganis the first command. Na, sa thai be weil nsit—Quhat is the rycht use of ymage? Imagis to be made na haly writ forbiddis (sais venerabil Bede) for the sycht of thame specially of the crucifixe giffis greit compunction to thame quhilk beholdis it with faith in Christ, and to thame yat be unletterat, it giffis a quik remembrance of ye passion of Christ. Bot utterly yis command forbiddis to mak ymagis to that effect, that thai suld be adornit, and wirschipt as Goddis, or with ony Godly honour, ye quhilk sentence is expremit be this wordis: non adorabis ea neque coles. Thow sall nocht adorne yame nor worschip thaire as Goddis. Now we suld nocht gif Goddis honour or Christis honour to ony ymage bot to God allanerly, representit be ane ymage.

written by catholics, are still worthy of notice. The first was the work of a gentleman "famous in his generation," and a particular favourite with the reformed writers, John Huss, "*the father of the Bohemian religionists.*"* The second is a legacy bequeathed to us by no less a man than the great patriarch of the reformation, Martin Luther.† What was my surprise when in reading their editions of the commandment, I found that they had suppressed the prohibition in question: that they, the most ardent enemies of the Catholic doctrine, they whose whole study was to detect and expose the abominations of the Romish harlot, had not only not discovered the artifice of which she is now accused, but had themselves been guilty of it. Thanks to divine providence, I exclaimed, the apostles of orthodoxy at the present day, are not like those of past ages. If Huss and Luther were blind, at least the Bishop of Durham and his clerical solicitor have their eyes open. The darkness, which deceived the fathers of the reformation, has been removed: a ray of evangelical light has burst from the cathedral of Durham; and the w—— of Babylon stands at last exposed in all her native deformity.‡

The truth is, these innovators, as well as some Catholic writers, thought, that on particular occasions it was proper to make abridgments of the decalogue for the use of the dull and the ignorant. Of suppressing any commandment they neither had the wish nor the

* Opera Huss. Norimbergæ, 1558, p. 30.

† Op. Luth. Ienæ, 1589, p. 117.

‡ See Dr. Martin Luther's catechism, for Parsons, Schoolmasters, Masters of families, Young persons and children at school, "The ten commandments of God, which a master of a family ought exactly to represent to his domestics—The first commandment: Thou shalt have no other Gods besides me. Q. What is that? Ans. We must fear, love and trust God, above all things. The second commandment: Thou shalt not use the name of thy God unprofitably. The ninth commandment: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. The tenth commandment: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, servant, maid, beast, or any thing that is his." Appendix to Luther's German Bible, p. 23, Luneburg, 1640.

intention. Their conduct was the same as had been adopted by the holy spirit in different parts of the scriptures. Of these I shall notice only one. With the children of Israel the Lord made a covenant and charged them saying: "Ye shall not fear other Gods, nor bow yourselves to them, nor serve them, nor sacrifice to them."* That this was meant as an abstract of what you call the first and second commandments, appears from the last verses of the chapter, in which they are said to have broken this covenant, and to have disregarded this charge by "serving their graven images." If then the suppression of the prohibition of images necessarily proceed from fraud, I fear the imputation must also be cast on God himself.

Of the relative merit of the two divisions of the decalogue adopted by Catholics and Protestants, I carefully avoided the discussion, that the subjects of controversy between us might not be unnecessarily multiplied. You, however, Sir, have forced it into notice, and that too in a manner which I cannot but characterize as unfair. You represent me as assigning the omission of the commandment, in some small catechisms, principally to our arrangement of the decalogue on the authority of St. Augustine. If you look back to the Vindication, you will perhaps find your mistake. I mentioned, indeed, the authority of St. Augustine, and I flattered myself that, as you could not accuse that father of idolatry, you would not assert that our division of the commandment was an artifice originally adopted to conceal our idolatry. Since, however, you are determined to discuss this question,† I beg your attention to the following observations.

1. The scripture itself informs us that the decalogue

* 2 Kings xvii. 32.

† At the bottom of page 35, you mention a number of the fathers, who, you say, arrange the decalogue after your manner. Nothing is more easy than to string together a collection of names, without referring to particular passages. Two of them I have consulted, and discovered that they follow, not your division, but the same as St. Augustine. Clement of Alexandria, Strom. l. vi. and St. Jerome, Comment. in Ps. 32.

contains ten commandments, but no where exhibits them actually divided. The prohibitory and precipient clauses amount in all to fourteen. It is therefore necessary to class some of them together, in order to reduce them to ten distinct precepts.

2. On this account it appears natural to unite together all such clauses as appertain to the same subject : and therefore Catholics consider as one commandment whatever regards the worship of false Gods. Protestants divide it into two : but with more reason they ought to divide it into three. 1. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. 2. Thou shalt not *make* unto thee any graven image, &c. 3. Thou shalt not *bow thyself* to them, nor serve them. This conclusion, with the reason which is afterwards assigned, that God is a jealous God, and which equally applies to every clause, is a proof that in the eyes of the Jewish legislator, they formed but one commandment.

3. In scripture they are usually described as one commandment. This appears from the passages I have already quoted from Exod. xx. 23.—2 Kings xvii. 35. and also from Lev. xix. 2. and all those texts, in which to serve images and to serve other Gods is considered as the same crime, and of course as the violation of the same commandment.

4. In our arrangement of the decalogue, we divide the tenth precept of the church of England into two, for this obvious reason, that as the acts themselves are forbidden by two different commandments on account of their different natures, so the desires of these acts ought also to be forbidden by different precepts. Thou shalt not commit adultery—thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife—thou shalt not steal—thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, &c.*

* I may here be allowed to notice a mistake of yours, though it be of no great consequence. You say, that to make up the number of the commandments, we have removed one clause of the prohibition of evil concupiscence from the place it invariably holds in the bible, and have made of it a separate command. Now though it be true, that in Exodus the prohibition of coveting a neighbour's house comes before the prohibition of coveting his wife, yet in Deuteronomy it comes

There is an old proverb not inapplicable to the present subject: "let not those throw stones whose legs are made of glass." The accusation of suppressing the commandment comes with a bad grace from those, who cannot be ignorant how many unjustifiable liberties were taken with the scriptures by their predecessors. They moulded them into any shape that suited their interests, and persuaded their credulous disciples that they were reading the word of God, while in reality they were studying the inventions of men. I have my doubts, whether even the commandment in question has not received some improvement from their ingenuity. What claim has the word *image* to a place in the text? It certainly does not occur in the original: and by its introduction it limits the meaning of the precept. In the English version images and representations are indeed forbidden: but pillars of stone, the frequent objects of idolatrous worship to the ancient nations, are not included. It seems the first reformers had a great devotion to the word *image*: they inserted it in the sacred text wherever they pleased; and cared little where it made sense or nonsense, provided it might furnish a quotation against the papists. But the passage which of all others was found the most useful, occurs 1 John v. 21: "Babes keep yourselves from *images*." This version was made when the babes of the reformation were weak in faith, and it was proper to nourish their credulity with the milk of deception. The labour of their evangelical nurses was not lost. There was babe Knox in Scotland, whose enmity to images may still be read in the ruins of churches and monasteries: there was babe Whittingham at Durham, whose iconoclast piety pillaged the cathedral and filled his pockets: and there were your babes without number in all parts of the kingdom, whose religion, like the barbarism of the Goths and Vandals, displayed itself in demolishing or defacing every monument of

after; and if the Protestant church have a right to follow Exodus, the Catholic may claim a similar right to follow Deuteronomy. Indeed, in the old Greek translation the order in Exodus is the same as in Deuteronomy: and the best critics are agreed that it is the true order.

ancient piety. But these times are gone. The babes have grown up to manhood: their faith may now be fed with more solid food: and the images have disappeared from the text to make place for the true reading, *idols*.

With the charge of image-worship an incidental observation of the Bishop has connected the doctrines of the two churches on the subject of the eucharist. But I must take the liberty to inform you, Sir, that in discussing this topic you have wandered from the true point in question. If, as you insinuate, the Remarker has expressed himself obscurely, you will permit me to restate his meaning in clearer terms. The right reverend Prelate had asserted, that the Catholic tenet of the real presence is calculated to dispose men to worship the creature-image instead of the Creator. This observation appeared so ludicrous to the Remarker, that, disdaining to give a direct reply, he put a parallel case, which you must acknowledge to be exactly in point. He supposed an Unitarian to assert that the doctrine of the church of England concerning the divinity of Christ was also calculated to dispose men to worship the creature-image instead of the Creator. What reply his Lordship might make to this assertion, he did not venture to predict: but, whatever it might be, he pledged himself to shew, that it would as readily exonerate the Catholics from the Bishop's accusation, as it could exonerate the Bishop from the accusation of the dissenter. I am inclined to think that you feel the force of the Remarker's observation. Like the other advocates of our right reverend adversary, you do not so much as attempt a reply to the argument put into the mouth of the Unitarian; but amuse yourself with endeavouring to shew that the real presence contradicts, while the divinity of Christ does not contradict, the evidence of the senses. On this, as it is foreign to the subject, I shall make no observation: but shall content myself with engaging to make good the Remarker's pledge, whenever any of his adversaries shall afford me an opportunity.

What I have hitherto said regards the Catholic doc-

trine respecting the Lord's supper: on that of the Church of England the only point between us is, whether it be sense or nonsense. The Remarker had decided in favour of the latter: and, Sir, notwithstanding the indignation with which you combat his opinion, I think that your own conduct affords a strong argument in his favour. Ten months ago you told us, that by the body and blood of Christ, which are received verily and indeed in the Lord's supper, is meant, not the body and blood, but the instrumental cause by which we are put in actual possession of all the graces, which Christ's crucified body can yield us: * a meaning so very luminous, that I doubt not it has most forcibly stricken the mind of every child who has learnt the answer by heart. This is what your doctrine *was*: now let us see what it *is*. It would be too unpleasant a restraint on the liberty of the children of God, to confine them to the same belief for the whole year. Now you tell us, that the body and blood of Christ, which are received in very truth and deed, are only a representation of the crucified Redeemer, which fully puts the receiver in possession of the title to that inheritance which Christ purchased for us with his blood. † This explication is equally perspicuous, and I trust that, during the next ten months, every child, who learns his catechism, will, by the grace of God (I am sure it can be by no other means) understand it in this manner. Whether at the expiration of that term, we shall be favoured with a third meaning, I cannot say: but you will, perhaps, agree with me, that a doctrine, which you yourself cannot explain twice in the same manner, is more akin to nonsense than sense.

Your attempt to vindicate the words of the catechism by a comparison, deserves the praise of ingenuity; but proves, at the same time, how unable the greatest abilities are to impart even an appearance of reason to that which stands in direct contradiction to it. "Let us suppose," you say, "that a friend presents me with an estate, and conveys to me my new

* First Letter, p. 24.

† Second Letter p 41

“possession by a written instrument. If I say, that in taking it into my hands, I verily and indeed receive the estate, I am not aware that I should deserve to be called a fool for my pains, and to be told that I talked nonsense.” No, Sir, I do not think you would: but have the goodness to observe, that in receiving the sacrament, you do not say that you receive the inheritance, which Christ has purchased for you, (that, indeed, though false, would make the comparison apposite) but you say that you receive his body and blood, the very price with which he purchased the inheritance for you. Permit me then to improve your illustration. Were you, in taking the written instrument into your hand, to say, here I receive verily and indeed the body and blood of the friend who has given the estate, what impression do you think such words would make on the minds of those who heard you? Would they think you in your senses or not? Yet such is precisely the language of the church of England, which on one hand believes the body and blood of Christ not to be in the sacrament, and on the other believes them to be verily and indeed received in it. The evident absurdity of such a doctrine is alone a sufficient proof of the politico-theological juggle to which I alluded in the Vindication.*

II. The second division of the Bishop's Charge regarded the mediatorship of Christ, which he contended was violated by the Catholic practice of invoking the intercession of the saints. The arguments which have already been adduced to repel this accusation, are, in my opinion, so very satisfactory, that to repeat them here would be an insult to the judgment of my reader. I shall, therefore, omit them, and briefly notice such new matter as in your second letter you have occasionally introduced. 1. You begin by charging the Remarker with falsehood, and the Vindicator with an acknowledgment of his guilt. In the enjoyment of this imaginary victory you appear to feel so very comfortable, that it is not without reluct-

* See Heylin, p. 203.

ance I proceed to elucidate your mistake. Read a second time the observations of the Remarker, and you will not find in them the assertion that you seem to attribute to him. He never asserted that Catholics solicit the intercession of the saints with Christ *only*, but that they solicit *only* the intercession of the saints with Christ. The word *only* regards not Christ, but the act of solicitation. It did not exclude the other persons of the Trinity; it was meant merely to exclude the asking for grace and salvation from the saints. But I will repeat the passage as it stands in the Remarks. "The Catholic, like the Protestant, expects salvation from the merits of Christ *only*; from the saints he asks neither grace nor salvation; he *only* solicits their friendly intercession for him with Christ, who is his and their Saviour, his and their God."

2. As to the prayer which you have transcribed from the rules of the sodality of the immaculate conception, I shall only reply, that I am totally unacquainted both with the rules and the sodality: that I have undertaken to defend the Catholic faith, not the pious extravagancies of any individual; and that even in the passage given in your letter, mention is made of the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and nothing is said to prove that it is independent of the mediatorship of Christ.

3. When to these words in a Catholic prayer, "the weight of our own conduct presses us down," you attribute this meaning, that "we are so weighed down with the sense of our own unworthiness, that we dare not address our Blessed Saviour for mercy," I can only congratulate you on your own ingenuity, and the importance of the discovery. Certain I am that such an idea never yet entered into the mind of any Catholic; and it must be a source of great satisfaction to us to find a Protestant clergyman employed in explaining to us the true meaning of our prayers.

In concluding this subject, I will ask what sense is to be attributed to these and similar passages in holy writ: "I will bless thee and multiply thy seed for my

“servant Abraham’s *sake*.”* “For thy servant David’s *sake*, turn not away the face of thine anointed.”† Are they derogatory from the mediatorship of Christ? Or do they not shew that, in consideration of the zeal and fidelity of his departed servants, God may be sometimes induced to grant particular blessings to the living? To me it appears that they do; and this too without any derogation from the merits and mediatorship of Christ, because whatever favour the saints may possess with God, it is wholly founded on the merits and mediatorship of Christ.

On the subject of penance you state what you conceive to be our doctrine. Though your statement be inaccurate, I shall leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether it will authorize the inference you draw from it. Here you take occasion to condemn the Remarker of having misrepresented the Bishop’s Charge. It is really a pity that you have not more accurately perused the book, which you have undertaken to refute. The Remarker observed, that he did not perfectly understand the meaning of the Right Reverend prelate: that according to Catholics, works of penance are one of the conditions on which Christ is willing to communicate the merits of his passion to the soul of the sinner; and that, *if* the bishop intended to condemn this doctrine, he encouraged the perpetration of sin, and invited men to think of repentance then only, when they could no longer gratify their passions. In this conclusion I must be allowed to say, that I still think the Remarker was correct.

When the Bishop of Durham had marshalled his arguments in three divisions, it required no small ingenuity to adapt the different subjects of discussion to the places allotted to them. How the withholding of the sacramental cup from the laity could derogate from the mediatorship of Christ, it is not easy to conceive: but the objection was wanted to fill up the ranks; and by a slight alteration he has been enabled to arrange it in the same line with works of penance and

* Gen. xxvi. 24.

† Ps. cxxxii. 10.

the invocation of saints. It is not, indeed, said to be derogatory from the mediatorship of Christ: that was too manifestly false; but to be injurious to his honour, because it is a violation of his command. Let that, however, pass. In the Vindication, I had, in compliance with your request, adduced several instances of communion under one kind in the ancient church. Your answer is so very polite that it deserves notice. "I have," you say, "taken the trouble of examining the different passages to which you refer; and I entreat the attention of my readers to an exposure of one of the most impudent and barefaced perversions of ancient writings that controversy even with papists can furnish." Such language may, perhaps, convince the unsuspecting or the uninformed reader, but

Ad populum phaleras: ego te intus et in cute novi.

Which of us has the better claim to the merit of perverting ancient testimony, the following observations may, perhaps, determine.

1. During the first four centuries of the christian æra, it was customary for the more fervent among the faithful to receive the sacrament daily in their own houses. Hence, when they communicated in public, they usually enclosed a portion of the consecrated bread in a small box, and carried it home with them. It was to refresh your memory as to this ancient custom, that I referred you, Sir, to the works of Tertulian and St. Cyprian. There you may read different instances of it. Indeed, yourself acknowledged that "in Tertullian's age the christians were *perhaps* accustomed to carry home with them part of the bread only and not of the wine from the Lord's supper; but," you add "to argue from it that they received the communion only in one kind, is utterly ludicrous." Now, Sir, I must confess that I have not sufficient sagacity to discover what there is so very ludicrous in this argument. When the faithful received the sacrament under the form of bread only in their houses, did they not communicate? And if they did communi-

cate, was it not in one kind only? Whatever you may think, I trust the reader will now agree with me, that in the age of Tertullian and Cyprian at least, communion under one kind was "partially admitted."

2. From the very commencement of christianity to the reformation, it was customary to communicate the sick under one kind: and for this purpose a part of the consecrated bread was usually reserved in the church. I do not deny that there are instances of the communion being received by the sick in both kinds, particularly when it was administered immediately after the celebration of the liturgy: but I contend that the more usual method was to receive it under the form of bread only. Of the many proofs of this custom occurring in ancient writers, I was content with referring you to two. That from the life of St. Ambrose you admit, but affect to be ignorant of the inference which may be deduced from it. That from Eusebius you attempt to disfigure, and observe with much gravity that "it is not said that the sick man did not also take the wine." This is true: but that the reader may see with how much reason the observation is introduced, I will relate the story to which I referred you in Eusebius. A dying man had sent to request that the priest would come and administer to him the sacrament. The priest, whose infirmities confined him to his house, "gave a small portion of the eucharist to the messenger, desiring him to moisten it, and put it into the mouth of the dying man. He complied with this request; the man communicated, and soon after expired." Such is the account of Eusebius; and if from this account I infer, that the sick sometimes communicated under one kind, few of my readers will, I hope, accuse me of "a most impudent and barefaced perversion of ancient testimony."

I also referred to the eleventh council of Toledo; and this council, even according to your own representation of it, is exactly in point. You tell us from it, that dying persons, "who longed for the sacrament, often rejected the bread when brought, and could

“only swallow some of the cup.” If they swallowed some of the cup only, I presume they communicated in one kind only. But, you observe, “of these it is not affirmed that they received the sacrament.” That is true: but why should it be affirmed? No one, I believe, ever doubted of it: and you yourself have forgotten to tell us, what it was they received when they received the consecrated cup, and yet did not receive the sacrament.

3. In the public churches the communion was almost always administered in both kinds: but each communicant was still left to his own choice to receive either both or one. This, I trust, I shall prove from the passage in St. Leo, to which I referred you. “It is plain,” you say, “from the whole passage, that the cup was always offered, that certain heretics declined to take it; and that, for their refusal, they were most strongly condemned by Pope Leo. Yet this is unblushingly adduced to prove that communion under one kind was always partially admitted.” Such, Sir, is your comment: now have the patience to hear mine. It appears from Pope Leo, that the Manichæans at Rome wished to escape the observation of the public. With this view (*quo tutius laterent*) they assisted with the christians at the sacred mysteries, and communicated together with them. Now, Sir, how could they have avoided detection, had their method of communicating been different from that of others? The very attempt would have exposed them. It is evident, then, they communicated like others. Yet we know that they communicated in one kind only, because their religion taught wine to be the creature of the evil principle. May I not then justly infer, that many among the christians were accustomed to communicate in the same manner?

Now, Sir, permit me to ask, where is “the impudent and barefaced perversion of the testimony of ancient writings,” of which you complain? Have I not shewn that to receive one kind only was customary, 1. in private communion, 2. in the communion of the sick, and 3. even in public communion? And

is not this sufficient to prove, what had been previously asserted, that communion in one kind had always been partially admitted? I might, had I pleased, have alleged other passages, and have instanced the *Missæ Præsantificationum* in both the Greek and Latin churches; but those which you consider as so barefaced a perversion of ancient testimony, will, I do not doubt, be sufficient to convince the mind of every dispassionate reader.

May I also be allowed to ask, what is the meaning of these words; "one of the most impudent and barefaced perversions of the testimony of ancient writings, *that controversy even with papists can furnish?*" Do you wish it to be believed that Catholic writers are particularly addicted to the arts of misrepresentation and perversion of ancient testimony? If you do, I deny the charge, and hurl it back with contempt in the teeth of our immaculate accusers. The man who employs misrepresentation, who perverts the testimony of ancient writers, must be conscious of the falsehood of his creed; and I trust that the conduct of the Catholics, during two centuries of privations, penalties, and persecutions, must have proved, to the most incredulous observer, that we are convinced of the truth of ours. Had, indeed, the Catholic faith been the road to opulence and preferment, were rich and easy livings offered as rewards to the exertions of its champions, were its ministers accustomed to calculate the amount of the tithes as well as of the articles of religion, and to subscribe *ex animo* to that which they must confess to be doubtful, and which many of them do not in fact, believe; then, indeed, we might have motives to use misrepresentation and perversion in the defence of our creed. Had it led us into a land flowing with milk and honey, the advantages of our situation might have induced us to employ artifice and cunning to retain it. But with every temporal motive to make us wish our faith to be false, we shall be fools indeed, if we adhere to it, and defend it, when we know it not to be true. Nothing but a sense of duty can teach us to prefer the

barrenness of the desert to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt. But, Sir, were you aware how easily the reproach might have been retorted on yourself, and your brethren in arms? Were I disposed to retaliate, I might call to your recollection the scandal of past ages; I might paint to the eyes of the public, the artifices, misrepresentations, and falsehoods adopted by your predecessors in the office of calumniating the Catholic church; I might refer you to an eminent writer of the present day, who declares, that forgery was the vice of the reformation; or to the celebrated Protestant professor Zanchius, who thus complains of his reforming colleagues. “ I am indignant, when I
 “ consider the manner in which most of us defend our
 “ cause. The true state of the question we often, on
 “ set purpose, involve in darkness, that it may not be
 “ understood: we have the impudence to deny things
 “ the most evident: we assert what is visibly false:
 “ the most impious doctrines we force on the people
 “ as the first principles of faith, and orthodox opinions
 “ we condemn as heretical: we torture the scriptures
 “ till they agree with their own fancies; and boast of
 “ being the disciples of the fathers, while we refuse
 “ to follow their doctrine: to deceive, to calumniate,
 “ to abuse, is our familiar practice: nor do we care
 “ for any thing, provided we can defend our cause,
 “ good or bad, right or wrong. O what times! what
 “ manners.”* Certainly those, whose guilt is thus confessed by their own writers, should be careful how they throw out insinuations against the honesty of others.

In the Vindication I had mentioned an authority, to which I conceived a clergyman of the Church of England would bow with profound respect; an act of parliament, which allowed the sacrament to be sometimes given in one kind only. That in theory the faith which you profess is founded on scripture, may or may not be true: that in practice it is founded on the authority

* Zanchius ad Stormium, tom. viii. col. 828.

of parliament, will not be denied. Acts of parliament alone can make articles of faith, and acts of parliament alone can declare any doctrine heretical. Whether or not the kingdom of Christ be of this world, it is evident that the Church of England is. Now, Sir, what answer do you make to this authority? That the question is not about the notions of the first reformers, but about the present doctrine of your church. Be it so. Has the act to which I allude, been repealed? And, if it has not, does it not still remain in force? I believe that this question must be answered in the affirmative: whence it will follow, either, that to give the communion in one kind is "not a violation of the divine command, a mutilation of the sacrament," or that the Church of England is involved in the same guilt with her mother the Romish harlot, and must like her bare her shoulders to the episcopal scourge.

You ask, whether our Saviour's precepts were *not* of general obligation? To so indefinite a question I beg leave to answer, by asking in my turn, whether the precept of consecrating the eucharist, *was* of general obligation? Both of us, I believe, must answer alike, that some precepts were addressed to particular classes, some to the whole body of christians.

On my assertion, that the scripture no where mentions the liquor contained in the Lord's cup to have been wine, you make, with much solemnity, the following erudite observation: "This assertion shews such ignorance of the gospel as might amaze me more than it does, did I not remember of what church you are a member. Read Matt. xvi. 29, Luke xxii. 18, and blush for so egregious a blunder." The reader shall soon determine which of us has the greater reason to blush.

It is now some years since I was first acquainted with the two passages to which you have so politely sent me, and I have yet to learn that they have any reference whatever to the present subject. "I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come, or till I drink it new with you in my Fa-

“ther’s kingdom.” Now, Sir, do these words refer to the liquor contained in the eucharistic cup, or to the liquor which had been drunk during the repast? St. Matthew, indeed, favours the former exposition: but if you attentively peruse the account of St. Luke, who has more minutely detailed the particulars of our Lord’s last supper, you will, perhaps, think with me, that the latter is the true meaning. Jesus and his disciples first ate the passover, when he said to them, “ I will not any more eat thereof until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.” They then all drank of the cup, when he said, “ I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come.” Each of these passages, the first spoken after he had eaten, the second after he had drunk, were predictions of his approaching passion. As the first referred, not to the eucharistic bread, but to the passover, so the second referred, not to the eucharistic cup, but to the wine drunk with the passover. The eucharist had not yet been instituted. Its institution followed immediately after. But neither in St. Luke, nor in any other part of the scripture, is it said, that the liquor which was consecrated by our Redeemer was wine. I do not mean to deny that it was. All I wish to prove is, that neither the scripture nor any act of parliament has yet defined wine to be the matter of the sacrament; and thence to infer, that since for the matter you are content to rest on the authority of the Catholic church, you may with equal security rest upon the same authority for the manner also.

III. The Romans were accustomed to place in the third line the Triarii, soldiers of tried and approved valour. They formed the strength of the army, the best hope of the general. But our episcopal field-marshal has studied tactics in a different school. His third line is formed after the levy-en-masse act. His troops are a confused medley of all ages, sizes, and conditions. We have good works, and indulgences, and pardons, and unknown tongues, and the scriptures, and translations, and editions of the Greek testament, and Protestant universities, all embodied to

defend the "sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit," and to precipitate the downfall of the Romish Babylon.

A motley crew, with ever varying face,
Devoid of spirit, order, strength, and grace;
Such as old Falstaff led, or such as might
Have sought the banners of La Mancha's knight.

To this numerous host of objections the Remarker was content to oppose one very easy and obvious question. He asked whether any of our adversaries can point out a Catholic congregation, whose morals are in any respect inferior to those of their Protestant neighbours. Facts are decisive, when reasoning only creates obscurity. The tree is to be known by its fruits: and unless Catholics by the inferiority of their morals prove the accusation to be true, it is useless to argue that their practices are derogatory from the influences of the Holy Spirit. The question has been repeatedly put to all the champions of the Bishop; and experience has shewn that it is impossible to goad them to an answer. Even you, Sir, have shrunk from the attempt. The imputation of dishonesty and misrepresentation, which you have cast on the Remarker, on myself, and on Catholic writers in general, shews, that if you have been silent, it was because you could not return an unfavourable answer. I shall, therefore, assume, from the tacit confession of our adversaries, that Catholics have no reason to yield the palm of virtue to Protestants: and shall thence conclude, that their practices are not more inimical to the influences of the Holy Spirit, than the practices, or rather the non-practices, of their Protestant brethren. That man has yet to learn to blush, who, with such a fact staring him in the face, can still come forward, and repeat the accusation.

The Bishop had forgotten to press the rosary into his service. You have supplied the omission, and tell us, that "as the vulgar could not read, it was also determined they should not understand what they were to repeat. Instead therefore of giving them any prayers in a language of their own, which they

“ might get by heart, you were pleased to accommodate them with a string of words to be repeated one hundred and fifty times over, though as unintelligible to them as the merest gibberish.” Honest and worthy clerk, have you then the simplicity to believe, that Catholics, who are unable to read, are yet able to say their prayers in a foreign tongue; the Latin, I imagine? Do have the goodness to inform the public by what ingenious contrivance we accommodate those, who cannot read, with strings of Latin words. Your discovery certainly deserves, and will, I trust, obtain a premium from the society for the encouragement of the arts and sciences.

But they are not only our practices, even the value which we ascribe to them is adduced as a proof of the Bishop's accusation. Here, Sir, I may be allowed to say, that I cannot admire either your prudence or that of our right reverend adversary. Whoever impartially estimates the respective doctrines of the two churches, must, I think, confess that ours is favourable, yours unfavourable to the influences of the Holy Spirit. You teach, that man is justified by faith only; a tenet which the thirty-nine articles feelingly pronounce to be “ most wholesome and full of comfort.”* This solidian doctrine was the creature of Luther's policy: and it served him most effectually. To it the reformation was in a great measure indebted for its establishment. It was not, indeed, very consonant to reason; but it wanted not the support of reason: every passion that has a seat in the human breast pleaded in its favour. The old-fashioned apostles of christianity had taught that there were many crimes, which excluded from the kingdom of God: the new apostle with “ his everlasting gospel,” restrained the power of damning

* Is it not rather singular that a church, which pretends to be built on scripture alone, should so form the articles of her belief as to be in direct contradiction to the very words of scripture? *We are justified by faith only*, says the eleventh article. *A man is not justified by faith only*, says St. James, ii. 24. Heylin is said to have been so ashamed of the word *only*, that he omitted it in his edition of the articles. Hist. p. 354.

to infidelity alone.* They, unacquainted with the true nature of christian liberty, had still left us several duties to perform: he, with his usual magnanimity, freed us from them at once. "Faith alone," he cried, "is necessary for our justification: nothing else is either commanded or prohibited." "Say not that God will punish sin. The law, indeed, says so. But what have I to do with the law? I am free."† They had exhorted their disciples to perform good works, and thus make their calling and election sure: he, kind soul! preached a more easy and consoling doctrine. "The way to heaven is narrow," he exclaimed, "throw away your good works, if you wish to squeeze through it."‡ Who could refuse to listen to so inviting a teacher! Under his guidance, who but a fool could escape the possession of eternal happiness!

Though our lean faith such rigid laws has giv'n,
 The full-fed Musselman goes fat to heav'n:
 For his Arabian prophet with delights
 Of sense allured his eastern proselytes.
 The jolly Luther leading him, began
 To interpret scriptures by *his* alcoran;
 To grub the thorns beneath our tender feet,
 And make the paths of paradise more sweet;
 Bethought him of a wife e'er half-way gone,
 (For t'was uneasy travelling alone)
 And in this masquerade of mirth and love,
 Mistook the bliss of heav'n for Bacchanals above.

A doctrine of this description was not likely to be very favourable to the influences of the Holy Spirit. If it reformed the creed, it deformed the morals of its professors. This is a truth acknowledged and lamented

* Ubi fides est, nullum peccatum nocere potest. In Serm. Sic Deus dilexit—Nulla peccata damnare possunt, nisi sola incredulitas. De Captiv. Bab. cap. de Baptismo.

† Sola fides necessaria est ut justi simus, cætera omnia liberrima, neque præcepta amplius, neque prohibita.—Ergo Deus puniet et damnabit? Non. At lex hoc dicit. Sed nihil mihi cum lege.—Quare? Quia habeo libertatem. Cap. 2, ad Gal.

‡ Angusta est via: oportet te fieri tenuem si vis per eam venire—Si veneris cum magnis saccis operum plenis, deponere oportebit, alioqui non poteris penetrare. Serm. de novo test.

by the evangelical preachers themselves. "Formerly," says Luther, "when we were seduced by the Pope, every one willingly followed good works; but now people neither say nor know any thing but how to get all to themselves by exaction, pillage, theft, falsehood, usury, &c.)* "Of the thousands," says Calvin, "who renounced popery, and seemed eagerly to embrace the gospel, how few have amended their lives! Indeed, what else did the greater part pretend to, than by shaking off the yoke of superstition to give themselves more liberty, and to plunge into every kind of lasciviousness."† "The greater part of the people," adds Bucer, "seem to have embraced the gospel, only to live at their pleasure, and enjoy their lusts and lawless appetites without controul. Hence they lend a willing ear to the doctrine *that we are justified by faith only, and not by good works, for which they have no relish.*"‡

Now, Sir, this doctrine, the prolific parent of so much immorality, you have adopted. It holds a distinguished place among the thirty-nine articles, the new gospel framed by the founders of your church. How much it favours the influences of the Holy Spirit, we have already seen: and I am astonished that any man who has subscribed to such an opinion, should dare to accuse the opinions of others as inimical to the influences of the Holy Spirit. I do not mean to assert, that at the present day it has effects equally pernicious on the morals of Protestants. They (in this respect happily for themselves) are little acquainted with the doctrines of their church. To know that the Pope is antichrist, and the Roman church the whore of Babylon, is theology enough to form an orthodox churchman. Even you yourselves, (I mean the teachers in Israel) have learned to blush at the extravagance of this solifidian doctrine, and by the aid of ingenious and subtle distinctions, have endeavoured to expound it in a sense more agreeable to reason, and less dangerous

* Luth. in Serm. dom. 26 post Pent.

† Calv. I. vi. de Scand.

‡ Buc. de Regn. Christ. I. i. c. 4.

to morality. Nor do I blame you. Those who give the poison, should administer the antidote; and as every candidate for holy orders is compelled to swallow the draught, I shall not complain if its more bitter ingredients be dulcified by explanations, or if by any contrivance it be made pleasant to the palate, and safe to the constitution.

But to return to the Catholic church. The Bishop of Durham condemns "our presumptuous doctrine respecting the merit of good works." That the right reverend prelate conceived he had just ground for this censure, I have no doubt; but how it can be "injurious to the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit," to ascribe merit to works performed by the sanctifying influence of that Spirit, is what neither I, nor, I suspect, any rational being can comprehend.

You, Sir, are the official defender of the prelate, and in your second letter have displayed no small industry in your attempt to justify his censure. The exposition of the Catholic doctrine which I gave in the Vindication, you have indeed honoured with your approbation: but still you have recourse to your favourite artifice; you fly to the works of the ancient schoolmen; you read us a long lecture on merit of congruity and merit of condignity: and after repeating a string of harsh, crabbed, scholastic phrases, presume you have convinced, because you have fatigued, the understanding of the reader.

From my explication, you appeal to the authority of the council of Trent. Listen then to that council. "To those who persevere in good works to the end, and trust in God, eternal life is to be proposed, both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward which, according to the promise of God, will be faithfully rendered to their good works and merits."*

But you object to "the happy ambiguity of language" in which the decrees of the council are expressed. Hence, Sir, I may be allowed to doubt

* Sess. vi. c. ult.

whether you yourself believe the doctrine of the council to be favourable to your opinion. The only ambiguity in its language consists in this, that it confined itself to what was strictly of faith, and left the different opinions of divines just as it found them. In this I see much to praise, and nothing to reprehend. You must not persuade yourself, Sir, that a Catholic council possesses either the omnipotence or infallibility of an English parliament. It cannot make articles of faith, as suits its policy or convenience. It can only define what it has received from its predecessors as essential to our faith. These doctrines no Catholic will deny: in all other subjects they are perfectly free; and their freedom the council was careful not to invade. Such was the origin of that cautious language which you have been pleased to condemn as ambiguous.

But, Sir, instead of adverting to the language of the council, is there nothing ambiguous in the language employed by the Bishop and yourself? You frequently disapprove of our doctrine, yet seldom condescend to inform us what that doctrine is. Though I have read with much attention all your strictures on the subject of good works, I have still to learn what sentiments you really attribute to us. To me it appears (but this is no better than conjecture) that you conceive us to teach good works to be *of their own nature* meritorious of eternal life. But this, if it be so, is an egregious mistake. It was the doctrine of Baius, and condemned by Pius V. All Catholic divines unite in considering it as heretical.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to inform you, that when the schoolmen speak of the merit of good works, they ascribe that merit not to the efforts of man, but to the grace of God. Man, they teach, by his own natural powers can merit nothing more than a reward proportionate to his own nature: but if he be aided by supernatural grace, that supernatural grace may render him worthy of a supernatural reward. This important distinction you have, probably from your late acquaintance with Catholic theology, entirely

overlooked : but if you will bear it in mind, and peruse a second time the works of Soto, and Bellarmine, and Vasquez, your candour will acknowledge that you have misunderstood their meaning, and that their real doctrine is not injurious, but highly honourable to “ the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit.”

I am surprised that in reading Bellarmine you did not observe with what hesitation he speaks of his own doctrine. He says he thinks it probable. Had he considered it as the Catholic doctrine, you know that he would have employed a very different language, and have pronounced it certain. He undertakes to refute the opinion of Soto. Yet you refer your reader to both, as faithful expositors of our creed. Would you then compel us to believe one thing as certain on the authority of Soto, and the contrary as certain on the authority of Bellarmine. This would be, indeed, to tyrannize over our intellects.

You tell us that the zeal of Vasquez carried him far beyond the limits to which the moderation of Soto and Bellarmine had confined them. May I, Sir, refer you to the following passage from the works of Vasquez, which, I trust, will justify him in the opinion of my readers, and shew that his sentiments on this subject were not very different from mine.

“ I do not,” says he, “ attribute to God the obligation of rewarding good works in *justice*, as if he were bound to recompence us for the good works which he receives from us : but I confine it entirely to his *promise* and his fidelity to his engagements. Hence were he not to reward them with eternal life, he could not properly be said to be unjust : but he might be said to be unfaithful, because he would violate his own word.”*

In conclusion, you desire me to say, whether “ you have misstated the doctrine of the Catholic church on this important point.” I answer without hesitation that you have. You have ascribed to the Catholic church the doctrine of the schoolmen : and their doc-

* Vasquez, disp. 215.

trine you have stated unfairly. Nor say that they misunderstood the language of the council of Trent. The subjects which they discussed were subjects that the council overlooked, because they did not appertain to the substance of faith. On them every Catholic exercises his own judgment, and admits or rejects the opinions of divines as he pleases.

On indulgences you favour us with nothing that is new, except the authority of Corio, and the condemned propositions of Luther. May I ask from what edition of Corio you quote? That of Milan, in folio, 1503, is genuine; those that followed were interpolated by the editors. However that may be, the information which you have procured from him, is undoubtedly curious. That Boniface the eighth swayed the papal sceptre with a stubborn hand, was known to most of your readers: but that he continued to exercise the pontifical authority eighty years after his death, is a fact, for our acquaintance with which we are indebted to you. He died in 1303, and yet, according to your Corio, granted an indulgence to the inhabitants of Milan in 1391. Without discrediting your authority, I beg leave to observe, that our dispute regards indulgences granted, not by dead, but by living popes.

It is, indeed, true that Boniface the ninth granted to the churches in Milan the same indulgences as were granted during the jubilee in Rome. But these expressly required contrition and confession as previous conditions. Corio, therefore, has either been corrupted, or he has contradicted himself.*

As to Luther's propositions, condemned by Leo X. have the goodness to peruse a second time the bull of that pontiff, and you will perhaps learn, that they were not all condemned as heretical, but some because he had pronounced them to be articles of Catholic faith, which they were not; and others, because they were preached by that innovator to excite disrespect towards the apostolic see.

* Nella medesima forma, ch'era a Roma. Corio.—Vere pœnitentibus et confessis. Bulla Jubil. in Bullario Magno Tom. 1. p. 204.

From indulgences I shall pass to the charge of locking up the scriptures from the knowledge of the laity. I had observed that this charge rested entirely on the regulations of the Index: and that these regulations were only temporary, and confined to certain places. I may add, that the Index did not lock up the scriptures from the knowledge of the laity, even at the time and in the places in which it was received. It only prohibited the versions in the vulgar languages. The originals, with the ancient translations, were still open to the perusal of the laity: and it is well known that in Catholic countries, there are, in every rank of life, thousands to whom the Latin language at least is familiar. Nor were the scriptures, in the vulgar tongues, withheld from the more ignorant. They might still obtain permission to read them. The prohibition was only designed to prevent those extravagancies to which the promiscuous reading of the sacred volumes had given birth in Protestant countries, and which caused the learned editor of the Polyglot to observe, that the reformers, by putting the scriptures into the hands of the vulgar, had opened the mouth of the bottomless pit. Indeed I know not whether there would be any harm, if something like the regulations of the Index were adopted in England at the present day. We should not then hear of so many tinkers, cobblers, post-boys, and men in the lowest walks of life, obtaining licences to preach, or rather to abuse the gospel.

I had requested that those, who thus accuse us of locking up the scriptures, would prove their accusation, “by reference to the decree of some council, or the bull of some pope, or the statute of some provincial synod, or the order of some bishop.” This task you cheerfully undertake: and then without blushing send me back to the Index, as if I had not previously refuted the objection. You next refer me to three propositions censured by a bull of Clement XI. Are you acquainted with the real nature of this censure? The propositions were condemned for insinuating a falsehood. They were intended by their authors to convey the same accusation against the Ca-

tholics, which has been advanced by the Bishop of Durham. For this reason they were pronounced to be injurious and calumnious to the church.

Thus have I arrived at your last page, in which you say you have done with me, most probably for ever. I have no objection. It is time this controversy should be ended. If in the course of it I have ever employed a harsh expression, an unseemly epithet, your candour, I am sure, will excuse me. It was from you I learned such language. You have so profusely scattered these beauties through your pages, that they may have occasionally found their way into mine. One good at least, I trust, will arise from the discussion, that our future adversaries will attempt to refute the doctrines which we really hold, instead of accusing us of such as we reject: that we shall hear no more of these charges, which

Halting on crutches of unequal size,
 One leg by truth supported, one by lies,
 Thus sidle to the gaol with awkward pace,
 Secure of nothing but to lose the race.

REMARKS

ON

A LATE PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

“THE GROUNDS, ON WHICH THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND SEPARATED FROM THE CHURCH
OF ROME, RECONSIDERED :

BY SHUTE, BISHOP OF DURHAM.”

BY THE AUTHOR

OF THE

“Remarks on the Bishop of Durham’s Charge.”

Πειθωμεθα τω Θεω, και μηδεν αντιλεγωμεν, καν εναντιον ειναι δοκη τεις ημετεροις
λογισμοις και τοις οφεισι το λεγομενον· ο μεν γαρ λογος αυτη απαραλογιστος· η δε
αισθησις ημων ευεξαπατητος. Επει εν ο λογος φησι, τουτο εστι το σωμα μεν, και
πειθωμεθα και πιστευωμεν.

Χρυσοστ. ομ. π^ο. εις Ματ.

REMARKS

ON

THE INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TO

THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM.

NO minister of the God of peace has ever attempted to disseminate religious discord, who did not feel, or affect to feel, himself actuated by the most holy and edifying motives. In controversy, as in war, the aggressor is always eager to justify the aggression. It is not the lust of power, the thirst for preferment, the desire of revenge, or any earthly consideration, that urges him to the attack: the faith which he has bound himself to defend, is in danger: an imperious necessity compels him to detect the artifices, and expose the sophistry of its enemies. Thus is religion, the best gift of God to man, frequently identified with the worst passions of the human breast.

This observation does not, cannot, apply to the Bishop of Durham. The benevolence of that prelate's character is a sufficient guarantee for the uprightnes of his intentions. He was indeed the aggressor in this controversy. He began by preaching a crusade against the

opinions of his Catholic brethren, and then declared that the war, which he waged, should be an eternal war, a *bellum usque ad internecionem*.* He first pronounced us enemies to the honour of God the Father, to the mediatorship of God the Son, and to the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit; † and afterwards condemned us of the guilt of idolatry, of blasphemy, and of sacrilege. ‡ But, though these were grievous charges, no one doubted that the right reverend Prelate was impelled by motives which would justify his conduct. What these motives were, indeed, we knew not; but we gave him credit for them.

The Bishop, however, in his introductory Letter, has thought proper to enter into an explanation. "There is," he says, "some danger, lest, under a " misconstrued indulgence to the popish petitions, we " should, by an appearance of indifference to our own " church, give countenance to doctrines and usages, " which, as sincere Protestants, and readers of our " Bible, we must ever hold to be idolatrous, blas- " phemous, and sacrilegious." § Some readers of the Bible, perhaps, may wonder what religious doctrines can have to do with petitions for political privileges; " what concord there can be between Christ and " Belial." But, not to press this subject here, I may ask, how to support the Catholic petitions can be construed into an indifference to the Church of England. I think it shews a strict adherence to the great principle on which the Church of England was founded. That principle was the right of private judgment: the obligation which binds every man to search the scriptures, and to embrace every doctrine which he discovers in them. But, if I have an equal right with you to judge for myself, what right have you to punish me for dissenting from you? If I believe Christ to be really present in the eucharist, and you believe him to be present by faith only, what is there in my opinion that

* The Grounds, &c. by Shute, Bishop of Durham, p. 9.

† Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, p. 5.

‡ The Grounds, &c. p. 8. § Ibid.

should incapacitate me, or in yours that should qualify you, for civil employment? For our religious opinions we are answerable to God alone: "who art thou "that judgest," or rather punishest, "another man's "servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth."

With much orthodox charity, the Bishop proceeds to lock the gates of Paradise against the great majority of the christian world. As if Christ had died for the insular Church of England alone, he boldly pronounces, that hardly any one, who professes the same doctrine with the church of Rome, can reasonably hope to enjoy the benefit of our common redemption.* In this view of the case, the fate of the English Catholics is peculiarly severe. Our conscientious adherence to what we conceive to be the doctrine of Christ excludes us from the privileges of our birthright here, and the same will exclude us from the joys of heaven hereafter. All the good things, both of this world and of the next, appear to be reserved for the professors of the established creed. In the gospel originally preached by our blessed Lord, if the poor man was refused the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table in this life, in that to come he might expect to be raised to an equality at least with his proud oppressor: in the new gospel of the Bishop of Durham, we are not only refused all share of the crumbs now, but are condemned to remain in a similar state of degradation for ever hereafter.

But it was not only the fear of appearing indifferent to the Church of England that prompted the Bishop to publish his last pamphlet: he informs us that he was urged by another, and, perhaps, more efficacious, motive: he wished to chastise the insolence of the Remarker, who had applied the opprobrious term of *points at issue* to the subjects discussed in the Bishop's Charge.† If this be a crime of high treason against the established creed, I must plead guilty; though the words were certainly employed without the remotest

* The Grounds, &c. p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 9.

idea of giving offence to the orthodox feelings of my adversary. The reader, however, may possibly be at a loss to conceive in what the offence consists. The right reverend Prelate shall inform him. These doctrines are not *points at issue*, he exclaims, they have been decided long ago.* Decided long ago! Had such an assertion fallen from a Catholic writer, I should not have been surprised. He indeed believes that they were decided long ago, many centuries before the birth of the present Church of England. But that a Protestant Prelate, whose creed is the offspring of private judgment, should thus attempt to check the freedom of religious inquiry, this indeed, does excite my astonishment. But how have these subjects been decided? “By the establishment of the Protestant church,” is his answer. † This is still more singular. Were I to draw a parallel between the establishment of the Protestant church, and the miraculous diffusion of christianity in the first centuries, the reader would see with what reason the former might be adduced as an argument in favour of its creed. There was, as I have before had occasion to observe, too much of human policy and human passion, too much of intrigue, sacrilege, and impiety, in the establishment of that church, to make it a test of the religion of the God of all holiness. As well might the disciple of Mahomet adduce the establishment of the Koran in proof of the divine mission of his prophet.

As, however, the right reverend Prelate proceeded in his pamphlet, he made a new discovery, and found that the decision of these subjects rested, not, as he had before taught, on the establishment of the Protestant church, but on the authority of an infallible tribunal, composed of Luther and Melancthon, of Whitaker and Jewell, of Chillingworth, Wake, and Stillingfleet. ‡ This too is strange, passing strange. Does then the learned Prelate think that I cannot also produce, on my side of the question, a list of names equally illus-

* The Grounds, &c. p. 9.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 25.

trious? Has he forgotten, or is he ignorant, that to these champions of protestantism was opposed a phalanx of writers every way their equals in learning, abilities, and judgment? But, if authority be the weapon with which we are to contend, I shall not be satisfied with the decision of a few individuals: I shall confidently appeal to the consent of the great body of christians; and not only of those churches which are in communion with the church of Rome, but also to the Oriental churches, which, for more than ten centuries, have been separated from her. And with such a mass of authority in my favour, am I to be scared by the names of Luther and Melancthon, of Whitaker and Jewell, of Chillingworth, Wake, and Stillingfleet?

But I am surprised that the Bishop, in summing up his authorities, should have omitted one far more formidable than any which he has mentioned; the authority of that illustrious doctor under whom Luther studied his theology. I shall endeavour to supply the omission: and, reader, if thou feel disposed to doubt the truth of the narrative, remember that I do no more than transcribe the words of the “magnanimous parent of the reformation.” He committed it to writing for the benefit and edification of his disciples: and I have often wondered why no orthodox clergyman has ever drawn it from the obscurity of the language in which it is concealed, and published it in an English version, that the unlearned might enjoy the happiness of reading the new gospel in their native tongue. The fact, as related by Luther, is this. One night, just as the clock struck twelve, Satan tapped him on the shoulder as he lay in his bed,* and with a deep hollow

* As Luther did not choose, I am unable to inform the reader of the name or rank of this controversial devil. The German apostle, however, appears to have received frequent visits from the inhabitants of the infernal regions. Some of them, he informs us, were malicious devils, who cracked his nuts, and rolled empty barrels down stairs while he slept. Others were good-natured devils, who attended him in his walks by day, and went to bed with him at night. But there were

voice addressed him as follows:—"Hark ye, right learned Doctor Martin, do not you know, that, for these last fifteen years, you have been in the daily habit of saying private masses? Now, what if all this while you have been daily committing acts of idolatry; and, instead of the body and blood of Christ, have adored, and exhibited to others to adore, nothing but bread and wine?" To this serious question, the father of the reformation very learnedly replied—"I am a priest, I was ordained by a true bishop, I acted according to the commands of my superiors; why then should I not be said to have truly consecrated, as I pronounced the words diligently, and said the masses devoutly?" To convince him of his error, Satan adduced six very cogent arguments, which went to prove that he was not a priest, and of course had not the power of consecrating. Luther felt their force, and could only murmur, that he had acted in the name of the church, and that if he had not any true faith himself, at least the church had. "Nonsense!" exclaimed Satan: "tell me where it is written, that a sinner and an infidel can consecrate the body and blood of Christ.)* But it cannot be necessary that I should relate the whole of this very edifying discussion. Suffice it to say, that Luther was at last convinced, by the reasoning of his infernal master. He not only adopted the devil's opinion on this subject, but inculcated it with his usual vehemence in Germany: it has since been confirmed by act of parliament in England.

two, whom he so admired for their abilities and erudition, that he declared, "they could not be every-day devils: they were marvellous devils, probably doctors of divinity in the universities below." *Non vulgares sed magni dæmones, imo doctores theologiæ inter diabolos.* (Colloq. Mensal. Germ. edit. fol. 275. See the whole of that strange work.) And it is on the authority of this madman, that the Bishop of Durham would have me believe that the points in discussion between the two churches have been decided!!!

* The whole conference is narrated by Luther himself in his book, *De Missa privata et Uctione sacerdotum*, edit. Wittemb. tom. 7. fol. 228. It is in the sixth tome of the Jena edition, fol. 28.

However, whether we admit or reject the validity of the reasons before-mentioned, they have induced the Bishop of Durham to publish a pamphlet against the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist: and that pamphlet he has thought proper to entitle, *The Grounds, on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome, reconsidered.* In the days when controversy flourished, the art of composing titles was no trifling acquirement; and by their proficiency in it, many of our predecessors obtained no small degree of reputation.* If the right reverend Prelate has not equalled them in quaintness of expression, he has at least surpassed them in originality of invention. Their titles pointed out the contents of their books: he has given to his book a title, which bears no reference to a single line contained in it. The title professes to be the grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome: the book is composed of arguments to disprove the real presence in the eucharist, and to explain an answer in the church catechism. Certainly I shall not be told, that the Catholic doctrine respecting the eucharist, was one of the grounds on which the separation of the two churches was effected. Such an assertion would be to give the lie to the unanimous voice of historians. The true ground of the separation was the passion of Henry the Eighth for the accomplished, but unfortunate, Ann Boleyn. Paul, of a persecutor, became an apostle of the gospel: and the lust of Henry generated the independence of the English church. To raise his mistress to the throne, a divorce was necessary: but the method which he took to effect it did no honour either to his foresight or ingenuity. Modern controvertists would have taught him better. Had Messrs. Le Mesurier

* Thus, among our more ancient controvertists, we have "The Gagger gagged, or a new Gag for an old Goose"—"The Romish Fisher caught in his own Net"—"Maister Whyte dyed blacke"—"A Cur-rycomb for a Coxcomb"—"A Pair of Spectacles for Sir Humphrey Hynde to see his Way withal"—"A Case for a Pair of Spectacles," &c &c.

and Granville Sharpe been members of his council, they would have whispered the *Taxæ Cancellariæ Apostolicæ* in his ears : and by an application to the Roman chancery, he might have purchased at a small expense the indulgence which he desired.* Or, could his pride have submitted to solicit the assistance of a theological rival, he might have applied to Luther; and I have no doubt the infallible apostle of the reformation would as readily have gratified the King of England with two wives at the same time, as he did the Landgrave of Hesse.† But, instead of these easy expedients, Henry determined to sue for a divorce in the court of Rome: and, strange as it must appear to every one, who knows that the Roman church is the mother of harlots, she, for some reason or other, hesitated to comply with his request. The passion of the king was irritated by delay; and he soon discovered the means of cutting at once the Gordian knot. He declared himself the supreme head of the church: the clergy yielded to his pretensions; and the two churches were separated. The consequence was natural. An obsequious primate pronounced the sentence of divorce, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn was substituted in the place of Catharine of Arragon. But, though the Church of England was thus separated from that of Rome, no alteration, if we except the article of supremacy, was made in their respective creeds. The doctrine of the real presence was still professed by the English clergy: and it formed the first of the six articles, which Henry, in the plenitude of his ecclesiastical power, enacted to repress the temerity of religious innovators. It is fortunate for the Bishop of Durham, that he did not live, and publish his pamphlet, at that time. The first head of the

* If the reader wish to be acquainted with this pious fraud of former times, which duped not only the first disciples of the reformation, but even some of its present advocates, he may consult the General Vindication of the Remarks, p. 117 of this volume.

† See a short account of this edifying transaction in the same tract, p. 99.

Church of England would have compelled him to recant at St. Paul's cross, or have sent him to the stake in Smithfield. The grounds on which he attempts to justify the separation of the two churches would have convicted him of heresy, even among those whom he professes to defend.

Perhaps it may be said, that the right reverend Prelate alludes to the separation, which was effected, not in the reign of Henry, but under his daughter Elizabeth. Yet, even in this supposition, I contend that the title of the Bishop's publication is inaccurate. The separation at that period was made, not on doctrinal, but on political grounds. The marriage of Henry with Ann Boleyn had been pronounced invalid by the Roman see: and Elizabeth, the fruit of that marriage, could not be a member of the Catholic church, without virtually, at least, acknowledging her own illegitimacy, and resigning all claim to hereditary succession. A separation, therefore, from the Roman church, became expedient to her interests: and an act of parliament was procured, re-annexing to the crown all that ecclesiastical pre-eminence and jurisdiction, which had been assumed by her father, and renounced by the late queen, her sister. A separation was thus effected: but that separation was, in its origin, merely political, and in its progress, and conclusion, was the act not of the clergy, but of a lay tribunal. It was opposed by all the bishops except one: by both universities, and by both houses of convocation.* But the spiritual was unequal to the temporal power. The principal of the clergy were deprived of their benefices: the Church of England was dissolved: and a new church, professing new doctrines, and governed by a new polity, was established in its place. That this church did not join in communion with the see of Rome, I willingly admit: but at the same time, I contend that it did not separate from it. They never were united, and of course could never be separated.

* Fuller, Ecclesias. Hist. 1. ix. p. 54. 56.

For these reasons, I submit, that, whether the Bishop of Durham succeed or not in attempting to convict us of blasphemy, sacrilege, and idolatry, in our doctrine respecting the eucharist, he still cannot be justified in representing such doctrine as the ground of the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome.

REMARKS
ON THE
DOCTRINE OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM,
WITH RESPECT TO
THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

ACCORDING to the Catholic belief, the bread and wine in the sacrament of the eucharist, are made verily and indeed, the body and blood of Christ. This doctrine is grounded on the express words of our blessed Lord in the institution of the sacrament: *This is my body. This is my blood.* The natural import of these words is so very obvious, that I shall content myself with only one observation; that if Christ had wished to inculcate the Catholic doctrine, he could not have done it in terms better adapted to the purpose: and if he meant to inculcate the doctrine of the Church of England, he could hardly have selected words more likely to lead his disciples into error.

In opposition to this statement, the Bishop of Durham contends, that the words of Christ are to be taken not in their literal, but in a figurative sense: * now to

* Lest the reader should ascribe to the right reverend Prelate the merit of this figurative discovery, I must inform him that it belongs to

me it appears, that the presumption is in favour of the literal meaning. If, as our adversaries maintain, it be from the scriptures, that each individual is to cull the articles of his creed, it is but reasonable to conceive, that the Holy Spirit will have delivered these articles in the sacred volumes, in terms the most natural and intelligible. To have described the more important points of christian belief and christian practice, in figurative or metaphorical language, susceptible of a thousand different meanings, would have been to sow the seeds of disunion, and to perplex the mind of the sincere inquirer. We may therefore lay it down as a canon of scriptural interpretation, that the literal should be considered as the true meaning, unless there be the clearest evidence of the contrary. The neglect of this canon has opened a door to every species of religious innovation. It has enabled men to explain away all the

Zuinglius. The method by which that apostle came to the knowledge of it, is so very curious, that I shall transcribe the account from his own words in his book *De Subsidio Eucharistiæ*. After informing us that he had been disputing on the sacrament with little success, before the magistrates of Zurich, he proceeds thus: “Early in the morning of the “thirteenth of April, (I speak the truth, though unwillingly. For I “know I shall be laughed at: but my conscience forces me) early in “the morning, I seemed in my sleep to be disputing with much difficulty “against my adversary: and to be struck dumb, so that I could not “defend what I knew to be the truth.—Then, most opportunely, a “monitor seemed to be present (whether he were white or black I do “not remember, for I relate a dream) who exclaimed, why, you block- “head, answer what is written *Exod. xii.* It is the pasch, that is, the “passover of the Lord. As soon as I had seen this phantasm, I awake, “leap out of bed, examine the passage, and by means of it dispel every “difficulty from the minds of my audience. *Visus est monitor adesse: “(ater fuerit an albus, nihil memini: somnia enim narro:) qui diceret; “quin, ignare, respondeas ei quod Exod. xii. scribitur: est enim “Phase, hoc est, transitus Domini, &c.*” The colour of this supernatural teacher is still a problem. The Bishop, probably, with Hospinian (*Hist. Sacram. par. 2. fol. 26.*) may think it a divine revelation: the infallible Luther is, however, of opinion, that it was an illusion of the devil; and therefore declares that Zuinglius, and all who follow his doctrine, are insatanized, supersatanized, and persatanized; and have the devil infused, perfused, and transfused into them. (See the *Tigurine Divines, Contra Confessionem Lutheri, tract. iii. p. 61.*) However, the doctrine of Zuinglius has been confirmed by act of parliament; and this must satisfy the conscience of every orthodox churchman.

mysteries of christianity; and even to justify a subscription to the truth of doctrines, which at the same time, they suspect, perhaps believe, to be false.

It should moreover be observed, that the doctrine which maintains the literal meaning of the words, *this is my body; this is my blood*, is not of recent invention, or confined to the breasts of a few individuals. It was the uniform belief of the whole christian church at the time of the reformation. It had been the belief of the whole church for several centuries, according to the confession of our adversaries: according to our opinion, it had been so from the time of the apostles. At the present day, it is the belief of the great majority of christians. It is believed by the Church of Rome, and all the western churches in communion with her. It is believed by all the Lutheran churches, though they are separated from her. It is believed by all the oriental churches, whether they admit, or reject her communion. Now it cannot be from any partiality to the Roman church, that the Lutherans profess this doctrine. They are the first born of the reformation, the lineal descendants of the great patriarch, Luther. Neither can we suppose, that it has been adopted by the eastern churches since their separation from those of the west. The jealousy with which religious sects view each other, excludes such an idea. This doctrine then must have been universally adopted before the disunion of the western and eastern churches: and, as this disunion can, in some instances, be traced back to the fifth century, it will follow, that the literal meaning has the testimony of almost fourteen ages in its favour. Certainly an opinion of such antiquity, and such almost universal diffusion in the christian church, is deserving of respect, and should not be abandoned, but on the strongest grounds. We will therefore examine the grounds on which the Bishop of Durham builds his opposition to it.

“ Our Saviour said,” (they are the words of the right reverend Prelate) “ This is my body which is broken for you. But at the institution of the sacrament his body was not broken; and therefore the literal mean-

“ing could not have been the true meaning.”* This is the first of the “conclusive arguments,” which the Bishop’s pastoral solicitude has transmitted from the metropolis to the clergy of his diocese, for their instruction and edification. That they have received it with gratitude and admiration, I have no doubt. It is their duty to do so. But the profane eye of the Catholic will not be so easily satisfied. It will scrutinize the structure of this episcopal syllogism, and will soon discover its defects. Will the Bishop of Durham inform us, what other body besides his real body, Christ suffered to be broken for us? Was it not by the breaking of his real body, that our redemption was effected? If then he gave the body that was broken for us, he gave his real, and not a figurative body. It is plain that the Greek participle, though in the present time, has a future signification; so very plain, that the Prelate himself, within the short space of six pages, forgetting his former objection, gives it that signification. “The bread,” says he, “which Christ brake, was “an emblem of his body *to be broken.*”†

If my right reverend adversary be dissatisfied with this solution of his difficulty, he will allow me to propose to him an argument of similar form, and equally conclusive. When the angel announced to the Virgin the future birth of the Messiah, he said, “the holy “thing, which is born of thee shall be called the Son “of God.”‡ But at that time the Messiah was not born: therefore the literal meaning could not be the true meaning, and the angel spoke not of a real, but a figurative Messiah. If the Bishop venture to answer this argument, I have no doubt that he will, at the same time, answer his own objection against the Catholic doctrine. I shall therefore beg permission on this head to refer him to himself.

* Grounds, p. 1.

† Ibid, &c. p. 8.

‡ In the original, the participles in both passages are in the present time *το γεννωμενον*, Luko i. 35. and *κλωμενον*, I Cor. ii. 24. To the former the English translators gave very properly a future signification; to the latter they gave very prudently a present signification. The future savoured too much of the errors of popery.

The right reverend Prelate proceeds to inform us, that by the ceremonial law, which was not yet abrogated, the Jews were forbidden to eat blood; and thence infers, that it is very improbable Christ should give his own blood to christians in the eucharist.* If there be any person, to whom this argument appears “conclusive,” I do not envy him his powers of discernment: for my own part I should conceive I offered an insult to the judgment of my readers, were I seriously to attempt its refutation. *Tantum valeat, quantum valere potest.*

But, says the Bishop of Durham, “Christ was accustomed to speak of himself in figurative language.”† He was so: and the great difference between his language on those occasions, and his language at the institution of the sacrament, forms in my mind, a strong argument that the latter was meant to be understood literally and not figuratively. I know that our adversaries are accustomed to appeal with confidence to the expressions, “I am the vine, I am the door, &c.” but I have still to learn on what that confidence is founded. In these propositions the predicate is indefinite: it is not demonstratively fixed to any one particular object, as in the words, this is my body. We do not read that Christ ever laid his hand on a vine, and said, I am *this* vine, or took hold of a door, and said, I am *this* door, in the same manner as he took the bread into his hands, and said, *this* is my body. Let the unprejudiced reader turn to the passages in question, and he will immediately see that they are allegorical.—“He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep—*I am the door*: by me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved.” “*I am the vine*, and my father is the husbandman. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine: no more can ye, except ye abide in me. *I am the vine*, ye are the branches.” From the whole context it is evident that this is figurative language:

* Grounds, &c. p. 2.

† Ibid.

but in the institution of the sacrament, there is not the remotest intimation that the words, "this is my body," are figurative language. In the former the predicate is general, and indefinite, and consequently metaphorical: in the latter both subject and predicate are definite and particular. The difference, therefore, between these passages, is so strikingly marked, that I think myself fully justified in drawing from that difference the conclusion, that the expression, "this is my body," was meant to be understood literally.

The right reverend Prelate has, however, two other passages to produce, which he considers as exactly similar to the words, "this is my body," and which must, nevertheless, be understood in a figurative sense. The first is taken from St. Paul, "*And that rock was Christ,*" "not," he adds, "literally Christ, but figuratively an emblem of Christ."* But I cannot assent to this exposition. The apostle most certainly meant to say that the rock was literally Christ, and not figuratively an emblem of Christ. Had he spoken of a material rock, there might have been some ground for this new interpretation: but he spoke of a spiritual rock, which followed the Israelites in the desert, and immediately, to prevent any mistake, added, that by the spiritual rock, he meant Christ himself. These are his words: "Our fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ."

The other parallel expression adduced by the Bishop, is that of our Lord, recorded by St. Luke. "This cup is the new testament in my blood." I am free to acknowledge that I do not perfectly understand his reasoning on it; but unless he prove, what I am sure he cannot prove, that its meaning is, this cup is the figure of the new testament in my blood, I do not see what assistance he can derive from it. It evidently has the same meaning as the words in St. Matthew and St. Luke: "this is my blood of the new testament."

* Grounds, p. 9.

But it is principally on "the memorable discourse, which Christ addressed to the Jews at Capernaum," that the Bishop of Durham rests his cause. "He could almost persuade himself that an attentive and impartial comparison of it, with the institution of the sacrament, would induce the Remarker and his friends to change their sentiments."* I fear, however, that the zeal of the Prelate sometimes indulges in fallacious expectations. So far am I from being induced to change my sentiments by this discourse, that I conceive it (and in this I believe every Catholic thinks with me) to afford the clearest demonstration of the truth of our doctrine. To it we constantly appeal, and I hope soon to convince the reader that it is not without reason that we do appeal to it. I will first transcribe the principal passages in that discourse, and then inquire which of the two, the Catholic or the Protestant belief is the more consonant to them.

"I am the bread of life—the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Now I must be allowed to maintain that, in the Catholic system, this language is plain and intelligible, while in the Protestant it is involved in so much obscurity, that no ingenuity can impart to it a rational meaning. If, as Catholics teach, the words, "this is my body; this is my blood," are to be understood literally and not figuratively, if in the eucharist, the bread and wine become the real body and blood of Christ, then it is indeed true that we eat "the living bread which came down from heaven, even the flesh which Christ gave for the life of the world:" then indeed, "we eat his flesh and drink his blood:" then with reason may it be said that

* Grounds, p. 3.

“his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed.” But if, as the Church of England teaches, the words of the institution of the sacrament are not to be understood literally, if in the eucharist, the bread and wine are mere emblems of Christ’s body and blood, then it cannot be true, that we eat the flesh which Christ gave for the life of the world; then we eat only the figure of his flesh, and drink only the figure of his blood: then his flesh is not meat indeed, nor his blood drink indeed; but meat is the emblem of his flesh, and drink is the emblem of his blood. And here I cannot but admire the presumptuous temerity of these men, who first maintain that the scriptures alone can be the ground of our faith, and that we are bound to believe whatever is clearly delivered in the scriptures; and then come forward and unblushingly propound as matters of faith, doctrines which not only are not consonant, but are even contradictory to the express declarations of the scriptures. Christ says, “this is my body,” they say, it is not his body: Christ says, “my flesh is meat indeed, my blood is drink indeed,” they say, his flesh is not meat indeed, nor his blood drink indeed; and because we refuse to believe them in preference to him, we are called unscriptural, we are ridiculed as idiots, we are condemned to the torments of hell as idolators.* Nor is this all. Our scriptural adversaries can make us feel in our rights, as well as in our reputations: and because we will not swear that when Christ said, this is my body, he meant it was not his body, and will not subscribe to the truth of an opinion, which even the infallible Luther declares to have been first taught by the father of lies, we are denied the proudest distinctions, the best privileges of Englishmen.

Nothing, however, more forcibly demonstrates the truth of the Catholic doctrine on this subject, than the difficulty which figurative expositors experience in their endeavours to give any thing like a rational interpretation of the passages, “My flesh is meat in-

* Grounds, p. 8.

“ deed, and my blood is drink indeed. Except ye eat
 “ the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood,
 “ ye have no life in you, &c.” Of this I wish for no
 better proof than what is furnished by the learned
 Prelate himself. Within the short space of two pages,
 he has made five attempts to explain them, but he has
 found this land of figures a land of mist and darkness:
 at each step he has plunged deeper and deeper into
 the mire of uncertainty and inconsistency. Several
 of his explanations are what a logician would term,
obscurum per obscurius. Let the reader judge.

1st Explanation.—“ To eat Christ,” (under this ex-
 pression, the Bishop comprises the meaning of all the
 passages transcribed before) “ is to incorporate with
 “ the mind the spiritual food of faith and righteous-
 “ ness.”* To *incorporate* with the *mind* the spiritual
 food of faith and righteousness! I trust it will not be
 thought disrespectful, if I decline making any com-
 ment on this explanation. To an orthodox intellect it
 may probably be sufficiently perspicuous: to mine it
 is an unknown tongue. “ It is a hard saying, and
 “ who can hear it?”

2d Explanation.—“ To eat Christ is to imbibe his
 “ doctrines, to digest his precepts, and to live by his
 “ example.” † This explanation is meant, I presume,
 to detail the whole process of mental incorporation
 mentioned in the last, which we are now told consists
 in drinking one thing, digesting another, and living by
 a third; in drinking doctrines, digesting precepts, and
 living by example.

3rd Explanation.—“ We eat Christ by having him
 “ in our minds, and meditating on his life and suffer-
 “ ings.” ‡ This explanation possesses a merit, to
 which the two preceding explanations can make no
 claim: it can be understood. To me, however, it ap-
 pears equally remote from the true meaning of our
 Saviour. To say of a man who reads a book with
 avidity, that he eats the book, is no violation of the
 propriety of language: and thus Ezechiel is recorded

* Grounds, p. 6.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

to have eaten the roll of prophecy. But to say of one who thinks on the sufferings of another, that he eats his flesh and drinks his blood, is a harsh, unnatural expression, which the utmost extravagance of oriental metaphor can never justify. Though the right reverend Prelate has referred me to Homer, as the best interpreter of the gospel, it is in vain that I have sought in Homer for a similar expression. His heroes may, indeed, gnaw their hearts, through grief and indignation; but I do not find that Achilles ever ate the flesh and drank the blood of Patrocles, or Priam of Hector, though the former thought frequently on the death of his friend, and the latter as frequently on the fall of his son.

4th Explanation.—“To eat Christ is to believe in him; and to eat his flesh is to keep up the remembrance of him, especially of his death.”* Here the right reverend Prelate appears to extend the limits of that indulgence which he granted in the preceding explanation. “To eat Christ is to believe in him.” It will not, I trust, be contended that to believe in Christ, and to meditate on his life and sufferings, are synonymous expressions. Thousands believe in him, who never meditate on his life and sufferings. These, however, we now learn, also eat him. Of course it must be conceded, that the preceding was but a partial and very inadequate explanation. A distinction, however, is drawn between eating Christ and eating his flesh: for the latter it is not only requisite to believe in him; we must moreover keep up the remembrance of him, especially of his death. What foundation there may be for this distinction, I know not.

5th Explanation.—“To eat the body of Christ, therefore, and to drink his blood at the sacrament, are figurative terms to denote an act of faith, by which we profess our faith in Christ, and commemorate his death, by eating the representative and vicarious elements of bread and wine.”† Thus at length are we arrived at the important conclusion, which the

* Grounds, p. 6.

† Ibid. p. 7.

right reverend Prelate has been so long in search of. To eat the body and drink the blood of Christ, is to eat, not his body, but bread, as a representation and substitute for his body, and to drink, not his blood, but wine, as a representation and substitute for his blood. Now, I appeal to every dispassionate reader, whether the Jews at Capernaum were so much to blame for not understanding in this manner the words of our Saviour. Here we have seen a prelate of distinguished abilities and erudition toiling and writhing under the difficulty of the investigation; adopting four different explanations before he had the good fortune to light upon the true one; and afterwards so convinced of the obscurity of his labours, that he determines to write seven more pages in order to explain that explanation. How then can we expect that the Jews should have arrived at the same conclusion? They were a poor unlettered crowd: they possessed not the advantage of reading the scriptures in their native tongue: they could not acquire that theological acumen and biblical discernment, which the Bishop informs us is only to be found in Protestant universities.* Though he blame them, I really think they were more deserving of pity than of censure; and I conceive the majority of my readers, instead of condemning them, will wonder why our Saviour did not condescend to their ignorance, and tell them, that after all, he was speaking figuratively, and only wished his disciples to visit a Protestant church, and there eat a bit of bread, and drink a cup of wine. This would at once have done away every difficulty.

But is it then so very evident that the Jews did mistake the meaning of our Saviour on this occasion? That they understood him to speak of a real eating of his flesh, and of a real drinking of his blood, I acknowledge: and that the Bishop of Durham understands him to speak of a figurative eating, and a figurative drinking, I cannot deny. Their opinions are evidently contradictory; but I have been so much in

* Bishop of Durham's charge, p. 10, 11, quarto edition.

the habit of disputing the statements of the right reverend Prelate, that he will not, I trust, be disappointed, if I hesitate to prefer his authority before theirs. I have therefore considered the subject with no small degree of attention: and the more I have considered it, the more reason I have seen to believe, that the Jews were in the right. I do not mean to say, that they may not have formed erroneous conclusions in their own minds, as to the manner in which the manducation of our Saviour's body was to be effected; but in as much as they understand him to speak of a real eating and a real drinking, so far I contend that they understood his real meaning.

From the narrative of the evangelist, we learn that the audience of our blessed Lord, on this occasion, was divided into two parties, of those who believed, and those who disbelieved, his mission. Now had these differed respecting the meaning of his discourse, there would have been, I confess, some ground for the Bishop's opinion. But they were unanimous on this subject: both understood him to speak of a real eating of his body, and a real drinking of his blood. If the latter asked, "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" the former exclaimed, "this is a hard saying, and who can hear it?" Many of them even abandoned him, and went over to his enemies. Hence we must adopt one of these two conclusions: either that our Lord did not speak of a figurative eating, or that he addressed his audience in a language, which neither his enemies nor his friends could understand. Now the latter of these suppositions appears on the very face of it utterly improbable. He did, indeed, sometimes employ enigmatical language; but then it was on very different occasions. Here he was delivering instruction to those who sought it: he was explaining to them the most sacred and solemn ordinance in the religion which he had undertaken to establish: and consequently he would employ such language as was most proper to convey his meaning, and would explain such passages as he had perceived to be misunderstood. Let us suppose that the Bishop

of Durham had been present, and had heard the Jews ask, "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Would he not immediately have exclaimed, "you are under a mistake. He speaks not of a real but of a figurative eating. Nothing can be more easy. To eat Christ, is to believe in him, to have him in your mind, and to meditate on him?" But did our Saviour answer in this manner? Did he tell them, that they misunderstood him, and that he was speaking in a figurative sense? No. He endeavoured to confirm them in their opinion. He repeated his former assertion: he inculcated it in the strongest terms that language could furnish: he declared that their salvation depended on their adhesion to it; and, to impress it the deeper in their minds, he confirmed it with the sanction of an oath. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you—for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me; and I in him. As the living Father has sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me." I appeal to every impartial reader, whether the manifest import of these words be not to confirm the Jews in the opinion of a real manducation, which they had previously conceived. Truly, if this were a mistake, the Bishop of Durham must, I think, confess, that Christ, the God of all truth, exerted all his power to lead his unsuspecting hearers into error.

The disciples of our Saviour appear to have listened to this discourse with extraordinary interest. Like his adversaries, they had understood him in the literal and not in a figurative sense: and like them they had been perplexed at the apparent impossibility of such a doctrine. When therefore the objection was proposed, "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" They seem to have flattered themselves with the hope, that it would be explained in a sense less repugnant to their notions and feelings. They were disappointed; and expressed their disappointment by exclaiming, "this

“ is a hard saying, and who can hear it?” Thus a new opportunity was offered to our Saviour of undeceiving them, if his former words had been misunderstood. Yet what did he do? He permitted them to depart, and attributed their apostacy not to mistake, but to incredulity: “ there are some of you that believe not.” This observation alone appears to me to set the question at rest. That doctrine which they disbelieved was evidently the doctrine of really eating the body, and really drinking the blood, of Christ: now Christ certainly would not reproach them with the disbelief of any other doctrine than that which he had taught; therefore we may safely infer that the doctrine of Christ, respecting the eating of his body and the drinking of his blood, was to be understood in the literal and not in a figurative sense.

After the departure of the disciples, our Lord turned to the twelve apostles, and asked them, whether they also meant to leave him. Now what was their answer? Did they say, that they had not fallen into the same error with the others, but understood him to have spoken of a figurative eating, and a figurative drinking? On the contrary they appear to acknowledge that they had experienced the same difficulties, but had captivated their judgment unto the obedience of faith. They believe all that he has said, because they knew him to be the Messiah. “ Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and have known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” Thus the conduct of our Lord, the incredulity of the Jews, the apostacy of the disciples, and the faith of the apostles, all concur to prove that our Saviour spoke, on this occasion, of a real and not a figurative eating of his flesh, and of a real and not a figurative drinking of his blood.

But the Bishop of Durham has discovered a passage, which he persuades himself is a sufficient explanation of the meaning of our Saviour. After the disciples had expressed their surprise at his doctrine, he replied, “ Does this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? It

“ is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you are spirit and life.” This passage, “ It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing,” was, we are told, expressly meant to correct the misapplication of Christ’s former words.* Now, here also I must beg leave to dissent from the right reverend Prelate. To me the fact itself appears to demonstrate that this passage was not meant for any such purpose. Had Christ intended by it to remove the impression, which his former discourse had made on the minds of his disciples, it would infallibly have removed that impression. Had he designed by it to teach that he had spoken of a figurative eating and drinking, they would have understood him in that sense: and if they had so understood him, they would not have abandoned him. The very fact of their having abandoned him after these words, shews that they did not consider them in the same light as the Bishop of Durham: for there certainly could be nothing in the figurative doctrine so shocking to the feelings or prejudices of the disciples, as to induce them to disbelieve a man, whom they had seen working the most stupendous miracles, and whom, on the faith of those miracles, they had followed as the promised Messiah. If then it be asked, what sense I affix to the passage in question, I would consider it as an illustration, and would paraphrase it in this manner. “ As it is the spirit that quickeneth, and the body without the spirit is but a lifeless corpse, so the words which I have spoken to you are the spirit and life of the soul. Unless you believe them you are dead. And there are some among you, who believe not.” This explanation appears to me the most natural comment on the words of our Saviour, and the most consonant to the narrative of the evangelist.

These observations will, I trust, convince most of my readers, that the Catholic doctrine respecting the eucharist has some pretensions to the title of scrip-

* Grounds, p. 4.

tural doctrine. Indeed I do not know that any article of the christian faith is expressed in the sacred volumes in clearer and less exceptionable terms. I shall not, therefore, fatigue the reader by noticing and refuting the other objections of the right reverend Prelate. None of them can lay claim to the merit of novelty. They are as old as the reformation: one of them is of still greater antiquity: it is as old as christianity. It was the very objection of the Jews at Capernaum. When our Saviour promised us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they thought it impossible, and exclaimed, "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" In like manner, when we say that in the eucharist Christ gives us his flesh there really present to eat, and his blood there really present to drink, the Bishop of Durham declares it to be impossible, and calls out, how can Christ's body be both in heaven and on earth: how can it be eaten by many different persons at the same time? When he is perfectly acquainted with the limits of God's omnipotence; when he can clearly explain the relations which spirits bear to time and place: when he can shew us what that is which is the subject of the primary and secondary qualities in matter, then we shall listen with deference to his decisions on these questions: till then he may, if he think it more prudent, imitate the incredulity of the Jews and disciples at Capernaum; but he must permit us to follow the docility of the apostles: like them to subject our understanding to the words of Christ, and with Peter to say, "Lord, thou hast the words of eternal life: we believe and have known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

But to have shewn that we had misunderstood the words of Christ, in the institution of the sacrament, was not enough to satisfy the orthodoxy of the Bishop of Durham. He proceeds to accuse us of idolatry; and, as if we were already condemned, pronounces us aliens from the kingdom of heaven. His zeal, however, is not without a precedent to justify it. We have before heard of men, "who could strain at a gnat, while they swallowed a camel:" and the right

reverend Prelate may in like manner be allowed to neglect the fashionable vices of the age, that he may the more efficaciously call down the vengeance of heaven on the imaginary idolatry of the Catholics. Than this, he appears to think, no offence can be committed less problematical in its nature, or more pernicious in its consequences. At the commencement of the present session of parliament, he saw the table of the House of Lords covered with bills of divorce, and he was silent: from a late investigation he became acquainted with those mysteries of iniquity which have roused the indignation of the country; and he still was silent: he daily sees instances of that moral and political corruption, which characterize the present times; and yet he still observes the most obstinate silence. Against the seducer, the adulterer, the peculator of the public money, he has no charges to preach, no pamphlets to publish, no memorials to present to his majesty; all his curses are reserved for his Catholic brethren. Them he pronounces guilty of sacrilege, blasphemy, and idolatry: them he represents as worthy of hatred here, and of endless torments hereafter.* And for what purpose is all this? To rekindle the flame of religious animosity? To add to the discontent of five millions of his majesty's subjects, who claim, and have hitherto claimed in vain, the common rights and privileges of their countrymen? Let him look at the condition of Europe. The continent is at the feet of Buonaparte: and woe to this empire of its inhabitants ever become a disunited people. "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city divided against itself shall not stand."

But let us inquire in what manner the Bishop proves the justice of this charge. It is in a very summary way. "If," says he, "the papist worship the host as the image of God, or take that for a transubstantiated God, which (for reasons before given) is no God; in either case it is a violation of the second

* Grounds, p. 8.

“commandment, and is idolatry.” It may, probably, be sufficient to reply in a similar style: if the Catholics worship as Christ, that which (for reasons before given) is Christ, it is no violation of the second commandment, and no idolatry. But, even were the Bishop’s supposition true, would the consequence necessarily follow? I must confess that I do not think so. If, conceiving that to be Christ, which in reality is not Christ, I worship it as Christ, I am guilty of a mistake, but I am not guilty of idolatry. My adoration is directed to Christ, and as such will be accepted by him. When Sysigambis fell at the feet of Hephæstion, whom she took for Alexander, was it an act of treason? Adoration is an act of the mind, and must be directed to some object apprehended by the mind. Consequently in the eucharist we do not adore bread and wine, for this plain reason, that we do not believe bread and wine to exist in it. We adore only Christ himself. A contrary notion is so preposterous, that I do not think it could find admission into any mind but that of an orthodox churchman. He is taught, that in the sacrament he receives the body and blood of Christ, though at the same time he believes the body and blood of Christ not to exist in the sacrament: and such a man may perhaps persuade himself that the Catholic adores bread and wine in the eucharist, though at the same time he believes neither bread nor wine to exist in the eucharist. To all others it will appear impossible.

As this accusation of idolatry is a new subject, I conceive it to have been introduced for the purpose of affording an opportunity to the right reverend Prelate, of vindicating a most insulting passage in his original Charge: that our doctrine of the eucharist necessarily disposes the mind of the Catholic to worship creatures for the Creator. In reply the Remarker asked, what answer the Bishop of Durham would give to an unitarian, who, in like manner, should assert that the established doctrine of the divinity of Christ necessarily disposed the Protestant mind to adore the creature instead of the Creator! It is amusing to observe,

how reluctant the Bishop and his advocates are to reply to this question: and with what anxiety they endeavour to evade it by instituting a parallel between the doctrines of the two churches. This, however, is only throwing dust into the eyes of their readers. I might easily object to the accuracy of their statements; but I do not wish to multiply the subjects of discussion. Whoever has observed how in the course of this controversy each reply and rejoinder has added to their number, will confess that it is more expedient to contract than to extend its limits. I shall therefore content myself with renewing the pledge which has been repeatedly given by the Remarker: that if the Bishop or his advocates will condescend to answer his question, he will shew that their answer will prove a satisfactory refutation of the Bishop's insulting suggestion. Till they do this, the public will consider their silence as a confession that it is unfounded.

From idolatry, the Bishop proceeds to the denial of the cup, a subject on which his orthodoxy prompts him to condemn us of sacrilege. With opprobrious terms I have no concern. Them I shall leave to the discretion of my right reverend opponent, and confine myself to the consideration of his arguments. On this subject, "the points at issue between us" (he must indulge me in the expression) are, first, whether there be any command that all christians should communicate in both kinds; secondly, whether the participation of the cup be essential to the sacrament; and, thirdly, whether the practice of the primitive church prove the refusal of the cup to be a sacrilege.

1.—That there is such a command, the Bishop of Durham attempts to shew by the following argument. "No one ever doubted that *take, eat*, is obligatory on the whole body of christians, without any restriction of the bread to the apostles then present: and it requires all the prejudice of education to find in the word *all*, of the other command, 'drink ye *all* of this,' a restraining power, which could imply the exclusion of all christians who were not present

“from the participation of the cup.”* Is this wit, or is it argument? Whatever it may be, we at least are not such idiots as to believe that the words, *drink ye all of this*, imply an “an exclusion of all christians, “who were not present, from the cup.” Is there no medium between a command addressed to all christians, and a prohibition addressed to all? If we do not allow the words to be a command, must it necessarily follow that we understand them as a prohibition? But, if the right reverend Prelate believe that “no one ever doubted of *take, eat*, being a command obligatory on the whole body of christians,” he must allow me to inform him that he is in an error. The very fact itself proves that these words contain no such command. The apostles were sitting at table with our Saviour: he took bread, brake it into pieces, and distributed it among them, saying: “take, eat, this is “my body.” What but the prejudice of education can discover in these words a command addressed to all succeeding generations? He then took the cup, and gave it to them to drink in succession, saying, “drink ye all of this.” And here, again, what but the prejudice of education can discover in these words a second command addressed in like manner to all generations? I do believe that every reader, whose mind is not predisposed by theological doctrines, will confess with me, that both expressions were no more than invitations addressed by Christ to his apostles, to eat his body and drink his blood in the sacrament, which he then instituted.

2.—Is the participation of the cup essential to the sacrament? The Bishop of Durham repeatedly asserts that it is: but by his own concessions sufficiently proves that it is not. It certainly cannot be that the sacrament can remain, when that which is essential to its existence is removed. Since then my learned adversary allows, that, in the ancient church, it was on many occasions administered under one kind only, and

* Grounds, &c. p. 26.

since a greater authority than his, an act of parliament, permits, in certain cases, the same to be done in the present Church of England, he must, I think, be content to agree with me, that the cup is not an essential part of the sacrament.

3.—The Bishop appears to ground his doctrine principally on the practice of the ancient church. Now the question is not, whether, to communicate in both kinds were the more general practice of the ancient church, (that no Catholic will deny): but whether such practice be so essential to christianity that no human power could lawfully alter it. We maintain that it was not: and the lawfulness of the alteration has been demonstrated in the Remarks, by several instances of the alteration of ancient practices, which by the laws of his church, and the customs of his own courts, the Bishop of Durham is compelled to approve. To this argument no answer has been attempted either by the Bishop or by his advocates. I have therefore hitherto a right to consider it as unanswerable.*

* In defending the practice of his church, the Vindicator had alluded to the words of the apostle, "whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink this cup of the Lord unworthily," and had observed that the English translators had improved this passage by substituting the conjunctive particle *and* in the place of the disjunctive particle *or*. The Bishop of Durham replies: "We cannot be surprised that η and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ should be often used one for the other, when we recollect, that in the native language of the apostle the particle (*vau*) was used in both senses." On this valuable specimen of biblical criticism, I may be indulged in a few remarks. First, though Hebrew scholars are accustomed to consider the conjunctive as having sometimes the force of the disjunctive particle, is it certain that their doctrine is accurate? In all the instances of the kind, which I have seen, it appears to me to be either a false reading, or to imply not a disjunction, but a repetition of some other words in the sentence. 2. What has this doctrine to do with the passage quoted from St. Paul? The apostle does not employ the conjunctive, but the disjunctive particle. Let then the Bishop of Durham shew, that, in the Hebrew language, the disjunctive has the force of the conjunctive particle, and his reasoning will apply. 3. I will allow him, that, by a scriptural bull, the inspired writer might conceive, that, as *and* meant *or* in Hebrew, *or* might mean *and* in Greek: but, in return, I shall insist that it was equally probable, that he would use *and* for *or* in Greek, according to his vernacular idiom. If this be granted me, (and I see not how it can be reasonably denied,) I

Before I take my leave of this subject, I must notice some observations of the right reverend Prelate, which regard the character of his opponents, more than the goodness of the cause which they have undertaken to defend. An inference, which the Vindicator had drawn from the works of Pope Leo, has afforded the Bishop an opportunity of charging that writer with disingenuousness, misrepresentation, and shameless sophistry. Reader, these are serious accusations; and if they can be substantially proved, I must acknowledge that the Vindicator is deserving of thy hatred and contempt. But what would be thy sentiments, if the man, who thus accuses his adversary, were himself guilty of these crimes; if, while he displays this virtuous indignation against the imaginary misrepresentations of another, he were actually employed in attempting to deceive, by misrepresentation, the confidence of his readers? The Vindicator had understood, and does still understand, the Pope to say, that the Manichees endeavoured to conceal themselves from public notice, by communicating with the christians, and communicating, too, under one kind only. Hence it was inferred, (I think justly) that many of the congregation, also, communicated in the same manner: otherwise, the very refusal to take the cup would have betrayed those, who sought thus to conceal themselves. Now, how does the Bishop endeavour to refute this inference? He pretends to transcribe the whole passage, not in the original language, (it did not suit the purpose) but in an English translation: and in that translation carefully suppresses the very words, on which the Vindicator's reasoning was grounded. The Pope says, "*Cum ad legendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se*

shall maintain that the passage, "as often as ye do eat this bread *and* "drink this cup," should be rendered, "as often as ye do eat this bread *or* drink this cup." The truth is, when we thus take the liberty of altering the natural signification of words, we may make the scripture speak just what we please.

"The text inspires not us, but we the text inspire."

DRYDEN.

“*temperant: ut interdum tutius lateant, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant.*”* If you look for the important words, *ut tutius lateant*, that they may the more safely conceal themselves, you will not find them in the Bishop’s version. In their place, he has substituted, “*to impose on the public,*”† a phrase for which there is not the least authority in the language of the pontiff. And here allow me to ask the right reverend Prelate, whether he consider the two phrases as being of exactly the same import? If he do, what reason can he assign for rejecting that, which was more conformable to the original? If he do not, how can he clear himself from the guilt of misrepresentation?

But this is not the only instance, in which the Bishop of Durham has displayed his proficiency “in the art of adulterating ancient testimony.” He has favoured us with a version of a passage, attributed to Pope Gelasius: and has executed this version with as much fidelity as that from Pope Leo. It is as follows: “We find that some persons, through I know not what superstition, after partaking of the bread, refuse the cup, who, without doubt, ought to receive both kinds, or to abstain from both.”‡ Now the real words of the pontiff are: “We find that some persons, after partaking of the *sacred body*, abstain from the cup of the *sacred blood*, who (*because they are said to be influenced by I know not what superstition*) should, undoubtedly receive both kinds, or be excluded from both kinds. *Comperimus, quod quidam, sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur obstringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur.*”§ Now, besides the other infidelities in the Bishop’s version, why, I ask, was the passage within the parenthesis removed from its place, and the word *because* omitted?

* Sermon 4. De quadrag.

‡ Ibid. 24.

† Grounds, &c. p. 23.

§ Decret. 3. part. dist. 11. c. 12

I fear for this reason, that, as it stood in the original, it entirely refuted the inference which the Bishop wished to draw from it. It shewed that the reason why they were to be compelled to receive both kinds was, because they refused the cup through superstition, and at the same time intimates, that, had it not been for that superstition, they would not have been molested. If the reader ask what their superstition was, I answer, (supposing the decree to be genuine,* and the persons alluded to Manichees,) that it consisted in believing wine to be the creature of the evil spirit, and of course incapable of being consecrated, and forbidden to be drunk. Whence the pope proceeds to condemn them of a great sacrilege, by dividing one and the same mystery. *Quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.*

There is another subject, on which, if we may believe the Bishop of Durham, the Vindicator has been guilty of “ a misrepresentation, as disingenuous and “ perverse as his abuse of Leo’s testimony. A statute “ of Edward VI. c. 1. which enjoins the reception of “ the sacrament in both kinds, except in cases of ne- “ cessity, where it is impossible for the communicant “ to receive more than one, is alleged by him as a “ justification of the popish denial of the cup to those “ who are able to receive both. The Vindicator is “ endeavouring to justify the popish denial of the cup “ to the laity : but the permission of the eucharist in “ one kind only, in cases of *necessity*, gives no counte- “ nance to the entire suppression of one kind.” † It is with considerable reluctance that I here again find myself compelled to retort the charge against the right reverend accuser. To convict his adversary, he commits the very crime of which he accuses him : to sup-

* The Bishop asks what reason there is to doubt its authenticity. I answer, several. 1. The letter, from which it professes to be taken, is not to be found in any collection of the letters of Gelasius. 2. The passage itself appears to have no connexion whatever with the remainder of the letter, which occurs, can. 25. q. 2. c. 25. 3. It is not noticed by any writer who lived before the twelfth century.

† Grounds, p. 33.

port the charge of misrepresentation, he has recourse to misrepresentation himself. He suppresses the inference, which the Vindicator drew from the statute of Edward VI. and in its place substitutes an inference, which the Vindicator did not draw. That writer did not allege the lawfulness of receiving under one kind, in cases of necessity, as a justification of the denial of the cup, when there was no necessity; nor did he argue that the permission of one kind, on such occasions, proved the lawfulness of the entire suppression of one kind. This reasoning exists nowhere but in the imagination of the Bishop of Durham. The immediate point in discussion was, whether the cup were an essential part of the sacrament: and the Vindicator contended, that, since it might be lawfully suppressed, without injury to the sacrament, it was not an essential part. Take his words. "In the first of Edward VI. c. 1. it was enacted, that the most blessed sacrament be hereafter *commonly* delivered, and ministered, unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise require. Hence it will follow, that the English church did not originally conceive the wine to be an essential part of the sacrament. For, those who say that one kind should not be administered commonly, grant that it may be done sometimes; and by specifying the case of necessity, acknowledge the propriety of the doctrine, that teaches only one kind to be *essential* to the sacrament." If thus to pervert the reasoning of an adversary, and, on such perversion, to accuse him of misrepresentation, be not the most disingenuous kind of misrepresentation that can exist, I have yet to learn what misrepresentation means.*

* This answer, I trust, will satisfy the authors of the British Critic. It was certainly grateful in them to praise the labours of their patron, but it was impolitic to do it in so unguarded a manner as to betray their ignorance of the work of the writer, whose disgrace they are so eager to record. With equal precipitance, in their review of Stephenson's Romish Church, they wonder what reply Mr. Des Mahis can make to his victorious opponent. Had they ever opened the work, of which they pretend to judge, they would have known that he could make no reply. It is more than a century since he was laid in the grave!

The Bishop informs us, that the statute of Edward VI. is still in force. May I then recommend it to his notice? Perhaps, from the moderation with which it is worded, he may learn to condemn the intemperance of his own language. Do its authors say, that to communicate under one kind is “a sacrilege, and a violation of the divine command?” No, but that to communicate under both kinds is “more agreeable to the first institution of the sacrament, and more conformable to the practice of the apostles, and of the primitive church.” Do they pronounce those, who follow the opposite opinion, to be “mutilators of the sacrament, and derogators from the mediatorship of God the Son?” No: they expressly declare that it is not their intention to condemn the usage of any other church. They were not such inconsequent reasoners, as to teach that the eucharist might be sometimes given under one kind, and, at the same time, to affirm that those who did give it under one kind were guilty of sacrilege, mutilated the sacrament, and violated the command of Christ. Such language as this was reserved for more modern controvertists.

But, if I mistake not, that which has kindled the flame of indignation in the breast of the right reverend Prelate, is the following passage in the Vindicator’s Letter to the Durham Clergyman. “That, in theory; the faith which you profess, is founded on scripture, may, or may not, be true: that in practice it is founded on the authority of parliament, will not be denied. Acts of parliament alone can make articles of faith, and acts of parliament alone can declare any doctrine heretical. Whether or not the Church of Christ be of this world, it is evident the Church of England is.” “In this short passage,” observes the Bishop of Durham, “there are three falsehoods.” I suspect they are three truisms. “It is false to say acts of parliament make articles of faith. Parliament declares them, but does not make them.”*

* Grounds, &c. p. 34.

The distinction is ingenious. There is certainly a difference in the sound, if there be none in the meaning of the words. Parliament is not infallible: it is therefore possible, that it may declare an article of faith, which is not founded in scripture: and in this case, would not the declaration amount to the making of an article of faith? Let me ask, whether there be any tribunal in the world besides the "high court of parliament," that can add to, or take from, the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England? And if parliament were to strike out a certain number of these articles, or to "declare" a certain number of additional ones, would not every orthodox clergyman, whether that reduction or augmentation were, or were not, according to scripture, be compelled to subscribe to the altered copy? I appeal then to every man of common sense, whether it be not true to say, that acts of parliament alone can make articles of faith, and that, in practice, the faith of the established church is founded on the authority of parliament? The Bishop proceeds to boast "that the Church of England is no otherwise of this world, than prophecy declared the Church of Christ should be, in predicting that kings should be her nursing fathers, and queens her nursing mothers." Had the prophet, however, foreseen the result of a late investigation, he would have known that other princes, besides kings, have been nursing fathers, and other ladies, besides queens, have been nursing mothers, to the church.

Among the predecessors of the Bishop of Durham, was a Doctor Howson, as ambitious of gaining laurels in the field of controversy as the present right reverend Prelate, and as unsuccessful in his attempts. Confident in his own abilities, this theological pedant is recorded to have declared, that "he would loosen the Pope from his chair, though he were fastened thereto with a tenpenny nail."*. In defiance, however, of Doctor Howson's loosening powers, the Pope remained seated in his chair: and in like manner, I

* Hutchinson's Durham, vol. 1. p. 494.

trust, that, notwithstanding Doctor Barrington's "con-
 "clusive arguments," Catholics will continue to pro-
 fess the belief of their fathers in the real presence;
 and to those, who seek to satisfy them with figurative
 explications, will reply, with the poet—

Why all this frantic pain
 To construe what his clearest words contain,
 And make a riddle, what he made so plain?

REMARKS
ON THE
BISHOP OF DURHAM'S EXPLANATION
OF
THE ANTEPENULTIMATE ANSWER
IN THE
CHURCH CATECHISM.

THE last subject which the right reverend Prelate discusses, and that for which the whole pamphlet appears to have been written, is an attempt to explain, in a rational manner, the established doctrine respecting the Lord's supper. In the prosecution of this plan, he does not spare the character or feelings of his adversary. He condemns him of blasphemous levity, pronounces him unworthy of religious toleration, and reminds him of the laws enacted against those who attempt to malign the doctrines and ordinances of the Established Church.* There was a time when the Bishop of Durham deprecated "the revival of impassioned controversy;" but his pru-

* Grounds, p. 37, 44.

dence has at last been subdued by his zeal: and his present conduct, joined to his promise of many more publications of a similar tendency, call to my recollection those lines of the poet:—

Furor iraque mentem
Præcipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Allow me, however, to ask what sufficient cause I have given for this angry language, these opprobrious insinuations, these threats of vengeance? Had I forged a false creed for my unoffending neighbours, and, on the strength of this forgery, held them out to the derision and hatred of the public: or had I, at a moment when the very existence of the nation was at stake, attempted by misrepresentation to divide it against itself, and arm five millions of British subjects against the Established Church; then indeed I might think myself deserving of the vengeance of the laws, and unworthy of toleration in civilized society. But I have done none of these things. I have only repelled a most illiberal and unprovoked aggression; and have taught the aggressor to feel that he is not himself invulnerable. In the Remarks, I gave him a gentle hint, that his language might easily be retorted on himself. But that hint was despised; and his advocates, with all the pride of conscious superiority, rushed forward to trample into dust the man who had presumed to question the accuracy or the judgment of the Bishop of Durham. They met, however, with a resistance which they were not taught to expect; and now, unable to overcome him in argument, they vent their disappointment in threats and insults. Yet, what is in reality the crime of which I am accused? of saying that the established doctrine respecting the Lord's supper appeared to me a paradox, and something like nonsense. "This is the head and front of my offending." Let the reader compare this with the Bishop's charges against us, of blasphemy, sacrilege, and idolatry, of patronizing ignorance, encouraging vice, and adulterating the scriptures, of derogating from the ho-

nour of God the Father, from the mediatorship of God the Son, and from the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, and, instead of condemning me of intemperance, he will, I trust, praise my moderation: instead of thinking that I have transgressed the bounds of decorum, he will thank me for chastising that temerity, which, because the thirty-nine articles have been confirmed by act of parliament, arrogates to itself the privilege of defaming and calumniating every other church.

The Bishop of Durham begins this part of his pamphlet by observing, that the difficulty which the Remarker finds in conceiving the Established doctrine respecting the eucharist, originates in the *duplicity* of that writer. Without returning the compliment, I shall inquire in what manner that doctrine has been explained by the Bishop and his advocates. If their explanations prove discordant, I shall infer that it is not so very easy to understand: if the very teachers of Israel cannot agree respecting its meaning, I trust it cannot be a very great crime, if others do not perfectly comprehend it.

The first of these expositors (the first, if not in reputation, at least in time) was Elijah Index, of facetious memory, who, with his accustomed *naïveté*, acknowledged that the eucharist is nothing more than a *plain, simple, commemorative rite*: that the words of the catechism are at first sight repugnant to the real doctrine of the Church of England; and that the faithful communicant receives verily and indeed, not the body and blood of Christ, but the benefit of the sacrament.* How far this answer was admired by his diocesan, I know not: but the next writer, who made the attempt, and whose labours were honoured with that Prelate's approbation, offered to the public a different exposition. He contended that the answer in the catechism was accurate: that to eat the body and to drink the blood of Christ, is to partake of the blessings which his body broken, and his blood shed, have pur-

* Protestant's Reply, p. 14. Reply to the Review, p. 21.

chased for us: and that the hallowed elements are an instrumental cause, by which actual possession is given of all the graces which his sacrificed body can yield: that they are to us his body and blood.* This interpretation was permitted to assume the honours of orthodox doctrine during the long period of ten months: at the expiration of that term a new discovery was made; and the same writer assured us, that to receive the body and blood of Christ was no longer “to receive the graces which his sacrificed body can yield,” but to be put in possession of the title to that inheritance, which Christ purchased for us with his blood.† To this decision also I bowed with becoming respect, under the persuasion that the obligation of assenting to it would not be of very long continuance. Nor have I been disappointed. The right reverend Prelate, sensible of the errors of his advocates, has taken his cause into his own hands, and has transmitted to his clergy a letter of instruction on this very important subject. To this letter I request the reader’s attention, trusting that it has set the question at rest, and that for the future the orthodox mind will no more “be tossed to and fro, and carried about with so many winds of doctrine.”

1. The Bishop informs us that the Church of England “acknowledges the spiritual presence of Jesus Christ,” that “the faithful receive spiritually *at* the sacrament that which exists there spiritually,” and therefore “that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful *in* the Lord’s supper.”‡ If these words have any meaning, they must mean that the body and blood of Christ are really though spiritually present *at* or *in* the Lord’s supper; are really taken and received by each faithful communicant. Here then we seem to have a real presence; but let us not be too precipitate in our conclusions.

2. The learned Prelate proceeds to teach us that

* Letter by a Clergyman of the Diocese of Durham, p. 23, 24.

† Clergyman’s Second Letter, p. 41.

‡ Grounds, p. 39.

“ to eat the *body* of Christ is an act of the *mind* : that
 “ Christ is our spiritual food, and faith the faculty by
 “ which we eat that food, and therefore that to eat
 “ Christ is to believe in him.”* Here he appears to
 me to pull down with one hand what he had built with
 the other. “ To eat Christ is to believe in him.” Of
 course the only presence which he allows is a mental,
 not a real, presence. Christ is present to the mind
 only inasmuch as he is the object of the mind’s belief.
 But in this case what is there to distinguish the sacra-
 ment from any other religious ceremony? In any of
 them Christ may be the object of the belief of the
 mind. The christian, who with a true faith repeats
 the apostle’s creed, as certainly professes his belief, as
 he who receives the sacrament. Yet, whoever con-
 ceived, that in the recital of the creed, the true body
 and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and
 received? This doctrine, if it be properly examined,
 reduces the real presence of Christ to a real absence.
 According to it, Christ is no more really present to the
 communicant, than the Emperor of China is really
 present to me, when I think on him.

“ To think and believe,” says the Bishop of Durham,
 “ are as really acts of the mind, as to eat is an act of
 “ the body. What is done by the mind is as truly done
 “ as what is done by the body. The body of Christ
 “ is therefore as truly, as verily and indeed, received
 “ by faith, as the bread is by the mouth.”† This is
 most singular language. I certainly distrust my own
 judgment, as I cannot boast, like the right reverend
 Prelate, of having studied in a reformed university:‡
 but if the prejudices of education do not strangely de-
 ceive me, this doctrine is pregnant with the most
 paradoxical consequences. Whatever is the object of
 the operations of the mind, is, it seems, eaten by the
 mind; is as truly, as verily and indeed, taken and re-
 ceived by such operations, as corporeal food is by the
 body. Thus if you meditate on heaven and the joys

* Grounds, p. 39.

† Ibid. p. 40.

‡ Bishop of Durham’s Charge, p. 11.

of the blessed, you eat heaven and the joys of the blessed; you take and receive them verily and indeed. If you meditate on hell and its inhabitants, you eat hell and its inhabitants; you take and receive them verily and indeed. What a capacious stomach an orthodox mind must have!*

According to the dietetic language of the Bishop's theology, to believe in Christ, and to eat the body of

* In a note the learned Prelate directs us to two very ancient teachers, for the true meaning of the words, to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ (p. 44.) Perhaps the anticipation of the reader has already led him to those who are frequently styled the fathers of the church, to a Chrysostom, a Cyril, an Ambrose, &c. No: the Bishop's doctors are of still greater antiquity: they lived before christianity was preached; they are Cicero and Homer. "We feed on the object of our devotion," (i. e. eat the body of Christ) "as Calchas, in the anxiety of his heart, fed on his own thoughts; *ipse suum cor edens*, "as Cicero translates the words of Homer." Now this passage, which should be so precious in the estimation of every orthodox churchman, deserved, I think, more honourable mention. It should have been transcribed, or referred to. At least, through compassion to the ignorance of his readers, the Bishop should not have furnished them with a deceitful clue, by attributing this discovery in the art of feeding to Calchas, when it is due to Bellerophon. I will transcribe both the original, and Cicero's translation. Bellerophon, perceiving himself an object of hatred to all the gods, retired into solitude, where he consumed his soul in grief:—

Ητοι ο καππειδιον το Αλημιον οιος αλατο,
Ον θυμον κατεδων, πατον ανθρωπων αλειωνων.

Ιλιαδ, Ζ. 301.

Which Cicero thus translates:—

Qui miser in campis mœrens errabat Aleis,
Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.

Tusc. quæ. 1. iii.

Now I think this a very unfortunate illustration; for, first, the man who feeds on the anxiety of his own heart, has, at the best, but a sorry meal of it; and secondly, the Bishop contends, that to eat Christ is to believe in him, to meditate on him. But do the words of Homer or of Cicero mean that Bellerophon believed in his soul or heart, or that he meditated on it? Truly, this is one of the *difficiles nugæ* of orthodoxy, and only serves to shew that the time described by the poet is come,

When churchmen scripture for the classics quit—
Polite apostates from God's grace to wit.

Christ, are two synonymous expressions. They denote one and the same thing. Of course, since acts of faith can be exercised anywhere and at any time, Christ's body may be eaten anywhere and at any time: and this consequence the right reverend Prelate candidly admits. Moreover it will follow, that Christ's body will be eaten by every "considerate" believer, as often as he repeats the creed; and the same benefits will be derived to the soul from the repetition of the creed, as from the sacrament. For, if we may believe the catechism, the benefit derived from the sacrament is the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ; and, since the same body and blood are really received by the recital of the creed, I presume the soul will receive from it equal strength and nourishment. Indeed it appears to me that the creed may claim the superiority over the sacrament. The latter can only be administered on certain occasions: it requires the assistance of a clergyman, and the presence of another communicant. But by reciting the creed, you may eat the body of Christ by yourself, whenever you please, and without any obligation to others. The Bishop of Durham has indeed endeavoured to point out one circumstance, in which he thinks the sacrament possesses an advantage over the creed: and this depends on the theory of the association of ideas. "The act of eating bread," he says, "and drinking wine, in obedience to a command of Christ, and in remembrance of his death, easily associates itself in the mind with another act of obedience to Christ, that is, eating the flesh of Christ as the bread of life, and drinking his blood, without which we have no life in us." I think, however, that all this is still more effectually performed in the repetition of the creed: for we cannot repeat it with attention without exercising an act of belief in Christ, and recalling to our minds his passion and death.

St. Paul assures us that the unworthy communicant "eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body, that he is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." These are strong expressions,

and evidently imply a profanation of the body and blood of Christ. But the doctrine of the Bishop of Durham leaves nothing for the unworthy communicant to profane. According to him, the unworthy communicant is an unbeliever who cannot, or an inconsiderate christian who does not, exercise an act of faith. To these, since it is faith which constitutes the presence of the body and blood of Christ, that body and blood are not present. As they cannot receive them, so they cannot profane them. They cannot be guilty of that body and blood, which to them has no existence.*

But are there no unworthy communicants besides the unbeliever and the inconsiderate christian? The right reverend Prelate has often told us that to eat the body of Christ is to "digest his precepts." Now it is well known that to many christians these precepts are rather difficult of digestion: and I think it possible that some communicants may be very seriously troubled with this spiritual dyspepsia. Let us suppose such a one, that he may qualify himself for office, or for any other reason, to receive the sacrament: let us suppose him, while he receives it, to exercise an act of faith, which is certainly possible, and which will take him out of the class of unbelievers, and that of inconsiderate christians. Now, I ask, does this man receive worthily or unworthily? If worthily, then to digest the precepts of Christ is not a necessary requisite, which contradicts the doctrine of the Bishop of Durham; if unworthily, then the unworthy communicant, who exercises an act of faith, must eat the body

* The Bishop censures the Vindicator for having observed, that, according to his system, St. Paul should have said unworthy communicants were deprived, instead of guilty, of the body and blood of Christ. "They cannot," he says, "be deprived of what they have not. They are without God and Christ, for they are not in all their thoughts." It makes little difference in the force of the Vindicator's argument. I do not, however, think it a very heinous offence against the propriety of language, to say of a man, who through his own fault neglects to acquire some great advantage, an estate, for example, that he has deprived himself of the estate: but I do think it would be, to say that he was guilty of the estate.

of Christ, which is contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.

The true source of all these doctrinal inconsistencies is to be found in the established creed itself. That creed teaches that the true body of our Saviour is really present in the sacrament, though that real presence amounts, in truth, to a real absence. This, if it be not sound sense, was at least sound policy. Its original framers knew that the christian world was divided into two parties: the one consisting of the Catholics and Lutherans, who contended for the real presence of Christ's body, though they differed as to the manner of that presence; the other of the Zuinglians and Calvinists, who rejected the real presence, and admitted nothing more than a bare figure and memorial of the death of Christ. By appearing to admit both opinions into different parts of the articles, catechism, and rubrics, they opened a door for proselytes from either party, who might thus become orthodox churchmen, and still retain their favourite opinions. Thus the original articles published by the authority of Edward VI. contained a long paragraph against the "real and bodily presence," as they term it; which paragraph, though it was subscribed by both houses of convocation in the reign of Elizabeth, was omitted by the command of that female head of the church. "The design of government," says Burnet, "was at that time much turned to the drawing over the body of the nation to the reformation, in whom the old leaven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament; therefore it was thought not expedient to offend them by so particular a definition in this matter, in which the very word, real presence, was rejected."* In like manner, in the second Book of Common Prayer, published by Edward VI. was in-

* Burnet, Exposition of the XXXIX Articles, p. 308. "This part of the article was omitted in 1562, probably with a view to give less offence to those who maintained the corporeal presence, and to comprehend as many as possible in the established church." Bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. ii. p. 483.

served a long rubric, rejecting "all adoration unto any real and essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." This also was laid aside by order of Elizabeth. "It being the queen's design," says Wheatly, "(as I have already observed more than once) to unite the nation as much as she could in one faith, it was therefore recommended to the divines to see there should be no definition made against the aforesaid notion, but that it should remain as a speculative opinion not determined, but in which every one might be left to the freedom of his own mind."* King James imitated the caution of his predecessor; and when he commissioned Bishop Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's, to add to the catechism the explanation of the sacraments, was careful that the real presence should be taught in such manner as might satisfy the patrons of that doctrine. Let us examine the words of the catechism.

In it we are told that "the inward part of the sacrament, or the thing signified, is the body and blood of Christ:" by which is meant the real body that was broken, and the real blood that was shed for us, according to the Bishop of Durham. We are next told that "this same body and blood," the thing signified, "are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper." But how can this be, if they be not there? The words *taken* and *received* evidently allude to the actions of taking the bread and the cup into the hands, and of receiving them by the mouth. If then, when you take the bread into your hands, you take the real body of Christ, and when you take the cup into your hands, you take the real blood of Christ, does it not follow that the real body and blood of Christ must be there? Such, at least, is the obvious meaning of the words; and if it be the obvious, it must be the true meaning:

* Wheatly, Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 334. That which it was then lawful for every man to do according to his own judgment, is now by the Bishop of Durham declared to be idolatry. The rubric was re-inserted in 1661, with this alteration, that *corporeal* presence was substituted for *real* and *essential* presence.

for the catechism was not written to be the subject of logical and grammatical disquisition. It was intended for the instruction of children and the unlearned: its language must of course be supposed easy and perspicuous: and the meaning which naturally presents itself to the reader must be considered as the meaning originally intended by him who composed, and those who authorized it. In any other supposition you convict both of duplicity or folly.

I shall, perhaps, be told, that these and similar passages should be explained by the twenty-eighth article, which clearly shews in what sense the church of England understands the real presence. I think, however, that from the cautious manner in which that article is worded, an argument may be deduced in favour of the Catholic doctrine. The words are, “the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner.” Be it so. Catholics say as much. But does this heavenly and spiritual manner prevent it from being the real body that was broken, and the real blood that was shed for us? If so, that which is taken and received in the sacrament may be the influence of Christ’s body and blood, the graces which he has purchased for us, the title to a heavenly inheritance, or any thing else that it may please the ingenuity of our adversaries to suggest: but it certainly is not the inward part or thing signified, which, according to the catechism, is the real body and the real blood of Christ. But if, on the contrary, this spiritual manner does not exclude the reality of the body and blood of Christ, then my former argument remains in all its force. And here I may observe, that the article says more than the catechism. It says that the body of Christ is given, as well as taken and eaten, in the Lord’s supper. As the action of giving is prior to that of taking and eating, the body of Christ must exist in the sacrament before it is taken and eaten by the communicant. “The mean by which it is taken and eaten is faith.” But by what mean is it given? On this head the article is silent: and, I think, with some reason. For it cannot

be given by faith. To exercise an act of faith "is to eat Christ;" and undoubtedly to eat, and to give to another to eat, are two very different things.

The same doctrine, of really *giving* in the sacrament the body and blood of Christ to the faithful, I find in Dean Nowell's Catechism for Schools, first published in 1570. *Corpus et sanguis Christi fidelibus in cæna domini præbentur, ab illisque accipiuntur, comeduntur et bibuntur, cælesti tantum et spirituali modo, veré tamen atque reipsa.** So that, when it was asserted, by a Catholic controvertist, that, according to the established doctrine, the bread of the supper is but a figure of Christ, Bishop Montague had some reason to answer, "Is but sign or figure, and no more! Strange! And yet our formal words are, *This is my body; this is my blood. This is* is more than this figureth, or designeth. A bare figure is but a phantasm. He gave *substance* and *really subsisting essence*, who said, this is my body; this is my blood."† I know that both this divine, and others who have held a similar language, have on other occasions taught the contrary doctrine; but this corroborates my assertion, since it shews that, in endeavouring to defend the tenets of the established creed, they were compelled first to acknowledge a real presence, and then to explain it away, till it meant a real absence.

As Archbishop Wake is one of the infallible doctors, from whose decision the right reverend Prelate will not allow Catholics to appeal, I have been curious to learn what were his sentiments on this important subject. In his catechism, entitled *The Principles of the Christian Religion explained*, he asks this question: Are the body and blood of Christ really distributed to every communicant, in this sacrament? The answer is in the negative. "No, they are not. For then every communicant, whether prepared or not, would alike receive Christ's body and blood there." But, allow me to ask, is not this doctrine contradictory to the article? The article says, the body of

* P. 59.

† New Gag, p. 250. anno 1624.

Christ is given: the Archbishop's catechism, that it is not given. Nor let it be said, that the article speaks of the faithful only, while the catechism speaks of every communicant. For the rest of the answer shews that it refers to every communicant distributively, and includes the faithful as well as the unfaithful. "That which is given by the priest to the communicant is, as to its nature, the same after the consecration that it was before, viz. bread and wine; only altered as to its *use* and signification." The next question is one which very naturally occurs. "If the body and blood of Christ be not really given, and distributed by the priest, how can they be verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful communicant?" Before I transcribe the answer, I must observe, this question proves, that according to the Archbishop, and in opposition to the article, the body of Christ is not given even to the faithful communicant. The following is his answer: "That which is given by the priest is, as to its substance, bread and wine: as to its sacramental nature and signification, it is the figure, or representation, of Christ's body and blood, which was broken and shed for us. The very body and blood of Christ *as yet it is not*. But being with faith and piety received by the communicant, it becomes to him, by the blessing of God, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, *the very body and blood of Christ*." Here at last we have undoubtedly a real presence. The figure or representation of Christ's body and blood, which, as yet, was not the very body and blood of Christ, at last becomes his very body and blood. Is not this at least a change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ? Reader, be not so easily imposed upon. The whole is nothing more than a theological phantasmagoria. Ask the Archbishop how the bread and wine becomes to the faithful and worthy communicant the very body and blood of Christ, and he will answer you, "As it entitles him to a part in the sacrifice of his death, and to the benefits thereby procured to all his faithful and obedient servants." Thus, in the short space of three

lines, the very body and blood of Christ vanish away, and leave in their place a mere title to spiritual benefits. Thus do we learn, that, after all that the metropolitan had said about the very body and blood of Christ, he meant no such thing as the body and blood of Christ, but only a right to a part in the sacrifice of his death!

It may, perhaps, have been owing to the prejudices of a popish education, but it was a long time before I could form a distinct notion of the meaning attached by orthodox writers to this expression: "a real presence of the body and blood of Christ after a spiritual manner." My ignorance was at last dispelled by the luminous distinction of Bishop Taylor, between the signification of the word spiritual in orthodox, and its signification in popish language. "By spiritually present the papists mean present after the manner of a spirit: we mean, present to our spirits only."* But what kind of a real presence is that, which is neither after the manner of a body, nor after the manner of a spirit? According to this doctrine, Christ's body and blood are no otherwise present in the eucharist, than the invisible lady was present in the chest: that is, they are present to the apprehension of the communicant, but in reality absent.

Such, reader, are some of the reasons which induced me to make the assertion that has given so much offence to the Bishop of Durham; and when thou considerest, that the obvious meaning of the doctrine, which I have ventured to oppose, is contradictory to itself; that, of its expositors, scarcely two can agree in the same interpretation; and that however zealous they may at first appear in the defence of a real presence, they always end by maintaining a real absence, I trust thou wilt conclude, that my opinion was not rashly and precipitately formed.

In conclusion, should aught occur in the preceding pages, that can give pain to the feelings of any sincere believer in the established creed, I am sorry for it.

* Quoted by Wake, Discourse of the holy Eucharist, p. 66.

The circumstances in which I am placed must be my apology. It were hard indeed, if, in repelling an unjust aggression, I were not allowed, occasionally at least, to aim a blow at my adversary. The blame, if blame there be, must rest with those who provoked the contest, and who have hitherto conducted it, I must say, with asperity and intemperance. If the learned Prelate and his advocates are still determined to continue the discussion, why should it not be continued in the spirit of christian moderation, and christian charity? Let them recollect, that some respect is due to the opinions and feelings of the majority of the christian world. Let them not arrogate to themselves the exclusive possession of intellect and knowledge: nor, on the credit of a superiority to which they have no claim, presume to treat their adversaries with insolence and contempt. Above all, let them be true: let them state our doctrine as it is: and then, if they can, let them refute it with temperance and candour. Controversy, conducted in this manner, will be no disgrace to its authors, and may contribute to the discovery or propagation of truth: but if they refuse to condescend to so equitable a request, they must abide the consequences. I trust the catholic body will always contain writers both able and willing to teach illiberality to blush, and to expose the artifices of misrepresentation.

APPENDIX.

WE learn from the mythology of the ancients, that Jason had no sooner sown the teeth of the dragon, than each tooth grew up into a warrior. In like manner the Right Reverend Prelate preached his Charge, and from each paragraph seems to have started a champion. Already have I had to encounter Elijah Index, and the Durham Clergyman, and Mr. Faber, and Mr. Le Mesurier, and the Bishop of Durham,

Stiphelumque, Bromumque,
Antimachumque, Helimumque, securiferumque Pyracmon.

Now to this phalanx of worthies, I have to add a new hero, a Parochial Minister of the diocese of Durham. This gentleman conceives himself selected by Heaven as a second David to encounter the popish man of Gath: and, in imitation of his prototype, advances into the field with five stones in his scrip, which he denominates letters,* and with which he threatens to break the head of his uncircumcised antagonist. Now,

* See A Defence of the Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England, in Five Letters addressed to the Author of a Letter to a Clergyman of the Diocese of Durham, p. 2. When I consider the number of writers who have undertaken to refute the Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge, I begin to suspect that there is something more in that little tract than appears at first sight.

though I am not very apprehensive as to the issue of the contest, I must beg permission to enter my protest against the principle on which it has been undertaken. The modern David is not commissioned by Saul, but by himself: he believes himself bound by his ordination to attack me. But the principle equally applies to every clergyman of the Established Church; and were it once admitted, every clergyman of the Established Church would be embattled against me: thousands of arms would be raised to throw their stones at me: and I must inevitably sink under the weight and multitude, though I were possessed of the strength and stature of the champion of the Philistines.

If the real object of the parochial minister be to praise the Bishop of Durham, he acts wisely. The pious liberality of our Catholic forefathers has enabled that Prelate to provide amply for the wants and conveniences of his advocates; and I sincerely trust that he will not prove a second Saul to this orthodox David. But, if the object of the writer be, as he asserts it is, to vindicate from misrepresentation the doctrine of the Bishop of Durham, I can inform him that he will not succeed. That Prelate had condemned, in the most pointed terms, the Catholic doctrine respecting good works. Had I not then a right to impute to him the contradictory doctrine? But, says David, such is not his real opinion. Be it so: the consequence will be, either that the bishop misrepresented his own, or that he was ignorant of our doctrine. My ingenious opponent may select either of the two conclusions. Neither can reflect disgrace upon me.

What is it that the parochial minister wishes to prove against the Remarker? That the solifidian tenet is not the doctrine of the Church of England? He acknowledges that it is contained in the articles. That it is not a doctrine pregnant with the most pernicious consequences? He confesses that it is, when not rightly understood; but contends, that the Bishop of Durham has so explained it, as to render it perfectly innocuous, by shewing that with faith must be united the practice of good works. Now, admitting this, what

more will it prove than the accuracy of my assertion, that protestant theologians “ had learned to blush at “ the extravagance of this solifidian doctrine ; and by “ the aid of ingenious distinctions, had endeavoured to “ expound it in a sense more agreeable to reason, and “ less dangerous to morality ?” * The obvious meaning of the doctrine, that “ we are saved by faith without “ good works,” cannot escape the dullest understanding. It is too favourable to the passions not to be easily comprehended. Yet, if we ask an orthodox theologian, whether, if our faith be without works, we can be saved, he will answer in the negative. To reconcile these two assertions, that “ we are saved by “ faith without works,” and “ that a faith without “ works cannot save us,” let us have recourse to the distinctions recommended by the Bishop of Durham. “ To be saved by faith, without works, that is, *nullo operum adjumento*, has a very different meaning from “ being saved by faith without works, that is, *per fidem infructuosam*. In the first sense, *without works* is the “ attribute of the verb ; in the second, it is the attribute of the noun. The difference is still more striking “ in Greek. We are saved *δια πιστεως, ουνευ εργαων*. but not “ *δια πιστεως της ουνευ εργαων*. For, we are saved by faith,— “ without works ; but not by the faith that is without “ works.” † Now I appeal to the reader, whether it be likely that God should reveal, for the belief of the Church of England, doctrines which cannot be explained properly, except in Latin and Greek ? I thought it had been the privilege of the people of England to have their articles, as well as their scriptures, in their native tongue. I will, however, endeavour to illustrate these distinctions, by an example which will be more readily understood. Suppose an orthodox theologian to assert, that, at the battle of Vimiera, the French were beaten by the English without clothes. If he be desired to explain his meaning, his answer will be as

* Letter to a Clergyman, p. 55.

† Bishop of Durham’s Charge, quoted by the Author of the Defence of the Doctrine, &c. p. 22.

follows. “To be beaten by the English without clothes, that is, *ab Anglis, nullo vestimentorum adjumento*, has a very different meaning from being beaten by the English without clothes, that is, *ab Anglis nudis*. In the first sense, without clothes, is the attribute of the verb: in the second, it is the attribute of the noun. The difference is still more striking in Greek. The French were beaten *υπο των Αγγλων, ανευ ιματιων* but not *υπω των Αγγλων των ανευ ιματιων*, by the English—without clothes;—but not by the English that were without clothes.” If by this illustration I shall have contributed to render the solifidian doctrine less liable to be misinterpreted, I shall think I have served the cause of morality.

According to the Catholic doctrine, “we are saved by faith, which worketh by love.” This doctrine is scriptural,* and is not contradictory to the explanations which we give of it. It perhaps had been well if the new apostles had adopted it: but then they would not have had the merit of reforming. It was, therefore, resolved that we should be justified by faith only,† though St. James says, we are not justified by faith only.‡ The magnanimity of Luther made light of the difficulty. The writer of that epistle, he exclaimed, is a blockhead: it shall no longer be a part of the scriptures; and expunged it from his Bible. But our reformers were still more magnanimous. They declared that the article should be orthodox doctrine, and that the epistle should still be scripture. To their successors they left the important task of reconciling them together.

With this short answer I must request my new antagonist to be satisfied. Without meaning any disrespect to him, I must be allowed to attend to the Bishop. That Prelate has threatened to send his clergy several more letters similar to the last; and it would be indecorous in me to leave the diocesan for the parochial minister.

* Gal. v. 6. † Article 11. ‡ St. James, 11. 24.

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DOCUMENTS

TO ASCERTAIN THE

SENTIMENTS OF BRITISH CATHOLICS,

IN FORMER AGES,

RESPECTING

THE POWER OF THE POPES;

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN

1812.

Faint header text, possibly containing a title or address.

DECLARATION

First paragraph of the document, containing introductory text.

Second paragraph of the document.

Third paragraph of the document.

Fourth paragraph of the document.

Fifth paragraph of the document.

Sixth paragraph of the document.

Seventh paragraph of the document.

Eighth paragraph of the document.

Ninth paragraph of the document.

Tenth paragraph of the document.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the following pages is to ascertain what were the sentiments of former British catholics respecting the temporal power of the popes. With this view the writer has collected a series of authentic documents from the era of the Norman conquest to the reign of his present majesty. Many of them are drawn from sources not accessible to the generality of readers; all, he trusts, will on perusal be found interesting and instructive.

By some a publication of this nature may perhaps be deemed unnecessary. The justice or expediency of the catholic claims cannot depend on the political or religious opinions of former ages. If the present generation can prove that they entertain no sentiments hostile to the constitution— if, while they acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the bishop of Rome, they refuse him all civil authority within the British empire,—it matters little whether on these subjects their ancestors did or did not think as they do. They are not to be punished for the sins of men, whose bones have long since crumbled into dust.

But, though this reasoning be just, experience shews that to all minds it has not proved equally

convincing. Of our protestant fellow-subjects there are many, who have formed such alarming notions of the papal power, and find it so difficult to separate the idea of civil authority from that of spiritual jurisdiction, that they still view with considerable jealousy our doctrine of the papal supremacy. On this account it may not perhaps be useless to shew, that the opinions of former British Catholics were in unison with the oaths and declarations of their descendants at the present day: and that they, no less than ourselves, have on many occasions, in terms equally significant, professed their belief that "the pope of Rome neither hath nor ought to have any civil or temporal jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm."

DOCUMENTS

BEFORE

THE REFORMATION.

THE first document to which the reader's attention is requested, is a letter from William the Conqueror to Gregory VII.—Hubert, the pope's legate, had solicited the king to remit to Rome the amount of the Peterpence, which had been annually paid by his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, and to do homage to the apostolic see for the crown of England. In the first of these demands, William readily acquiesced: the second he as firmly resisted, on the ground that it was an unfounded claim, derogatory from the independence of the English crown. The following was his answer.

“ To Gregory, the most excellent pastor of the holy
“ church, William, by the Grace of God, king of Eng-
“ land, and Duke of Normandy, sends health and
“ friendship.—Your legate Hubert, religious father,

“ has admonished me on your part to do homage to
 “ you and your successors; and to think better re-
 “ specting the money which my predecessors were
 “ accustomed to send to the Roman church. Of these
 “ demands, one I have granted: the other I have re-
 “ fused. Homage I would not, nor will I do. For I
 “ did not promise it myself; nor can I learn that it
 “ was ever done by my predecessors to yours. As to
 “ the money, during the three years I have been in
 “ Gaul, it has been very negligently collected. But
 “ now that by the divine mercy I am returned to my
 “ kingdom, what is in my hands shall be sent by the
 “ legate, and the remainder, when an opportunity
 “ offers, by the messengers of Archbishop Lanfranc.
 “ Pray for us, and the state of our kingdom; for our
 “ predecessors loved your predecessors, and we our-
 “ selves desire sincerely to love, and obediently to
 “ hear you above all others.*”

From this answer it may be justly inferred that William and his council, though they acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the pope, did not believe that supremacy to confer any temporal superiority on its possessor. The inference will appear evident from the grounds on which alone they conceive it possible that the papal claims should rest; either the promise of the king himself, or the practice of his predecessors. That Gregory should pretend to a temporal superiority on account of his ecclesiastical pre-eminence was an idea, which either did not present itself to their minds, or which was instantly dismissed as unworthy of notice.

2. The frequent attempts of Edward I. to subjugate the kingdom of Scotland, are well known. During his third expedition in 1301, he received a letter from the pope, Boniface VIII., in which that pontiff declared that Scotland was a fief of the holy see, and required Edward to desist from force, and pursue his claim in the court of Rome. To so extraordinary a requisition

* Seldeni ad Eadmeri Hist. Spicileg. p. 164.

the king paid no regard. But the papal message was laid before the parliament at Lincoln, and from the answer of that assembly I shall transcribe such passages as may serve to shew, what were at that time the sentiments of the English barons with respect to the *temporal* interference of the popes.

“ To the most holy father in Christ, the Lord Boniface, by divine Providence chief bishop of the holy Roman church, John, Earl of Warren, and one hundred and five other barons, send greeting. It is well known to us and to many others, most holy father, that the kingdom of Scotland never did, nor does, by any right whatever, belong in temporals to the Roman church. Nor have the kings of England, on account of the independent pre-eminence of their royal dignity, and a custom at all times inviolably observed, ever pleaded, or been bound to plead, with respect to their right to the kingdom aforesaid, or to their other temporal rights, before any ecclesiastical or secular judge whatsoever.

“ Having, therefore, diligently deliberated on the contents of your letter, it is, and by the grace of God shall always be, our common and unanimous resolve, that with respect to the rights of his kingdom of Scotland, or any other his temporal rights, our aforesaid lord the king shall not plead before you, nor submit to any trial, nor inquiry, nor send any messengers or procurators to your court: especially as such proceedings would be to the manifest disherison of the rights of the crown of England and the royal dignity, the evident subversion of the sovereignty of the kingdom, and the prejudice of the liberties, customs, and laws, which we have inherited from our fathers; to the observance and defence of which we are bound by our oaths, and which we will continue to hold to the best of our power, and, with the assistance of God, will defend with all our strength. Neither do we, nor will we in any manner permit, as we neither can nor ought to permit, our lord the king to do, or attempt to do, any of the

“ things aforesaid, even were he ever so desirous to do them.”*

After the perusal of these passages the reader, I have no doubt, will agree with me, that the distinction between the spiritual supremacy and the temporal power of the pope is not a discovery of modern catholics, but was perfectly understood by our ancestors, who thus, five centuries ago, while they admitted the one, in the most public and determined manner rejected the other.

The sentiments which were at this time expressed by the English, appear also to have animated the Scottish barons. When Edward II. enforced the claims of his father, the pope, John XXII. espoused his cause, and even excommunicated Robert Bruce, for having broken his oath of fealty to the English king. The barons of Scotland assembled at Aberbroth, and wrote an expostulatory letter to the pontiff. In this they acknowledged him for the vicar of Christ upon earth : and as such they promise to obey him, but only *so far as they are bound to obey*. They tell him that they are fighting for their liberty, and will fight for it till death : that they leave the decision of their quarrel to the Almighty, their Lord and Judge : and cite him, unless he abandon the cause of the king of England, to answer before that tribunal for all the blood that may be shed, and the crimes that may be committed in the prosecution of so unfounded a claim.†

3. In the year 1302, William of Gainsborough was promoted to the bishoprick of Worcester. The bull of institution was, as usual, directed to the new bishop, but it contained the following unusual clause : “ We commit to thy charge the spiritualities and *temporalities* of the said bishopric.” The insertion of the word *temporalities* alarmed the jealousy of the king, who considered it as an invasion of the rights of the crown. The bishop was immediately summoned before Edward and

* Collier, Church Hist. tom. 1. p. 725. No. xlv.

† Burnet, Hist. vol. 2. Records, No. 10. p. 109.

his council, condemned in a fine of one thousand marks for having received the bull, and compelled to renounce publicly the obnoxious clause, and to declare that he held his temporalities of no one but the king.*

It is probably to this incident that we are to ascribe the origin of a custom inviolably observed in the succeeding reigns till the reformation. The bishop elect, as soon as he had received his bull of institution, appeared before the king or his deputy, and in his presence abjured every clause in the bull that could be prejudicial to the temporal rights of the crown. The abjuration was required from foreigners, as well as natives: even cardinals residing in the court of Rome were not exempted. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the cardinal Adrian, who in reward of his former services was promoted by Henry VII. to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and in consequence made the usual abjuration at Rome in the presence of the king's commissioners, the Bishop of Worcester, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Hugh Young, professor of divinity. The following was the form of renunciation made on such occasions. "I, N. bishop of N. expressly
 " renounce, and by these presents subscribed by my
 " hand, and sealed with my seal, totally abjure all and
 " every word, clause, and sentence in the apostolic
 " bulls directed to me concerning the aforesaid bishop-
 " ric, which are or by any means whatever may here-
 " after be prejudicial to my sovereign lord the king, or
 " his heirs, or the rights, customs, and prerogatives of
 " the kingdom, and in this respect wholly submit, and
 " place myself at the good pleasure of his highness,
 " humbly beseeching his majesty to grant me the tem-
 " poralities of the said bishopric, which I acknowledge
 " to hold of him alone as my sovereign lord."†

To these I might have added many other instances of a similar nature; but I hasten to the reigns after the reformation, and trust that the preceding documents will be deemed sufficient to prove, that our ancestors

* Collier, tom. 1. No. xlv. p. 726.

† Burnet, vol. 1. Records, No. 1. p. 3.

knew well how to distinguish between that spiritual authority which they acknowledged in the pope, as the chief bishop of their church, and that temporal sovereignty which they were convinced resided in the state. We have seen catholic kings, catholic parliaments, and catholic prelates for several centuries maintaining the independence of the English crown, and disclaiming all belief in any civil authority of the bishop of Rome within this realm. Now it should be observed that this was at a time, when the temporal power of the popes had reached its zenith, and at a period, which the supercilious knowledge of modern times has honoured with the appellation of the age of darkness.

But, if even then such were the sentiments of our catholic ancestors, it must betray an excess of caution to fear, lest at the present day, when the papal power in temporals is annihilated, and when the nature of civil and religious authority is so well understood, the catholics of the United Kingdom should renounce the opinions of their ancestors, and conspire to lay the liberties of their country at the feet of a foreign prelate.

DOCUMENTS

AFTER

THE REFORMATION.

SUCH were the sentiments of our catholic ancestors before the reformation: but it is of more importance to ascertain whether these sentiments continued to prevail among their catholic descendents, after the protestant had been established on the ruins of the catholic faith, and the sceptre had been placed in the hands of protestant princes. I shall therefore proceed to shew, that, on many occasions since the reformation, the catholics have offered to government the most convincing proofs, that they did not believe the pope to possess, in virtue of his spiritual supremacy, the right of deposing kings, or of absolving subjects from their allegiance, or of exercising any temporal jurisdiction whatsoever within this empire.

As soon as Elizabeth was firmly seated on the throne, the oath of supremacy, which had been originally framed by her father, and repealed under her sister

Mary, was re-enacted, and ordered to be taken by all ecclesiastics, and by all persons receiving fee or wages from the crown. As it contained a declaration that no foreign prelate had any *ecclesiastical* or *spiritual* authority or pre-eminence within the realm, it was refused by all those who professed to adhere to the ancient creed. In the fifth year of the queen's reign, the obligation of taking the oath was extended to the lower house of parliament: the members of the upper house were exempted, and this exemption was grounded on the following remarkable reason, "that the queen's majesty was otherwise sufficiently assured of the faith and loyalty of the temporal lords of her high court of parliament." Hence, (for among these temporal lords were to be found all the principal patrons of the ancient faith,) I think it may be fairly inferred, that, in the opinion of Elizabeth and her ministers, the acknowledgment of the papal supremacy did not necessarily include the admission of any temporal superiority, and that in well-informed catholics, at least, it was easy to unite the spiritual submission which they thought due to the pope as the head of their church, with the temporal allegiance due to the sovereign as the head of the state.

In 1569, Pius V. prepared a bull against the queen, in which he pronounced her excommunicated, deposed her from the throne, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. In the same year broke out the rebellion in the north under the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who by their emissaries endeavoured to secure the co-operation of the principal catholic families in the rest of England. Yet, notwithstanding their solicitations, these catholics persevered in their allegiance, and many of them spontaneously delivered up to justice the messengers from the rebel earls: an instance of loyalty which called from Elizabeth the warmest expressions of satisfaction and gratitude.

In 1570 the bull was published, and some of the principal among the deprived catholic prelates were

required to give an answer to the following question : “ Whether by the bull of the pope, or by any other declaration or sentence pronounced or to be pronounced, they believed the queen to be divested of her right to the crown, or her subjects freed from the duty of fidelity and obedience ?” They unanimously answered, that, “ notwithstanding the said bull, or any other declaration or sentence of the pope, pronounced or to be pronounced, they held queen Elizabeth to be the lawful sovereign of England and Ireland, and that to her, as such, obedience and fidelity were due from all Englishmen and Irishmen.” This declaration was subscribed by Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln ; Feckenham, abbot of Westminster ; Cole, dean of St. Paul’s ; and the two Harpsfields, dean, and archdeacon of Canterbury.* To the same question similar answers were given by Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, and Drs. Pool, Tunstal, White, Ogelthorpe, and Thirlby, the deprived bishops of Peterborough, Durham, Winchester, Carlisle, and Ely : who with many others readily “ professed their obedience to her majesty, and offered readily in her majesty’s defence to impugn and resist any foreign force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himself.” †

In 1588, Philip II. of Spain, irritated by the assistance which Elizabeth had afforded to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, determined to attempt the invasion of England. On this trying occasion, the English catholics gave the most convincing proofs of their loyalty. “ The catholics,” says Hume, “ generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army : some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to protestants : and others were active in animating

* Caron Remonstrantia Hibernorum, p. 38.

† Lord Burleigh’s Execution of Justice, p. 10, II.

heir vassals and neighbours to the defence of their country.”*

During the long reign of Elizabeth, more than one hundred and fifty persons were executed for their attachment to the ancient faith. At last the queen appeared to feel remorse for the effusion of so much blood: and a few months before her death, held out to the catholics, in a proclamation, some hope of relief from the pressure of the penal laws, provided they would make a satisfactory declaration of their allegiance. The offer was readily accepted. The heads of the catholic clergy, on the thirty-first of January, presented to the council a protestation of allegiance, from which I shall extract the principal passages.

After acknowledging the queen to be their sovereign, and that no authority, cause or pretence can be a sufficient warrant to them, more than other protestant, to disobey her majesty in any civil or temporal matter, they proceed thus: “And we do sincerely protest, and by this our public fact make known to all the Christian world, that in cases of conspiracies, of practising her majesty’s death, of invasions, and of whatsoever forcible attempts, which may hereafter be made by any foreign prelate, prince or potentate whatsoever, either jointly or severally, for the disturbance or subversion of her majesty’s person, estate, realms or dominions, under colour, shew, or pretence or intendment of restoring the catholic religion in England or Ireland, we will defend her majesty’s person, estate, realms, and dominions from all such forcible and violent assaults and injuries. And, if upon any excommunications denounced or to be denounced against her majesty, upon any such conspiracies, invasions, or forcible attempts to be made, as are before expressed, the pope should also excommunicate every one born within her majesty’s dominions, who would not forsake the aforesaid defence of her majesty and her realms, and take part with such conspirators or invaders; in

* Hume’s Hist. Elis.

these, and all other such-like cases, we do think ourselves, and all the lay-catholics born within her majesty's dominions, bound in conscience not to obey this or any such-like censure, but will defend our prince and country, accounting it our duty so to do; and notwithstanding any authority, or any excommunication whatsoever, either denounced or to be denounced, to yield unto her majesty all obedience in temporal causes."*

At the accession of James, the catholics flattered themselves with hopes of relief from the oppressive statutes of the preceding reign. They were disappointed. The nobility and gentry of that persuasion presented an address to the king, in which, 1. they acknowledged him for their sovereign, and declared their readiness to defend his rights against all opponents whatsoever.—2. They promised to reveal, and resist with all their might, every conspiracy and attempt against the king and his successors, and to defend with all their power his realms and dominions against all foreign invasions, attempted under any pretext whatsoever.—3. They acknowledged that they owed to the king whatever a subject owes to his prince by the light of nature, or the word of God, and whatever English catholics in former times had owed to his catholic predecessors: and this declaration they were willing to confirm upon oath, and to see that it was also confirmed upon oath by their chaplains before they admitted them to officiate in their houses.†

But James had imbibed too powerful an antipathy to the catholic cause to be softened by this address, and the enactment of a new law to suppress the growth of popery soon convinced the petitioners of the fallacy of their hopes. Whether it was from resentment for

* Dodd, Church Hist. vol. ii. p. 292.—It is remarkable that the person, whose name appears first on the list of subscribers to this protestation, was chosen by the court of Rome for the first catholic bishop in England after the demise of the prelates deposed by Elizabeth: a sufficient proof that nothing in their protestation was considered even in Rome itself contrary to the catholic faith.

† Caron, Remons. Hibernorum.

this conduct, or, as the catholics maintained, from the dark policy of Cecil, that the gunpowder plot originated, its discovery in a short time darkened every prospect of relief. The original conspirators, who were but eight in number, justly paid the forfeit of their treason: but their guilt was by popular prejudice extended to the whole body of the catholics. It was in vain, that in defence of their innocence they declared their ignorance of the plot, and alleged that it was first disclosed by a catholic, Lord Monteagle, and that, if it had proved successful, it must have been in its consequences more prejudicial than advantageous to the catholic cause. It was in vain that Blackwall, the superior of the catholic clergy, sent to his brethren two circular letters of his own accord, and afterwards a third at the command of the pope, expressing his detestation of the plot, and ordering them to prevent all similar conspiracies, and exhort their flocks to patience and obedience. The public indignation was not to be appeased or enlightened, and new and more oppressive statutes were enacted. James, however, who considered himself as the first theologian in Europe, determined to propose to them an oath of allegiance, and with the assistance of Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and Perkins, a conforming Jesuit, who was knighted for his service, the new test was composed, and approved by parliament. It contained much, to which no catholic could rationally object: but it also contained clauses so ambiguously worded, as if the intention of the framers were to defeat the very purpose, which they affected to have in view. By some of the principal among the laity and clergy it was taken: by the majority it was refused: and the refusal long furnished their enemies with a ready pretext to treat with scorn every application for relief.*

The inauspicious reign of Charles afforded the catho-

* Besides the fines for non-attendance at church, which were rigorously exacted during the greater part of his reign, James permitted no less than eighteen priests and seven laymen to be executed, and one hundred and twenty-eight clergymen to be condemned to perpetual transportation for their religious creed.

lics an opportunity of evincing by their conduct that loyalty, for which they could obtain no credit from their assertions. Almost to a man they espoused the cause of the king, and devoted their lives and fortunes to his service. Of five hundred officers in the royal army, who lost their lives during the civil war, one hundred and ninety-four are known to have been catholics.* Their loyalty was in reality most disastrous to their religion. For of the noble and opulent families, by which it had been hitherto supported, some became extinct during the contest, many were reduced to extreme distress, and all were impoverished.

After the captivity and execution of the king, it was not to be expected that men, who had been so active in the support of the royal cause, would be permitted to escape the vengeance of their enemies. Among these were some, whose resentment could be satisfied with nothing less than the total extirpation of the catholic body: and who endeavoured to prove the necessity of such a measure from the dangerous doctrines usually attributed to the catholic church. In this emergency an assembly of catholic theologians was held, who unanimously decided that, 1. The pope could not absolve catholic subjects from civil obedience and allegiance towards protestant princes and magistrates.—2. That he could not depose, or order to be killed, protestant princes and magistrates, under pretence of their being excommunicated.—3. That he could not dispense from the obligation of oaths and contracts between catholics and protestants.† This declaration satisfied the more moderate among the ruling members of the commonwealth, and the catholics congratulated themselves on their narrow escape from the destruction that threatened them.

In 1660, Charles II. was restored. In the declaration of that monarch from Breda, occurred the following passage: “ We do declare a liberty to tender consciences: and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter

* Dodd, vol. iii. p. 28.

† Carou, Remons, Hibern.

of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.*” This declaration revived the hopes of the catholics, and a case was laid before the law-officers of the crown, which, after stating the real principles of the catholics on the different doctrines attributed to them, inquires whether, as it will appear from the preambles of the different penal laws that those laws were not designed against persons professing the principles before described, they may not expect, on confirming those principles by oath, to be included in the “indulgence offered to tender consciences.” In this instrument occurs the following passage analogous to the present subject. “We are persuaded and satisfied in conscience, that the crown of England is immediately subject to God, in all things touching the regality of the same, and to none other, and consequently that neither directly nor indirectly the pope hath power to depose the king for any matter or cause whatsoever: or to absolve any his subjects from their natural allegiance to their sovereign, although differing in religion; or from the obligation of an oath by them taken or to be taken for recognition and assurance thereof accordingly, which they will faithfully and constantly maintain, notwithstanding any excommunication, bull, or other ecclesiastical censure to the contrary.”† Soon after the following oath was offered by the catholic clergy to the king.

I, *A. B.* swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation made or to be made by the pope or his successors against the king, his heirs and successors, and notwithstanding any absolution of his subjects from their fidelity, I will still render true fidelity and allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and will defend him and them to the best of my power against all conspiracies and attempts against his or

* Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 7. † MS. penes Auct.

their persons, crown and dignity, by force or pretext of any sentence or declaration whatsoever, and will discover and reveal all treasons, or conspiracies against them, which shall come to my knowledge. Moreover I swear that from my heart I abhor and detest as erroneous and heretical the doctrine that princes can on any occasion be killed by their subjects or others: and moreover declare that I will not receive or admit any absolution from the pope, or any other person, by which I may be freed from the obligation of this oath, or of any part thereof.*

In January, 1661, the catholic prelates of Ireland, assembled at Dublin, dispatched an agent to England, to offer their congratulations to the king on his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, to remind him of his promise of "indulgence to tender consciences," and to claim the free exercise of their religion according to the articles of peace in the year 1648. Shortly afterwards, they transmitted to the same agent a paper to be laid before the king, intitled, "The humble remonstrance, acknowledgment, protestation, and petition of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland." As this document is not generally known, though it affords a strong argument in proof of the loyalty and innocence of that much-slandered body, and shews the agreement between their principles and those of the catholics of England, I shall offer no apology for transcribing it entire.

"Your majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy of your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, do most humbly represent this their present state and deplorable condition.

"That being intrusted by the indispensable commission of the King of kings with the cure of souls, and the care of their flocks, in order to the administration of sacraments, and the teaching the people that perfect obedience which for conscience sake they are bound to pay to your majesty's commands,

* MS. penes Auct.

“ they are loaden with calumnies, and persecuted with severity.

“ That being obliged by the allegiance they owe, and ought to swear unto your majesty, to reveal all conspiracies and practices against your person and royal authority that come to their knowledge, they are themselves clamoured against as conspirators, plotting the destruction of the English among them, without any ground that may give the least colour to so foul a crime to pass for probable, in the judgment of any indifferent person.

“ That their crimes are as numerous and divers as are the inventions of their adversaries : and because they cannot with freedom appear to justify their innocence, all the fictions and allegations against them are received as undoubted verities : and, which is yet more mischievous, the laity, upon whose consciences the character of the priesthood gives them an influence, suffer under all the crimes imputed to *them* : it being their adversaries’ principal design, that the Irish, whose estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit, and no way worthy any title to your majesty’s mercy.

“ That no wood comes amiss to make arrows for their destruction : for as if the Roman Catholic clergy, whom they esteem most criminal, were, or ought to be, a society so perfect, as no evil, no indiscreet person should be found among them, they are all of them generally cried down for any crime, whether true or feigned, which is imputed to one of them ; and as if no words could be spoken, no letter written, but with the common consent of all of them, the whole clergy must suffer for that which is laid to the charge of any particular person among them.

“ We know what odium all the catholic clergy lies under by reason of the calumnies with which our tenets in religion, and our dependence on the pope’s authority, are aspersed : and we humbly beg your majesty’s pardon to vindicate both, by the ensuing protestation, which we make in the sight of heaven,

“ and in the presence of your majesty, sincerely and truly without equivocation, or mental reservation.” *

“ We do acknowledge and confess your majesty to be our true and lawful king, supreme lord and rightful sovereign of this realm of Ireland, and of all other your majesty’s dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin to obey your majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your majesty’s subjects, and as the laws and rules of government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that, notwithstanding any power or pretension of the pope or see of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever, given, or to be given, by the pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal proceeding or derived from him, or his see, against your majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform, to the uttermost of our abilities, our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, in as much as it may seem able, or shall pretend, to free, discharge, or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or licence to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your majesty’s person, royal authority, or to the state or government. Being all of us ready not only to discover and make known to your majesty and your ministers, all the treasons made against your majesty or them, which shall come to our hearing; but also to lose our lives in the defence of your majesty’s person and royal authority, and to resist with our best endeavours all conspiracies and attempts against your majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence, or patronised by what foreign power or authority soever. And further we

* Thus far regards the clergy alone. What follows was subscribed by the Irish nobility and gentry, and presented in their name also to the king.—Caron. Rem. IIb.

“ profess that all absolute princes, and supreme go-
 “ vernors, of what religion soever they be, are God’s
 “ lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to
 “ them according to the laws of each commonwealth
 “ respectively, in all civil and temporal affairs: and
 “ therefore we do here protest against all doctrine and
 “ authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impi-
 “ ous, and against the word of God, to maintain that
 “ any private subject may kill or murder the anointed
 “ of God, his prince, though of a different belief and
 “ religion from his; and we abhor and detest the prac-
 “ tice thereof as damnable and wicked.

“ These being the tenets of our religion in point of
 “ loyalty and submission to your majesty’s commands,
 “ and our dependence of the see of Rome no way in-
 “ trenching upon that perfect obedience which by our
 “ birth, by all laws divine and human, we are bound to
 “ pay to your majesty, our natural and lawful sove-
 “ reign, we humbly beg, prostrate at your majesty’s
 “ feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from
 “ the severe persecution we suffer merely for our pro-
 “ fession in religion: leaving those that are, or here-
 “ after shall be, guilty of other crimes (and there have
 “ been such in all times, as well by their pens as by
 “ their actions) to the punishment prescribed by the
 “ law.”*

The chapter of the catholic clergy in England, who were at this time without a bishop, having received a copy of the Irish protestation, directed Dr. Ellice their dean to write a letter to the bishop of Dromore, declaring their entire concurrence in the sentiments it contained, and their willingness to subscribe a similar declaration, whenever an opportunity might offer.†

Soon after, some catholic gentlemen presented a petition to the house of lords, stating their allegiance to his majesty, and praying for relief from the severe laws by which they were oppressed merely for their religious principles. The petition was received, and the petitioners ordered to plead for themselves at the

* Printed copy.

† Caron. Remonst. Hibern.

bar. After several protracted debates, the sense of the house appeared adverse to sanguinary punishments on account of religion, and a committee was appointed to prepare a bill for the repeal of the statute of 5 Elizabeth, cap. 1. and different clauses in 27th Eliz. cap. 2. 35th Eliz. cap. 1. 1st Jacobi, cap. 4. and 3 Jacobi, cap. 4. But the committee was slow in its progress, and the parliament was prorogued, before the bill was presented.*

In the spring of 1662, the king signified his permission to the dean and chapter, that they should frame a declaration of allegiance for the English catholic clergy, and submit it to the inspection of the lord chancellor. This was accordingly performed; and the declaration, having received the approbation of that minister, was termed, "A declaration of allegiance to his majesty, made by the dean and chapter of the catholic English clergy." The most important clause in it was the following:—

"Neither can we, nor do we, hold that the pope
 "either hath by himself, or by any authority derived
 "from his see, any rightful power of deposing kings,
 "whether catholic or not catholic, of disposing of their
 "dominions and kingdoms, or of authorising any ex-
 "tern prince, or other person or persons whatsoever,
 "to invade or endamage either his majesty's sacred
 "person, or any part of his dominions; and that, not-
 "standing any sentence, declaration, decree, or com-
 "mand to that purpose, howsoever, either made or to
 "be made, by any pope, or any authority derived
 "from the Roman see, we hold ourselves and all good

* Lords' Journals, tom. 11. p. 276, 310. During this session the bill was passed, restoring the bishops to their seats in the house of lords, and to the other rights of which they had been deprived during the preceding civil commotions. Of the catholic peers, twenty-six, almost the whole number, voted in their favour. As one good turn deserves another, it may not be presumptuous to hope that an equal spirit of liberality may appear on the episcopal bench; and that the catholic peers of the present day may receive from it that parliamentary support, which their ancestors did not refuse in similar circumstances to the protestant bishops of 1661.

“ catholics bound to esteem such acts invalid ; and
 “ still to preserve inviolably our duty of fidelity and
 “ allegiance to his majesty, his heirs, and successors ;
 “ abjuring and renouncing any power of the pope, or
 “ any person or persons upon earth, pretending
 “ to free, exempt, or absolve us from this obliga-
 “ tion of obedience, or licensing us or others to
 “ raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to his
 “ majesty’s person or any his dominions. Moreover
 “ we hold ourselves and all good catholics bound to be
 “ ever ready to discover to his majesty or his minis-
 “ ters any treasons or conspiracies against his majesty
 “ or his state, as soon as they shall come to our or
 “ their knowledge : nay, to hazard our lives in defence of
 “ our king and country, and in opposition to all assaults
 “ against the same, whether intestine or extern, with
 “ what pretence soever they are coloured.”

“ But most of all we detest from our hearts that
 “ impious, damnable, and most unchristian position,
 “ that kings or absolute princes, of what belief soever,
 “ who are excommunicated by the pope, may be de-
 “ posed, killed or murdered by their subjects, as di-
 “ rectly opposite to the word of God.”*

But the prospect of relief soon vanished. The court-
 party daily lost its influence in the two houses of par-
 liament, while that of the opposition received continual
 accessions of strength. The general conviction that
 the Duke of York, the presumptive heir to the crown,
 had embraced the catholic faith, became a powerful
 engine in the hands of the popular leaders : addresses
 upon addresses were presented to the king to enforce
 the laws against popery ; and in 1672 the test-act, by
 which all catholics were excluded from offices of trust,
 was brought into the house of commons. The king
 was determined to oppose it : but his wants soon com-
 pelled him to alter his resolution ; and he offered to
 pass it for a liberal supply of money. The proposal
 was accepted by the leaders of the popular party,
 and after some altercation respecting the amount,

* MS. penes Auct.

the enemies of the catholics purchased the king's assent by a supply of £1,200,000. They were not, however, satisfied. In each succeeding session they introduced bills into the house of commons to prevent papists from sitting in parliament; and in 1678 so great was the national phrenzy excited by the perjuries of Oates and Bedloe, that little opposition was made to their efforts. A bill passed the two houses, and received the royal assent, by which both commoners and peers, before they took their seats, were compelled to take the oaths, and subscribe "the declaration against popery." From that day the catholic lords have ceased to sit in parliament, though the Duke of York, whose exclusion from the house was principally aimed at, as a step to his subsequent exclusion from the throne, had sufficient interest to procure an exception in his favour.

With the history of those catholics who were sacrificed to popular jealousy for that most absurd of forgeries, Oates's plot, the reader must be sufficiently acquainted. All of them died protesting their innocence; many embraced the opportunity to declare their abhorrence of the odious doctrines so commonly attributed to catholics, and particularly the deposing power of the popes. Their speeches at the place of execution are still on record: * and if ever a man may be believed to speak with sincerity, it is when, in the full possession of his senses, he stands on the brink of eternity, and expects the next moment to be presented before an omniscient judge. One of them, the Lord Stafford, at his trial, referred the peers for an account of his religious creed to a small tract, intitled "Catholic Principles," from which I shall extract a few passages, as illustrative of the doctrine taught to the catholics of that period.†

Parag. 11. "Of spiritual and temporal authority.—
No. 3. If a general council (much less a papal consis-

* See, A Remonstrance of Piety and Innocence, 1683. Dodd Hist. vol. iii. p. 356.

† From the edition of 1683.

tory) should undertake to depose a king, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no catholic, as catholic, is bound to submit to such a decree. Hence it followeth."

4. "The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any catholic principle, renounce even upon oath the teaching, maintaining, or practising the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated for heresy by any authority whatever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, injurious to sovereign power, destructive to peace and government, and, by consequence, in his majesty's subjects impious and damnable."

7. "Nor do catholics, as catholics, believe that the pope hath any direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes. Hence if the pope should pretend to absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their allegiance on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null, and all catholic subjects (notwithstanding such dispensation or absolution) would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, even against the pope himself, in case he should invade the nation."

9. "As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy; it is an article of faith in the catholic church, and expressly declared in the general council of Constance, that such doctrine is damnable and heretical, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature."

During the subsequent reigns of James, William, and Ann, I do not meet with any petitions or remonstrances, which the catholics presented to the sovereign. With the first of these monarchs it was unnecessary; under the reigns of the other two it was deemed more prudent to remain in obscurity than to solicit public notice.*

Soon after the rebellion in 1715, the principal of the

* The Emperor Leopold interceded, and with some success, in favour of the catholics with King William.

catholic nobility and gentry, anxious to avert from the whole body that indignation which had been raised by the fault of some of its members, presented a petition to the king expressive of their earnest "desire to give his majesty whatever assurance of fidelity and allegiance could be expected from them, without inserting terms that might shock tender consciences."* At the same time was prepared a petition to the house of commons, in which occurs the following passage:—

"It is daily laid to the charge of your petitioners, that those of our communion, who in former times had the penalties of those (the popery) laws inflicted on them, are understood not to have suffered for religion, but treason, and especially for endeavouring to subject the imperial crown of England, and the regalities thereof, to the see of Rome, which your petitioners acknowledge to be treason in the highest degree.—Therefore your petitioners humbly crave leave to vindicate themselves, and openly profess that neither the Catholic religion teaches, nor do they believe any kind of authority either in the Pope or church of Rome, or any church whatsoever, by divine or human right, over the said crown and kingdom in temporal things, whether directly or indirectly, and they do heartily detest and abhor all doctrines that teach any such authority, and all practices in pursuance of such doctrines, and that they are both ready and desirous not only to declare in the most public manner such their hearty detestation and abhorrence, but also to give the fullest assurance to the king and kingdom, that your honours shall think fit to require."†

Whether this petition was presented I know not; for at this period an unexpected obstacle arose from the zeal of the friends of the Stuart family beyond the seas. Copies of a work were circulated at Rome, in which it was contended that the crown belonged of right to the son of James II., and that no Catholic

* MS. copy of the petition, penes Auct.

† MS. copy, penes Auct.

could in conscience swear allegiance to George I. It was in vain that the Catholics contended that they were not answerable for the writings of others: the old axiom, that Catholics will not keep faith with heretics, was resorted to, and it was at last advised, to satisfy the ministry, that an application should be made to the pope for his sentiments on the subject. His answer was conveyed through the internuncio at Brussels to Dr. Stonor, one of the Catholic bishops.

“Forasmuch,” says that minister, “as the projected formula, or any other which may be proposed, contains an obligation upon oath of an entire obedience and fidelity, with a declaration not to do any thing either directly or indirectly against the present constitution of the kingdom, I am ordered to inform you that it is not only conceived that such formulas are allowable and lawful, but it even appears to be understood that those, of whom they are demanded, are positively obliged to take them: since on that subject are alleged to me the passages of St. Peter and St. Paul, which prescribe obedience to sovereigns.”*

But though this answer was so favourable, though the emperor ordered his ambassador to employ all his interest in behalf of the Catholics, their attempts were unsuccessful, and they shortly saw themselves exposed to still greater hardships from the act for levying 100,000*l.* on the estates of papists.

It cannot be necessary to enter into the history of Catholic affairs during the present reign. With the replies of the foreign universities to Mr. Pitt's queries, and the oaths taken by Catholics according to the acts passed in their favour, the reader must be acquainted. I shall therefore content myself with asking whether the oaths and protestations contained in the preceding pages do not fully bear me out in the assertion, that the great body of the British Catholics has never been accustomed to acknowledge in the pope any temporal authority, or to consider the deposing and dispensing

* MS. copy of the letter in French, dated Brux, Oct. 10, 1716.

powers as parts of its religious creed. But if this be true of Catholics in former times, it must be true of those at the present day, nor do I see how any man can rationally accuse them of partiality to the doctrines they have disclaimed, or fear that they should adopt them at any future period. The fact is, that there exists not within the United Kingdom, nor within any kingdom in Europe, a body of men, whose religious opinions with respect to the civil government are so accurately ascertained. They have not only explained their sentiments: they have sworn to the truth of that explanation. They have made their allegiance doubly secure. They are bound to it by their religion: they are also bound to it by their oath.

In conclusion, it may be observed, that the statute-book at present is on this subject in contradiction with itself. Whoever peruses the preambles to the statutes, from the pressure of which the Catholics pray to be relieved, will learn that they were enacted against persons described as traitors to their country, supposed to hold that faith is not to be kept with protestants, and to believe that the pope could lawfully depose princes, and absolve subjects from their allegiance. By the acts passed during the present reign in favour of Catholics, it is admitted that those who take the oaths prescribed therein do not come under this description. Of course they are not the men against whom the penal statutes were enacted. Why then are they still made to suffer under them? Certainly justice and consistence require that this contradiction should no longer exist, but that all who bear true allegiance to the king, all who abjure the temporal superiority of every other prince or prelate, should be admitted to the common rights and distinctions of British subjects.

A REVIEW

OF CERTAIN

Anti-Catholic Publications,

VIZ.

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE
DIOCESE OF GLOUCESTER, IN
1810,

BY GEORGE ISAAC HUNTINGFORD, D.D. F.R.S.
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER,

(Reprinted in 1812.)

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY OF THE
DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, IN
1812.

BY GEORGE TOMLINE, D.D. F.R.S.
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN;

AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION,
BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD KENYON.

Qui parti civium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam. Cic. de officiis.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN
1813.

1771-1781

1771-1781

1771-1781

1771-1781

A REVIEW,

§c. §c.

THAT a regular opposition to the Catholic Claims has lately been organized, must be evident to the most inattentive observer. The clergy have been placed in the front of the battle; and, with the cry of danger to the church has been coupled that of danger to the constitution. To perpetuate religious disabilities, episcopal charges have been published, meetings of the clergy have been held, and petitions from dioceses, colleges, and archdeacons, have been poured into both houses of parliament. In aid of these efforts, the press also has been put into requisition: and the labours of the anti-catholic journalists, the establishment of an anti-catholic magazine, and the diffusion of anti-catholic tracts, published in every shape, and adapted to every understanding, bear honourable testimony to the zeal and activity of those who assume the lead in this orthodox crusade.

The Catholic, however, when he looks back on the past, will learn to hope well of the future. He will observe that the irritating objections of former times are now almost shamed out of parliament, and can

hardly support their credit among the most suspicious and least informed Protestants. He will see that our opponents have uniformly been compelled to shift their ground from position to position; and, after pertinaciously defending each, have ended by retreating to another. At first we were accused of favouring the claims of the Stuarts: the extinction of that family has put an end to the charge. We were then told that Catholics could not be bound by oaths; though oaths had been wisely devised as the best safeguard against their supposed perfidy. Next, the fathers of the great council of Lateran were marshalled against us; as if men were to be punished at the present day, because Protestants will not understand the regulations of feudal princes and feudal prelates, six centuries ago. Afterwards, we were reproached with the deposing power and temporal pretensions of the pope; but this reproach was set at rest by the answers of the foreign universities. Lastly, came the coronation oath: men, however, could not be persuaded, that, by promising to maintain the liberties of the church, the king was bound to deprive of their rights all those who dissent from it. Each of these arguments, in its day, was deemed unanswerable; each has yielded to discussion. Past advantages are an earnest of future success; and the abolition of former prejudices affords reason to hope; that, in a short time, religious opinions will cease to be considered a sufficient cause for political restraints.

Driven from these outworks, the anti-catholics now seek to intrench themselves round the constitution; and, under the shelter of that venerable name, keep up a fierce and protracted opposition. It is not, however, for the constitution in reality that they fight, but for the tests and disqualification with which it was hedged round, in a period of religious animosity and distrust. For whatever purpose these were planted originally, they may now be safely eradicated. They serve not to protect, but to disfigure. The British constitution is not a constitution of restraints and penalties. It was framed to preserve the rights of

freemen. It was made for the whole, not for a part. It was designed, like the sun, to shed its benign influence upon all: not to disfranchise one-fourth of the population of the empire, seven-eighths of the people of Ireland.

Though it is not to be expected, that on matters of great national importance, and which involve many individual interests, all men should come to the same conclusion, it would, nevertheless, be decent in those, who so loudly pronounce the Catholic Claims incompatible with the constitution, were they to pause, when they reflect that their opinion stands in contradiction to the opinion of the greatest men that this empire ever produced. As long as we shall retain any respect for genius and discernment, for parliamentary eloquence and political wisdom, the names of Pitt and of Fox, of Burke and of Windham, will stand foremost in the public esteem.* These eminent statesmen, however they might differ on other subjects, concurred in supporting the cause of the Catholics. It was not with them a party question, or an opinion formed or maintained for particular purposes. Their's was the conviction of liberal and enlightened minds, that forgot the distinctions of party in their zeal to serve their country, and were neither ignorant of the nature, nor enemies to the stability, of the constitution. It would be strange, indeed, were a measure, which they unanimously deemed essential to the prosperity of the empire, to prove, as we are told it will, pregnant with mischief to the established church, and subversive of the principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne.

Be that, however, as it may, a strong ray of political light has lately burst from the pulpit. The Bishops of

* "Without fear of contradiction," says the Bishop of Norwich, "the judgment of four such men as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, carries far more weight, *on a question like this*, than the judgment of both the universities, and indeed all the divines who ever sat in convocation under the dome of St. Paul's, or in the Jerusalem Chamber, to the present hour."—Bishop of Norwich's Speech in 1811.

Lincoln and Gloucester have detected the lurking danger, which had escaped the penetration of these great statesmen ; and, by the publication of their Charges, have endeavoured to expose it to the view of their clergy, and of the nation. Of the two right reverend prelates, Dr. Tomline was once as much in the dark as his friend Mr. Pitt, and like him was induced to favour the Claims of the Catholics. His illumination only began with the change of ministry in 1807 ; and the Charge which he published last year, details his reasons for opposing that measure, of which he was formerly the advocate. The Charge of Dr. Huntingford was first called forth by the petition of the English Catholics in 1810, and was re-published in 1812, in consequence of the success of Mr. Canning's motion in the last parliament. It is my intention to review these publications ; and, as the object of each is the same, the reasoning similar, and their merit nearly equal, I shall, to avoid repetitions, join both together, carefully distinguishing whatever may be peculiar to either prelate, and omitting nothing that I may think deserving of notice.

THE CHARGES
OF THE
BISHOPS
OF
LINCOLN AND GLOUCESTER.

IT is a favourite manœuvre with the leaders of the anti-catholics, to attempt to sanctify their opposition by appealing to the wisdom of their ancestors. The disabilities, of which we complain, are described as so many safeguards, erected by the great men, to whose efforts we owe the Revolution; and the reputation of their supposed authors gives them an importance, to which of their own nature they can have no claim. Such also is the conduct of the Bishop of Lincoln. He begins his Charge by telling us, that to determine at the time of the Reformation, what struggles and what conflicts might arise among men, whose religious faith was so fundamentally different, was beyond the reach of human foresight: but, that at the Revolution, more than a century had elapsed, and the knowledge of the dangers to which the reformed religion had been ex-

posed, from the restless hostile spirit of those, who still adhered to the Church of Rome, enabled the great and wise men concerned in settling the Revolution, to make such provisions as would secure the Protestant establishment against future attempts of papists : that some of the laws enacted then, and soon after, have been repealed, that others are in force, &c.* Now, even supposing this statement to be correct, it may be doubted, whether the inference sought to be drawn from it can be just. During the long lapse of more than a century, much may have happened to make that inexpedient now which was deemed necessary then. Circumstances may have altered ; the irritation caused by the writings of controvertists, and the conflict of parties, may have subsided ; the attachment of the Catholics to an unfortunate family may have ceased ; and the dangerous doctrines attributed to them in former times, may have been satisfactorily disclaimed. To conceive that laws, built on the supposed exigence of the moment, must stand till the end of time, amid the ever-varying scene of human affairs, savours more of the extravagance of the enthusiast than of the sober judgment of the legislator. The wisdom of our ancestors introduced slavery into the western colonies : the wisdom of their posterity has abolished it. The wisdom of our ancestors introduced religious disabilities at home : perhaps it may become the wisdom of their posterity to abolish them also.

But, without pursuing this subject at present, I have no hesitation to say, that the statement of the right reverend prelate, in whatever light it be considered, is inaccurate. If he mean to attribute the existence of the penal code to the period of the Revolution, he is refuted by the whole tenor of our history. It required more than two centuries to rear that immense pile of restraints, disqualifications, and punishments. Its foundations were laid in blood by Elizabeth ; and, though additions were made by almost every succeed-

* Bishop of Lincoln's Charge, p. 11.

ing monarch, it is hardly fifty years since it was completely finished. Of these oppressive statutes, many, indeed, since the accession of his present majesty, have been repealed: but, if the Bishop of Lincoln meant to confine his assertion to those only which remain, history will still shew that he is incorrect. Of the disabilities from which we now pray to be relieved, the principal, those which the prelate is so anxious to perpetuate, were imposed before the Revolution. They owe their existence to one of the most disgraceful periods of our history: they were enacted when the prejudices and passions of the people had been wound up to an almost inconceivable degree of phrenzy by the impostures of Titus Oates. Oates was afterwards convicted of perjury, and his evidence was declared a tissue of the most improbable falsehoods: yet the disqualifications to which it gave birth have never been removed; they are still hung round the necks of the Catholics, after the revolution of more than one hundred and forty years.

The right reverend prelate next informs us, that “the *only* disabilities now remaining are, that papists are not allowed to sit in parliament, to fill the great offices of state, to preside in courts of justice or equity, or to command the army or navy.”* Were this statement less inaccurate than the preceding, still I conceive the Catholics would have reason to complain. To be compelled to participate in all the burthens of the state, but prohibited from aspiring to any of its honours or rewards; to be permitted, indeed, to shed our blood for our country, but to be excluded from promotion in the service; to be admitted to the bar, but to sit there stigmatized as unworthy to advance in the profession: all these are disabilities sufficiently galling to an ingenuous spirit. But, if the learned prelate will condescend to cast his eye on the note in the next page, he will learn, that there still remain many other restraints, of which he appears to be ignorant—restraints equally repugnant

* Bishop of Lincoln's Charge, p. 11, 12.

to the principles of sound policy, and the precepts of a benevolent religion.*

Having thus prepared the minds of his readers, by lessening the number of our grievances, and attributing their origin to men who were not their authors, the Bishop of Lincoln proceeds to affirm, that civil disabilities, though created in consequence of religious opinions, are not acts of persecution, but perfectly consistent with the true principles of toleration. And here it is that the two prelates begin to tread on the same ground. "Toleration," they tell us, "is a per-

* 1. English Catholics are universally disabled from voting at elections. 2. They are equally *subject* with dissenters to the disabilities arising from the Test and Corporation Acts; and they *alone actually feel* those arising from the former. 3. In Ireland, any Catholic priest, who shall celebrate marriage between any two persons, knowing them, or either of them, to be of the Protestant religion, shall, on conviction, be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death accordingly. 4. No Catholic is legally authorised, in Ireland, to possess, or use, arms of any description, unless he be seized of freehold property of £100 yearly value, or possessed of a personal estate of £1000; or unless he have sworn and verified, in open court, that he is possessed of £10 yearly of freehold property, or £300 personal property. All Catholics who possess not such property, or who, possessing it, have not verified it in open court, are liable to have their houses searched, by day or night, on mere suspicion; and are subject, on the slightest evidence of attempting to evade the law, to the punishment of the pillory and whipping. 5. Neither is any Catholic permitted by law to exercise the trade of a cutler, a gunsmith, or a gamekeeper. 6. No Catholic can, legally, be an apprentice to a cutler or gunsmith. 7. No Catholic can keep for sale, under any pretence whatever, any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, gun-stocks, &c., under a penalty of £20 fine, and one year's imprisonment. 8. Every Catholic who shall be assisting in burying any dead body in any other place than a Protestant church-yard, is liable to a fine of £10. 9. In both countries, no Catholic can give or grant lands, money, or other property, for the permanent endowment of any Catholic clergyman, house of worship, school-house, or other pious or charitable foundation for a Catholic. 10. Neither can any Catholic claim, possess, or enjoy, any advowson, or right of patronage, or presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice, or even give up his right in trust to a Protestant. Those who would see more respecting these restraints, and the hardships to which they gave birth, with the nature of the statutes which have already been repealed, may consult the Historical Account of the Laws against the Roman Catholics of England, by C. Butler, Esq.; the History of the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics, by Henry Parnell, Esq.; and the Statement of the Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland.

mission, under the authority of law, to every individual to profess the religious opinions which he conceives most consonant to Scripture, and to worship God in the manner most agreeable to the dictates of his conscience. Internal faith and external worship comprehend the whole, as far as this subject is concerned, of religious service: and whoever enjoys unrestrained freedom in these two respects, enjoys perfect religious toleration.* Now, it is indeed true, that Catholics are no longer liable to the forfeiture of one hundred marks for being present at the service of their own church, or to the monthly fine of twenty pounds for being absent from the service of the established church. The intolerant statutes, by which these punishments were enacted, have been repealed; and we enjoy the permission of professing our own creed, and practising our own worship.† But it should not be forgotten at what price we purchase that permission. It is with the loss of the civil rights possessed by our fellow-subjects; of the common immunities which the constitution supposes to be the birth-right of every Briton. We must either sacrifice them, or abjure our religion. Is this “unrestrained freedom in our worship?” Is this “full and perfect toleration?”

Toleration (if we must use a word which seems to imply, that one man ought to depend for the exercise of religious worship on the *sufferance* of another,) is the true mean between establishment and persecution. To *establish*, is to select a particular creed, and to provide, at the national expense, for the support of its ministers. To *persecute*, is to select a particular creed, and to subject its professors to restraints, privations, or punishments. To *tolerate*, is to do neither. If, on the one side, the toleration of a religion does not encourage it, on the other it does not molest it. It leaves it to itself, and cautiously abstains from all legislative

* Bishop of Lincoln's Charge, p. 12. Bishop of Gloucester, p. 22.

† It is only in England, though the Bishop of Lincoln seems ignorant of it, (p. 12) that the exercise of the Catholic worship is protected by law. In Ireland it is exposed to insult from any individual, or set of individuals, who may be audacious enough to attempt it.

interference in its favour, or against it. As, when you establish a church, you do not create the civil rights enjoyed by its members; so, neither, when you tolerate a creed, do you impose civil disabilities on its professors. Every molestation, whether it go to the privation of life, or liberty, or property, or rights previously possessed, is persecution; differing indeed, in degree, but essentially repugnant to the true notion of toleration. Now, what is the situation of the Catholics? Do they enjoy the exercise of their religion free from restraint or privation? Can they unite it with the exercise of the common privileges of British subjects? No: they are condemned to live in a state of perpetual disqualification. This, then, cannot certainly be what the two prelates mean by "full and perfect toleration." If we consider it impartially, it is persecution: not that persecution which sends to the stake or to the gibbet; but a persecution inflictive of mental pain, and indefinite in duration: a persecution most irritating to the feelings of the sufferers, but which is less noticed, and less abhorred, because it is not of a nature to strike the senses of spectators.

We are told by both prelates, that to persecute is to inflict punishment; to compel men to adopt a prescribed faith, or to suffer the loss of liberty, property, or even life.* Now, admitting this definition, I see not how the adversaries of the Catholics can clear themselves, even on their own grounds, from the charge of persecution. To compel a man to abjure his own faith, or suffer the loss of privileges to which he has otherwise a claim, is much the same thing as "to compel a man to adopt a prescribed faith, or suffer the loss of property." If one be persecution, the other must be persecution also. For the privileges in question are as valuable as property: in many instances they can be exchanged for property. Thus, then, the case stands:—the English Catholic peers have an hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords; by the 30th of Charles II. they cannot exercise this right un-

* Bishop of Lincoln, p. 16. Bishop of Gloucester, p. 20.

less they previously abjure their religion. Catholic gentlemen, if otherwise qualified, are of common right eligible to sit in the lower house: by the same act, should they be chosen, they must relinquish their seats, or pronounce their own worship to be idolatrous. Every Catholic freeholder, or freeman, has a right to vote for members of parliament: by the 7th and 8th of William III. he must apostatize, or forego the exercise of that right. Such disabilities, in the estimation of a thinking man, are equal to positive punishments. To be declared incapable of serving his Majesty in any offices of trust, emolument, or power, is the severest penalty, which, in many cases, the law inflicts on delinquents guilty of atrocious offences: and will it be said, that the same disqualification, enforced against four millions of subjects for their religious tenets, is not a punishment, but a measure perfectly consistent with the true principles of toleration?

An attempt has been made to draw a distinction between persecution and exclusion from power. It has furnished the two right reverend Prelates with many an elegant antithesis, but appears to me to bear not on the present question. For it is not of his actual exclusion from this or that place of trust or profit, but of his ineligibility to fill any, that the Catholic complains. Not only does he not possess such places, but he is rendered incapable of possessing them. What is granted to every other class of subjects is denied to him; and the punishment, which the law awards against offences of the most pernicious tendency, is inflicted on him for religious opinions. To keep him in a state of degradation, limitations are imposed both on the elective franchise and the prerogative of the crown. Neither can the people have for their representative, or the king appoint to any office, a Catholic, however his abilities and services may fit him for such situations. Even the country is incapacitated from rewarding the Catholics, who brave every danger in its service, and shed their blood to extend its conquests and maintain its independence.

But, observes the Bishop of Gloucester, "the Catholics have no reason for complaint. For, though exclusion from power be the consequence of their principles, adherence to those principles, or, in other words, the cause of their exclusion, is entirely the result of their own free will. To the enjoyment of every blessing in life is annexed some condition: if we do not choose to fulfil the condition, we are not entitled to the blessing."* To talk in this manner has of late been called, to reason: to me, without meaning any disrespect to the right reverend Prelate, it appears to be nothing else than adding insult to oppression. It is the language of the Algerine corsair, when he chains his Christian captive to the oar: "You have no cause," the intolerant infidel may also say, "for complaint. Renounce the faith of Christ, and you are free. If you refuse, slavery is indeed the consequence: but, adherence to your religion; or, in other words, the cause of your slavery, is entirely the result of your own free will. Your freedom is annexed to the condition; and, if you do not choose to fulfil the condition, you are not entitled to the blessing."

The reasoning of the Bishop of Gloucester may perhaps hold in matters of convenience. Of such objects, whoever prefers one to another, takes it with both its advantages and disadvantages. He, indeed, may have no reason for complaint. But, in matters of opinion and conscience, the principle is false. The human judgment is not at liberty to assent or dissent, as fancy or interest may suggest. The mathematician cannot reject the axioms on which his science is built, nor can the sincere inquirer into religion disbelieve what in his own mind he is convinced is the truth. He may be induced to profess the contrary in words; he may declare, upon oath, that his religious principles are erroneous: but, in that case, he becomes a hypocrite: he is guilty of perjury; he acts in opposition to truth, honour, and religion: he deserves the contempt of man, and the anger of the Almighty.

* Charge, p. 9.

Yet, this is the condition to which Catholics are reduced by penalties and disabilities. It is not of our free choice that we incur these disabilities: but you take advantage of our religious convictions, and of our horror for perjury, to place us in a situation, in which we must either forfeit the common privileges of Britons, or profess ourselves traitors to our God. And shall we be told that we have no reason for complaint?

It appears to me, that of all men, those ought the least to hold such language, who claim to be considered as the apostles of the meek and lowly Saviour. His kingdom is not of this world—why then do they seek to support it by restrictive statutes and civil disqualifications? Thus are they compelled to act in contradiction to themselves: to preach up the unrestrained freedom of religious worship; and yet demand, as the price of it, the surrender of those privileges, which Britons deem most valuable: to denounce against us the vengeance of heaven, if we do not cull our religious faith from the Scriptures, and then very charitably to torment us with the scourge of civil disabilities, if we discover in the sacred volumes doctrines different from theirs.

But the principal argument on which the two Prelates rest their cause, is the right of self-defence. It is a duty, they tell us, which each one owes to himself, to guard against the most distant approach of whatever may be injurious. If the petition of the Catholics be granted, they may possibly acquire political power; and, if they acquire political power, they may possibly employ it for the subversion of the established church.* That the principle of self-defence will, in cases of real danger, authorize the adoption of lawful precautions, I am not disposed to deny; but these precautions must be founded in equity; they must be such as reason will justify, or necessity excuse. You are not to invade the rights or privileges of others on the bare suspicion of future danger, on the mere possibility of a possibility. You are not, as

* Bishop of Gloucester's Charge, p. 8. Bishop of Lincoln's *passim*.

has been justly said, "to cane a man at Lady-day, because he may affront you at Midsummer." You are not to punish the present generation of Catholics, because there is a possibility that their posterity may injure your posterity in ages yet to come.

Let us then have the courage to look more nearly at this mighty danger, this terrific spectre, which haunts so many orthodox imaginations. 1. In the good times admired and eulogized by the two Prelates, the danger was supposed to arise from attachment to the House of Stuart, from the acknowledgment of the Pope's temporal power, and from the adoption of the deposing and king-killing doctrines. It was to oppose these that the principal disabilities were created; it was to guard against the influence of these that the safe-guards, as they are called, of the establishment, were erected. But the family of Stuart is no more: and the obnoxious doctrines, we have proved it to the satisfaction of the legislature, have no partisans among us. The danger then no longer exists, nor do the Catholics of the present day belong to that description of persons, from whom it was understood to arise, and against whom the penal disabilities were originally enacted.

2. The Catholics of the United Kingdom have "faithfully promised to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of their power, the succession to the crown;" which succession, by an act entitled, "An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, is, and stands limited, to the Princess Sophia, Electress, and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body, *being Protestants.*" Such are the very terms of the oath which we have taken: and, as long as the established church is secure of having a Protestant prince for its head, it can be in no great danger of subversion.

The Irish Catholics have gone still farther; and, to silence the predictions of their adversaries, have "disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjured every intention to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establish-

ment in its stead: and have solemnly sworn that they will not exercise any privilege, to which they are, or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in that kingdom."

3. But, supposing for a moment, that men, who during the long lapse of so many years, have laboured under the severest disabilities, through their respect for the sanctity of an oath, should at last determine to perjure themselves, and violate the promises to which they are so solemnly pledged: supposing that, restored to an equal participation in the benefits of the constitution, they should undertake to subvert the established church, let us see what would be the obstacles which they would have to surmount. First, there would be the opposition of the king, the head of that church, with the immense patronage of the crown at his disposal. Secondly, there would be all the spiritual, and, with the exception of half-a-dozen Catholics, all the temporal peers. Thirdly, there would be the majority of the House of Commons, in the proportion of at least ten Protestants to one Catholic. Fourthly, there would be the voice of the people seconded by all the influence of the establishment. Now, by what species of magic are six Catholic peers to become the majority of the House of Lords, or is one Catholic commoner to outvote ten Protestants? By what miracle is the king to be induced to abandon the defence of that church, of which he is, by conviction, a member, and by law the supreme head? By what manœuvres are the Catholics so to blind the eyes of the people, and to deceive the confidence of the prince, as to worm themselves into the possession of all places of power and trust? The thing carries with itself its own refutation.

To an imagination distorted by fear pigmies appear giants, and mole hills swell into mountains. We are told, that if the disabilities are removed, then all the commanders of our forces, and all the members of the cabinet, and of the parliament, may by law be Catholics. Why so, at the present moment, they may be

all infidels. Yet, who ever thinks that they will be so? The legislator, instead of ranging through the whole sphere of possibilities, in search of that which, in all human probability, will never happen, should look back on the past, and thence derive instruction for the present. There was a time when the two churches of England and Scotland were engaged in struggles as violent, to say the least of them, as any in which the Protestants and Catholics have been engaged.* Ever since the union of the two kingdoms, sixteen members of that church have enjoyed seats in the higher, forty-five in the lower house; many have been commanders-in-chief both in the army and navy; numbers have been called to the privy council and the cabinet; and some have even been lord chancellors and keepers of the king's conscience. Now, what has been the consequence? Religious dissension has gradually died away; and the establishment in England has been rendered more secure than it could have been, had the members of the church of Scotland, by an intolerant policy, been totally excluded from power.†

From this supposed danger to the church, they pass to a supposed defect in our political integrity. They maintain, that "the exclusion of papists from all situations of authority, is sufficiently justified by their direct opposition to one of the fundamental principles of the ecclesiastical part of the constitution: that it is declared, in one of the thirty-nine articles, that the king is the head of the church, without being subject to any foreign power; ‡ that in the supreme government confided to the king, is combined spiritual with temporal power; that, on this ecclesiastical polity of the constitution, the avowed sentiments and open conduct

* Hume, Charles I.

† I might add, that no inconvenience was ever experienced by the established church, though Catholics continued to be members of parliament till the year 1678, and though there were about thirty Catholic peers, when the House of Lords did not amount to one-third of its present number.

‡ Bishop of Lincoln, p. 22.

of the Romanists infringe; and that, of course, their political integrity is defective.* To this reasoning I may be allowed to reply.

1. It appears very extraordinary, that men, who disclaim all intolerance, who abhor the very shadow of persecution, should yet wish to deprive others of civil privileges, because they reject one of the articles of their church.

2. If the Catholics do not admit "the spiritual power" of the king, they must share that reproach or misfortune with the whole church of Scotland, and all dissenters from the establishment both in England and Ireland. Now we do not find that these have ever, on that account, been condemned as deficient in political integrity. The members of the church of Scotland have long been admitted to situations of the greatest power and responsibility even in England. In Ireland, though the king is by law the head of the church, the test acts have no existence. There the dissenters, though equally numerous, are put on the same footing with the members of the establishment. It cannot be, then, that the non-admission of the king's spiritual supremacy must necessarily disqualify a British subject for the enjoyment of civil offices and distinctions.

3. After the pledges of allegiance which the Catholics have given, pledges more solemn and comprehensive, perhaps, than were ever received by any other government from its subjects, it is unfair to oppose their Claims with the hackneyed and ambiguous expression of "the constitution in church and state." Resolve it into its component parts, and it will be found to be an abbreviation, equivalent to "the constitution of the church and the constitution of the state." It cannot be contended that they are not two, but one and the same constitution. Every man knows that the manner in which the church is constituted, is different from that in which the state is constituted. In the church the legislative power is vested in the king and convocation: in the state it is vested in the king and

* Bishop of Gloucester, p. 19.

the two houses of parliament. In the church the executive power resides with the king, the prelates, and other ecclesiastical offices : in the state it resides with the king and the subordinate civil magistrates, who derive their authority from him. Now the prayer of the Catholic petition concerns not the constitution of the church. The Catholics seek not to deprive it of its head: they ask not to sit in the convocation: they claim not ecclesiastical preferments or jurisdiction. Whatever they ask regards the state only; and, in the state, they petition for nothing more than to be put on the same footing of eligibility with their Protestant countrymen.

But the Bishop of Gloucester has another argument in reserve, which is unnoticed by his episcopal brother. He appeals to authority in the defence of tests. Perhaps the reader has already anticipated a long chain of quotations from the inspired writings; a theological inquiry into the nature of the restraints, which the Saviour of man imposed, and recommended to the care of his apostles. No: the learned Prelate knew that it was in vain to search in the Scriptures for the supports and safeguards, which he considers necessary for the preservation of the scriptural Church of England. It is in the history of the idolatrous states of Athens and Rome that he looks for proofs.* A Christian bishop appeals in favour of his church to the practice of pagan nations! This is passing strange! Yet he ought to have known, that the instances which he has adduced, apply not to the present question. If the young men of Athens swore to preserve the sacred rites of their country; if the judges and archons bound themselves by oath, to observe the laws; if the Roman senators offered supplication to their deities before they took their seats; it was not with a view to the exclusion of any religious society. The theology of the ancients was unacquainted with restrictive or exclusive laws. It was made of more accommodating materials, and readily incorporated with itself the rites and worship of every nation.

* Charge, p. 31.

Since, however, the learned prelate is partial to ancient authority, I will recommend to his notice a passage in the works of a pagan, but eminent statesman. "Let those, who shall be called to the government, always observe the two precepts of Plato: the one, to refer whatever they do to the public good, regardless of their individual interests; the other, to make the whole body of the state the object of their care, lest, by confining it to a part, they neglect the remainder. For those who legislate for the interest of one part, and neglect the interest of the other, introduce the greatest of calamities into a state—sedition and discord."*

From the practice of ancient pagans the Bishop proceeds to that of modern infidels. He tells us, that the national assembly of France, amidst all their atrocities and phrensies, had sense enough to discern, that fidelity to the existing state was to be secured by the obligation of an oath.† It may be sufficient to reply, that we also have secured our fidelity to the state by the obligation of an oath.

Lastly, and this is still more extraordinary, he appeals to the United States of America, where the laws provide that all persons in power shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support the constitution.‡ But, by the same laws, it is also provided, that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." If, then, the authority of those who framed the American constitution be of any weight, let it be taken entire, and it will be found to contain the most pointed condemnation of all that for which the anti-catholics contend.

* Cicero de officiis, lib. i. sec. 25. Omnino qui reip. præfaturi sunt, duo Platonis præcepta teneant: unum, ut utilitatem civium sic tueantur, ut quæcumque agunt, ad eam referant, obliti commodorum suorum, alterum, ut totum corpus reip. curent, ne dum partem aliquam tueantur, reliquas deserant! Qui autem parti civium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam.

† Bishop of Gloucester, p. 33.

‡ Ibid.

There is one paragraph in the Charge of the Bishop of Gloucester, which, for his own character, I could wish he had never written, or had had the wisdom to suppress. He has filled three pages with an enumeration of Catholic persecutions; and that too, relying in several instances, on very doubtful and treacherous authorities.* But is he not aware, that the Catholics might, were they so disposed, produce as long a catalogue of Protestant persecutions? If he remind me of the fires of Smithfield, under the bloody Mary, I will call to his recollection, the gibbets and cauldrons of her mild and virgin sister Elizabeth. Were we to weigh blood against blood, I know not on which side the balance would lie: but this I know, that to introduce such matter into the consideration of so important a subject, is to appeal to the worst passions in the human breast; to preach religious animosity instead of Christian charity, and to set up the cry of prejudice in the place of sober and rational discussion.†

Neither can the Bishop of Lincoln claim the meed of greater moderation, when he attempts to delineate the conduct of the Catholics of Ireland. He boldly asserts, that “the concessions, which they obtained in

* Bishop of Gloucester, p. 24, 27.

† It may here be proper to notice a charge made by the Bishop of Gloucester against the petition of the English Catholics in 1811. It contained these words. “Thus the Catholic soldiers are incessantly exposed to the cruel alternative of either making a sacrifice of their religion, or incurring the extreme of legal punishment.” The right reverend Prelate, after shewing that fine and imprisonment are the only punishments ordered to be inflicted for the non-attendance at divine service, by the first section of the articles of war, continues: “How, in a solemn address to parliament, the petitioners could venture to arraign his majesty’s martial code, and bring against it an opprobrious accusation, not grounded on fact, must be left for themselves to explain.” p. 13. Perhaps the following passage from Mr. Butler’s Historical Account of the Laws against the Roman Catholics of England, may explain the nature of the accusation, and shew how far it was or was not grounded on fact. “By the same articles, sect. 2, art. 5, if the soldier shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer, (and, of course, if he shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer to attend divine service and sermon) he shall suffer death, or such other punishment, as by a general court-martial shall be awarded.” Hist. Account, p. 21.

1793, were made under the assurance that they would apply for no further indulgence: but, that the papists having thus acquired additional strength, and having, as they supposed, lulled the government into security by their promises and professions, formed new conspiracies, prepared for open rebellion, and invited the French to their assistance, for the purpose of accomplishing their real objects—separation from Great Britain and Roman Catholic ascendancy.”* That the right reverend Prelate is not one of your venal party writers, who will condescend to be the vehicles of slander, and sacrifice the character of an opponent to obtain an ephemeral success, I am ready to acknowledge: yet for what purpose he has introduced such inflammatory matter into his Charge, or on what authority he has made these accusations, so unfounded in themselves, and so irritating to the feelings of a whole people, I confess myself at a loss to conjecture. He begins by asserting, that an assurance was given in 1793, that the Catholics would not apply for any further indulgence. But, 1. By whom, or to whom was this assurance given? To these questions, no answer ever has, or can be returned.

2. About the close of the year 1792, and preparatory to the approaching session of parliament, the Catholics of Dublin published a declaration, in which, to a similar assertion, they make the following reply: “We were never guilty of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us; and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most

* Bishop of Lincoln's Charge, p. 26. While writing these lines, I learn from the public prints, that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, has ordered 7000 copies of the Bishop's Charge to be printed, for the instruction and edification of the poor. It is now 1800 years since a Society, for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was established under the auspices of the Redeemer of mankind. But the ancient was not like the modern society. They, indeed, attended to the instruction of the poor; but they were not aware, that Christian knowledge consisted in the science of theological politics, and the art of perpetuating religious disabilities.

practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations; but we never did, either in word or thought, and *we never will*, forego our hopes of emancipation."

3. In the address, which the Catholics presented to his majesty, and the petition which they offered to parliament in 1793, they distinctly prayed, that "the whole of their case might be taken into consideration, and that they might be restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution."

4. In 1794, the year after the concessions in their favour, the Catholics of Dublin published a resolution, that an humble application should be made to parliament in the ensuing session, for a total repeal of the penal and restrictive laws, still affecting the people of Ireland.

5. In January, 1795, the lord-lieutenant wrote to the English secretary of state, that the Catholic nobility and gentry were all in perfect unison with the committee: that they all decidedly looked to the same object, and that they were determined never to lose sight of it." These documents need no comment. They prove the contrary of the Prelate's assertion. They prove that the Catholics, even at the very time, openly avowed their expectation of further indulgence.

In 1795, petitions for total emancipation were presented to both houses of parliament, from almost every body of Catholics in Ireland. Still, however, if we may believe the right reverend Prelate, they were "lulling government into security, while they formed new conspiracies, prepared for open rebellion, and invited the French to their assistance." Now, from this statement, who would not conclude, that the men, who had hitherto been the leaders of the Catholics, were the very men who planned and organized the rebellion. Yet, it is well known that it originated from Protestants. The Union, so it was called, according to the report of the committee of the House of Lords, was, for more than a year, principally confined to the Protestant province of Ulster, and hardly

known in the Catholic provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. And the reason given by those, who had the best means of knowing, was, that the members of the Union were suspicious of the Catholics, whom they considered "as entertaining an habitual spirit for monarchy."* If it afterwards made greater progress among them, the cause is thus assigned on the same authority. "To the Armagh persecution is the Union of Ireland most exceedingly indebted. The persons and properties of the wretched Catholics of that country were exposed to the merciless attacks of an Orange faction, which was certainly, in many instances, uncontrolled by the justices of peace, and claimed to be supported in all by government. When these men found that illegal acts of magistrates were indemnified by occasional statutes, and the courts of justice shut against them by parliamentary barriers, they began to think they had no refuge but by joining the Union. We will here remark, once for all, what we most solemnly aver, that wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in the Catholic counties, it was uniformly observed, that the number of united Irishmen increased most astonishingly. The alarm which an Orange lodge excited among the Catholics, made them look for refuge by joining together in the united system; and, as their number was always greater than that of bigoted Protestants, our harvest was tenfold.†

But, if multitudes of the lower classes were thus inveigled by artifice on the one side, or driven by terror on the other, to join the rebels, yet the higher classes, the only persons whom the Bishop can suppose to have given assurance to government, and thus to have lulled it into security, remained stedfastly loyal.‡

* Memoir of the Origin and Progress of the Irish Union, p. 3. It was composed and delivered to government by the chief of the rebels in confinement.

† Memoir of the Origin and Progress of the Irish Union, p. 5.

‡ "You have discovered, that, with the single exception of Dr. M'Nevin, who appears to have been perfectly indifferent about his religion, every prominent individual, in the various higher departments of the rebels, was either a Protestant or a Presbyterian. And that, with

In the beginning of May, 1798, they published an address to their deluded brethren, warning them of their danger, and exhorting them to a peaceable and loyal conduct. On the 23d of the same month, the rebellion broke out; and, on the 30th, the Catholic nobility, gentry, and clergy, presented an address, with upwards of two thousand signatures, to the lord-lieutenant, expressive of their loyalty, and of their “determination, anxious as they were to enjoy, free of every restriction, the full benefit of the constitution; to prefer their present state to that of removing those restrictions by means of foreign invasion, or by any other step inconsistent with the law of the land.” At the same time the Catholic prelates displayed their loyalty in every shape, by exhortations, remonstrances, pastoral letters, and by ordering the sentence of excommunication against all rebels to be read and enforced at each mass, on the next Sunday after the receipt of it.* If these instances do not satisfy the Bishop of Lincoln, let him listen to the testimony of Mr. Pitt, who, repeatedly, and in particular in the debate on the Union, declared, that the rebellion in Ireland could not be considered as a Catholic rebellion; and to that of Mr. Perceval, who, in speaking on the Catholic question in 1805, made the same declaration, observing, that no greater number of Catholics were to be found in the rebellion, than might be expected in a country, whose population was, in a great proportion, Catholic.

With equal justice does the right reverend Prelate inform us, that “the titular Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, has declared the decisions of general coun-

“the same exception, not a single individual of those Roman Catholics, who had advocated the political claims of their body in the most strenuous, vehement, and menacing manner, in the meetings which took place antecedently to the rebellion, appears to have been concerned in the latter.” P. 11. of Address to the Protestant Noblemen, &c. of the County of Cork, by Thomas Newenham, Esq. Cork, 1809.

* See the “Pastoral Remonstrances, &c. of the Irish Catholic Prelates, both before and during the rebellion;” re-published by Keating and Co. London.

cils to be of infallible authority ; and has quoted, with marked approbation, the fourth council of Lateran ; the decrees of which enjoin the utter extirpation of all heretics, (that is, of all Christians differing from the church of Rome) and the dethronement of heretical sovereigns ; and declare, that all engagements entered into with heretics, though sanctioned by oath, are nullities in themselves.”* On this passage the most charitable construction which can be put, is, that the learned Prelate, through inadvertence, or confidence in the representations of others, has misunderstood both the work of Dr. Troy, to which he alludes, and the canons of the council of Lateran, which he describes.† As for Dr. Troy, his character places him far above the reach of such insinuations. The extirpation of heretics, dethronement of sovereigns, and violation of oaths, have little affinity with that known and approved loyalty, which he has displayed on the most trying occasions. If he spoke with approbation of the council of Lateran, that approbation was confined to its dogmatical decisions : the canons described by his right reverend accuser, did any such in reality exist, are on temporal matters ; and of consequence, as Dr. Troy and every Catholic knows, can be of no force, till they are accepted by the government of each particular state.

* Bishop of Lincoln, p. 25.

† Those canons I shall have occasion to notice more particularly in my review of Lord Kenyon's pamphlet, and to it I must refer the reader, begging him to bear in his recollection the passage, which I have just transcribed from the Bishop of Lincoln's Charge. As a proof “ that the doctrines and principles of papists have undergone no alteration, (I conceive those doctrines are meant which we have disclaimed) the learned Prelate transcribes the last sentence from Dr. de la Hogue's Treatise on General Councils. The same passage, for the same purpose, was quoted with triumph by the late Mr. Percival in the debate of last year ; but, when he had considered the contents of the work, as pointed out to him by Sir J. Cox Hippisley, he candidly acknowledged his mistake. It will not, perhaps, be too much to expect a similar acknowledgment from the candour of the Bishop of Lincoln.”—See p. 7, of the supplementary notes to the substance of the speech of Sir J. C. Hippisley on the 24th April, 1812. The researches and exertions of that gentleman, in our cause, demand the gratitude of every Catholic.

The Bishop of Lincoln cannot believe that "papists would be true and faithful subjects to the sovereign, when they deny him even a negative on the appointment to bishoprics within his own dominions; and require, that the influence of the popish clergy, over their people, should flow from a foreign source, through channels, over which the civil and ecclesiastical head of these kingdoms is to have no controul, no cheek, no interference."* It may be sufficient to reply, that, if the Catholic clergy abuse the influence attributed to them, the king possesses as much controul over them as over any other description of men within the United Kingdom. They are equally amenable to the laws. The only real advantage which could result from a negative, on the appointment of Catholic bishops, would be the quieting of the apprehensions of some misinformed but well-meaning Protestants. A right to it the government cannot claim: unless it also claim a right to a negative on the appointment of dissenting pastors and preachers, of Jewish priests, and Moravian superiors. If there were a time, when the Irish prelates seemed disposed to allow it, that time of confidence has been suffered to pass by. The refusal of justice, as usually happens, has generated distrust. Since that period the Catholics of Ireland have experienced the most bitter disappointments: they have seen measures adopted against them, which they considered as insulting and oppressive; and have wisely hesitated to resign the government of their church into the hands of men, who have declared themselves its enemies, and whose partisans make it their object to cover it with calumny and abuse.

From the Bishop of Lincoln I must once more return to the Bishop of Gloucester. That prelate concludes his Charge with copious extracts from Catholic books of devotion, on which he professes to make no comment. They have often before been collected by Protestant controvertists, and as often have been defended by the Catholic apologists. But the inference

* Bishop of Lincoln, p. 23.

which the prelate draws from them, after all he has said against persecution and in favour of toleration, has, I confess, surprised me. He appeals to his orthodox readers, whether, “in their conscience, they ought to wish, that to the adoption of Romanist doctrines, and Romanist worship, should be given greater encouragement by the legislature.”* Are then our temporal rights to be refused, lest the concession should be deemed an encouragement to our religious worship? For doctrines, merely religious, we are answerable to God alone. With them the state has no concern. To subject a man to civil disabilities for political delinquency, is certainly justifiable; but to perpetuate those disabilities because he entertains religious opinions, which you deem erroneous, is nothing less than persecution. Whether we are political delinquents, or not, has been discussed in the preceding pages; but, if we are not, it is an act of justice to restore to us our political privileges. Conscience must plead, not against us, but in our behalf.

However, whether the concession of our Claims be deemed a matter of justice or of favour, in no light can it be considered as “an encouragement given to our doctrine.” If it be a favour, it is a favour granted to us, not as Catholics, but as citizens; not with a view to the dissemination of our religious opinions, but to reward our services in the cause of our country, and to bind us still more strongly to the constitution, by admitting us to an equal participation in its benefits. When the state “encourages” a particular creed, it does not merely remove unnecessary disabilities: it makes it the established religion; it bestows on it distinctions, wealth, and patronage. This it has done for the church in which the learned Prelate holds so exalted a station; and with this he ought to be satisfied. We ask not for such “encouragement.” We desire not even the crumbs that fall from the rich man’s table. The object of the Catholic petitions is the removal of penalties and disabilities. If they are in-

* Bishop of Gloucester, p. 49, 50.

flicted for political delinquency, we plead that we are not guilty: if for supposed doctrinal errors, we plead the rights of conscience, and invoke the aid of justice, religion, and humanity.

In conclusion, I may be allowed to call an historical fact to the recollection of the two prelates. There was a time, when the spiritual peers had been, during a long period, excluded from the House of Lords. In 1661, a motion was made to restore them to their seats, and six and twenty Catholic peers voted in their favour. Since that period, the Catholic peers have experienced a similar exclusion. They are now reduced to six, the descendants of some of those very noblemen, who gave their votes in behalf of the Protestant prelates. These now, in their turn, petition to be restored to the seats of their ancestors; and such is the liberality of the present times, that it is on the bishops' bench that they find the most eager and most determined of their opponents!*

* There are, however, exceptions: few indeed, but, on that account the more entitled to our gratitude. Long will the name of the Bishop of Norwich be cherished in the remembrance of his Catholic brethren.

Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

WHILE I was employed in writing the preceding pages, a new tract, from the pen of the Bishop of Gloucester, was published, under the title of a "Protestant Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Somers." As it may be considered in the light of a supplement to the Charge, I shall make no apology for offering a few remarks on certain passages in it.

In a speech, worthy a descendant from the first Lord Somers, the noble baron had maintained, that the Catholic Claims are founded in justice and right. On this subject the right reverend Prelate joins issue with his lordship, and contends, "that no subject in a

free state can have a *right* to legislate for others, unless it originate in some law recognised by the constitution. And where," he asks, "is the law, which gives to Catholics, who will not qualify, the positive right of voting in parliament.* Now, confining myself to the claim of *eligibility* to sit and vote in parliament, I may, in my turn, ask, where is the law which gives this eligibility to Protestants? There is none. It is the common right of the subject. It was not created after the Reformation in favour of the established church: it is coeval with the constitution, given for civil not for religious purposes, and equally existing whether the subject have any religion or none. In the 30th of Charles II. an act was passed suspending this right in the persons of Catholics. Repeal that act, and there will be nothing to prevent them from sitting and voting again in parliament. Yet, how could that be, if it were not the common right of the subject? The Bishop of Gloucester, indeed, says, that "the right does not exist; because the point at variance between him and the noble lord, is, whether or not the legislature shall enact a law conferring such a positive right."† But, with due submission, I will observe, that the learned Prelate is mistaken; and, that the real point is, whether or not the legislature shall repeal a law suspending that right.

It is indeed true, that the legislature may append to the possession of it, certain conditions: but the nature of a free constitution requires, that these should trench, as little as may be, on the liberties and rights of the subject; that they should not be tests of religious opinions, but of civil qualifications; that they should be such as are calculated to fit a man for the office of a legislator, not for a seat in the convocation. Thus it is required, that every knight of a shire shall possess an estate of six hundred, every citizen and burghess of three hundred pounds per annum: but, it may be observed, that these qualifications are of a civil nature, and do not amount to a perpetual exclusion; since each

* Prot. Letter, p. 9.

† Ib. p. 10.

individual, by his industry and abilities, may hope to acquire the necessary property. But, if you exact from the Catholic, that he shall moreover declare his own worship to be idolatrous, this qualification is of a nature entirely religious; and, should he be sincere in his belief, shuts the door for ever to all his hopes and pretensions. That the legislature has the *power* to do this, we both know and feel; that it has the *right* to do it, we may be allowed to doubt, unless we allow to it also the right to persecute.

To the affirmation of Lord Somers, that such disqualifications are unnecessary, the Bishop of Gloucester replies, by asserting his conviction of their necessity. May I refer the learned Prelate to an authority to which it is even his duty to bow: to the act of Union between the two kingdoms of England and Ireland? That act does not consider the disqualifications as necessary. It clearly intimates that they are only provisionary and temporary; and that the time may come, in which it will be expedient to remove them. In the fourth article it enacts, that the members of both houses “shall, *until the parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide*, take the oaths, make and subscribe the declaration, &c. now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed.” I am sensible that an ingenious wrangler may contrive to give to this clause a different meaning; but I feel confident that the unprejudiced reader will be of my opinion. Why else were these words inserted: “until the parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide?”—That it was then in the contemplation of both legislatures to remove the present tests, and substitute others, can hardly be doubted, when we look to the conduct of Mr. Pitt, the great framer of the Union, both before and after the passing of this act. Before, he most certainly held out such expectations to the Catholics of Ireland, as an inducement to them to lend their assistance to the measure: after, he always professed himself friendly to their cause; and if he consented to retain for awhile the present tests, it was not that he believed them to be intrinsically necessary,

but that he conceived their abolition would not be attended with the desired effect, if it were not passed with unanimity.

It is rather amusing to observe how kindly the right reverend Prelate, after opposing all our Claims, attempts to console us under our disappointment. He reads us a long lecture on the principle of disqualification. It pervades, he tells us, every department in human life. Even parliamentary members of one house cannot at the same time be members of the other; and whoever in the four professions, the army, navy, law, and church, continues to pursue one line, is disqualified for holding rank in the other three.* This may be very charitable in the Bishop of Gloucester; but few persons, I suspect, will be convinced by his reasoning. As well might you attempt to convince a man, that he should let you knock him on the head, by demonstrating to him, that since he cannot stand in two places at once, he ought to stand in none. The Catholic claims not to sit in both houses of parliament at the same time; but he thinks this no reason why he should not, as well as the Protestant, be eligible to sit in one. He does not demand to hold rank in all the four professions at once; but, if he possess any of the feelings of human nature, he must wish to enjoy the same chance as his Protestant neighbour, of arriving at civil distinction in one out of three. Disqualifications, when they arise out of the nature of things, or only lead to laudable exertion, may be borne with cheerfulness: but, when they are founded in religious doctrines; when they tend to degrade a man in the comparison with his neighbours, they cannot be viewed without disapprobation, nor endured without complaint.

In his Charge the right reverend Prelate had spoken with some severity of the Catholics of Ireland. In his Letter he passes a high eulogium on their character. But, whether he praise or censure, he is equally ad-

* Page 89. The other disqualifications mentioned by the learned Prelate are such, as every man may hope by his exertions to remove.

verse to their claims. He entreats them to consider, that, being incorporated into the whole body of British subjects, they bear to the population of the British empire the proportion only of four millions to twelve; and, that it is not reasonable, that the interests of four millions should supersede what is owing to twelve millions.* I might, perhaps, object to this statement of numbers; I might observe that the twelve millions include all religionists, of every sect, with the exception of the Catholics; that of these, many equally reject the king's supremacy with us, and many are far more adverse to the constitution of the church than we are. I might remark, that it is not very decorous, first to induce the Catholics to cooperate in carrying the great measure of the Union, by holding out to them expectations of emancipation, and then to tell them, that they must surrender all hopes of it, because, by the Union, they are become the minority. But, what surprises me the most, is, the fearful declaration of the right reverend Prelate, that the interests of the four millions, and of the twelve millions, are so incompatible, that you cannot provide for the one without abandoning the other. There are, however, other legislators, who venture to hope better things; who are persuaded, that you may grant to the Catholic what he asks, without endangering to the Protestant the possession of what he enjoys; that, by allowing the four millions to see some of their communion seated in the legislature, you do not take from the twelve millions that ascendancy which, from their numbers, they ought to possess; and that, by giving to one-fourth of the population its due weight in the state, you do not diminish, but add to the resources and strength of the empire. The four millions must be mad, indeed, if, after obtaining the object of their wishes, they were to engage in a Quixotic contest for superiority, in which they must necessarily succumb: and the twelve millions must be actuated by a very weak and over-cautious policy, if, through

fear of such an imaginary project, they decline to do, what both justice and expediency require.

It would be indecorous and presumptuous in me to offer any remarks on the duty of Protestant clergymen; and, for that reason, I shall abstain from making any comment on the forced and intolerant construction, which the Bishop of Gloucester has put on the promise made by them at their ordination. To those, who think the Catholic demands founded on right or expediency, his arguments will appear inconclusive: to others, it matters little whether they appear so or not. But, in treating that subject, and indeed every other subject connected with the question, the right reverend Prelate triumphantly employs an expression, which, to say the best of it, must be addressed to the passions, not to the judgment of his readers. Why should "Catholics legislate for Protestants?"* Were I to ask why bishops should legislate for laymen, I should probably be told, that there is a fallacy in the question; that the legislative power does not reside in the bench of bishops; that they are only a part of one of the houses of parliament; and that whatever influence they possess as clergymen, is overbalanced by the greater number of lay-members. And may not I return a similar answer to the question put by the Bishop of Gloucester? Were the Catholics admitted to sit in parliament, they would not be the legislature; the power of enacting laws would still be vested in the three estates; bills must still be passed by the majority in both houses, in each of which they would form the minority, and a small minority too; and, whatever might be their joint influence, as belonging to the same church, it would be more than overbalanced by the great numerical superiority of those, who profess different religious principles. But why must it be supposed, that because men differ in faith, their interests and their conduct must be different? Were the Catholic permitted to vote in parliament, he would vote there, like his Protestant colleague, not as

* Pages 8, 19, 35, 38, 49, &c.

a religionist, but as a British senator; and his object would be, not the exaltation or depression of this or that church, but the common welfare, the general prosperity of the United Kingdom.

The right reverend Prelate, in company with the Bishop of St. Davids, has made a voyage to the Baltic, in search of an instance of religious disqualification. The Swedes, it seems, would not admit Bernadotte as crown prince till he had conformed to the Lutheran church.* Nothing can be less applicable to the present question. What had Bernadotte to do with Sweden? He was not a native; he had no property there; he had no claim to the crown. When they offered him the succession, they were at liberty to add what conditions they pleased, and he was equally at liberty to accept or refuse. By refusing, he would lose nothing of what he previously possessed. But the Catholics are British subjects. They contribute their share to all the burthens of the state. They fight in your army and navy. They were in possession of the same rights and privileges as their Protestant countrymen: and you took these rights and privileges from them, on account of their religious creed. Certainly there is no comparison between the two cases. Instead of Sweden, then let us look at Hungary, in which the Catholics were to the Protestants what the Protestants are to the Catholics in this empire. There, every religious distinction was not long ago abolished; and the consequence of the abolition has been, the augmentation of national strength and national prosperity.

* Page 111.

REVIEW
OF THE
OBSERVATIONS ON THE
CATHOLIC QUESTION,
BY THE
RIGHT HON. LORD KENYON.

IN his Letter to Lord Somers, the Bishop of Gloucester recommends to the notice of his readers, "the Observations on the Catholic Question, by Lord Kenyon."—"They demonstrate," he tells us, "that preponderance of argument drawn from law, fact, and expediency, neither is on the Catholic side of the question, nor can it be, till law and fact are totally altered."* It may be, that men, anxious to obtain different results, cannot see the same object in the same light: this, at least, I am free to affirm, that the inference which I drew from the perusal of Lord Kenyon's publication, was directly the reverse of that drawn by the right reverend Prelate. To me, it ap-

* *Protest. Letter*, p. 138.

pears, that the reasoning of the noble lord is built upon premises generally doubtful, and often imaginary: nor will his lordship's candour be offended, if, while I pass by the subjects already noticed in the preceding pages, I point out the instances in which I conceive he has been misled, or misinformed.

One striking feature in the publication of the noble lord, is, the boldness with which he plunges into the sea of theological controversy. After the declarations which we have made, and the oaths which we have taken, it had been hoped that no doubt could remain on any liberal mind, of our rejection of the dangerous principles imputed to Catholics by the Protestants of former ages. In the face, however, of these oaths and declarations, Lord Kenyon comes forward to renew the discussion. There is some confusion in the order in which he has marshalled his arguments: but he openly avows his own conviction, and undertakes to prove to the conviction of his readers, that the temporal superiority of the pope, and the non-observance of faith with heretics, always *were*, and still *are*, the accredited doctrines of the Roman Catholic church.*

Before I reply to his lordship's reasoning, I may be allowed to observe, that the first part of his division is entirely superfluous. What men may have thought in past ages has no reference to the present question. It is not to the creed of the dead, but of the living, that the legislature should turn its attention. If our fathers admitted erroneous principles, let them answer for it: we are not to be punished for the opinions of other men. Should then the noble lord succeed better

* To the opinion of Lord Kenyon I may be allowed to oppose that of the noble earl, who now presides in his majesty's councils. "I have heard allusions made this night to doctrines, which I do hope no man now believes the Catholics to entertain: nor is there any ground for an opinion, that the question is opposed under any such pretence. The explanations that have been given on this head, so far as I know, *are completely satisfactory*; and the question, as it now stands, is much more narrowed than it was on any former discussion."—Speech of the Earl of Liverpool on the Debate in 1810, published by Keating, Brown, and Keating, &c.

than those who have preceded him in this career, what will be the consequence? He may lead us to believe, that, on these subjects, former Catholics thought differently from those of the present day; but he will never induce us to admit, as true, the doctrines which we have solemnly disavowed.

Let it not, however, be conceived, that I decline to meet the noble lord, even on his own ground. For this it will not be necessary to deny, that some popes have advanced unfounded claims to temporal superiority, or that some councils have framed regulations, which seem to exceed the limits of spiritual authority. It is not from the actions of popes, nor from decretals inserted in the body of the canon law, nor from synodical regulations on temporal matters, but from dogmatical decisions alone, that Catholics draw the articles of their church. If temporal pretensions were set up in former ages, they were always opposed, and, in general, successfully, by the Catholics themselves: a convincing proof that they formed no part of the Catholic creed. They grew, in fact, out of the state of Europe at the time; they both rose and fell with the prevalence of the feudal system.—But, let us proceed to the instances which the noble lord has adduced in proof of his assertion.

I. When the Catholic clergy of the United Kingdom embraced the opportunity afforded them by the legislature, of swearing allegiance to his majesty, they conceived that they had discharged a duty imposed on them by their religion, no less than by the laws. But Lord Kenyon comes forward to instruct their ignorance. He informs them, that to bind themselves to the throne of an earthly monarch, is to debase the sanctity of their character; and that oaths of fidelity to temporal princes were forbidden by the great council of Lateran, no less than six hundred years ago. This prohibition, according to his lordship, was conveyed in the following words: “Some seculars have attempted to usurp too far upon the sacred rights, when they have required ecclesiastics, *who have nothing temporal in their character*, to take an oath of

fidelity. We therefore prohibit, by the authority of a sacred council, all such priests from taking oaths to secular authorities in such manner.”* This is a most happy specimen of the art of translation. By the magic touch of the pen, a temporal tenure is converted into a spiritual character; a regulation confined to a particular class is extended to the great body of the clergy; and perpetual force is given to what was originally designed as a temporary provision against the anarchy and violence of the times. Is the noble lord ignorant, that, for centuries after the council of Lateran, even down to the present day, the Catholic prelates, in every Catholic kingdom, have been accustomed to swear fealty, and to do homage for their temporalities to the sovereign? Or, is he prepared to maintain, that the words “*nihil temporale detinentes ab eis,*” can mean, “who have nothing temporal in their character?” The fact is, that the regulation in question was in perfect conformity with the feudal law at that period: it went to restrain an abuse, no less prejudicial to the rights of the sovereign, than to the interests of the church; to prevent powerful and factious barons from compelling clergymen to swear fealty to them, though they held no temporal possessions of them, and consequently were not their vassals. I will add a translation of the canon in question, and request the reader to compare it with the version of the noble lord. “Certain laymen attempt to usurp too much on the divine right, when they compel ecclesiastics, *holding no temporalities of them,* to swear fealty to them. Wherefore, since, according to the apostle, the servant stands or falls to his master, we forbid, by authority of the sacred council, that such clergymen should be compelled to take such oaths to secular persons.”*

2. “It is added,” the noble lord continues, “by Innocent III. that in case of an oath being taken, as a security against conspiracy, they, (the clergy I presume) were not so bound by that oath, but that they

* L'ab. Conc. Tom. 11. par. 1. p. 191.

might stand against the prince (to whom they had so sworn) in the *lawful* defence of the rights and honours of the church, and their own."* Of this translation I cannot complain; for I know not whence the passage is taken, nor has his lordship referred to the original. But, supposing it to be accurate, I see not on what ground he can condemn it. If he do, he must be accustomed to measure right and wrong by a very arbitrary, though, perhaps, convenient standard; not by the nature of the action, but the faith of the actor. What is virtue in the Protestant will become vice in the Catholic. In the preceding pages of his publication, he has eulogized in the highest strain of panegyric the authors of the Revolution in 1688. Yet, on what other principle did they act than this, which he here attributes to Innocent III. and appears to stigmatize, as derogatory from the rights of sovereigns. They had taken oaths of allegiance to James II. Yet were they not justified in "standing against the prince, to whom they had so sworn, in the lawful defence of the rights and honours of the church and their own?" Why then should a pope be condemned for deciding that to be lawful at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which is still considered to have been a sacred duty in Protestants at the close of the seventeenth?

3. We are next told, that, "in the Great Lateran council, in 1215, (it is the same as was mentioned before) it was declared, that the pope may depose kings, absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and give away their kingdoms.† I will not here inquire whether the canons attributed to that council were actually published by it. It is sufficient for my purpose that the canon, to which the noble lord alludes, (he cites none) contains not a single word respecting the transfer of kingdoms, the deposition of kings, or the absolution of their subjects from the allegiance owing to them. To comprehend the true import of any law, we must attend to the circumstances in which it was framed, and to the object which it had in view. The canon

* Observations, p. 38.

† Ib. p. 83.

in question was designed to put down the Albigenses. Of the moral and political tendency of the doctrines of that sect I shall say nothing, that I may not displease those Protestants, who claim for their church the honour of being descended from them. For my argument, it is sufficient to observe, that they were then universally considered (whether deservedly, or not, I need not inquire) in much the same light as we, of late years, have been accustomed to consider the jacobins of France. Against them, both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities thought it their duty to unite; and, by their joint consent, the third canon of the council of Lateran was framed. But the reader will observe, that its object was only fees, and the lords of fees; it regarded not kingdoms and sovereigns, as the noble peer informs us. It enacts, "that if the lord of a fee patronize the Albigenses, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and the bishops of the province; that if he does not amend within twelve months, his contumacy shall be denounced to the pope, who shall declare his vassals freed from their oaths of fealty, and shall expose his land to be occupied by others.*" But, it may still be asked, whether this canon, though it did not affect the crowns of sovereigns, were not out of the sphere of the spiritual power. It must be acknowledged that it was: and, if it had rested on the sole authority of the pope and prelates, it would have remained a dead letter in every kingdom of Europe. But it was supported by the concurrent sanction of the civil power. For the councils of this period were not confined to ecclesiastics alone: they were attended by princes and barons; they were, in a manner, as has been said, general parliaments of Christendom; and, in them, important subjects of a mixed nature were satisfactorily decided

* If Lord Kenyon conceive, that in the last line of the canon, *eadem lege servatâ quoad eos, qui non habent dominos principales*, by those who have no principal lords, are meant sovereigns, the writers on the feudal law will shew him his mistake. They were the possessors of frank-allodial property; who, though subject to the jurisdiction of the sovereign did not hold of him, or any other, as the principal lord of the soil.

by the joint approbation of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. For this very purpose, the present council of Lateran was attended by ambassadors from the Emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the Kings of England, France, Arragon, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus: nor could its regulations, as far as they regarded temporal matters, be put in execution in any kingdom, without the concurrence of the sovereign.

Should it be asked, why it was given to the pope to absolve the tenants of these lords from their fealty, I answer, that it arose, not from any divine right inherent in him as the head of the church, but from the jurisprudence of the age. At that time, the cognizance of heresy, perjury, and breach of faith, was confined by law to the ecclesiastical courts, in the same manner as matrimonial causes are now in England. Hence it happened, that causes of this description, particularly when they were of great moment, and affected powerful interests, were frequently carried before the pope as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal.* Thus we find that the Emperor Frederic II. when, at the request of Pope Honorius, he inserted this very canon in the constitutions of the empire, omitted the

* We have the advantage of knowing, from Innocent himself, on what ground he conceived himself authorised to exercise occasionally temporal power. Philip of France was desirous to legitimate his children by Agnes of Morania; but, fearing lest it might be objected, that no father could legitimate his own offspring, not born in lawful wedlock, he applied to the pope. Innocent's account of the matter is curious and instructive. *Cum rex superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscat, sine juris alterius læsione in eo se jurisdictioni nostræ subicere potuit, in quo videretur aliquibus, quod per seipsum, non tanquam pater cum filiis, sed tanquam princeps cum subditis potuit dispensare—Regi igitur gratiam fecimus requisiti,—quod non solum in ecclesiæ patrimonio, super quo plenam in temporalibus gerimus potestatem, verum etiam in aliis regionibus, certis causis inspectis, temporalem jurisdictionem casualiter exercemus. Non quod alieno juri præjudicare velimus, vel potestatem nobis indebitam usurpare, cum non ignoremus Christum in evangelio respondisse: redite quæ sunt cæsaris, cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei, Dio. Propter quod postulatus ut hæreditatem divideret inter duos; quis, inquit constituit me judicem inter vos. Sed quia in Deuteronomio continetur: si difficile et ambiguum apud te judicium esse perspexeris,—surge et ascende ad locum quem elegit dominus deus tuus, &c. Lib. v. Epist. 12. Innocent III.*

two clauses respecting the sentence of excommunication and oaths of fealty, as belonging to the ecclesiastical courts; but retained the remainder, with this very important alteration; that he reserved to himself what the council had given to the pope, the power of disposing of the forfeited fees:* so true it is, that, even at that very time, the canon in question was not conceived to appertain to our doctrine, but might be admitted, or rejected, or new-modelled, according to the will of the temporal authorities.

4. “ In the same council,” continues the noble lord, (which is also confirmed by the council of Trent) “ it is declared, all are excommunicated, of what degree soever, whether regal, imperial, &c. who impose any tax on ecclesiastics, without express license from the pope, (even though they may be willing to pay it,) and this immunity is declared to be established by the ordinance of God, and the sanctions of the canons.† The canon, which is here described, is the forty-sixth; and were it of the very import, of which his lordship conceives it to be, I should answer, that it regarded temporal concerns; and, therefore, formed no part of our creed. But, I owe it to the truth, to observe, that it bears no resemblance to the description which has been given of it. It is not that I would impute these mistakes directly to the noble lord. I rather believe, that, not being conversant with such subjects himself, he has trusted to the accuracy of some theological friend, who has most cruelly deceived his confidence. 1. The canon, in question, does not pronounce excommunication against either kings or emperors. It does not even mention them. The excommunication is directed against mayors, boroughreeves, and the other

* Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et admonitus ab ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hæretica pravitate post annum a tempore monitionis elapsam, terram ipsius *exponimus* Catholicis occupandum—salvo jure domini principalis, dummodo super hoc nullum præstet obstaculum, nec aliquod impedimentum opponat. Eadem nihilominus lege observata contra eos, qui non habent dominos principales. Apud Goldast. Const. Imper. Tom. ii. p. 295.

† Observations, p. 38.

annual magistrates of towns and cities. 2. It does not forbid taxes to be imposed on ecclesiastics, in the sense which we now attach to such words; it only observes, that the council of Lateran* had excommunicated those municipal officers, who aggrieved churches and churchmen, by tollages, collections, and other exactions." 3. It does not say, that this immunity was established "by the ordinance of God, and the sanction of the canons." It assigns not its origin. If it had, it would, probably, have stated, that churches were anciently founded with an exemption from the feudal services; and that churchmen were permitted, by the laws, to tax themselves separately, as was then the privilege of every distinct order of men, the military tenants, the burghers, and the merchants, in all the kingdoms of Europe.

As for the council of Trent, I know not whether his lordship means to say, that it confirmed the council, or only this particular canon of the council of Lateran. Evident, however, it must be, that it could not confirm the canon, as described by the noble lord; because, in that state, it did not exist.—Yet, we may discover, in the proceedings of the council of Trent, some of the materials, out of which the pretended canon has been fabricated. In the twenty-fifth session, cap. xx. the synod expressed a hope, that the secular princes would maintain "the liberty of the church (*immunitatem*), which had been established by the ordinance of God, and the sanction of the canons," then confirmed, in general words, the canons formerly made in its behalf; and, lastly, *admonished* the emperor, the kings, &c. not to permit it to be invaded by the inferior magistrates. Thus, by working up some of

* This expression, which supposes the council of Lateran to have been held already, forms one of the reasons why many writers, both Protestant and Catholic, deny these canons to be the real canons of that council, and conceive that they were first attributed to it by some ignorant copyist. Canons of spurious or doubtful authority are no part of our creed. But I have not availed myself of this answer. Let our adversaries suppose them genuine; they will still prove,

Telum imbelle sine ictu.

these expressions with some expressions of the council of Lateran, and adding a few embellishments from an orthodox imagination, has been produced this wonderful compound, which we have just admired.

The noble lord having, as he conceives, proved, by the preceding quotations, that these are the old and established doctrines of the church of Rome, informs us, also, "that they are, necessarily, received as genuine, and considered as obligatory, by every Roman Catholic."* To this assertion, so confidently made, I may, I trust without offence, as confidently reply, that they are not received as genuine, nor considered as obligatory, by any Roman Catholic.

His lordship urges, "that the doctrines of any church, as such, can be known so as to be relied upon, only by its articles and canons."† Be it so: at least those articles and canons must be such as are admitted and held by that church. Now the documents adduced by the noble lord are unfortunately of a very different description. The authenticity of some, the meaning of others, and the authority of all, is disputed, or denied.

* Observations, p. 39.—I observe that his lordship appears ignorant of the disavowals of such doctrines by the foreign universities. Indeed, an attempt has been made to impeach their authority. If we may believe a letter from Mr. Le Mesurier, inserted in several of the public prints, since the year 1807, in which he demonstrated, in the "Sequel to the Serious Examination," that their answers were entitled to no credit, both the Catholics and Sir J. C. Hippisley, though they have repeatedly published these documents, have never dared to publish them in any but a mutilated form.—The characters, both of the honourable baronet and of the Catholic publishers, are, I trust, too firmly established to be shaken by the surmises of Mr. Le Mesurier. The "Sequel" I have attentively perused, and think it more like anything than a demonstration. Even admitting the accuracy of the facts, from which Mr. Le Mesurier argues (this is more than he can justly claim), the only inference that can be legitimately deduced, is, that he is better acquainted with the ancient history of those universities than their members were in 1788. It will never follow, that they could be ignorant of their own sentiments, or of the accredited doctrine of their respective bodies. Because the university of Oxford once published the celebrated decree respecting passive obedience, will it necessarily follow, that such is the doctrine of Mr. Le Mesurier and its other members at the present day?

† Ibid.

“ But have the Romanists in Great Britain,” we are asked, “ in one single instance, produced an authenticated repeal and disavowal of such tenets, which has been authorised by the pope, by the church, by general councils, or by their own unanimous vote and recantation.”* I answer, that to require the Catholic church to repeal and disavow tenets, which she does not hold, is to require more than can be reasonably expected. It must certainly be sufficient that, to satisfy the prejudices of Protestants, every objectionable tenet has been disavowed upon oath, by the Catholics of the United Kingdom. This has been done in the manner devised by the legislature; and, of course, in a manner deemed satisfactory by the highest authority in the empire. It has been done publicly in the face of the world; and consequently must have come to the knowledge of the Bishop of Rome, and the foreign prelates in communion with him. Had then the disavowal been contrary to our established doctrine, it must long ago have been censured, and those who made it must have been considered as heterodox. Whoever is acquainted with the discipline of the Catholic church, knows that it could not have been otherwise. The silence, therefore, of all foreign Catholic prelates, and their continuing to communicate with us in the same manner as formerly, are a convincing proof that the disavowed doctrines belonged not to the Catholic creed. But on this subject, I can refer the noble lord to a greater authority than my own; to the address of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, assembled in Dublin, Feb. 26th, 1810. The third and fourth of their resolutions are conceived in the following terms:

“ 3. Resolved, that the oath of allegiance, which, under the provisions of an Irish act of parliament, enacted in that behalf, is tendered to, and taken by his majesty’s Irish Roman Catholic subjects, was agreed to and approved by all the R. C. bishops in Ireland, after long and conscientious discussion, and consultation had with the several Catholic universities, and in-

* Observations, p. 39.

dividual authorities throughout Europe : and that the said oath contains such ample declaration of civil faith and attachment ; such total and explicit abjuration of all foreign pretensions, whether spiritual or temporal, to intermeddle in the civil establishments or laws of this part of his majesty's dominions ; and such authentic protestation of our doctrines in the only matter then affording ground for slander or jealousy, as that said oath furnishes a security, such as we believe is not demanded by any other state, from native subjects."

" 4. Resolved, that the said oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations, therein contained, are notoriously to the Roman Catholic church at large, become a part of the Roman Catholic religion, as taught by us, the bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic churches in Ireland : and, as such, are approved and sanctioned by all other Roman Catholic churches. So that it appears to us utterly impossible, that any way is left to any foreign authority, whereby the allegiance of Irish Catholics can be assailed, unless by that which God avert, by open invasion : in which extreme supposition, as we will persevere, by God's grace, to do our duty, so we have certain hope, that every true son of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, will eagerly prove, how well his religion can stand with the most heroic allegiance."

If, to these declarations of the Irish prelates, be added, the disavowal of the same doctrines by the see of Rome itself, I see not what can be wanting to satisfy the incredulity of the noble lord. In a letter addressed to the Roman Catholic archbishops of Ireland, by order of Pius VI. dated June 23d, 1791, the cardinals of the Propaganda, after asserting, that such doctrines are attributed to the apostolic see, for the purpose of calumniating it, proceed thus : " The see of Rome never taught, that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox ; that an oath to kings, separated from the Catholic communion, can be violated ; that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too, consider an attempt,

or design, against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretence of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime.”*

We will now follow the noble lord in his chivalrous attempt, to show, from modern authorities and modern practice, that as firm an adherence to all these tenets exists among the present Romanists, as in the most bigoted times of antiquity.† And, in this place, I shall take the liberty to notice two passages from another part of his lordship’s publication, for no other reason, than that they seem to refer more immediately to the present subject.

1. We are told, that “the oath, taken by every Roman Catholic bishop, is a proof of the connexion between the spiritual influence of the holy see and its temporal power.” Part of the oath is then translated: after which, it is observed, that “a saving clause of fidelity to the sovereign has been since omitted.”‡ I trust it will be sufficient to reply, that the oath has long been taken by all Catholic bishops, and yet no sovereign has ever had reason, on that account, to distrust their allegiance. But where did the noble lord learn that a saving clause of fidelity to the sovereign has since been *omitted*: when, in reality, such a clause has been *added*: or why did he *insert*, in his translation, a clause, which has been thought, by Protestants, to favour persecution, when he ought to have known, that, to silence their objections, it was several years ago *expunged*, by order of Pius VI.?

2. We are also referred to “the celebrated bull, repeated yearly at Rome, in passion week, by which all heretics are excommunicated, and all those, who shall receive, defend, or favour them.”§ Perhaps his lord-

* To some readers I may appear to have been too diffuse on this subject. Indeed, I should not have condescended to notice it, had not the assertions of the noble lord acquired importance under the sanction of his name; and, in certain instances, of the still greater name of his learned and noble father. For, in some provincial journals, I have seen the “Observations” cited, as the work of a great law authority, the late lord chief justice.

Observations, p. 40.

‡ Ib. p. 34.

§ Ib. p. 36.

ship is unacquainted with two circumstances respecting the fate of that bull. 1. That it was discontinued by order of Clement XIV. 2. That it never did, nor does form any part of our creed. Notwithstanding the efforts of some popes in its favour, it was hardly admitted in any Catholic kingdom in Europe.

We now come to the noble lord's modern authorities in this kingdom; and, it must naturally create surprise, that, for this purpose, he has selected those writers, who have both disclaimed the doctrine in question, upon oath, and have occasionally condemned them in their publications. His lordship's principal argument is founded on a passage in a learned work, entitled, "A connected Series of the chief Revolutions in the Empire of Charlemagne, by Charles Butler, Esq." In it the noble lord has discovered the doctrine, that the pope has power to transfer allegiance from one sovereign to another.* By what ingenious process the discovery has been made, is beyond my comprehension: but the accused shall speak in his own vindication; and the reader will find the charge completely refuted, if he turn to the note at the conclusion of this tract.

Neither will the noble lord derive more advantage from the writings of Dr. Milner. I have repeatedly perused, with attention, the extracts with which his lordship has loaded the pages of his publication; but I am still at a loss to conceive for what purpose they were collected. In them the right reverend prelate professes his belief, in common with all Catholics, in the spiritual supremacy of the pope, and considers him in union with the other Catholic bishops, as forming a living tribunal for the decision of doctrinal controversies: but to the pope's temporal power, and the other obnoxious tenets ascribed to us by the anti-catholics, he makes not the most remote allusion. We are, indeed, told by the noble lord, that "in England, Roman Catholic bishops and priests have deprived of their functions other priests, who have complained of the

* Observations, p. 40, 46.

injustice of the pope's proceedings, and have retained their allegiance to the form of the ancient church and government."* It is painful to be so frequently compelled to contradict; but if his lordship advance such charges, he will, at the same time, be sorry that we should suffer from his haste or inadvertence. Let him only re-consider the subject, and he will discover that the censures, of which he complains, were inflicted, not on account of attachment to the former government of France, nor of any other political opinions; but, on account of language which was deemed "subversive of church authority, tending to schism, and calumnious and scandalous, as far as it regarded the conduct of Pius VII. in his restoration and settlement of the Catholic church in France." On neither side was there any question of temporal pretensions.

I must request the indulgence of the reader, while I briefly notice one more passage of a similar nature. To prove that the popes still claim the exercise of temporal authority, we are told, that the present bishop of Rome, from *political motives alone*, has legalized the usurpation of the government in France, by crowning the usurper, and by new-modelling the Gallican church according to the will and fancy of the reigning monarch."* Is then his lordship not aware, that Bonaparte, before his coronation, had been acknowledged, by all the powers of Europe, even by the government of this country? Or, does he believe, that that fortunate adventurer, invested, as he was, with the supreme authority, and recognized by every neighbouring sovereign, would condescend to receive any additional right, any legalization of his claim, from the bishop of Rome? The claim of Bonaparte to the imperial sceptre, was not more affected by his coronation by the pope, than is the claim of any king of England, when he receives the crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was no more than a splendid ceremony, which, though insignificant in itself, flattered the vanity of a man, who hoped to be

* Observations, p. 48.

† Ib. p. 48.

the founder of a new dynasty ; and served to persuade his subjects, that he was at peace with the church, as well as with the powers of Europe.—Moreover, if Pius VII. thought it proper to give ecclesiastical institution to the French prelates according to the new division of dioceses, whence does Lord Kenyon know that he was prompted to it “by political motives alone?” Why might he not be desirous to abolish schism, and to preserve and reanimate the small remains of religion, after so violent and destructive a revolution? At a time when that venerable pontiff is suffering from Bonaparte himself, for his firm adherence to the dictates of his conscience, and partly for his attachment to the cause of this country, it ill becomes an English peer to stand forward ; and, on no other ground than his own surmises, to accuse him of a dereliction of duty, of guiding his conduct by views of political interest.

Another prominent feature in the publication of the noble lord, is, the hostility which he openly avows to the Catholic clergy in Ireland. His lordship appears to have studied in the school of Dr. Duigenan and Sir Richard Musgrave ; and the credit which he gives to the statements of his masters, serves to irritate his feelings and to mislead his judgment. The Irish rebellion is always present to his imagination ; and it is to the Catholic clergy that he attributes both its origin and its excesses! “Their bishops and priests,” he assures us, “were the principal instigators of the rebels, and had the actual command over them. The priests were the instigators, the very life of the rebellion—they were the principal actors in it.—It was directed against all Protestants, that the pope might be supreme in state, as well as peculiarly supreme in church. Their object was to pull down establishments, to erect the pope’s tyranny on their ruins, and to murder all the Protestants in Ireland.”* May I recommend to Lord Kenyon, to pause before he repeats such serious charges, and to examine the treacherous nature of the evidence on which they are founded. Let

* Observations, p. 62—65.

him, before he again pronounces judgment, listen to the accused as well as the accuser. Let him consult the other accounts of the rebellion, besides that partial and fallacious statement, to which Sir R. Musgrave, by a strange misnomer, has given the title of a history. Let him compare the fictitious "letter from a Romish priest," without a name, with the real exhortations and remonstrances of the Catholic prelates to their respective flocks. He will then, probably, see reason to alter his opinions, and will be anxious to do justice to a body of men, whose principles and conduct deserved and obtained, the approbation of a wise and able chief governor, the late Marquis Cornwallis.

That much of religious animosity mixed itself in the rebellion during its progress, cannot be denied. It would have been extraordinary had it happened otherwise. The penal code, the most barbarous and unnatural that had been devised by the ingenuity of man, had long since divided the people of Ireland into two parties: the minority, who were protestants, and monopolized every place of profit, influence, trust, or authority, in the island; and the majority, who were Catholics, deprived of most of the rights of freemen, and rendered, in a manner, aliens in their native country. The Catholic naturally looked upon the Protestant as his oppressor: the Protestant looked down on the Catholic as an enemy, who would seize the first opportunity to emancipate himself. The heart-burnings and antipathies to which this state of things necessarily gave birth, had, in some measure, been laid at rest by the partial repeal of the penal laws: the rebellion, unfortunately, called them again into action, and opened new sources of mutual animosity. At its origin, that rebellion had certainly nothing religious in it.* During its progress through the Catholic counties, it partook more of a religious character. Whether

* "You have discovered, that of 279,896 armed rebels, 110,990 were found in the presbyterian counties of the north, and began the rebellion there." Address to the Protestant noblemen, &c. by Thomas Newenham, p. 12.

it was, as the Catholics alleged, that they were compelled to seek refuge among the rebels, by the indiscriminate severity of the loyalists; or, as the loyalists replied, that such severity was necessary to check the diffusion of rebellious principles; great atrocities were soon committed on both sides; resentment urged to retaliation; and every act of retaliation provoked acts of still more unjustifiable cruelty. But in the midst of all these horrors, the higher orders of the Catholics were distinguished by their loyalty: the rebellion was confined to the unfortunate and deluded peasantry; and of all who had been noticed for their activity in urging the Catholic claims, Dr. M'Nevin alone was found to be implicated in the crime of treason.*

Now if this statement be accurate, the inference to be drawn from it will be, in my opinion, very different from that of the noble lord. It will be to grant to those classes, that have proved themselves loyal, what they ask; and by that grant, to conciliate the description of men whom you distrust. When the Catholic peasant shall know that religious disabilities are done away, he will no longer consider himself as a member of a degraded and persecuted cast. When he shall see some of his Catholic brethren admitted to offices of trust and authority, he will cease to deem himself friendless and unprotected; when he shall learn, that government admits of no religious distinctions, he will bow with submission to those laws and authorities, which he now conceives, however erroneously, to have originated from a spirit of intolerance. By conceding the Catholic Claims, though you may add little to his circumstances and comforts, you will change his habits of thinking; you will attach him to that constitution which he now knows only by its terrors; and you will convert the weakest part of the empire into a strong and impregnable bulwark.

* See note, p. 317.

*Extract from Mr. Butler's Letter, referred to
in page 342.*

I HAD heard of Lord Kenyon's publication; but before I received your letter I had not seen it. The passage in my work, on the Revolutions of the German Empire, upon which his lordship comments, is expressed in the following terms: "The ecclesiastical division of France, by the pope and Bonaparte, had not been acquiesced in by some of the Gallican prelates: they appear much perplexed between allegiance to the Bourbons and duty to the pope. In defence of their conduct, they invoke *the canons of the church*, which, in the strongest and most explicit terms, declare it unlawful to impose a new bishop on the see of any bishop who is alive, and has not resigned, or been, canonically, deposed from his see. Their appeal to the canons must be decided in their favour, if the case should be tried by the ordinary rules of the ecclesiastical polity of the Roman Catholic church. But, at the time we speak of, no sentence, founded on these rules, could be carried into execution. Such was the extraordinary state of things, that nothing short of the *dominium altum*, or the right of providing for extraordinary cases, by extraordinary acts of authority, could be exerted with effect; and that *dominium altum*, in the spiritual concerns of the church, the venerable prelates cannot, consistently with their own principles, deny to the successors of St. Peter."

I have now read, and with great surprise, his lordship's comment on this passage. I must first observe, that, in his citation of it, his lordship has, twice, misstated the most material words. *Dominium altum* are twice repeated; and each time his lordship quotes them as *dominium alterum*; which, you must be sensible, carry a very different meaning from that conveyed by the words *dominium altum*. This is the more remarkable, as I explain the import of them to be, *the right of providing for extraordinary cases by extraordinary acts of authority*. This is certainly the true sense

of *dominium altum*. It never can be applied to the words *dominium alterum*: but these words (if they mean anything) seem to allude to the temporal power of the pope, as another power belonging to him. I believe most of his lordship's readers understood me to have used the word *alterum*, ascribed to me by his lordship, in that sense.

Nothing can be more clear, than that this is not the sense of the passage cited by his lordship. Even as it is cited, it expressly *confines* the *dominium altum* of the pope to a power above the canons, in the spiritual concerns of the church, in cases of extraordinary emergency.

But, this is not all.—Words cannot express a stronger disbelief of the right of the popes to temporal power, direct or indirect, or a stronger detestation of their claim to it, than I have repeatedly expressed in the work cited by his lordship. In the 31st page, his lordship will find, that, after observing how some popes had taken upon themselves to try, condemn, and depose sovereigns, to absolve their subjects from allegiance to them, and to grant their kingdoms to others, I add these words: “That a claim so unfounded and impious, so detrimental to religion, so hostile to the peace of the world, and, apparently, so extravagant and visionary, should have been made, is strange: stranger still is the success it met with.

In page 159, I mention some circumstances, “which, for a time, preserved to the popes their temporal power in the states that acknowledged their spiritual supremacy.” I proceed to observe, that “the influence, which this gave them, made them venture on those *enormities*, which now excite so much astonishment, the bulls by which they absolved the subjects of Henry IV. of France, and our Elizabeth, from their allegiance, their approbation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, their concurrence in the league, their blessing of the armada,” &c.

In page 161, I expressly intimate my opinion, that the distinction between the pope's direct and indirect power in temporals is merely verbal: and, finally, in,

p. 163, I give an explicit opinion, that “ the claim of the pope to temporal power, is one of the greatest misfortunes that have befallen Christianity.”

With these passages before him it is a matter of astonishment to me, that his lordship should charge me with ascribing to the pope a power of transferring allegiance. I certainly think, that in extraordinary cases of a spiritual nature, and for the spiritual advantage of the people, the pope may make spiritual arrangements of the spiritual concerns of the church, though contrary to its established canons. This is all that is expressed, or can fairly be inferred from the passage referred to by his lordship.

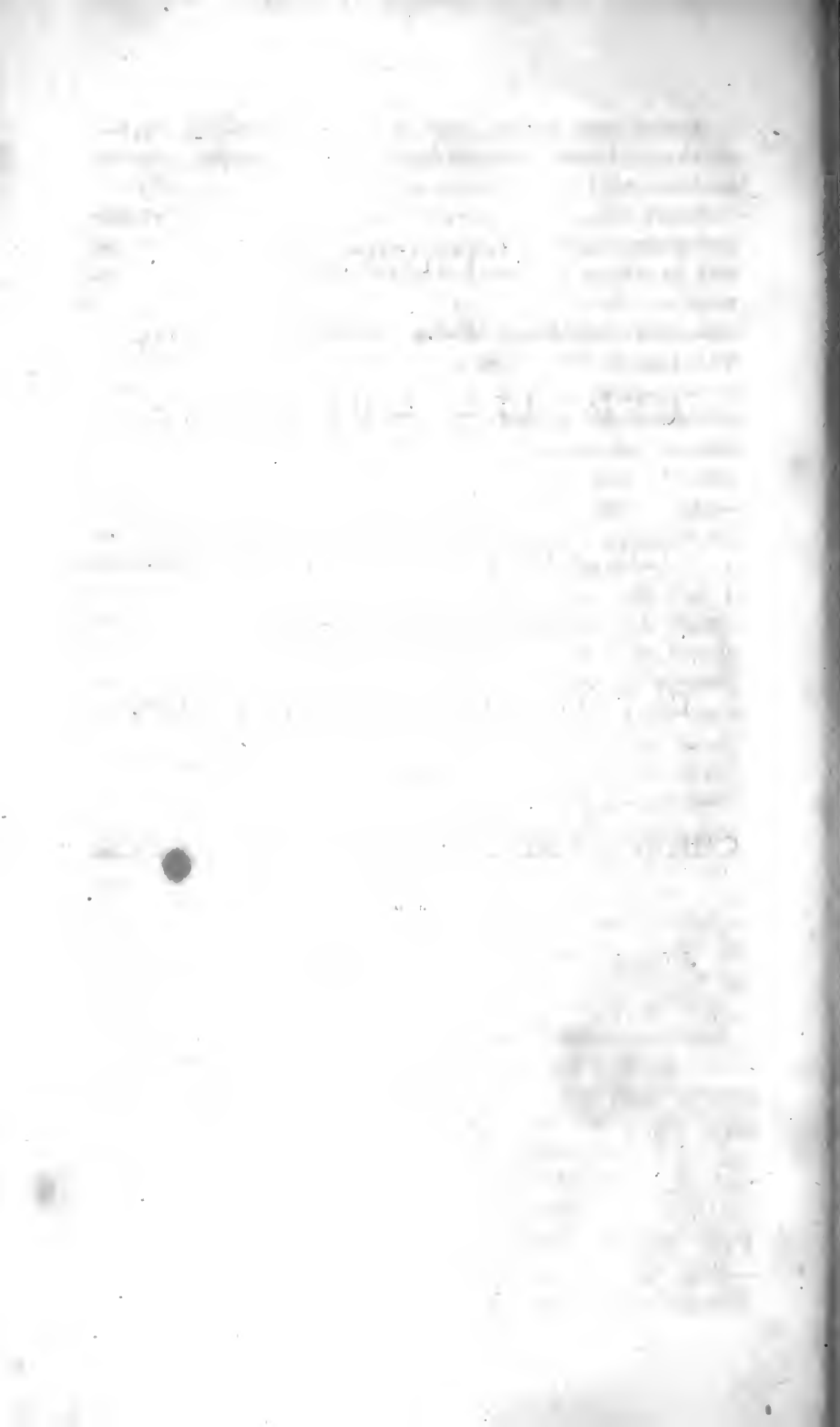
But, though I have been, and always shall be, ready to express, in the very bitterest terms of condemnation, my opinion of the popes’ claim to temporal power, I always have been, and always shall be, equally ready to speak, in due terms of praise, of the meritorious part of their conduct. I beg leave to copy, from the quoted work, the following passage. After observing that some of them had disgraced their station, by their conduct, I add: “ It is also true that more than an equal number of them have been eminently distinguished by talents and virtue: and, collectively considered, they will not suffer in comparison with any series of sovereigns. Voltaire observes, that in the dark ages, there was less of barbarism and of ignorance in the pope’s dominions than in any other European state. Much certainly was done by them in every part of Christendom, to protect the lower ranks against their oppressors, to preserve peace among kings and princes, and to alleviate the general calamity of the times. Their exertions for the conversion of infidels were unremitted. Few nations can read the first introduction of Christianity among them, without being sensible of their obligations to the popes. This is acknowledged by all candid Protestants. “ *Quod ad conversionem ethnicorum attinet, missiones Romanorum, quantum in me est, omni ope consilioque promovere soleo: neque invidiæ aut obtreptioni locum do: gnarus evangelii prædicationem, a quo-*

cumque demum fiat, non sine fructu aut efficacia manere. (*Ludolfi Epistola ad Leibnitzium, Op: Leib. Ed. Dutens, vol. vi. p. 140.*) This is the genuine language of good sense and conciliation. No conversion was ever made, by proving to a Roman Catholic, that his religion may be found in the name of the beast; or, by proving to a Protestant, that Protestants were prefigured by the locusts, which issued from the bottomless pit, and darkened the heavens and the earth.

I am much obliged to you, for calling my attention to his lordship's pamphlet. If I had sooner known the contents of it, I should have troubled him with a letter on the subject. I should not have done this, if the passage in question had been merely a literary criticism of any part of my work; but, as it imputes to me principles, which, in common with the other Catholics of his majesty's dominions, I have disclaimed upon oath, the charge is serious. I shall be much obliged to you to print this letter in your intended publication.

Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 27th, 1813.

EXAMINATION
OF
CERTAIN OPINIONS,
ADVANCED BY
THE RIGHT REV. DR. BURGESS,
BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
IN TWO RECENT PUBLICATIONS,
ENTITLED,
CHRIST, AND NOT PETER, THE ROCK,
AND
Johannis Sulgeni versus hexametri in laudem Sulgeni patris.
ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN
1812.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE tracts, which are noticed in the following pages, were published last year "by the Right Reverend Thomas Burgess, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Bishop of St. David's." The first is intitled, "Christ, and not St. Peter, the rock of the christian church:" the second consists of a short Latin Poem, of the eleventh century, enriched with copious notes and illustrations, under the title of "*Johannis Sulgeni versus hexametri in laudem patris Sulgeni, Menevensis Archiepiscopi.*"

These two publications are perhaps of as extraordinary a description, as any that have lately issued from the press. The Bishop of St. David's, like most of his episcopal brethren, is an enemy to the claims of the Catholics: but he disdains to re-echo the usual arguments of their adversaries, and builds his opposition on grounds exclusively his own. He comes forward as an antiquary, and a divine: and fights his way with history in one hand, and the bible in the other. He undertakes to prove that Christ, and not St. Peter, is the rock of the christian church;—that the first christian church was the church of Jerusalem, and St. James the first christian bishop:—that St. James, and not St. Peter, presided at the first christian council;—that St. Paul was the first founder of the church of Rome;—that he was also the founder of the church of Britain;—that the church of Britain was established

before the church of Rome;—that the church of Britain, during more than twelve centuries, continued independent of the church of Rome;—and that the natives of Wales, during the dark ages, professed exactly the same doctrines as are now professed, in a more enlightened period, by the church of England. But what, the reader will exclaim, can all this have to do with the Catholic question? The right reverend Prelate shall inform him. From these positions he draws two very important inferences: 1st, that the Bishop of Rome has no right to any ecclesiastical authority in Britain: and 2d, that the Catholics, by acknowledging that authority, and denying the king's supremacy, “are detached from the allegiance in ecclesiastical matters, which is due to their sovereign and to the laws.”

To such reasoning it may be sufficient to reply; that the pope's supremacy is a matter of religious belief, with the truth or falsehood of which the legislature has no concern. Its duty is to inquire, whether it be compatible or not with the principles of civil allegiance. More than civil allegiance no government has a right to require from its subjects. As the origin, the object, and the means of government, are all of a civil nature, so likewise must be the obligations which it imposes. Now civil allegiance, in the most extensive sense of the words, the catholics acknowledge to be due to the sovereign: they renounce every pretension which they think inconsistent with it: they declare upon their oaths, that “no foreign prelate or potentate hath, or ought to have, any civil or temporal jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.” To pretend, as the learned prelate does, that the rejection of the king's supremacy is a breach “of the allegiance in ecclesiastical matters which is due to the sovereign and the laws,” is to subvert the very foundations of religious liberty. For if you are free to dissent from the doctrines of the established church, you must also be free to refuse the ecclesiastical authority of its

head. The one is a necessary consequence of the other. If the first be no crime, so neither is the second.

But the premises, from which the Bishop of St. David's draws his conclusions, are not less extraordinary than the conclusions themselves. To notice them in detail, would be a wearisome and endless task. Three positions therefore have been selected, to which the prelate appears to attach considerable importance; and which he maintains in a tone of triumph and defiance. The present tract will in consequence be divided into three parts. The first will inquire, what is the real meaning of the passage: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church;" the second, what authority there is to induce a belief that St. Paul preached in Britain: and the third, whether it has been proved that the creed of the Welch christians, in the dark ages, was the same as that of the established church at present. The subjects are not very inviting: but they shall be treated with as much brevity as is possible: and the writer trusts that, if he do not amuse or instruct, at least he shall not fatigue or irritate the reader.

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 of the system is not a simple one.

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 a simple one.

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The fifteenth is that the system is not
 a simple one.

The sixteenth is that the system is not
 a simple one.

EXAMINATION,

§c. §c.

PART I.

Thou art Peter, (or Rock) and on this rock I will build my church. Matt. xvi. 18.

THE title, which the Bishop of St. David's has prefixed to his publication, will justify a doubt whether he properly understand the doctrine that he has undertaken to refute. In his title he asserts that Christ, and not Peter, is the rock of the christian church. Does he then mean to insinuate that, according to the Catholic creed, Peter, and not Christ, is that rock? If he do, he must allow me to inform him better. It is indeed true that Catholics, in imitation of our Saviour, call Peter the rock, on which the church was built: but they do not give him that title to the exclusion of Christ, or in the same sense in which it is given to Christ. Of Christ they teach that he, by his office of Messiah, was the true rock; of Peter, that he was the rock only in a subordinate

and vicarious capacity. Our blessed Lord claimed that appellation in his own right: Peter could hold it only by delegation from his master. Christ by his doctrine and blood founded the church: Peter, by the appointment of Christ, was made his representative, when he should no longer be visible upon earth. Nor let it be said that this doctrine is at variance with itself. As well may you say that, because Christ is called in scripture “the shepherd and bishop of our souls,” (1 Pet. xi. 25.) he could not appoint other shepherds and bishops to minister in his place; or that, because he is said to be the only foundation that can be laid, it was an error in St. Paul to give that appellation to the apostles and the prophets, (Eph. xi. 19.) Indeed the objection is not new. It was made many centuries ago. The answer which it received then, I have given to it now. *Εἰ γὰρ καὶ*

πέτρα, οὐχ ὡς Χριστὸς πέτρα, ὡς Πέτρος πέτρα. Χριστὸς γὰρ ὄντως πέτρα ἀσφαλῆτος. Πέτρος δὲ διὰ τὴν πέτραν—Φῶς ἐστίν, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ Φῶς τοῦ κόσμου ἱερεὺς ἐστὶ, ποιεῖ ἱερέας* πέτρα ἐστὶ, πέτρων ποιεῖ.**

Now whether Christ did, or did not confer this title on St. Peter, depends on the meaning of the passage, which I have quoted above: “and I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church.” To whom, or to what are the words, “this rock” to be referred? To Peter himself, if we may believe the Catholic divines; to his profession of faith, if the reasoning of the right reverend prelate be conclusive.

The better to understand this passage, the reader will call to his recollection what happened during the first interview between our Saviour and the apostle. We learn from St. John (c. i. v. 41.) that Simon, one of the sons of Jona, was originally introduced to our blessed Lord by Andrew, his eldest brother. Jesus, as soon as he saw the young man, addressed him in these remarkable words: “thou art Simon, the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas,” (that is *Peter* in Greek, and *Rock* in English.) Now let me ask, what

* Hom. de Pœn. in appen. ad op, S. Bas. tom. 11.

was the meaning of this unexpected prediction? Why was the name of Simon to be changed, more than that of Andrew, or of any other apostle? What was there in him, that he in particular should receive the mysterious appellation of the "rock?" It could not be on account of the constancy of his faith, for he denied his Lord. That it portended something of consequence in the future destiny of the apostle cannot be doubted: but its real import probably remained a secret, till it was disclosed by Christ on another occasion. He had asked his disciples, "Whom do men say that I, the son of man, am? And they said: some John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets." Not satisfied with this answer, he again asked, "But whom say *ye* that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said: thou art the Christ, the son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said unto him: blessed art thou Simon, the son of Jona; for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my father, who is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter (a rock) and on this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. Then charged he his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ." (Matt. xvi. 16—20.)

From this passage we learn both the reason why the name of Simon was changed into Cephas, and the meaning of his new appellation. Christ had not yet openly disclosed either to the public, or to his disciples, who he really was: when Simon, by the inspiration of heaven, declared him to be the Christ, the son of the living God. Jesus immediately pronounced him blessed, for having been thus selected to announce this important truth to mankind: and in return for the declaration which he had made, appointed him the cephias or rock, on which the church should be built,

promised to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and engaged that whatsoever he should bind or loose on earth, should be bound or loosed in heaven. Simon had said; "thou art the Christ:" a word expressing the office of him, who was the redeemer of the world: Jesus answered: "and I say also unto thee, that thou art the rock," a word expressive of the office to which Simon was called, of being, after Christ, the rock on which the church was to be founded. Then, in consequence of his elevation to this office, a promise was made to him of the keys, the symbols of pre-eminence and authority; and a declaration was added, that in the exercise of that authority, his decisions on earth should be ratified in heaven.

In this exposition of the words, "thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," there is nothing forced or unnatural. It is what first offers itself to the mind on the perusal of the passage. It is the sense in which it was generally understood by the ancient writers; and, I am happy to add, the sense which has been given to it by the more candid of the Protestant expositors; who, though they may not admit the papal supremacy, yet acknowledge that St. Peter was appointed by Christ to be the rock of the christian church. Dr. Whitby thus paraphrases the passage: "As a suitable return for thy confession, I say also unto thee, that thou art by name Peter, that is *a rock*: and *upon thee*, who art this rock, I will build my church. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power of making laws to govern my church."* It is explained in the same manner by Dr. Hammond. "Seeing thou hast so freely confessed me before men, I will also confess thee. Thou art Peter, &c. that is, the name by which thou art styled and known by me, is that which signifies a stone or rock, and accordingly my church shall be so built on thee, founded in thee, that it shall never be destroyed—What is here meant by the keys, is best understood by

* Whitby, in Matt. xvi. 16. Tom. 1. p. 143.

Is. xxii. 22. where they signify ruling the whole family or house of the king, and this being by Christ accommodated to the church, denotes the power of governing in it.* To these I will only add the testimony of Dr. Tomline, the present bishop of Lincoln, who, in his elements of christian theology, repeatedly supposes that by the words, "this rock," was meant Peter himself. Thus after telling us, that the many remarkable circumstances recorded concerning Peter in the gospels and acts, seem to point him out as the chief of the twelve apostles, he adds: "our Saviour said to him in explanation of the name, which he himself had given him: thou art Peter, and upon this *rock* will I build my church:" and again he informs us, that by being the first who preached to the Jews and afterwards to the Gentiles, *Peter* may be said to have founded the universal church: which is supposed to have been the meaning of our Lord's words, "upon this *rock* will I build my church."†

To this exposition, however, the Bishop of St. David's has opposed three feeble and evasive answers. 1st. He tells us that the rock on which Christ promised to build his church, was the profession of faith in the Messianhip of Jesus.—Now that such profession was the immediate cause, why Christ pronounced St. Peter to be the rock, will be granted: but if the learned Prelate mean to disjoin the faith from the person of Peter, and to confine to it alone the promise of our Saviour, he both violates the propriety of language, and contradicts the obvious meaning of the speaker. "I also say to thee that thou art the rock, and on this rock I will build my church;" are words perfectly intelligible, and mutually illustrative of each other. The second part explains the first. It points out why Simon was originally called Peter, and shews that on him, as on a rock, the church was to be built. But if instead of this you substitute the

* Hammond, *ibid.* p. 92.

† Elements of Christian Theology, par. 11. c. 25. p. 476-479.

exposition of the bishop, the whole passage will become unnatural, involved, and incoherent. "And I say unto thee, that thou art the rock, and on the profession of my Messiahship, as on a rock, I will build my church." It must, moreover, be evident to the reader, that Jesus, in his answer to Peter, means to confer on him some reward in return for his confession. Yet where could have been this reward, if Christ had only told him that the church would be built upon faith, and that he, no less than his colleagues, should be instrumental in raising it on that foundation.

2. Dr. Burgess observes, that as Christ addressed the question to all, and St. Peter answered in the name of all, so the reply of our Saviour was intended for all. Now supposing the premises to be true, yet I see not how the conclusion can be maintained. As well might it be pretended, that when a sheriff, for example, is knighted for presenting an address, the same honour is intended to be conferred on all the freeholders of the county in whose names he is commissioned to act. In effect, if it be possible for language to confine the meaning of an answer to one individual, it is so in the present instance. The evangelist declares that the words of Christ were addressed to Peter: "Jesus answering, said unto *him*:" and the words themselves are exclusive of all other persons: "Blessed art *thou*, Simon, son of Jona—I say unto *thee*—*thou* art Peter—and I will give unto *thee*—whatsoever *thou* shalt bind," &c.

3. But, says the Bishop of St. David's, "there is a change of the terms in the words of our Saviour. Thou art *Petrus* (Peter) and on this *petra* (rock) I will build my church. If our Saviour had meant that St. Peter should be the rock, the same term might have been repeated: thou art *Petrus*, and on this *petrus* I will build my church—He was not the foundation on which the church was to be built, but a part of it. He was not *petra* but *petrus*:"* that is, he was not

* Bish. of St. David's, p. 5.

the rock, but one of the stones to be employed in the building on the rock.—This is one of the luminous and important distinctions for which we are indebted to the genius of the reformation. As long as Christendom was enveloped in the darkness of popery, it was not given to man to discover the true meaning of that elegant discourse, which we are now told, took place between Christ and the apostle.

Christ. Whom do ye say, that I, the son of man, am?

Simon. Thou art Christ, the son of the living God.

Christ. And I say also unto thee, thou art a *stone*, (*Petrus*) and on this *rock* (*petra*) I will build my church.

But the right reverend prelate should recollect, that *Petrus* and *petra* are not the words of Christ, but of the translator. Christ did not speak in Greek, but in Syro-chaldaic. If for the same word *cephas*, the translator employed both *Petrus* and *petra*, it is not difficult to assign the reason. He adopted *Petrus* in the first instance, because a masculine termination was more proper for the name of a man, and *petra* in the second, because it was more analagous to the metaphor of building an edifice.*

At the close of this part of his publication, the bishop lays down the three following propositions: that “the first christian church was the church of Jerusalem; that the president of the first christian council was not St. Peter, but St. James; and that the first christian bishop was St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem.”† These propositions appear to be considered

* Dr. Burgess will not allow St. Peter to be the rock, because there is a change of terms, *Petrus* and *Petra*. Would he then acknowledge him to be the rock, if there were no change of terms? That there was none in the original discourse of Christ, is certain. He must have used *Cephas* in both places. The same word is also used in both places in the Syriac, Arabic, and the other Oriental versions.

† Id. p. 10. Another extraordinary assertion hazarded by the learned Prelate is, that “St. Paul was the first founder of the church of Rome.” From what ancient writer this information has been derived, we are not told; nor is it possible to conjecture. It could

by his lordship as so many theological axioms, which require neither proof nor illustration. If I may be allowed to deliver my opinion, I will say of them, that the first is probably true. For it was at Jerusalem that St. Peter laid the foundation of the christian church, on the festival of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14) : and of course, the church of Jerusalem may be considered as the most ancient local church. The second proposition is very doubtful. The scripture does not expressly declare, who was the president of the first council : but, as far as I can judge, the narrative of St. Luke seems to attribute that office to St. Peter (Acts xv. 7). The truth of the third proposition will depend on the meaning which is given to the word *bishop*. If it import no more than the spiritual superintendence of a certain limited district, St. James may perhaps have been the most ancient bishop ; but if, as most divines maintain, all the apostles were invested by Christ with the episcopal character, I know not how any one can claim the priority in point of time before his colleagues. But what follows from these propositions ? That “ the words, *thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church*, were not meant to convey any supremacy to St. Peter.”* Reader, if thou art acquainted with any logical process, by which such an inference may be extracted, thou art more

not be from St. Paul himself : for he wrote a long epistle to that church some years before it could have been in his power to found it. But may I ask the Bishop of St. David's one question ? If he know any thing of ecclesiastical antiquity, he must know that the see of Rome was always called the see of Peter, *sedes or cathedra Petri*. Now if St. Paul was the first founder of that church, how came it not to be called the see of Paul instead of the see of Peter ? Even supposing that, according to the discovery of the bishop, St. Peter afterwards assisted St. Paul in preaching the gospel at Rome, yet why should that church derive its distinguishing appellation from the assistant rather than the principal ? Truly, I think, he must surrender one of his two favourite opinions. He must acknowledge that either St. Paul was not the first founder of the church of Rome, or that the name of Peter superseded that of Paul, on account of the superior dignity of the former.

* Id. p. 10.

fortunate than I am. While the vigorous mind of the bishop gains remote conclusions at a jump, my more feeble intellect is compelled to feel its way in the dark. I cannot return an answer to that, which I am unable to comprehend. The right reverend prelate has shown us the two extremities of the chain. Let him disclose the intermediate links, and we shall then be able to judge in what manner they are connected together.

PART II.

DID the apostle St. Paul preach the gospel in Britain? That he did, the Bishop of St. David's asserts to be indisputable. The writer of these pages presumes to be of a different opinion, and requests the indulgence of the reader, while he states the grounds of his incredulity. The subject itself is considered by the right reverend prelate as of great controversial magnitude. If we may believe him, to prove that St. Paul preached in Britain, is to annul the supremacy of the church of Rome.* But authors, like parents, are partial to their own offspring, and frequently discover in them excellencies which escape every other eye. Whether the supremacy of the church of Rome can survive the bishop's pamphlet, time will determine: though I must confess, that to me the danger with which it is threatened, appears imaginary rather than real. For were it even to be proved that St. Paul did visit Britain, it must at the same time be granted, that he would preach there no other than the gospel of Christ. If then according to that gospel the supremacy was conferred on St. Peter, we may be assured that St. Paul would establish such supremacy even in this island: if it were not, it would never enter his mind, or that of any other apostle, to establish it either here or elsewhere.

But though the preaching of St. Paul in Britain

* Bish. of St. David's, p. 1.

cannot affect the question of the supremacy, it may be a proper subject for historic investigation. In that light it will be considered in these pages. The question itself is not new. During the age of controversy it was frequently discussed, particularly by Stillingfleet, to whom the learned prelate is indebted for almost all that he has said on the subject. But the position which the reformed writers had taken, was soon found to be untenable, and was therefore silently abandoned. The Bishop of St. David's has renewed the attempt: I shall inquire whether he has been more successful than his predecessors.

The course of reasoning pursued by the right reverend prelate in this investigation, goes to establish the three following propositions: 1st, That if it had pleased St. Paul to preach in Britain, he had sufficient time for that purpose, between his first arrival in Rome, and his martyrdom in that city.

2d. That it did please some person to preach in Britain about that period.

3d. That the person, whom it so pleased to preach in Britain, was St. Paul.

There is something curious in this arrangement. The third proposition was sufficient for the purpose. Prove it, and you have proved the other two. But the bishop was certainly at liberty to select his own road: it is my duty, not to complain, but to follow.

I. To establish the first proposition was not a very promising task. By chronologists no less than seven different dates, from the year 56 to the year 63, have been assigned to the first arrival of St. Paul in Rome. The weight of authority is in favour of the latter period: but an earlier one was more convenient to the bishop. For it was not probable that St. Paul would visit Britain during the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of Boadicea; nor was it easy to reconcile such a visit after the year 60, with the known events of the apostle's life. Dr. Burgess has therefore selected the year 56: and to justify his choice, he reads us a long and tedious lecture of twenty-four pages on

the recal of Felix, the disgrace of Pallas, the character of Poppœa, and the youthful connexions of Josephus. What impression this dissertation may have produced on the generality of his readers, I cannot pretend to say: the result in my mind was a conviction that the chronology of St. Paul's ministry is a mass of confusion and uncertainty. Yet let not the reader fear that I shall attempt to lead him through this labyrinth. To spare his patience and my own, I am ready to admit, what I think never can be proved, that St. Paul did arrive in Rome time enough to have visited Britain consistently with his other occupations, if such had been his intention.

II. The second proposition is built on the testimony of Gildas, the father of British history. By some writers he has been understood to say, that Christianity was preached in Britain before the defeat of Boadicea in the year 61. This might also be conceded to the bishop with perfect security: for Gildas nowhere hints that the missionary was St. Paul or any other apostle. But as Dr. Burgess is not the first, who has given, what I conceive, an erroneous meaning to the words of the historian, I shall beg to be indulged in a few observations on the original passage. "*In the mean time the true sun from the height of the heavens, having displayed his splendour to the world about the close of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, began to warm with his rays the frozen shores of Britain.*"* Here, as the bishop very justly observes, two different diffusions of the light of the gospel are mentioned, and a different period is assigned for each. "The general diffusion of the gospel was in the latter part of Tiberius's

* The reader will observe that I have compressed the inflated language of Gildas. *Interea glaciali frigore rigeuti insulæ, et velut longiore terrarum secessu soli visibili non proximæ, verus ille sol, non de firmamento temporali, sed de summa etiam cælorum arce tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi præfulgidum sui coruscum ostendens, tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii Cæsaris, (quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio, comminata senatu nolente a principe morte delatoribus militum ejusdem) radios suos primum indulget, id est, præcepta sua Christus.* Gildæ hist. c. vi. p. 71. Haun. 1757.

“reign: the introduction of it into this country was in “the *interim* of the events mentioned by Gildas.”* But when he adds, “that this *interim* is limited on the “one hand by the event last mentioned by him, viz.: “the defeat of Boadicea, A. D. 61. and on the other “by events not far distant, such as the defeat of Caractacus, A. D. 51,” I must be allowed to record my dissent. To assist the judgment of the reader it should be observed, that the work of Gildas is divided into chapters. Of these the three first regard not the present subject: the fourth relates the rebellion and defeat of Boadicea; in the fifth is described the state of Britain under the imperial government; the sixth consists of the passage respecting the diffusion of the gospel; and the seventh gives an account of the persecution of Dioclesian. Now of the two limits assigned by the bishop to the *interim* or the *mean time* of Gildas, the earlier is not at all noticed by the historian himself. It is perfectly arbitrary; a mere creature of the imagination. The other, though an event mentioned by Gildas, is not the limit fixed by the historian. The defeat of Boadicea does not occur immediately before the passage, in which the introduction of the gospel is noticed: between the two a whole chapter intervenes, descriptive of the servitude of the Britons under the Roman government. Gildas tells us that a part of the victorious army returned to Italy, while a part remained to overawe the natives: that prefects were appointed with the military power at their disposal: that all the precious metals were marked with the impression of the Cæsars: and that the subjugation of the Britons was so complete, that the island might with more reason be called Roman than British. It is after this description that he mentions, in the sixth chapter, the introduction of Christianity, to which he immediately subjoins the persecution of Dioclesian in the year 296. What then are we to understand by the *interim* during which he says the gospel was introduced? Undoubtedly the period described in the

* Bish. of St. David's, p. 58.

preceding chapter, the time during which the island was completely under the dominion of Rome. The limits assigned to it by Gildas seem to be the submission of the natives after the death of Boadicea on the one hand, and the persecution of the Christians, at the end of the third century, on the other. It was during this interval that, according to the historian, the gospel was first preached in Britain. Instead of confining us to an interim of ten years before the suppression of the rebellion, he allows us more than two centuries after it.

III. We now come to the third proposition, the only one of real importance. Let the bishop of St. David's establish it, and he has gained his cause: if he cannot, it matters little what may be the chronology of St. Paul's ministry, or the meaning of the passage in Gildas.

1. The first testimony which the learned prelate has adduced, and which, if we may believe him, places the preaching of St. Paul in Britain beyond all controversy or doubt, is that of Clemens, bishop of Rome, and the intimate friend and fellow-labourer of the apostle. Does Clemens then mention Britain? No: "but he says," (I am transcribing the words of the bishop of St. David's) "That St. Paul, in preaching the gospel, *went to the utmost bounds of the west*, *ἐπι τὸ τέμα της δυσεως*. This is not a rhetorical expression, as Dr. Hales supposes, but the usual designation of Britain. Catullus calls Britain, *ultima Britannia*, and *ultima occidentis insula*. The west included Spain, Gaul, and Britian. Theodoret speaks of the inhabitants of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, as dwelling in *the utmost bounds of the west*, *τας της εσπερας εσχατιας*.* Hence then it appears that to establish the preaching of St. Paul in this island, it is necessary to show that by "*the boundary of the west*," Clemens could understand no other country than Britain. This the learned prelate undertakes to show; but his reasoning appears to me to prove the contrary. First, we are told that

* Bish. of St. David's, p. 37.

it was the "usual designation" of this island : and yet not one solitary instance is, or can be adduced, in support of the assertion. Britain has been repeatedly mentioned by the writers of Greece and Rome ; by orators and poets ; by historians and geographers : can it be, that not one of them all should, on any occasion whatsoever, have called it by its "usual designation ?" We are next referred to the works of Catullus. But will it necessarily follow, that because Britain was known to a Roman poet by one appellation, it must have been known to the Greeks, to whom Clemens wrote, by another ? Catullus might with propriety call it the "last island of the west," if he were acquainted with none beyond it ; but Clemens could not with propriety point it out to the Corinthians by the designation of "the boundary of the west," because there were several other boundaries. That could not be the peculiar appellation of one country, which was common to several. The very passage, which the bishop has transcribed from Theodoret, proves that Spain and Gaul, no less than Britain, were parts of the boundary of the west. But there was no necessity of sending us to an ecclesiastical writer of the fifth century for that information. Every school-boy knows that the western boundary of the Roman empire was different in different latitudes : that as you ascend northward from the pillars of Hercules, first Spain, then Gaul, and lastly Britain might claim that appellation. On his own shewing, therefore, the learned Prelate could infer no more from Clemens, than that St. Paul had preached in one of these three countries. If you ask, which of the three ? I answer, that the probability is in favour of Spain. For Athanasius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Jerome, Cyril, and Theodoret, assert that he did preach in Spain : not one ancient writer (I will prove it as I proceed) asserts that he ever preached in Britain.

If, however, I may be allowed to propose my own opinion, I would say, it was not Spain, nor Gaul, nor Britain, but Rome, that was understood by Clemens. Such at least is the meaning which his words natu-

rally suggest to the mind of the reader. Clemens is writing from Rome; he is describing events which had lately happened in Rome; and in speaking of St. Paul, he says, that the apostle “came to the boundary of the west, and was martyred under the governors,” ελθων προς το τερμα της δυσεως, και μαρτυρησας υπο των ηγουμενων.* What then was this boundary of the west? Certainly the place to which he came, and in which he suffered martyrdom, that is, Rome itself. Nor is this my opinion only: it is that of Bishop Fell, and of Lardner. Bishop Pearson, indeed, rejected it, because he could not conceive how Rome could be called the boundary of the west. But did he then think of Britain? No: his memory was so treacherous that, he did not recollect “the usual designation” of his own country, and most unaccountably transferred it to Spain. Neither does his objection appear to me conclusive. It is not indeed, geographically true, that Rome was the boundary of the west: but orators do not always measure their expressions with the compasses of the geographer. Clemens was displaying to the Corinthians the labours and journies of St. Paul. He knew, that in their estimation, Italy was the principal country of the west, and Rome was situated near the western shore of Italy. Why might he not then, in describing the arrival of the apostle in that city, be allowed to say, that he was come to the boundary of the west.

However this may be, so much at least will be granted me by the impartial reader, that the expression of Clemens is too ambiguous to establish the preaching of St. Paul in Britain, unless that fact be

* The reader will observe that I do not think myself bound to adopt the version of the learned Prelate. He translates ελθων by the verb *to go*, I by the verb *to come*. The difference is great. The first intimates, that the place of which Clemens speaks, was at a distance; the other that it was Rome itself, or in the neighbourhood of Rome. According to him το τερμα is “the utmost bounds.” I see not why the adjective should be added, and have therefore translated it *boundary*. My version agrees with that of the editors of Clemens, who had no particular system to support: that of the bishop appears to have been made for the purpose of proving his favourite opinion, that St. Paul preached in Britain.

asserted by some other ancient writer. The testimonies, therefore, which have been selected from other ancient writers, I shall proceed to examine.

2. From Clemens to Eusebius, during the long lapse of two centuries, not a hint has dropped from the pen of any writer, which even the ingenuity of the learned Prelate can improve into an argument in favour of his Pauline church of Britain. That his readers, however, may not be scared at the view of this chasm, Irenæus and Tertullian are brought forward to prove, that there were Christians in Britain at the time in which they wrote. "Irenæus speaks of christianity as propagated "to the *utmost bounds* of the earth, *εως περιπατων της γης*, by "the apostles and their disciples; and particularly "specifies the churches planted *εν ταις Ιβηριας και εν Κελτοις*."* By these words most readers would understand Spain and Gaul: but the bishop assures us, that by the Celtæ, are meant the people of Germany, Gaul, and Britain: as if it were impossible that a church should be established in one, unless at the same time other churches were established in every nation of Celtic origin. Be it so: Irenæus at least says nothing of St. Paul, or of the founder of the British church. His testimony then is perfectly irrelevant. The same must be said of the passage from Tertullian, who only mentions *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita*; the parts of Britain, to which the Roman soldier had not penetrated, but which had submitted to Christ.

3. We are now arrived at the fourth century; and from the multitude of writers, whom that age produced, two are brought forward, Eusebius and Jerome. To their testimony, however, I have a right to object. Though they both declare that St. Peter preached in

* Bish. of St. David's, p. 38. ex Iren. ad. her. l. 1. c. 2, 3. The English vocabulary of the learned Prelate seems to be very scanty. With him, every Greek expression answers to the "usual designation of Britain." The *το περιμα* of Clemens, the *ισχαιται* of Theodoret, and the *περιπατα* of Irenæus, are all equally "the *utmost bounds*," according to his version.

Rome, during the reign of the emperor Claudius ;* the bishop turns his back upon them, and strenuously maintains, that the apostle never was at Rome before the year of his martyrdom under the emperor Nero. Now if they are witnesses unworthy of credit with respect to the history of St. Peter, why should they be worthy of credit with respect to the history of St. Paul ? Does the truth of ancient testimony depend on its accordance with the wishes of the bishop of St. David's ? But what does Eusebius say ? " That some of the *apostles* passed over the ocean to the British Isles, *επι τας καλουμενας Βρετανικας νησους.*" † Here I may observe, first, that supposing Eusebius to speak of the apostles, yet he mentions no names. How then can his testimony be more favourable to one than to another ? Secondly, he speaks of more than one, *ετερους.* Now we read of no other apostles than St. Peter and St. Paul, who preached in the west. Will the learned Prelate admit that it is of these two, that Eusebius is to be understood, and that of course St. Peter must share with St. Paul, the honour of founding the British church ? Thirdly, it is not very probable, that both St. Peter and St. Paul would quit the more civilized for the more barbarous nations, or, if they wished to preach in the north, that they would prefer Britain, yet struggling to shake off the Roman yoke, before Gaul, which had peaceably submitted to it. May it not be then, that Eusebius speaks of the first preachers of Christianity in general, and not of the apostles in particular ? So it would seem from the original. The writer undertakes to demonstrate the truth of Christianity. He remarks that the persons who began to preach the gospel, after the ascension of Jesus, were the apostles, and the seventy disciples, *δωδεκα οντας τον αριθμον τους εκκριτους, εβδομηκοντα δε τους λοιπους,* too great a number to concur in framing and conducting an imposture. After pursuing this course of

* *Επι της αυτης Κλαυδιου Βασιλειας τον καρτερον και μεγαλ των αποστολων, τον αρετην ενεκα των λοιπων απαντων προηγερων Περων επι την Ρωμην χειραγωγη.* Eus. hist. eccl. 1. 2. c. 14. Jerom. in cat. Script. c. 1. In chron. ad an. 43.

† Bishop of St. Dav. ex Eus. Dem. evang. 1. 3. c. 5.

reasoning to some length, he turns to another argument, and proves the truth of the gospel from its diffusion. It is incredible to him that *they* should have converted so many nations, which he mentions by name, that some should have visited India, and that *others should have crossed over to the British Isles* without the special protection of heaven. Now to whom does the pronoun *they* refer? Will the learned prelate restrict it to the persons expressly mentioned before? Then he must exclude St. Paul: for the persons mentioned before, are those who preached before St. Paul's conversion. Will he extend it, as the reasoning of Eusebius requires, to all, who were associated with the apostles, in the office of disseminating the gospel? Then the passage will only mean that, of the first teachers of our faith, some came to this island. In neither supposition is there the most slender proof, that St. Paul was the founder of the British church.

Let us now pass to St. Jerome. "Jerome," says the bishop, "ascribes this province expressly to St. Paul, and says, that, after his imprisonment, having been in Spain, he went from ocean to ocean, and that he preached the gospel in the western parts. In the western parts he included Britain, as is evident from a passage in his Epitaphium Marcellæ."* The assertion that Jerome ascribes to St. Paul, the conversion of the Britons, I shall meet with the most unqualified denial. The bishop has, indeed, in support of it, adduced what wears the appearance of a passage from the works of that writer. But it is, in reality, a piece of patch-work, in which different scraps are so put together, as to resemble anything but the original. In his commentary on the fifth chapter of Amos, Jerome says, that "St. Paul travelled from the Red Sea, or rather from the ocean to the ocean." But does the learned prelate conceive that writer to have been so ignorant of geography, as to describe a journey from Spain to Britain, as a voyage from one ocean to another; or the apostle to have made so circuitous a route,

* Bishop of St. David's, p. 32.

as to have taken the Red Sea into his road from the Peninsula to this island? The truth is, by the two oceans, Jerome meant the Indian and the Atlantic. For he, like most of the ancient writers, believed that in preaching the gospel, "from Jerusalem, *round about* as far as Illyricum," (Rom. xv. 19.) the apostle had visited many of the eastern nations, such as the Ethiopians, Persians, Scythians, and Indians: * and therefore he describes the theatre of St. Paul's labours, as being bounded to the east by the Indian Sea, and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean, which washes the shores of Spain. Of Britain, he says not a single word. † The other part of the passage, as quoted by Dr. Burgess, is taken from Jerome's work *de viris illustribus*, in which St. Paul is said to have preached in the western parts. But must this necessarily mean Britain? If Britain were in the west, so also was Gaul, so was Spain, so was Italy, so was Illyricum. Was it impossible for the apostle to visit any one of these countries, unless he also visited Britain? Or if he preached in any of them, would it not be true to say, he preached in the western parts, though he never entered Britain? But Jerome himself has been careful to inform us in the very passage, what he meant by "the western parts," by referring us to the fourth chapter of the second epistle to Timothy, from which we learn that the apostle was then at Rome, expecting daily to suffer martyrdom. ‡ By the western parts, he meant Rome or Italy.

* Chrys. de laud. S. Pauli, hom. iv.

† The original passage is as follows. Ut prædicaret evangelium de Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum, et ædificaret non super alterius fundamentum, ubi jam fuerat prædicatum, sed usque ad Hispanias tenderet, et a mari rubro, imo ab oceano usque ad oceanum curreret. In Amos, c. v. The last line is evidently an illustration of the preceding words.

‡ If we admit the bishop's new mode of reasoning, we must believe that Simon Magus preached his impious doctrines in Britain, for Eusebius says, he came from Judea into the western parts *ἐπι δυσμας ὤχετο*, and that St. Peter also preached the gospel in Britain, for the same writer says of him, that he brought the light of the gospel from the east, to those that dwelt in the west, *ἐξ ανατολῶν τοῖς κατὰ δυσιν*. Euseb. hist. ecc. l. 11. c. 14.

4. The learned Prelate next appeals to Theodoret, who, in the fifth century, if we may trust his lordship, “mentions the Britons among the nations converted by the apostles; and says, that St. Paul, after his release from imprisonment, went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of the gospel to other nations. He says also, that St. Paul brought salvation to *the islands that lie in the ocean*, τὰς ἐν τῷ πελάγῳ διακειμένας νήσοις τὴν οφείλαν προσηγεῖσθαι.” And as both Nicephorus and Chrysostom speak of the British islands as lying in the ocean, ἐν αὐτῷ οὐσαι τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, there can be no doubt, they must be the islands meant by Theodoret. Of this testimony from Theodoret, I must observe, that, like the former from Jerome, it is made up of several distinct passages, selected from different works of the same writer. I shall, therefore, resolve it into its component parts, and consider each separately. 1. The first part is taken from Theodoret’s ninth discourse, intitled “On Laws,” in which he compares the law-givers of Greece and Rome with the preachers of the gospel. The former, he tells us, could never establish their laws in more than a few countries; but the apostles persuaded not only the Greeks and Romans, but the Scythians and Sauromatæ, the Indians and Ethiopians, Persians, Seræ, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, *Britons*, Cimmerians, and Germans, in a word, the whole human race, all the nations of the earth, to embrace the law of Christ. Can this passage be seriously brought as a proof that St. Paul, or any other apostle, personally preached in Britain? It is evidently the language of declamation, and not of history. It attributes to the apostles what was, in many instances, the work of their disciples. Theodoret was himself conscious of it, and within a few lines corrects the extravagance of the hyperbole, by observing that the Scythians, Persians, and other barbarous nations, were not converted till after the death of the apostles.* 2. The second part is taken from Theodoret’s commentary on the second epistle of

* Πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ Σκύθας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βαρβάρων ἔθνη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων οἱ νόμοι διέδοσαν τελευτήν. Theod. Sermon. ix. de legibus.

Timothy, in which he says, that Paul, after his release went into Spain, and *other nations*. But could he not go to any other nation, unless he first came to Britain? By other nations, Theodoret undoubtedly means the nations of Greece and Asia, to whom, according to all historians, the apostle preached during the interval between his first and second imprisonment. 3. The third passage is culled from Theodoret's interpretation of Psalm cxvi; where that writer says, that St. Paul visited Italy and Spain, and carried salvation to the islands lying in the sea. But how does he prove that the apostle visited Italy and Spain? By quoting the passage in the epistle to the Romans; *When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope that as I pass I shall see you*, (Rom. xv. 24.) How that he preached in the Islands lying in the sea? By quoting the Epistle to Titus, (i. 5.) *For this cause I left thee in Crete, &c.* Hence it is clear that the Islands meant by Theodoret, were Crete and her sister isles in the Mediterranean, as remote from Britain, as was his *Πελαγος* from the *Ωκεανος* of Chrysostom, though the learned Prelate thought it expedient to translate both *Πελαγος* and *Ωκεανος* by the same English word.

5. The reader probably will not be displeased, when I inform him that we are now arrived at the last of these indisputable testimonies. "In the sixth century," according to the Bishop of St. David's, "Venantius Fortunatus says thus of St. Paul:

Transit et oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

Sensible that objections may be raised to the authority of a poet, the learned Prelate denies that verse is necessarily the vehicle of fiction. But is not this passage as it is transcribed, evidently "the vehicle of fiction?" For let the *ultima Thule* be what it may, Ireland, or the Orkneys, or the Shetland isles, yet it is certain that St. Paul never preached in any of those countries. It is, however, easy to vindicate the poet: the fiction is not in his verses, but in the sense affixed to them by Dr. Burgess. It is not of the *person*, but of

the *doctrine* of the apostle that Fortunatus speaks. *The writings* of St. Paul, says he, have penetrated into every country that is warmed with the rays of the sun ; the north, the south, the west, the east.

Et qua sol radiis tendit, *stylus ille* cucurrit ;
Arctos, meridies, hinc plenus vesper et ortus.

They (his *writings*, the same *stylus ille*) have even crossed the ocean into Britain and ultima Thule.

Transit et oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum .
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

Let me request the right reverend Prelate to turn again to the passage in Fortunatus, and he will immediately discover his mistake.

Thus have I attempted to shew, and I trust to the satisfaction of the reader, that the rock on which the Bishop of St. David's has built his British church, is no better than a hillock of sand.—Never, perhaps, was an assertion so boldly made, and so weakly supported. Neither separately nor collectively do the authorities, which he has brought forward, connect, in any single instance, the name of the apostle with this island. Not one that names St. Paul, mentions Britain :—not one that mentions Britain, names St. Paul. To make anything out of them, it was necessary to intermix them together ; to invert all the established modes of reasoning ; and to refer to Britain what is said of the preaching of St. Paul in other places, and to St. Paul what is said of the conversion of Britain by other missionaries. The web, it must be confessed, was woven with some ingenuity : I have had the patience to unravel it ; with what success, is for the reader to determine.

Conceiving, however, that he had established his favourite hypothesis, the learned prelate gives the reins to his imagination, and opens to us a scene truly novel and interesting. He describes to us all that the apostle did in Britain. Converts were made ; deacons, priests, and bishops were ordained : Aristo-

bulus was placed at the head of the new ministry; and "the British church, in a spiritual sense, was fully established."* I shall not waste my time in demolishing this baseless fabric; but I must inform the reader for what purpose it was reared. "Hence results," the bishop tells us, "this very interesting consequence, that the church of Britain was fully established before the church of Rome."† There had, indeed, been a church in Rome some years before, to which St. Paul had written an epistle, and of which he bore this memorable testimony; *Your faith is spoken of in the whole world*, (Rom. i. 8.) but this it seems, had some how or other disappeared. The apostle himself had resided more than two years in Rome; yet we must believe, that during this time he would not establish a *church* in that city.‡ Why not? Because he had so great a partiality for the barbarians who inhabited Britain, that he determined to give them the honour of a prior establishment. Truly, instead of thus forming visionary hypotheses, instead of labouring to give to fable the fair form of truth, it were better to admit with all Christian antiquity, what is so well expressed in the lines of an old, but popish, poet: (Proper, A. D. 420.)

Roma sedes Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis,
Relligione tenet.

* Bishop of St. David's, p. 43. † Ibid.

‡ The bishop tells us, page 8 and 9, that he had already *established* a christian *society* in Rome. But probably he finds a difference between the two. *Society* is a Latin, *church* a Greek word.

PART III.

Ex his synodis omnes nostræ patriæ ecclesiæ modum et regulam Romana auctoritate acceperunt. Ryce-march, epis. Menev. in vita S. Dav. Ang. Sac. tom. 11. p. 669.

IT is not, however, on his arguments in favour of St. Paul's journey to the British isles, that the Bishop of St. David's must rest his claim to the gratitude of the established church. In that department of theological science, he is but the humble scholar of Usher, Stillingfleet, and other anti-catholic writers of former days. But there is another and a more important discovery, in which the right reverend Prelate has neither predecessor nor rival, of which he is the sole and undisputed proprietor. During that long night of ignorance and superstition, which overspread the nations of Europe in the eleventh century, he has descried the true light of the gospel shining with undiminished lustre amid the mountains of Wales; and among the Prelates, who at that period successively held the see of St. David's, he has found one, who can be proved to have been a true and orthodox protestant! This is certainly a valuable and an original discovery. It must infuse joy into the breast of every churchman,

from the summit of Snowden to the mouth of the Severn; and will confer immortal honour on the name of the learned Prelate in the annals of the antiquarian society.

But not to detain the impatience of the reader from a nearer acquaintance with this venerable personage, I shall inform him that the name of the protestant archbishop of St. David's was Sulgen; that by birth he was a Welchman; that at the age of sixty-one he was raised to the archiepiscopal throne; that he resigned this dignity no less than three times; and died in 1089, in the eightieth year of his age. But ere this a thousand questions will undoubtedly have crowded into the reader's mind. How, he will ask, is it proved that he was a protestant? Did he wear lawn sleeves? Did he subscribe the thirty-nine articles? Did he teach that in the sacrament the body and blood of Christ are truly received without being there? No, all these questions must be answered in the negative. But then there is a fact paramount to everything else. Whatever may have been his speculative opinions, in practice he was orthodox. He had four children; and this is considered by the right reverend Prelate a convincing proof that he held the doctrines of the present established church.

I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous, if I object to the legitimacy of such a conclusion. Two things are taken for granted instead of being proved, either of which, as long as it is not proved, will be sufficient to invalidate the reasoning of Dr. Burgess. 1. It is taken for granted that the distinguishing function of a protestant bishop is the procreation of children; which whether it be true or not, though I doubt it, the learned prelate himself is the fittest to determine. 2. It is also taken for granted that the children of the most reverend Dr. Sulgen were born to him after his episcopal consecration; which is known to be contrary to the fact. At what age, indeed, he was married, we cannot ascertain: but we are told that he studied during his youth both in Scotland and Ireland: that after his return to Wales he established a great

school : that while he followed the profession of teaching, he brought up four sons, Rycemarch, Arthgen, Daniel and John ; that his reputation with the clergy and the people daily increased : and that in his sixty-first year, he was made archbishop of St. David's. This is all we know on the subject ; and if this be all, Sulgen, for aught Dr. Burgess may say to the contrary, may have been a popish prelate. His having previously had a family of four children would prove no objection. For neither the Greek nor the Latin churches exclude from the episcopacy men who have been once married, provided their wives either are dead, or have retired into a convent.

I should have told the reader that for this important information respecting the orthodoxy of the archbishop, we are indebted to the care of John, his fourth and youngest son. In the twelfth year of Sulgen's episcopacy John had finished transcribing a copy of the works of St. Augustine, (for to copy the works of the fathers was the favourite occupation of the protestant clergy of ancient times,) and at the end he added a metrical account both of himself and his venerable parent. This short poem of one hundred and fifty-five lines the bishop of St. David's has published, and from its contents he thinks it evident that not only the British metropolitan, as we have already seen, but that his son also, the Rev. John Sulgen, was a sound and orthodox protestant.

The proof of John Sulgen's orthodoxy is two-fold, negative and positive. The negative is the following. " He begins his verses with an address to Christ. " Here are no addresses to departed saints, not even " to St. David ; nor a thought expressed of any other " intercession but the prayers of the living for the " living."* But why should there ? Is there any law obliging poets to enumerate in all their compositions the articles of their religious belief ? If there be, the orthodoxy of Sulgen himself will become very problematical. For may not I also say ; here are no

* Job. Sulg. p. 9.

addresses to the Trinity, none to the holy Spirit, no mention made of the redemption of man, no thought expressed of a belief in any of the thirty-nine articles? And may I not thence infer with equal reason, that Sulgen rejected these doctrines? But perhaps popish poets may be obliged to mention at least the intercession of the saints in their poems? The learned Prelate knows better: he is acquainted with many of their compositions, even in honour of the saints, in which no such mention occurs. I will refer him to one, which he must have seen, to Bede's hymn on St. Edelthryda, which begins thus:

Alme deus trinitas, qui secula cuneta gubernas.*

In this there is no address to Edelthryda, or any other saint, though such addresses are frequent in several of his works.

The proof positive consists in the two last verses of the poem. The writer, after praying that God would pardon his sins, adds;

Proficuum dum tempus adest, rectæque salutis,
Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina prosunt.

“These two incomparable lines,” exclaims the bishop, “are remarkable for their protestant spirit. *Rectæ salutis* is a very significant expression, implying that there is only one right way of salvation, and that reliance on prayers for the dead, and on the intercession of departed saints is not that right way.”† In another place he goes so far as to term the passage “a *protestation* against prayers for the dead, as unprofitable for salvation.”‡ Now, if the right reverend Prelate find in these lines the spirit of protestantism,

* Bed. Hist. l. iv. c. 20.

† Joh. Sulg. p. 11.

‡ Ibid. p. 6. I know not how the learned Prelate means to reconcile his fancied protestations of the Welch clergy, against prayers for the dead, with the fact of their accepting donations of land, on condition of praying for the dead. Pro anima sua et animabus parentum suorum — pro animabus suis, et suorum. Monast. tom 111. p. 190. et seq. Oratio cotidiana pro anima illius, et pro animabus parentum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum. Ang. Sac. tom. 11. p. 667. et seq

I will add that I also recognise in them the spirit of catholicism. They hold a language which is to be found in all our books of devotion, and in the mouths of all our preachers. We also teach that repentance during life is the right and only path which can lead the sinner to salvation. It remains for the Bishop of St. David's to shew how such doctrine is incompatible with the practices of praying for the dead, or of soliciting the intercession of departed saints.

Besides John, Dr. Sulgen had another son, called Rycemarch, who was also an author. He has left us the history of the life of St. David, a history brimful of the errors and corruptions of popery. But how came this? Did the Welch metropolitan bring up one of his sons a Protestant, and the other a Catholic? No, replies the Bishop of St. David's, Rycemarch's work has been interpolated.* Thus nothing can come amiss to the hands of the learned Prelate. He cuts and carves for us as he pleases. He possesses the privilege of adding to, or taking from the works of authors, whatever may suit his purpose. In the poem of John Sulgen there is no mention of the intercession of the saints: of course it is evident that he rejected it. In the prose of Rycemarch there is mention of many Catholic practices: of course his work has been interpolated. But will the right reverend Prelate take the trouble to retrench from the writings of Rycemarch, all that savours of popery? He will find nothing left.

Before I conclude, I may be allowed to notice one or two other observations, which have been hazarded by the learned Prelate. He tells us, that the British "church did not sink under the horrors of Saxon extermination, but retired to her mountains and fortresses in the west, and subsisted there for many centuries, *not only independently of the church of Rome, but in a state of resistance to her authority.*"† It is unfortunate that the passage in italics is not supported by the authority of some ancient writer: it might then have been known on what

* Ibid. p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 7.

foundation it rested. It is still more unfortunate that the Bishop of St. David's did not consult the records of his own see, he would then probably have found reason to doubt the accuracy of what he has asserted. From the *Annales Menevenses* he would have learned that the protestant princes of the Britons, at that period, were as anxious to shew their devotion to the Roman Harlot, as were their enemies and neighbours, the popish princes of the Saxons. Like them they made pilgrimages to the apostolic see: and like them many remained at Rome, that they might have the fortune to expire near the tomb of St. Peter. Cadwallader is recorded to have died at Rome in 689, Eygen in 853, Howel in 885, and Howel, the son of Cadil, in 928.* Is this fact very reconcilable with the idea, that the British church protested against the doctrines, and rejected the authority of the church of Rome?

Had the learned prelate looked into the work of Rycemarch, his predecessor, and the son of his protestant archbishop, he would have there discovered still stronger reasons to distrust the visions of his imagination. Rycemarch would have told him, that as early as the fifth century, in the life-time of St. David himself, the discipline of the British church, on account of some doctrinal disputes, was settled by *the authority of the church of Rome*:† and that this information was obtained not from oral tradition, but from the very hand-writing of that ancient and celebrated Prelate, David himself. To so positive an assertion I see not what can be reasonably opposed; and trust that the generality of my readers will give more credit to the impartial statement of a Bishop of St. David's in the eleventh, than to the more interested conjectures of a Bishop of St. David's in the nineteenth century.

We are moreover told, that the Welch church, by its submission to the see of Canterbury in the time of Henry I, was united to the English church before it

* *Ang. Sac. Tom. 11. p. xxxii. et. 648.*

† *Ex his igitur duabus synodis omnes nostræ patriæ ecclesiæ modum et regulam Romana auctoritate acceperunt. Ang. Sac. tom. 11. p. 669.*

fell under the dominion of popery.* But how did the Welch church endeavour to avert this submission? Why, by appealing to the pope, and to the very church, the authority of which it is now represented as having resisted for so many centuries. Nor is this all. Though the struggle of the Welch bishops against the pretensions of the see of Canterbury lasted for almost a century, though we have documents without number on the subject, we do not learn that a single objection was ever made to the faith or discipline of the English and Roman churches. Did then the princes and people, as well as the prelates and clergy of Wales, go to bed one night pure and orthodox protestants, and rise the next morning profane and idolatrous papists? If they were protestants before their submission to the see of Canterbury, they were evidently papists immediately after it, and that too without being conscious of any change either in belief or practice. Unless, therefore, the reader be prepared to admit so miraculous a revolution, he will reject the unfounded hypothesis of the Bishop of St. David's, and will acknowledge that the Welch church, like every other national church in those ages, was one member of that great and united family of Christians, of which the bishop of Rome was considered as the spiritual head under Christ.

* Joh. Sulg. p. 7.

STRICTURES

ON

DR. MARSH'S

“COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE CHURCHES OF
ENGLAND AND ROME.”



Της των ουρανῶν Βασιλείας την γνῶσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κατήγγελλον (οἱ Ἀποστολοι)
την οικεμένην σπευδῆς της περι λογογραφῆιν μικράν ποιόμενοι φροντίδα· και τῷτ,
ἐπράϊλλον ἀτε μείζονι καί ὑπερ ἀνθρωπον ἐξυπηρετεμενοι διακονία.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. 1. iii. c. 24.

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STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

The object of the "Comparative View of the Two Churches of England and Rome."—Dr. Marsh's opinion of scripture and tradition.—His reasoning examined.—His charges against Bossuet.—His explanation of 2 Thes. ii. 15.—His opinion of the instability of tradition,—and of the difficulty of knowing it,—refuted.

THOUGH it may be fairly presumed that, in the controversy between the church of Rome and the modern church of England, every important argument has long since been pre-occupied and exhausted; yet new advocates are daily brought forward, who claim in their turn the attention of the public, and present the old matter belonging to their predecessors under a new, and sometimes a more engaging form. Among these may be numbered a scholar of great biblical celebrity, the Margaret-professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge. If Dr. Marsh, by proposing to distribute the Book of Common Prayer with the Bible, was thought to betray a secret leaning to the arbitrary principles of popery: his "Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome," must completely

wipe away the injurious imputation. In this long and laboured performance, he undertakes to examine the doctrine and policy of the two churches; 1st, as to the foundation of their respective creeds; 2d, as to the establishment of church ceremonies; and 3d, as to the exercise of church authority. On all these points he professes to shew, as it was meet he should, that the church of England acts on rational, tolerant, and scriptural grounds, while the conduct of the church of Rome has been repugnant to the inspired word of God, and to the natural liberty of man.

As the writer of these pages has not the inclination, so neither has he the leisure, to discuss this variety of subjects. Of the three parts into which the "Comparative View" has been divided, he wishes to confine himself to the first, the ground work of the other two. Nor would he even notice that, did he not feel anxious to direct the attention of Dr. Marsh and his associates, to a question, which has frequently been offered to their consideration; but, by some fatality, has almost always escaped their memory. In examining the sources from which the two churches profess to derive their respective creeds, occasion will be offered to inquire, whether the reformers, by rejecting the authority of tradition, have not in effect destroyed the authority of scripture, taken away the security of religious belief, and undermined the very foundations of Christianity. This, certainly, is a subject not undeserving of attention.

The three first chapters of the "Comparative View," consist of preliminary matter, of definitions and quotations. These, with much parade of research, are spread over more than fifty pages; while the information which they convey, might have been comprised in less than fifty lines. We are successively led to the council of Trent, to Bellarmine, and Delahogue on the one side, and to the articles and homilies of the church of England on the other: from the first we are taught, what every reader knew before, that the church of Rome admits the authority of both scripture and tradition; from the latter, what is equally well ascertained,

that the church of England professes to admit the authority of scripture only, and to reject the authority of tradition. The writer of these sheets will not presume to lay a tax equally heavy and unnecessary on the patience of his readers. He will therefore dismiss the introductory chapters of Dr. Marsh with a single observation, that Catholics, though they admit both scripture and tradition, do not consider them as independent sources of doctrine. They revere them both indeed, because both emanate from the same holy spirit. But they know, and experience has fully proved it, that the written word is of itself a dead letter, unable to explain its own meaning; that it may be made to speak any language, which suits the caprice or the convenience of its readers; and that it has been profanely wrested by innovators and fanatics, to support doctrines the most impious and contradictory. If then the scripture be a rule of faith, they contend that, to be securely so, it must be expounded according to the unwritten word, of which, no less than of the written word, the church of God has been appointed "the witness and the keeper" by its divine founder.

In his fourth chapter, Dr. Marsh enters on the real merits of the question. Is the scripture alone the rule of our faith, as is taught by the church of England; or are we to add tradition to the scripture, as is taught by the church of Rome? There is no point in the controversy between the two churches which involves greater interests, or demands more dispassionate inquiry. If it can be shewn, that tradition, or the unwritten word, has no authority, then will the church of England have an equal chance with any other reformed church, of being in the right: if it cannot, then will they *all* be necessarily in the wrong. On this question, therefore, Dr. Marsh shall express his sentiments in his own words. The extract will appear long; but the apology for its length will be found in the importance of the subject. Had his reasoning been abridged, a suspicion might have arisen, that it had been misrepresented.

“The inquiry,” says he, “which we are about to institute, will be conducted in the most intelligible manner, by making Bossuet’s chapter upon scripture and tradition, the *basis* of that inquiry. And no Romanist can object to it, as Bossuet is universally holden by them in the highest estimation. In that chapter, which is the seventeenth in his ‘Exposition of the ‘Catholic Faith,’ says Bossuet, ‘Jesus Christ having ‘laid the foundation of his church by preaching, the ‘*unwritten* word was consequently the *first* rule of ‘Christianity; and when the writings of the New ‘Testament were *added* to it, its authority was not ‘*forfeited* on that account, which makes us receive ‘with equal veneration, all that has been taught by ‘the apostles, whether in *writing* or by word of *mouth*, ‘which St. Paul expressly recommends to the Thessa- ‘lonians.’ Here no one will deny that Jesus Christ laid the foundation of his church by preaching. Nor can we *deny* that the unwritten word was the *first* rule of Christianity. As nothing was recorded, at least to our knowledge, during the life of our Saviour, the doctrines which he taught were, during *that period*, so many *divine traditions*. And divine traditions they *remained*, till they were recorded in the *gospels*. Again, as several years probably elapsed after the *apostles* had begun to teach under the guidance of the holy spirit, before they committed their doctrines to *writing*, the doctrines which they taught during *that period* were so many *apostolical traditions*. And apostolical traditions they *remained*, till they were recorded in the apostolical *epistles*. We may safely admit, therefore, that tradition, or the unwritten word, was the *first* rule of Christianity. The argument proceeds, that when the writings of the New Testament were *added* to it, its authority was not *forfeited* on that account. Now this argument, which is employed by other writers on the same subject, is supposed to *establish* the authority ascribed by the church of Rome to the unwritten word. For since it cannot be denied, that this was the *first* rule of Christianity, the authority which is acknow-

ledged to have been *then* due to it, does not *immediately* appear to have been actually *cancelled* by the circumstance that another authority was placed by the side of it. Yet, if we examine the argument a little *more closely*, we shall find that it carries with it its own confutation. For it secretly *implies* a point to be proved, and is therefore nothing better than a *petitio principii*. When they say, that the writings of the New Testament were *added* to the unwritten word, the very term 'added,' implies such a difference between the things themselves, as *tacitly* affords a foundation for their future superstructure. On the supposition, that the whole of the unwritten word was afterwards recorded in the New Testament, there would be an *absurdity* in saying that the New Testament was *added* to it. This *very term*, therefore, artfully implies, that a *part* at least of God's word was *not* recorded in the New Testament. But this is a point which the Romanists cannot take for *granted*, when they are arguing with those who invariably *deny* it. At the very dawn of the Reformation, both Luther and Melancthon rejected *tradition* as a rule of faith, because they were convinced that the *whole* of God's word was contained in the scripture or the *written* word."*

What impression the perusal of this passage may have made on the reader's mind, I will not pretend to divine. For myself, I will own, that I was disappointed. From the solemnity of the introduction I had been led to expect some very cogent argument, some express declaration from the word of God, that the scripture, to the exclusion of tradition, was the *only* rule of Christianity. Such at least would have been the manner in which a writer, adopting the principles of the "Comparative View," and confident in their accuracy, would naturally have proceeded. If Dr. Marsh has not done so, because he was conscious that he could not, that consciousness alone might have taught him to doubt the truth of his own doctrine. What then has he done? Why, nothing to the pur-

* Comparative View, p. 61—63.

pose. Instead of proving his own assertion by argument, he has trifled away his time in an impotent attempt to shew, that a passage, which he has selected from Bossuet, is a *petitio principii*. Now, were this to be allowed him, still we should not be advanced one step in the controversy. A logical error in an advocate is not a decisive proof of the badness of his cause. Dr. Marsh must adduce some positive argument in his own favour, before he can demonstrate that scripture alone is the rule of Christian faith. But—

1st. Though he is at liberty to select an extract from Bossuet's "*Exposition*," as the basis of his inquiry, yet let me ask by what right he reasons on the supposition that these half a dozen lines contain, not only the doctrine, but also the arguments of Catholics. He must know the difference between a mere statement, and a vindication, of doctrine; nor can he be ignorant that the chapter in Bossuet is of the former, and not of the latter description.

2d. If Dr. Marsh really flatters himself that he has discovered a *petitio principii* in the words of Bossuet, I envy him not his powers of discernment. There is no "*artful implication of a point to be proved*," in the passage alluded to. The Bishop of Meaux did, indeed, say, that the written had been *joined* to the unwritten word. "*Lorsque les écritures du nouveau testament y ont été jointes*." But what could he say? He was speaking, not of the *nature* of the doctrine, but of the vehicles by which it was conveyed, the unwritten and the written word. Dr. Marsh himself acknowledges that the unwritten word was the first rule: of course the second rule must have followed the first. Unless then he pretend, that, at the publication of the scriptures, all recollection of unwritten doctrine was effaced from the minds of the disciples, he also must say that the one was "*added*" or "*joined*" to the other.

3d. But since Protestants maintain that the whole of the unwritten is contained in the written word, how, it is asked, can Catholics take the contrary for granted? In reasoning with an adversary, you cannot, in-

deed, argue from what he denies, as if he had already admitted it: but in stating your own opinions, as Bossuet did, it is not only your right, it is your duty to state them fairly, whether your adversary admit them or not. But here let me ask, with whom on the present subject the onus probandi lies, with the Catholic or the protestant? The unwritten word, it is agreed, on all hands, was originally in the possession of authority. Luther, and Melancthon, and Dr. Marsh, come forward; they assert, that its authority was cancelled on the appearance of the written word; and assign, as a reason, that the whole of the former was recorded in the latter. But are we to believe this to be the fact, on their unsupported assertion? Is it not for them to adduce their proofs? Let them do so. Till they have done it, the unwritten word, according to the laws of reasoning, may be supposed in full possession of its original authority.

Perhaps the reader will expect, that, after this preliminary skirmish, Dr. Marsh will boldly come forward, and meet his enemy with all his force. No: whatever strength he has, it is carefully concealed. Bossuet, in his statement, had alluded to 2 Thessalonians, ii. 15, and this has furnished Dr. Marsh with an opportunity of reading us a long lecture, in which he interprets the passage, and then infers that it does not prove that for which it was alleged.* The interpretation I shall notice presently; the inference is founded on misapprehension. Supposing that the testimony of St. Paul was adduced to prove the *present* existence of apostolical traditions, he asks how it can be shewn that the traditions of which the apostle spoke, had not been already, or were not afterwards recorded in the other epistles. But the Bishop of Meaux did not assert that the traditions, of which the apostle spoke, are, or are not in actual existence. That was another question. His object was only to shew, that St. Paul exacted the same submission to his doctrine, whether it were delivered by word of mouth, or were

* Comparative View, p. 64. 66.

committed to writing. "Nous recevons avec une pareille veneration tout ce qui a été enseigne par les apôtres, soit par écrit, soit de vive voix, selon que St. Paul même l'a expressément déclaré, 2 Thess. ii. 15." And that he was borne out in this opinion by the text itself, will be evident to the dispassionate reader. "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle."

If then I notice the interpretation, which is given of this passage in the "Comparative View," it is not to vindicate Bossuet, but to call the attention of the reader to the freedoms which the reformed divines are accustomed to use with their only rule of faith, and the temerity with which they substitute their own conjectures for the infallible word of the Almighty. That the command of "holding traditions," should sound rather gratingly to an orthodox ear, is natural enough: and it would certainly be convenient to exchange it for an expression which savours less of the corruption of popery. With this view, Dr. Marsh deserts the authorized version of his church, and has recourse to the Greek text. He there finds the word *παράδοσις*, and taking it with him, goes in search of some passage, in which it may signify any other thing than the tradition of doctrine. Fortunately, he discovers, that in 2 Thess. iii. 6, it regards discipline, and may be translated *direction*. The question is instantly decided: whatever be the object or the language of the apostle in the contested passage, *παράδοσις* shall there also mean *direction*, and the heterodox phrase of "holding traditions" shall no longer offend the eyes of Protestant readers.* Not that I mean to accuse Dr.

* Comp. View, 63—66. Dr. M. appears to set a high value on this interpretation. He afterwards (p. 120) refers to it as an instance of the advantage to be derived from appealing to the original text, a privilege of which he pretends that Catholic divines have been deprived by the council of Trent. Of the value of his interpretation, the reader must be the judge: as to the practice of appealing to the originals, Catholic divines employ it as well as Protestant. That it was prohibited by the second decree, made at the fourth session of the council of Trent, is a

Marsh of any intention to misinterpret the scripture : but if he analyze the workings of his own mind, he will, I suspect, discover, that his new explication originated in a secret wish to get rid of that impudent word, *tradition*. Now, reader, if you think it worth your while to peruse the second and third chapters of

fiction of ancient date, the repetition of which, by Dr. Marsh, cannot but excite surprise. The decree neither mentions the originals expressly, nor alludes to them remotely. If the sixth of the English articles "allows by its very silence an appeal to the inspired originals, (Compar. View, p. 112)," it may equally be inferred from the silence of the council, that it also allows an appeal to the same originals. Its provisions are confined exclusively to translations, and those too published in the Latin language previously to the issuing of the decree: "Ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit." Out of these translations, it determines which for the future shall be deemed *authentic*, that is, approved by competent authority. This is exactly what the church of England has done in respect to the many English translations. That church has chosen a new, for *its* authorized, version. The Catholic church, being an old church, chose an old version for the same purpose: "Vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est." And there was much fairness in it. A new version (so powerful is the influence of system over the judgment) might be made, even unintentionally, to favour new opinions; but a version, published centuries before the rise of the controversy between the church of Rome and the reformers, could not be suspected of any such bias. It was therefore decreed, that the Latin vulgate should be taken for the authorized version of the Catholic church, in public lectures, disputations, sermons, and expositions; that is, on all public occasions in which an authorized version is necessary: "In publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur:" and that no one should, on any pretence, presume to reject it: "Et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat." Now, Dr. Marsh, in translating this last passage, has contrived, unintentionally, no doubt, by the insertion of an unauthorized word, to convert the prohibition of rejecting the Latin vulgate in general, into a prohibition of rejecting any particular passage in it. "Let no one presume to reject the *decision* of the Latin vulgate, under any pretence whatsoever." (p. 119.) A very slight acquaintance with Catholic literature will shew, that such is not the meaning of the decree. Many passages in the vulgate have been since corrected by authority: Catholic divines have repeatedly translated the originals; they are in the constant habit of recurring to the originals for the improvement and correction of passages in the vulgate, and in this country, Catholic controvertists seldom quote from the vulgate at all; they generally quote from the version of the English church.

the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, you will soon be enabled to judge of the merit of this very important discovery. Παράδοσις signifies *direction* in the third chapter. Granted: but must it then signify *direction* in every other passage? If the apostle were speaking, not of discipline, but of doctrine, would it not then mean the *tradition of doctrine*? Now, this is exactly the present case. The two chapters treat of quite different matters. The second regards nothing but doctrine; the third is confined to discipline. In the second, St. Paul warns his disciples against *false teachers*: "Let no man deceive you by any means." In the third, against men of covetous and disorderly *conduct*: "Withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly:" in the second, after reminding them of what he had *said* to them on former occasions, he adds, "therefore stand fast, and *hold the traditions* (παράδοσις) which ye have been *taught*, whether by *word* or our epistle:" in the third, after calling to their recollection his own *conduct* among them, he adds, that the man who does otherwise, "walketh not after the *direction* (παράδοσις) which he receives from us." The same distinction is clearly pointed out by the precision of the apostles language. In one chapter he speaks of *holding traditions*; in the other, of *walking after directions*: in the one, of traditions which the Thessalonians had been *taught*; in the other, of *direction* said to have been *received*. To me then nothing can appear more plain, than that in the first passage we are to understand the tradition of doctrine, and that to expound it by the second, is to pervert the real meaning of the apostle.

Having explained this passage from the second Epistle to the Thessalonians in an orthodox sense, Dr. Marsh proceeds to favour us with his conjectures on the subject of tradition. He thinks it "extremely improbable that an all-wise Providence, imparting a new revelation to mankind, would suffer any *doctrine* or article of *faith* to be transmitted to posterity by so precarious a vehicle as that of *oral tradition*. Articles of faith are objects only of *inward* sense, and must un-

avoidably, when transmitted only from *mouth to mouth*, undergo, *in a very short period*, material alterations.”* It may be sufficient to reply, that conjecture is a very unsafe foundation for a system of religious belief. We are but incompetent judges what measures it is probable or improbable, that the wisdom of the Almighty would pursue. Dr. Marsh founds his objection on the *unavoidable* alteration, which traditional doctrine *must* undergo. But is alteration unavoidable? Could Almighty Wisdom devise no means of preventing it? He has himself told us from Dr. Tomline, that “the general superintendance of the Holy Spirit prevented the writers of the scriptures from registering any material error.”† Could not the superintendance of the same Holy Spirit also prevent the great body of pastors from ever corrupting the unwritten word by any “material alteration?” Evidently it could: and what is more, if Catholics may be allowed, as well as Protestants, to understand the scriptures, it ought. For our blessed Lord has promised to Peter, that the gates of hell should not prevail against his church; and, when he sent the apostles to teach all nations, has added, that he would be with them himself always, even unto the end of the world.‡

* Comparative View, p. 67.

† Illustration of the hypothesis, &c. p. 33.

‡ Matt. xvi. 18. xxviii. 20. Dr. Marsh has very candidly proved (p. 213), that the words in the first of these passages, “Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church,” must mean, “Thou art *rock* by name, and shalt be *rock* indeed: for on thee,” &c. May I recommend this opinion of Dr. Marsh to the notice of the Bishop of St. David’s, one of those who, as Dr. Marsh observes, “have taken such unsuccessful pains to shew, that our Saviour, under the word *rock*, did not understand *St. Peter*.” See a work by the Bishop of St. David’s, intitled, “Christ, and not Peter, the rock;” and an answer to it, under the title of “Examination of certain Opinions advanced by the Right Rev. Dr. Burgess,” &c. But is it not singular, that the agitation of the Catholic Question should have renewed a controversy, which the good sense of Protestant writers had long ago abandoned? Many impotent attempts have lately been made to call in question the fact of St. Peter having ever been at Rome. Now, how does the case stand? On the one side we are told, that neither St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, nor St. Paul in his Epistles, ever mention St. Peter as residing at Rome. But this is merely a negative argument: and to be of any

To shew, however, the little reliance that can be placed on such conjectural reasoning, I will, for a mo-

weight, it should be shewn, 1st, that if St. Peter ever was at Rome, it must have been at the times alluded to in these writings; and 2d, if he were there *then*, that he must of necessity have been mentioned in them. On the other side, it is asserted, that every ancient writer, who has noticed the labours and death of St. Peter, has either expressly mentioned, or evidently supposed, his preaching at Rome; and that not one of them all has used an expression which can throw any doubt on the fact. How does Dr. Marsh get rid of such authority? He owns that Irenæus says, the church of Rome was founded by the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul: but then Irenæus also calls it a most ancient church, "*antiquissima ecclesia.*" Now this epithet, he contends, "*directly contradicts* the account given in the Acts relative to the church of Jerusalem," (for St. Peter preached at Jerusalem long before he could visit Rome); of course, so "*palpable a falsehood destroys the credit of Irenæus: and also of other writers, who, when they mentioned St. Peter as at Rome, 'probably depended on his authority,'*" (p. 208. 210). It is really painful to notice such reasoning. But Dr. Marsh himself informs us, that Clemens of Alexandria, and Tertullian, were contemporary with Irenæus. What then is their testimony? Clemens says, that the occasion of writing St. Mark's gospel, was "*when St. Peter preached the word publicly in Rome.*" (Apud. Eus. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 14). Could he derive this information from the lying Irenæus? No: for Irenæus gives a different account, (Id. v. 8). Tertullian says, that Peter was crucified at Rome. *Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus, &c.* (De Præscrip. p. 215. Par. 1675). Was he also deceived by the lying Irenæus? But he relates particulars, which Irenæus has not mentioned. Origen was the scholar of Clemens. He tells us, that Peter was crucified at Rome with his head downwards. *Επι τελει εν Ρωμη γενομενος ανασκολοπισθη κατα κεφαλης.* (Tom. iii. in Gen. apud. Euseb. l. iii. c. 1). Could Origen derive this information from Irenæus? But, perhaps, he also is undeserving of credit; for he has been guilty of the same "*palpable falsehood.*" He has applied the epithet "*most ancient*" to the church of Rome, which he was anxious to visit: *ευξαμενος την αρχαιοτατην Ρωμαιων εκκλησιαν ιδειν.* (Apud. Euseb. l. vi. c. 14). Ignatius of Antioch, at least, could not have been deceived by Irenæus, for he suffered death before the close of the first century. Yet he evidently supposes Peter to have preached at Rome. Requesting a favour from the Romans, he says, he does not presume to command them as Peter and Paul did: for they were apostles. *Ουχ ως Πέτρος και Παυλος διατασσομαι υμιν.* (Cotel. Pat. Apost. tom. ii. p. 28.) And Clemens, a still more ancient writer, though, as Dr. Marsh observes, he does not mention *where* St. Peter suffered, plainly gives us to understand, that it was at Rome. For he writes a letter from Rome, mentions the examples of constancy lately given by the apostles, and then describes the sufferings and death, first of St. Peter, and next of St. Paul. The latter, it is admitted, suffered at Rome, so then did the former.

ment, suppose it to be well-founded. The consequence will be, that the writing of the scriptures has prevented the original doctrine of the unwritten word from undergoing any material alteration. For it would be like blasphemy to assert, that the wisdom of God had made choice of any measure totally inadequate to effect its purpose. Let us then put this conjecture to the test. The scriptures were intended to prevent any material alteration of the unwritten word. Have they done so? 1st. During eight centuries before the Reformation, the whole christian world was plunged in the most damnable idolatry and superstition. At least, Dr. Marsh will say so; for it is the doctrine of his church in its homilies. The fact then will be, that for eight hundred years the scriptures failed of producing the very effect for which they were written. 2d. Has the case been bettered since the Reformation? No: the belief of this principle, that the scriptures alone are the rule of faith, has divided its followers into numberless sects, has multiplied error, and has taken away religious certainty. That it has produced numberless sects, is evident from the history of the reformed churches: that it has multiplied error, is equally certain; for all these sects differ from each other on doctrinal grounds; and, consequently, since truth cannot be at variance with itself, they must among them teach a great variety of errors; and that it has taken away all religious certainty, will result from the want of any rule or authority to determine between them. Let us suppose, for example, that you have searched the scriptures for your own satisfaction; that, after a long and dispassionate inquiry, you have made your selection of one of the reformed creeds in preference to the rest. Still, what security can you enjoy? Other men, as sincere as yourself, blessed with equal talents, and not inferior in judgment, have made a similar inquiry, and have come to a totally opposite result. What reason have you to believe that you alone are right, and that they are wrong? It is evident that, if the scriptures were written for no other purpose than to preserve the true knowledge of Christ's doctrine, they

have not produced that effect. I will, therefore, presume to offer to Dr. Marsh's consideration, the extreme improbability, that an all-wise Providence, imparting a new revelation to mankind, should suffer its doctrines to be transmitted to posterity, by so treacherous a vehicle as a written document, subject to the contradictory interpretations of different readers, without any provision for the determination of its real meaning. To me it appears that this conjecture is not less worthy of his notice, than that which he himself has suggested. But where, it is asked, can be the use of apostolical traditions, "if we have no means of knowing them, when we find them."* Evidently in that case they must be useless: and a similar reason has always induced me to believe, that in the reformed system the scriptures are of little use; because in that system there is not, as experience has shewn, any means of ascertaining with security, what is the true sense of scripture. But Dr. Marsh is mistaken, if he think, as he seems to do, that, in order to discover the traditions of the apostles, it is necessary to travel through all the works of all the fathers.† That, indeed, would be an arduous, an almost endless task: and, what is worse, as their writings, no less than the inspired writings, are liable to different interpretations, we should, perhaps, at the end of our labour, find ourselves as far from certainty of doctrine, as are at the present day the reformed churches, after having sought, during almost three centuries, the true doctrine of Christ in the scriptures. But Catholics are persuaded that there is a much shorter and a more secure way. The thirty-nine articles teach, that "the

* Comparative View, p. 68.

† On this subject I would direct the attention of the Protestant reader to a most useful and laborious compilation, under the title of "The Faith of Catholics confirmed by Scripture, and attested by the Fathers of the Five first Ages of the Church. London, Booker, 1813." The body of the work will supply him with testimonies from the more ancient writers: in the introduction he will find the Catholic doctrine, on tradition and church authority, explained with a perspicuity and elegance characteristic of its author.

church is a witness and a keeper of the written word :” Catholics believe that the church is also a witness and a keeper of the *unwritten* word : that God has appointed her to transmit both to succeeding generations; and that from her doctrine may be learned both the one and the other. This I am aware Dr. Marsh will be disposed to deny. He may, perhaps, term it a *petitio principii*. But it is sufficient, in this stage of the controversy, to point out the source from which the Catholic professes to receive the doctrines of the unwritten word. If my learned adversary think he can demonstrate that it is not the source appointed by Christ, he is at liberty to make the attempt.

I have now arrived at the conclusion of the fourth chapter of the “Comparative View,” which ought to have shewn, that the existence of apostolical traditions is imaginary, that the written contains the whole of the unwritten word, and that the scriptures, exclusively of tradition, form the only rule of christian doctrine. Yet what is the sum of the reasoning comprised within it? Merely this; that Bossuet has taken a disputed point for granted, and has misapplied a text of scripture: that traditionary doctrine, without the care of a superintending Providence, is liable to alteration; and that it would be a hopeless undertaking to collect the doctrines of the apostles from the writings of former ages. Of the accuracy of these assertions, and of their bearing on the present subject, the reader has been enabled to judge from the foregoing reflexions: and I may be allowed to conclude by saying, that, if nothing better can be alleged in defence of the reformed, or in opposition to the Catholic rule of faith, the foundation of the church of England must, to use Dr. Marsh’s expression, * be formed not of solid, but of sandy materials.

* Comparative View, p. 2.

CHAPTER II.

There is no evidence to induce a belief that the written word was meant as the sole rule of Christian faith, to the exclusion of the unwritten word.—The scriptures nowhere describe themselves as such.—The commission of the apostles was not to write, but to preach.—The manner in which the New Testament is composed, of occasional and unconnected tracts, shews that it was not designed by the apostles—nor by the Spirit of God—to be the only rule of faith.

THE reader will have observed, from the preceding chapter, that on one point both churches are agreed: They both acknowledge that the unwritten word was the original rule of christianity. In what then do they disagree? In this: the church of England teaches, that the whole of the unwritten was recorded in the written word, and that the scripture from that moment became the only rule of faith: while the church of Rome, on the contrary, maintains, that the unwritten word was neither wholly recorded in the written word, nor at any time deprived of its authority. It is obvious that, on this point, the whole controversy respecting tradition turns. If, at the very dawn of the Reformation, Luther and Melancthon rejected tradition as a rule of faith, it was on account of their “conviction, that the whole of God’s word was contained in the scripture.”*

* Comparative, View, p. 63.

Now, on this very interesting question, it has pleased Dr. Marsh to assert the affirmative, but without adducing any one argument to support it. On other subjects he can be laboriously, nay tediously, diffuse: on this, which so particularly required his aid, he has been most vexatiously silent. It is much to be regretted. I should have been happy to know what so learned and acute an advocate could have advanced in defence of a doctrine, which to me appears incapable of defence: and it must have been a satisfaction to the Protestant reader to be convinced, that the first principle of his faith has not been assumed because it was convenient, but has been admitted because it was true. This, however, has been denied us both; and we must be content to receive the assertion on the authority of Dr. Marsh, and the conviction of Luther and Melancthon.

Unable, therefore, to combat arguments, which are withheld from my knowledge, I shall presume to offer my own view of the subject; and shall attempt to prove the two following propositions:—1st, there is no evidence to induce a belief that the scriptures were intended as the sole rule of faith, to the exclusion of the unwritten word: 2nd, there is sufficient evidence to induce a belief of the contrary.

I am aware that, to the orthodox reader, these opinions may appear bold, and perhaps paradoxical. From his infancy he has in all probability been taught, that the scriptures contain the whole doctrine of the Christ and his apostles, and that from them alone he is to derive the articles of his creed. This principle, it must be confessed, is at first sight very specious: it is moreover flattering to human pride: and it has been so often echoed and re-echoed by teachers and writers, that no one can be surprised, if it be generally admitted without any inquiry into the evidence on which it may be grounded. But when we consider the alarming consequences which have flowed from it; when we see it become the prolific parent of discordant creeds; when we behold it furnishing alike weapons to the Unitarian and Trinitarian, to the Baptist and

Anabapist, to the church of England and to the kirk of Scotland, in defence of their distinctive doctrines; when we observe, from what daily passes around us, that it has given the rein to every species of fanaticism, and reduced religious belief to a mere matter of opinion, or rather of conjecture; we may surely be allowed to doubt, whether it possess a just title to that authority, which it has so long claimed and exercised. Can the *only* rule of christian faith give birth to contradictory faiths? Can the path appointed to guide our steps to the truth, lead the sincere inquirer into error? I cannot believe it: and shall therefore solicit the attention of the reader to the following reflections:

1st, Let us suppose, that a written paper is put into our hands, with an intimation that it is an authentic instrument of immense importance, and containing instructions which must be implicitly obeyed. What is the conduct, which ordinary prudence would, in such a case, suggest? If it be not in our power to procure access to those, from whom the paper was originally derived, it will be our duty to discover, if possible, by a careful examination of the contents, whether it profess to be such a document as had been described. Now let us act in a similar manner with respect to the scriptures. Dr. Marsh steps forward with a book in his hand, which he pronounces to be the *only* rule of christian faith. There was indeed, he acknowledges, an unwritten rule before it; but that, he also tells us, was cancelled, as soon as this book was written to be substituted in its place. Whence, however, he derived this information, he does not think proper to disclose. I therefore take the book, I read it diligently from the beginning to the end; but am unable to discover in any part of it, such pretensions as Dr. Marsh has ascribed to it. Nowhere does it profess to be the sole rule of christianity:* nowhere does it so much as hint that its own authority is to supersede the authority of

* Certainly I shall not be referred, as sometimes has been done, to John xx. 31. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. and similar passages, which evidently are foreign from the purpose.

the unwritten word. If Dr. Marsh be right in his recommendation, is not such an omission singular and inexplicable? Can we persuade ourselves that the spirit of God would have left us a book, which is to be the only rule of our belief, and yet have omitted to inform us of the circumstance? Or that the inspired writers should have compiled such a code of doctrine, without once intimating to their disciples the important use for which they intended it? Had they said: "You have hitherto been guided by oral instruction from us; but we must shortly descend into the grave, and an unwritten word must undergo many material alterations. We have therefore composed this book: it contains the whole of our doctrine; and we bequeath it to you to be the only rule of your faith after our departure." Had they said this, or anything like this, the matter would have been clear. It would not have admitted of a moment's doubt. But of all this, not the faintest trace can be discovered in any of their writings. In the absence then of all internal evidence, on what ground are we to be justified in adopting Dr. Marsh's doctrine? Tradition contradicts it: scripture is silent. It cannot then be derived from the word of God: and, if it be not, it falsifies itself. For, in that case, it erects the whole fabric of religion on the authority of man, while it pretends, at the same time, to reject every doctrine which is not founded on the authority of God.

2d, Our blessed Redeemer, confined his preaching to Jerusalem and the neighbouring country: his apostles he appointed to be "witnesses unto him both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Now, among their more important duties in this situation, a Protestant must rank the composition of the Scriptures of the New Testament. For without them, he knows that the testimony of the apostles would "unavoidably have undergone material alteration," and posterity would have been left without any clue, by which they might come to the discovery of the truth. In the commission, therefore, which Christ gave to his apostles, we may rationally expect to find an injunction to

write the New Testament. Unfortunately it is a commission of a very different nature: a commission not to *write*, but to *preach*. “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.”—“All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c., teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world.”* And it is observable that they themselves, whenever they speak of this commission, understand it not of writing, but of preaching. “They went forth,” adds St. Mark, “and *preached* every where.” “He commanded us to *preach*,” says St. Peter. “The gospel, which ye have heard, and which has been *preached* to every creature which is under heaven,” observes St. Paul, plainly alluding to the original words of our divine Saviour.† But of a commission to *write* a rule of faith, they never make any mention. In like manner, when St. Paul refers to the commission which he received individually from Christ, he also describes it as a commission to *preach*. He says, that “he was sent to *preach*; that *preaching* was committed unto him according to the commandment of God; that he was ordained a *preacher*, an apostle, and a teacher of the gentiles.”‡ Of any commission to *write*, he also appears ignorant. Thus we have the commission given to the apostles to preach, and their own testimony that they understood it of preaching: we meet with no commission given them to write a rule of faith, nor do they ever make mention of any. What is more extraordinary, even when they give instructions to their fellow labourers, and intended successors in the ministry, when they point out the means by which the knowledge of christianity is to be perpetuated after their deaths, they are still silent on the subject of this only rule of faith; they talk not of Bible Societies, or of Bible distributors; they appear to

* Mark, xvi. 14, 15. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

† Mark, xvi. 20. Acts, x. 42. Col. i. 28.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 17. 1 Tim. ii. 7. Tit. i. 3.

know of no other vehicle than oral tradition. "Hold fast," says St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, "the form of sound words which thou hast *heard* of me—and the things which thou hast *heard* of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."* To me all this appears, on Protestant principles, perfectly inexplicable. What can be the reason that the Scripture should withhold from the Scriptural religionist all information on this most interesting subject, the foundation of his faith here, and of his hopes hereafter? Christ gives a commission to his apostles, but says nothing of writing a rule of faith: the apostles often speak of this commission, but they also are silent respecting a written rule of faith: eight individuals are at last supposed to combine their labours, and write this rule; and yet not one of them ever thinks of hinting that the work, which they are compiling, is the rule of faith. Shall we attribute their silence to forgetfulness or oversight? But they were under the superintending influence of the Holy Spirit. A Catholic alone can solve the difficulty, and he will tell you, that they never mentioned a written rule of faith, because they did not know of any.

3d, When the founders of the modern church of England undertook to compose a rule of faith, they consulted together; they determined what points of doctrine should be deemed orthodox; they arranged them under thirty-nine distinct heads; and published them to the world in concise and perspicuous language. In all this they acted as sensible men should act. Their work was demonstrative of their object: the nature of the matter, and the order of its arrangement, shewed that it was designed to be a system of religious doctrine. But if, instead of the thirty-nine articles, they had given us four imperfect narratives of the origin of the Reformation, with an appendix, containing a few epistles of Luther, Melancthon, and Peter Martyr, would it ever have entered into the mind of any man to consider such a compilation as a rule of

* 2 Tim. i. 13, ii. 2.

faith? Yet, would not this have been a counterpart of the New Testament, as far as the writings of uninspired individuals may be compared with those of the apostles? In the latter we meet with no distinct plan, no appearance of concert among the writers, no division of the subject, no code of doctrinal articles either in any one particular book, or in the whole collection; we find only four short and unconnected narratives of our Saviour's life, a history of the first publication of the gospel, and a few epistles by five of the apostles. Is there anything in such a work, to persuade us that it was composed to be the only rule of our faith?

The New Testament (it is to it that Dr. Marsh confines his remarks) may be divided into three parts. The first consists of the four gospels. But it should be observed, that if two of these were written by the apostles, St. Matthew and St. John, two also were written by men, who could have received no commission from Christ, as they were not converted till after his ascension into heaven. On what ground then these two gospels have been admitted into the rule of faith by those who reject tradition, I am at a loss to conceive. Supposing, however, that all four were written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, how are we to satisfy ourselves that in them is recorded the *whole* of our Saviour's doctrine? Dr. Marsh asserts the fact;* but it is much easier to assert, than to prove. The information cannot be derived from the books themselves, which make no such professions; and, if it be derived from any other source, it is on that very account undeserving of credit.

Of the manner in which the three first gospels were composed, Dr. Marsh tells the following very ingenious, but at the same time very singular story: that there existed two original documents, written by somebody, and approved by the apostles: that of these one was a narrative of the actions of our Saviour, the other a collection of his precepts, parables, and discourses: that as copies of the first were multiplied, persons inserted in them such additional information as they acquired, which additions were either accounts of facts

* Comparative View, p. 63.

not before recorded, or of circumstances regarding facts before recorded: that the three evangelists used three different copies of this document, which, with respect to the additions, partly agreed and partly disagreed: that St. Matthew and St. Luke each possessed a copy, but St. Mark did not possess a copy, of the second document: and that from these sources, with the accession of such information as they had gleaned by their own industry, they composed their respective gospels.* With the truth of this hypothesis, I have no concern; but I will confidently appeal to the reader, whether it is probable, that tracts compiled in this manner, can form a full and perfect record of the doctrine delivered by our Saviour. Indeed, it is certain, from St. John's gospel, that they do not; for that gospel contains much original and important information, which is not to be found in them.—Perhaps, then, the work of St. John may supply the deficiency? The apostle himself warns us against such an inference: “And many other signs truly did Jesus, which are not written in this book.”—“And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written, every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.”†

The next portion of the New Testament, is the Acts of the Apostles. This tract relates the manner in which the gospel was first preached, and the conversion and subsequent labours of St. Paul. Incidentally, it mentions some points of doctrine; but, to attempt to prove that it is not a rule of faith, would be to exhaust the patience, and insult the judgment, of the reader.

The last part comprises the epistles, with the Book of Revelations, and is declared by Dr. Marsh to be a

* Marsh's *Origin of the Three First Gospels*, p. 194—210. As the reader would not have understood Dr. Marsh's system of notation, I have been compelled to explain his meaning in my own words. I trust I have represented it fairly.

† John, xx. 50. xxi. 25.

full and faithful record of the *whole* doctrine of the apostles.* But, does the collection itself profess to be such a record? It neither asserts it, nor exhibits the most distant appearance of it. By whom were the epistles written? Not by the whole college of the apostles. Seven of the number, either never wrote at all, or the parts of the rule of faith which they composed, perished long ago. The epistles were written by St. Paul, St. James, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jude. But it does not appear that these five were wrote in virtue of any commission from the whole body, or in consequence of any agreement among themselves, or in pursuance of any general plan. When were the epistles written? Not about the same time, but at different periods, during the long lapse of almost fifty years. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians is supposed to have been written in the year 49; the Epistles of St. John about the year 97.† To whom are the epistles written? To a great variety of persons, scattered over the face of the civilized world, professing, indeed, the same religion, but probably ignorant of the conversion, or even the existence of each other. Four are addressed to christians in general, six to private individuals, one to the converts in Italy, and one to those in Palestine; two to Grecians, three to Macedonians, one to all the churches of Asia Minor, three to the particular churches of Phrygia, Ionia, and Galatia; and the Book of Revelations to the seven churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. On what subjects were the epistles written? Not on such as we might naturally expect in a code of religious doctrine, but on such as the passing events of the day offered to the writers. Thus a convert at Corinth had married the widow of his father. St. Paul writes an epistle for the correction of this, and of other abuses. One of his disciples had been left in Crete, to regulate the infant church of that island. The apostle gives him direc-

* Comparative View, p. 62, 63.

† Cave, in Paulo et Joanne.

tions for his conduct. A fugitive slave had received baptism. St. Paul sends him back to his master, with a letter soliciting his pardon. St. John had heard of the faith and hospitality of Gaius. He writes to him a congratulatory epistle. False teachers had endeavoured to seduce the converts. St. Jude warns them of their danger, and exhorts them to persevere in the doctrine, which they had originally received. The same may be said of all the other epistles: they were occasional tracts called for by accidental occurrences. Let the reader only consider the want of concert among the writers, the different times at which they wrote, the different persons to whom they addressed their letters, and the different subjects which employed their pens, and he will be convinced that, if the apostles really intended to leave a rule of faith for the instruction of their disciples and posterity, they pursued for this purpose, a method the most confused and extraordinary that ever entered into the mind of man. In my judgment, the only rational conclusion which can be drawn from the premises, is this: that several letters and tracts on religious subjects were occasionally written by some of the apostles, and one or two of their immediates disciples; that after their deaths, such of these as had not perished, were collected into one body by the piety of the primitive christians; and that the collection thus made has been transmitted to us from generation to generation, under the name of the New Testament.

4th. The divines, who so fiercely contend in support of this fundamental principle of Protestantism, have necessarily to make their choice between the two following suppositions. If the scriptures of the New Testament are the rule of christian faith, they must have been intended as such, either by the writers themselves, or by the spirit of God, without the knowledge of the writers. Otherwise you erect them into a rule of faith by mere human invention, and thereby deprive them of divine authority. That the first of these two suppositions cannot be admitted, ap-

pears to me most evident from the foregoing observations: the second, in my opinion, is liable to equal, if not to more formidable, objections.

1st. That the second supposition is in itself possible, will not be denied. Men are frequently unconscious instruments in the hands of the Almighty; and the pens of the apostles might have been so guided by a superintending Providence, that the result of their labours should have proved a complete rule of faith, though no such design had ever been entertained by the writers themselves. But, in that case would not the scriptures have assumed a very different appearance from that which they now exhibit? Would they not, like the different codes of doctrine published by the reformed churches, have presented to the reader a full, clear, and succinct statement of the faith and practice, required from those for whose use they were written? But, as they are, they do quite the reverse. It is in vain that you look into them for such a statement: the articles of doctrine are scattered here and there, without any attention to order: their meaning is frequently hidden under the obscurity of the language: the advance of the sincere inquirer is repeatedly arrested by apparent contradictions: and it seldom happens, that any two readers, after a patient and impartial investigation, agree in the same decision. To me it appears, that of all the possible forms under which a rule of faith could have been published to mankind, the New Testament is, as such, the most incongruous and confused. It is what no sensible man would ever have adopted: and certainly we ought not to attribute to the wisdom of God, that which we judge unworthy the wisdom of man. Not that I mean to speak disrespectfully of the sacred writings. I revere each book, individually, as the word of God. It is only when I consider them as forming a complete record of christian doctrine, the sole rule of christian faith in the reformed hypothesis, that I presume to censure; because that hypothesis appears to me to degrade them below works that are confessedly of

human origin, below the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, the confessions of the church of Scotland, and the numerous systems of belief with which the Reformation has enlightened and perplexed mankind.

2d. To build your faith on the scripture alone, with security to your own conscience, it is not sufficient to *suppose*, you must *prove* that it was intended by the Spirit of God to be your only guide. Now this is impossible. The intentions of the Almighty can be known to us through no other medium than revelation, and on this subject revelation has been silent.

3d. The scriptures bear testimony, on the very face of them, that the supposition is unfounded. God does not will or design in vain. If he had intended them to be the rule of our belief, he would have formed them so, that they might act as such a rule. But the very reverse is the case. Doctrinal points of the first importance are often expressed, by the scriptural writers, in ambiguous terms: statements, apparently contradictory, perplex the understanding of the reader; and we are ultimately compelled to rest on the conjectures of our own judgment, rather than on the decision of our rule. Can there, for example, be a question more essential to religion than this—Is Christ true God, equal to his Father, or not? Interrogate your rule of faith, and it will supply you with arguments in support of either the affirmative or the negative. If the trinitarian produce the passages which depose in favour of the divinity of our Saviour, the Unitarian will oppose the number of texts, which appear to make him a mere creature. If Christ himself has said, “I and my father are one,” he has also said, “The Father is greater than I.” That one of these two passages is to be expounded by the other, is evident. But which ought to have the preference? Your rule, when it is put to the test, appears no longer to be a rule. It does not, it cannot, decide. You are, at last, compelled to determine yourself: but then it is not the scripture which is a rule to you, but you

who are a rule to the scripture. Thus again St. Paul teaches, that "man *is not* justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ:" while St. James teaches, that "by works a man *is* justified, and not by faith only." How will you reconcile these two passages? Will you adopt the words of St. Paul, and endeavour to explain away those of St. James? Or will you prefer those of St. James, and endeavour to adapt to them those of St. Paul? In either case your rule is deficient. The true rule which you follow, is your own judgment, or rather conjecture.* I shall content myself with these two instances: the reader's memory will supply him with others. Were a human legislature to enact a law, containing provisions contradictory to each other, or so ambiguous as to create doubts of their real meaning, this want of precision, or of skill, would be severely condemned, and a remedy would be speedily applied. Such things, indeed, have happened. But human legislators are fallible, and,

* As justification by faith is "a distinguishing feature of Protestantism," it is rather extraordinary, that its professors, after studying the only rule of faith for centuries, have not yet determined what is really meant by it. Dr. Marsh complains of the "numerous inconsistencies and contradictions in which it has, within these few years, been involved:" and shews, that the explanations which have been given of it leave hardly the shadow of a difference between the doctrine of Protestants and that of the church of Rome, (p. 51, 22). What then does he consider as sound Protestant doctrine? That the faith, which justifies, is not a lively faith, or faith productive of good works; because good works cannot exist till after justification. Now, according to St. James, (ii. 26), "as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is *dead* also." Are we to believe then, that a *dead* faith can give *life* to the soul? All that is required, according to Dr. Marsh, is "*repentance*, by which we forsake sin, and faith whereby we stedfastly believe the promises of God. On forsaking sin, therefore, we are justified by faith, even before it is a lively faith," (p. 53). Now, to forsake sin, is, I presume, (for Protestant justification is a mystery I never could satisfactorily comprehend) not a mere negation, the omission of sinful action through inability, but a fixed resolution to avoid it. Such a resolution, however, is a positive act of the mind, and, if formed on proper motives, is as much a good work in my opinion, as any act of the mind can be, after justifying faith has become, in Dr. Marsh's principles, a lively faith.

of course, liable to mistakes. God is infallible; he could not make a fallacious or defective rule. If then the scripture be of this description, what conclusion can we draw, but that it never was intended to serve as a rule? The source of doubt and perplexity is not in it; but in those, who, without sufficient grounds, have, of their own private authority, pronounced it to be the sole rule of Christian faith.

CHAPTER III.

The Scriptures do not contain the whole of the unwritten Word.—
 The Observation of the Sunday.—The Validity of Infant Baptism.—
 The Canon of the Scriptures.—Their Inspiration cannot be proved in Dr. Marsh's Supposition.—Conclusion.

THE man who makes it his study to investigate the revolutions of human opinion, will often be astonished to observe on how slender a foundation the most accredited systems have been raised. The whole fabric of the Reformation reposes on this one principle, that the scriptures are the only rule of christian faith. Yet, what is this principle? The mere dictum of Luther and Melancthon. I have already shewn, that it has been assumed rather than proved, and that appearances, instead of being in its favour, depose most forcibly against it. I shall now proceed to adduce arguments, which, in my judgment at least, positively demonstrate it to be false.

One thing must be admitted on both sides, that if the apostles have left us an only rule of faith, that rule will contain the whole doctrine and practice of christianity. They were enjoined in the commission, which they received from their heavenly master, "to

teach all nations *all things whatsoever* he had commanded them." This, indeed is so evident, that Dr. Marsh himself repeatedly maintains, that the *whole* doctrine of Christ and his apostles has been recorded in the scriptures of the New Testament. The Catholic, on the contrary, will assert, that the *whole* doctrine of Christ and his apostles has *not* been recorded in the scriptures of the New Testament: and, in proof of his assertion, he will appeal to the creed and practice of the church of England, which in many instances, where the scripture is deficient, has been compelled to have recourse to the authority of tradition. I shall confine myself to those instances which have been furnished by Dr. Marsh.

The first regards the observance of the Sunday. In the decalogue, we are commanded to keep holy the sabbath day, which, I need not remind my readers, was the Saturday, or last day of the week. Now the church of England commands us to keep holy, not the Saturday, but the Sunday. That day, which God enjoins us to sanctify, she authorizes us to profane: and a day which he allotted to profane employments, she orders us to devote to the divine worship. May I ask, on what authority she thus presumes to set aside the ordinance of God, and to act in direct defiance of the command in the scripture? I shall be told that the obligation was transferred, from one day to the other, by the authority of the apostles. So I have before learned from tradition. But tradition will not suit your purpose. If it be an ordinance of the apostles, it must be recorded in the scriptures; or, if it be not recorded there, you must admit that the *whole* of their doctrine was *not* recorded in the scriptures.

Dr. Marsh has made a feeble attempt to discover the origin of this ordinance in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul. "It is evident," he observes, "from Acts xx. 7, and 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, that the practice of the primitive christians, to assemble for the purpose of worship on the *first day* of the week, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection, had the sanction of St. *Paul* himself. And, since this is re-

corded in the written word, what necessity is there for an appeal to the unwritten word?"* Now, reader, examine these two important passages, and learn, how loosely the most acute logicians are compelled to reason, when they attempt to draw the whole of their religion from the scriptures alone. From both passages Dr. Marsh infers, that it was "the *practice* of the primitive christians to assemble for the purpose of religious worship, on the first day of the week, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection." Unfortunately, however, that practice, which is so clear to him, is perfectly invisible to me. All that I have been able to learn from Acts xx. 7. is, that St. Paul came to Troas; that he remained there seven days; that on the first day of the week, "the disciples having been assembled to break bread,"† (probably in the evening,) he preached to them till the next morning; that then he broke bread, and departed. Is there here any mention of "a *practice* of assembling on the first day of the week, for the purpose of religious worship, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection?" No: mention is only made of *one* meeting, and whether that was held to commemorate Christ's resurrection, or to receive the instructions of St. Paul on the eve of his departure, we are ignorant. The latter is in itself as probable as the former: and no inference can thence be drawn of the obligation of observing the Sunday. The second passage is still less to the purpose. "Now concerning the collection for the Saints," writes the apostle to the Corinthians, "as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God has prospered him, that there be no gatherings, when I come." How can these words prove the practice of assembling for religious worship on

* Comparative View, p. 142.

† Εν δε τη μια των σαββατων συνημενων των μαθητων τε κλασαι αρτον. I venture to quote the original, because the English authorized translation seems to hint, rather remotely indeed, that they were accustomed to assemble on that day: "On the first day of the week, *when the disciples came together to break bread.*"

Sunday? Certainly it will not be pretended, that to put by weekly alms in private, and to assemble for the purpose of religious worship in public, are one and the same thing.

I may also observe, that Dr. Marsh, on this occasion does not attempt to meet more than one half of the difficulty. The commandment says, "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do: but the *seventh* day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God. In *it* thou shalt do no manner of work, &c." The church of England says: "On the *seventh* day, as well as the five preceding days, thou shalt labour and do all that thou hast to do: but on the *first* day thou shalt do no manner of work." For this direct violation of the command of God, is there, or is there not, any warrant in the scripture? If there be, let it be produced. If there be not, as there is not, then let it be acknowledged, that the scripture does not contain the whole doctrine of the apostles, but that besides the written, must also be admitted the unwritten, word.

The second instance which has been furnished by Dr. Marsh, is that of infant baptism. The church of England, in her articles and book of Common Prayer, teaches that baptism is a sacrament, the effects of which are, "a spiritual regeneration to the remission of sin, an adoption among the children of God, and an ingrafting into the body of Christ's church."* That Christ instituted baptism, there is sufficient evidence in the New Testament: whether he instituted it for infants as well as adults, is a question which has given rise to a long and animated controversy. The church of England orders all children to be baptized, unless there be good reason for the contrary, on the first or second Sunday next after their birth: she does not order them to be re-baptised after they are grown up. Of course then she teaches the validity of infant baptism: for, according to the article, those who are grafted into the church, and adopted to be children of

* Vide the Ministration of Public and Private Baptism, and Art. 27.

God, are such as “receive baptism *rightly*.”* But where did she learn this doctrine? Certainly not from the scriptures: for it is not recorded in the scriptures. It could only be from tradition.

“But our twenty-seventh article,” observes Dr. Marsh, “is so far from resting the practice of infant baptism on the authority of *tradition*, that it places that practice on a totally different footing. The baptism of young children, says the article, is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ.”† This ought not to excite surprise. It would, indeed, have been an extraordinary oversight in the founders of the modern church of England, if, after they had rejected tradition in their sixth article, they had appealed to its authority in the twenty-seventh. But men do not always act up to their professions. It may at times be convenient to say one thing, and to do another. They had agreed to retain infant baptism: it was therefore necessary to rest it on some ground. On scripture they could not: for it is not taught in scripture. On tradition they dared not: for tradition they had already rejected. The best expedient which remained, was to rest it on *its agreement with the institution of Christ*. But what is meant by this agreement? I regret that Dr. Marsh thought it foreign to the subject to explain it:‡ to me such an explanation appears absolutely necessary. Does it mean that Christ really instituted infant baptism? Then they must have learned it from *tradition*. Does it mean, that after considering the subject attentively, they think it most probable that Christ intended children to be baptized? Then they acknowledge that a very important part of the doctrine of Christ has been left *unrecorded* in scripture. Indeed, on this question the framers of the thirty-nine articles found themselves placed in a very perplexing situation. It is, as they had taught, by baptism, that “men are ingrafted into the church of Christ.” Now both they themselves, and the members of that church which they repre-

* Art. 27.

† Comparative View, p. 143.

‡ Ibid, note 17.

sented, had been baptized in their childhood. To permit then any doubt to be cast on the validity of infant-baptism, was to encourage a doubt whether the new church of England was any part of the true church of Christ. Thus it became necessary to introduce infant-baptism into their creed, and at the same time to rest it on the unmeaning ground of its being "most agreeable to the institution of Christ."

As if, however, Dr. Marsh were not perfectly satisfied with his former reasoning on this subject, he proceeds "to examine it in another point of view." "As a sacrament," he observes, "has likewise (besides its efficacy) an outward and *visible* sign, the administration of it may in *this* respect be considered as a *ceremony* of the church. Since then, the church of England uses its own *discretion* in regard to *ceremonies* we may very consistently take into consideration, that the ceremony of baptizing infants has prevailed from the earliest ages of christianity."* That a sacrament is an outward and visible sign, and must therefore be administered with some visible ceremony, is certainly true. But that has nothing to do with the present question. We are not discussing the *manner* in which

* Comparative View, p. 144. Here I may be allowed to observe to Dr. Marsh, that the Catholic church also uses its own discretion in respect to ceremonies: and it was a mistake in him to suppose that traditional usages, which have obtained the force of law, cannot be *changed* (p. 11). The church claims the authority to change them, if it think proper. And this may explain, what has so much excited the wonder of Dr. Marsh; how the Council of Trent could reject communion under both kinds, though it was conformable to tradition (p. 44). The council considered the practice of receiving under one kind, or under both kinds, as a mere matter of ceremony: and this is the meaning of the words: "agnoscens hanc suam in administratione sacramentorum auctoritatem." Neither did it, as Dr. Marsh represents, "decree as a law, what itself acknowledged to be in opposition to the *doctrine* received from the commencement of christianity (p. 72). It did not look on it as a matter of *doctrine*, but of *ceremony*: nor did it acknowledge that even the ceremony of communicating under one kind, was in opposition to the ceremony practised from the commencement of christianity: but only that the use of both kinds had *not been uncommon* from the commencement of christianity: licet ab initio christianæ religionis *non infrequens* utriusque speciei usus fuisset.

baptism should be administered, but the *subject* to whom it may be administered. The baptism of an infant is, in the church of England, as much a sacrament as the baptism of an adult. Now, according to the catechism, the sacraments have been ordained by Christ."* The church then is not here at liberty to use her discretion. Unless she teach that infant baptism was ordained by Christ, she cannot teach that it is a sacrament;† and if she teach, that it was ordained by Christ, she cannot, consistently with her own principles, look for the proof of it in tradition. To do so, is to confess, that the scripture does not contain the whole doctrine of Christ, and consequently is not the only rule of our faith.

3. I shall now proceed to a subject of still greater importance. According to the church of England, the doctrines peculiar to christianity are to be derived from no other source than the canonical books of the New Testament. But whence are we to learn, what books are, and what are not, canonical? We know that books, which in the first ages laid claim to scriptural authority, are not in the canon; such as the gospel according to the Hebrews, or according to the apostles, the memoirs by the apostles, so often quoted by Justin Martyr, and different tracts under the names of Peter, Paul, Matthias, and other apostles. We know also, that several books, the authority of which was controverted in the first ages, are now in the canon; such as the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle of St. Jude, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the Book of Revelations.‡ Whence then did the church of England derive her canon of the New Testament? That it was not from *scripture*, is evident;

* Church Catechism.

† In speaking of the sacraments in the Catholic church, Dr. Marsh tells us (p. 193, note 24) that, according to our doctrine, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, and extreme unction, are all sacraments necessary for salvation to each individual. Where could he acquire this information!

‡ See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* l. iii. c. 3. 24.

but that it was from *tradition*, must be admitted on the very confession of the thirty-nine articles themselves.

In the sixth article we are told, that "in the name of the Holy Scriptures, are understood those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, *of whose authority was never any doubt in the church of God.*" Here the church of England, to fix the canon of the scriptures, examines what has been the doctrine of the church respecting the authority of each particular book in all former ages. If this be not an appeal to tradition, it will be difficult to point out what tradition is.

In the twentieth article, we are informed, that "the church is a witness, and a keeper of holy writ." If it be a keeper, it must be, because God has intrusted the scriptures to its care; if it be a witness, it is because God has appointed it to bear witness to the authority of the scriptures. Of course, then, it is to the testimony of this keeper of holy writ, that is, to the traditionary doctrine of the church, that we are to apply for the true canon of the scriptures.

Dr. Marsh has, however, attempted to give a different meaning to the article: "When *we* are about to establish the *authenticity* of St. Paul's epistles, for instance, we trace the quotations from them in ecclesiastical writers, from the present age upwards, till we come to the writers so near to the time when St. Paul lived, that the epistles ascribed to him, could not have been *falsely* ascribed without their knowing it. In this sense the church is a keeper and a witness of holy writ."* In this sense only? Then the article might as well have declared, that the church is the witness and keeper of every ancient writing extant, of which the author was a christian. "For when we are about to establish the authenticity of the works of Bede, for instance, we trace the quotations from them in ecclesiastical writers, from the present age upwards, till we come to the writers so near to the time when Bede lived, that the works ascribed to him, could not

* Comparative View, p. 146.

have been falsely ascribed without their knowing, it." In both cases the process is the same. If in the former, it constitutes the church a keeper and a witness of holy writ, in the latter it equally constitutes the church a keeper and witness of the writings of Bede, or of any other ancient writer, whose name you chuse to substitute in the place of his. Truly, if this be the meaning of the declaration in the article, to insert it in the creed of the church of England, was to burlesque the solemnity of doctrinal formularies, and to insult the judgment of the clergy, whose subscriptions to it are required.

But Dr. Marsh thus proceeds: "To the evidence for authenticity, which we thus obtain, the title of tradition is sometimes applied, because the evidence has been *handed down* to us from the earliest ages. But this is a tradition of *testimony*, and has no connexion whatever with a tradition of *doctrine*."* By authenticity, is probably meant the fact, that the books of scripture were written by those whose names they bear. But it should be observed, that the sixth article speaks not of *authenticity*, but of *authority*, ("of whose *authority* was never any doubt in the church:") and authority, I presume, implies something more than mere authenticity. He who deposes to the authority of a book of scripture, deposes to the inspiration of the writing, not to the name of the writer. He testifies, that it is the word of God; and, as such, is entitled to the authority which is due to the word of God. The tradition, therefore, to which the article appeals, is not a tradition of testimony, which has no "connexion whatever with a tradition of doctrine;" but a tradition of testimony, which has the most intimate connexion with doctrine. The testimony and the doctrine cannot be separated; for it is the testimony of "the witness and keeper of holy writ," teaching, that certain books are in reality, and must be received by all christians as, the word of God.

But if nothing more than the *authenticity* of the

* Comparative View, p. 146.

books of scripture can be learnt from tradition, to what source will Dr. Marsh send us to discover their *inspiration*? He replies, that "the inspiration of the scriptures is a fact to which no church, whether ancient or modern, can bear *witness*. It is a fact of which no human observation can take cognizance. It lies beyond the reach of human evidence. It can be proved only by divine testimony, and consequently by scripture alone."* That the supernatural influence, whatever that might be, which was exercised by the divine Spirit over the writers of the scriptures, was not an object of sense, is sufficiently evident; and, consequently, no church, whether ancient or modern, could bear witness to the actual perception of that influence. But this is foreign from the purpose. No church, either ancient or modern, ever advanced any such pretension. Must we, therefore, have recourse to the scriptures themselves, for the proof of their *inspiration*? As well might we have recourse to them for the proof of their *authenticity*. If Dr. Marsh's reasoning applies in one case, it also applies in the other. For when the scriptures were completed, the writing of them by the apostles was no longer an object of sense. It was a fact, of which no human observation could then take cognizance. It was a fact, to the actual existence of which, after the deaths of the first witnesses, no church, whether ancient or modern, could bear testimony. But it will be said, that those who received from the apostles the names of the writers, might communicate their information to others, and that thus the knowledge of the fact may have been transmitted from generation to generation. Undoubtedly: but might not the apostles also inform their disciples, that the writings of the New Testament were inspired? Might not these disciples, after the deaths of their masters, deliver the same information to the rising generation? One supposition is certainly as possible as the other; and, in this case, they would bear testimony, not to the fact of the inspiration of the scriptures, as if they had been actual

* Comparative View, p. 147, note 21.

witnesses of it; but to the doctrine of the inspiration of the scriptures, which doctrine they had received from the apostles. Those who believed it on such testimony, would believe it as part of the unwritten word, and of course would have sufficient foundation for their belief, though the fact itself of inspiration "lie beyond the reach of human evidence."

But, if we allow Dr. Marsh to send us to the scriptures themselves for the proof of their inspiration, we shall, I fear, spend our labour in a very fruitless search. It is admitted, that of the New Testament the four gospels form the most valuable and important part. Yet what is there in the scriptures to prove that these are inspired? It is not asserted by the writers themselves; it is not asserted by any of the other sacred writers. The books contain nothing, the knowledge of which necessarily pre-supposes inspiration. They are mere narratives of the actions and sayings of Christ, such as we might expect from honest and industrious compilers. They propose hardly any point of doctrine on the authority of the writers; and the little of this description which they contain, may have been derived from oral communication. Where then is the proof, that they are inspired writings?

If we believe the hypothesis of Dr. Marsh on the origin of the three first gospels, the proof becomes still more difficult. According to that hypothesis, the three evangelists collected their materials in a similar manner. They all procured copies of an original document, composed by some writer before them: each of these copies, in passing through different hands, had been enriched with occasional additions; and to the additions was joined such information, as each evangelist had by his own industry collected. Thus furnished, they sat down, ignorant of each others proceedings, and formed three histories, all agreeing in many things, and all differing in some. In this there is certainly no very striking proof of inspiration. It is nothing more than the usual march of historians, who, to their own personal knowledge, are anxious to add whatever traditionary information, written or oral, they

may be able to procure. Such writings are not like the writings of the ancient prophets. These foretel, in the name of the Almighty, future events; and the accomplishment of their predictions is a proof of their claim to inspiration. But the three evangelists narrate only the actions and prophecies of another. They shew, indeed, if the hypothesis be true, the high estimation in which they held tradition; they prove, that even *then* it was considered a legitimate source of religious knowledge: but as for any claim to inspiration for themselves, they neither make it, nor furnish evidence on which it may be founded.

Dr. Marsh observes, that St. Matthew was an apostle; that, of course, whatever he wrote, obtained the sanction of an apostle, and must be considered as apostolic doctrine. Allowing this for the present, I will only ask, what is to become of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke? These evangelists were not apostles; they could not impart the apostolic sanction to their own writings; nor does the scripture say that it was imparted to them by any of the apostles. If then the claim of inspiration can be proved from scripture only, their works must be excluded from the number of the inspired writings, and reckoned among the most ancient sources of traditionary doctrine.

Whatever has been said of the gospel of St. Luke,* will equally apply to his other work, the Acts of the Apostles. That also must be expunged from the canon of the scriptures, and thus we shall be deprived at once of one-third of the New Testament.

But it is unnecessary to descend to particular works, when Dr. Marsh's principle equally affects the whole

* Indeed Dr. Marsh himself, in his "Illustration of the Hypothesis," p. 27. refers to *tradition* for a proof of the *authority* of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke. In regard to their *authority*, the hypothesis leaves those gospels in full possession of the sanction, to which the early fathers appealed in their behalf: namely, that the gospel of St. Mark was approved by the apostle St. Peter, and the gospel of St. Luke by the apostle St. Paul." And still he appears, in p. 49, to consider these testimonies of the fathers to be little better than reports.

collection. It takes away the proof of inspiration altogether. For how can the scriptures prove their own inspiration? It is on their inspiration that all their doctrinal authority depends. You must shew that they are inspired, before you can deduce a single point of doctrine from their testimony. If, in attempting to demonstrate the inspiration of any book, you pre-suppose its inspiration, you fall into a *petitio principii*; you take for granted what you have undertaken to prove. If you do not pre-suppose its inspiration, then its testimony on that point is of no more authority than the testimony of any profane or ecclesiastical writer. Its claim to inspiration is not to be admitted, because it has been advanced: it must be made good by proof more convincing than its own assertion. When our blessed Lord declared himself to be the son of the Most High, he did not require the Jews to believe him on his mere word: he appealed to his miracles which proved the truth of his words. "If I had not done among them," says he, "the works which none other man did, they had not had sin." When the apostles proclaimed themselves the ministers of the Messiah, it was by the wonders which they worked, that they proved the truth of their pretensions. "The Lord," says St. Mark, "working with them, and confirming the word with signs following." To prove then the inspiration of the scriptures, you must derive your proof from some other source than the scriptures themselves.—In short, according to Dr. Marsh, inspiration is "a fact which can be proved only by divine testimony:" consequently then, as the scriptures, till you have shewn them to be inspired, cannot be considered as divine testimony, they cannot be taken to prove their own inspiration.

Nor will it better the case, to have recourse to what Dr. Marsh ingeniously styles the "tradition of testimony;" the historic evidence that the books of scripture were written by those whose names they bear. Whether this be certain or not, matters little. The preceding reasoning will apply again. The inspiration of the writing, or of the writer, is the same thing. If

the testimony of the scripture cannot, as has been shewn, prove its own inspiration, it cannot prove the inspiration of those who wrote it.

Perhaps it may be said that the writers appear, from the tradition of testimony, to have been the apostles of Christ; that they were under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they could not teach a false doctrine; and that of course their writings must have been inspired. But whence is all this information obtained? If from the tradition of testimony, it is then false that the inspiration of the scripture can be proved from scripture only: if from the scripture, then you must prove its inspiration, before you can exact the belief of the reader to such assertions. Hence I conclude that, to determine the canon or the inspiration of the scripture from the scripture alone, is impracticable: the knowledge of both must be derived from *tradition*.

These instances (more, were it necessary, might be adduced) will suffice to shew, that even the founders of the church of England, how fiercely soever they might declaim against the authority of tradition, were unable to frame their own creed without recourse to its assistance; and may satisfy the impartial reader, that the New Testament, though it be the word of God, was not composed with the view of furnishing one sole and entire rule of Christian faith. Here then I may venture to call the attention of Dr. Marsh to the inquiry, which I suggested at the commencement of this tract. Have not the reformed churches, by rejecting the authority of tradition, destroyed in effect the authority of scripture, taken away the certainty of religious belief, and undermined the very foundations of christianity? For—

1st. If the foregoing observations are well-founded, the written does not contain the whole of the unwritten word. Those then, who derive their religious opinions from the written word only, can have no security that they profess “all things whatsoever Christ commanded his apostles” to teach.

2d. By rejecting the authority of tradition, they

have rejected the only rational means of proving the inspiration of the scriptures. Now, unless the scriptures be inspired, their authority is of no higher order than that of other ancient writing. No doctrine can, with security, be drawn from them. So far are they from being the only rule of faith, that they become no rule at all.

3d, But if the unwritten word have no authority, and the written word be deprived of its claim to inspiration, what is to be the fate of christianity? It will remain without any support. It will not have where to rest its foot.

4th. Christianity is not a confused mass of opinions and conjectures, but a regular system of revealed doctrine, to which our blessed Lord requires a full and sincere assent. When he delivered their commission to his apostles, he bade them teach all things whatsoever he had commanded them, and denounced the severest punishment against the man who should refuse to believe. Now it appears to me, independently of the foregoing consideration, impossible for any one, on Protestant grounds, to acquire such a knowledge of these doctrines, as to be warranted in giving to them a full and sincere assent:—and *that* for this reason, that the doctrines of scripture are susceptible of various and opposite interpretations. A code of law, which should be differently explained in every court, could not be deemed a law proper for the regulation of our conduct; and a rule of faith, which has a different meaning in every province, I had almost said, in every family, cannot be a rule to determine our belief. To deny that the doctrines of scripture are susceptible of different interpretations, would be to give the lie to the experience of nearly three centuries, and to seal our eyes against all that is passing around us. For whence, if not from this source, have arisen all those discordant opinions, those contradictory creeds, those races of fanatics, that have distinguished and disgraced the Reformation? The principle, that the scripture is the only rule of faith, gave birth to all this confusion. From the moment that it was established, the flood-gates of error and folly were thrown open: each en-

thusiast was raised into an apostle : and every doctrine, which had formerly been deemed essential to christianity, was exposed to doubt and cavil. Nor did the mischief end here. If the reformers spurned the authority of the Catholic church, venerable as she was with the hoar of ages, their disciples in their turn have, with still greater reason, spurned the authority of their upstart fathers. They have divided and subdivided themselves into sects without number : and of those, who are still held together by a *nominal* assent to certain articles, the greater part are indifferent to their meaning, and the rest explain them, some in one sense and some in another. All appeal equally to the scriptures : hosts of texts are marshalled in hostile array against each other ; and the word of God is made to say and unsay, to prove and disprove, whatever may seem proper to the opposite parties.

Nor let it be said, that these differences of opinion are confined to matters of little consequence. It is not for matters, which they think of little consequence, that men separate from communion with each other. Nor can it be of little consequence to determine, whether there are three persons, or only one person, in God : whether Christ be truly God, or a mere creature ; whether he suffered death to atone for the sins, or to leave an example for the conduct of man ; whether the baptism of children be valid or invalid ; whether “ the office of bishops hath any warrant, ground, or authority in scripture ; or,” as is asserted by the church of Scotland, “ hath been brought in by the folly and corruption of men’s inventions, to the great overthrow of the kirk of God.”* On all these, and on many other subjects, the affirmative and negative have been maintained in the numerous creeds of the reformed churches. Certainly then, it must be confessed that the scriptures are susceptible of various interpretations ; and that, to be made a rule of truth and not of error, they must be explained by some authority, from whose decision there can be no appeal.

* Arts. of Gen. Assembly at Dundee, 1580, Sess. iv. 2.

But does there exist any such authority under the Reformation? If we may believe the church of England, there does. Its founders, anxious to restrain licentiousness of opinion among their followers, decreed in the twentieth article, that "*the church hath authority in controversies of faith.*" This was a bold and dangerous measure. It was an act of self-condemnation; as it legalized the sentence, which had been pronounced against them by the Catholic church, when they began to dogmatize. It was an act of tyranny over their disciples: as it took from those disciples the right of private judgment, at the very moment it was exercised by their teachers. To excuse or justify, in this respect, the fathers of their faith, has long been a difficult task for the divines of the church of England. Dr. Marsh is dissatisfied with the attempts of his predecessors. To inquire, whether his labours have been more successful, would lead me from the present subject. It is sufficient for me, that he explains the meaning of the article to be, that, when the sense of scripture is disputed, the authority which is to determine the controversy, resides in the church. Thus, he adds, "*at the time of the Reformation, the sense of scripture with regard to various doctrines was disputed. The convocation, therefore, which is our highest judicial authority in spiritual concerns, as the judges are our highest judicial authority in temporal concerns, assembled and determined, in the name of the church which it represented, what the sense of scripture, in regard to the disputed points, really was.*"*

But here, it will not be impertinent to inquire whence the convocation derived its authority to determine what the sense of scripture *really was*. From the church which it represented? That church might indeed engage to acquiesce in the decision: but such engagement would not prove that the convocation had authority to determine the *real* sense of scripture: it would merely prove that the members of the church, unable to understand the meaning of their only rule of faith, were fain to substitute in its place the interpretation of men as fallible as themselves. Was it

* Comparative View, p. 164.

then from the state? The state has nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of religious opinion. It may, indeed, delegate certain persons to form a doctrinal code, which shall intitle its professors to civil honours and civil emoluments; but it cannot invest them with the right to discover, nor consequently with the authority "to determine what the sense of scripture *really* is." The comparison between the convocation and the judges, does not hold. The legislator makes the laws, and may appoint the judges to expound them: the legislator did not write the scriptures, nor can it impart to others the right to decide on their *true* meaning.

But, does this authority, to determine what the sense of scripture really is, reside in the convocation of the church of England *alone*? No: "*the Protestants of Germany, (says Dr. Marsh) acted in the same manner with respect to the confession of Augsburgh; the Protestants of Switzerland acted in the same manner with respect to the Helvetic confession; the Protestants of Holland acted in the same manner with respect to the confession of Dordrecht; and so must all churches act, without exception.*"* To make this enumeration more complete, there might also have been noticed the two confessions of the Protestants of Scotland, the two confessions of the Protestants of France, the two confessions of the Protestants of Poland, the five confessions of the Protestants of Switzerland, and the confessions, without number, of the Protestants of Germany. All these confessions determined what the sense of scripture *really* was, and all were issued by the authority of synods or convocations. Were then the determinations all alike? No: almost always different, frequently contradictory. The *real* sense of scripture constantly varied with the standard of local orthodoxy. It was one thing in England, another in Scotland, a third at Aug burg, and so in rotation. This variation alone is a sufficient proof, that they were not competent to determine the real

* Comparative View, p. 165.

sense of the scripture. They, might, indeed, publish to the world their own collective opinions, and leave it to the judgment of their disciples to adopt them or not. But if they pretended to any thing more, they arrogated to themselves an authority, to which they had no claim; and violated the first and favourite principle of the Reformation, by adding to the word of God their own fallible interpretation as a rule of faith.

If then, to determine what is the real sense of scripture, is beyond the competency of synods, does it belong to each individual? 1st. This right of private judgment, so universally claimed in the reformed churches, receives no countenance from the sacred writings. They teach that it is the duty of private individuals to obey, not their privilege to judge.—2d. It is a claim devoid of probability. For it is idle to expect from the sagacity of individuals, what is above the wisdom of synods and convocations. 3d. It is contradicted by our knowledge of human nature. For the great majority of mankind are evidently unequal to the task; and the best and wisest of men, when they reflect how liable they are to error on other subjects, and that their opinions on this are opposed by the opinions of numbers equal in judgment to themselves, must learn to distrust their own determinations, and be content to rely on conjecture, rather than on certainty. 4th. It is, as has been already shewn, the parent of fanaticism and error. It has called in question, or perverted every dogma of christianity. It yearly multiplies sects, and invents doctrines. To its partizans may be transferred, what was said by an ancient writer of the sages of pagan Greece: that no opinion can be imagined so absurd, as not to have been taught by some of these pretended apostles.

But if neither the judgment of individuals, nor the decision of synods, can determine with certainty the *real* sense of the scripture in the reformed churches, it may be fairly inferred, that the scripture *alone* is not to them a certain rule of faith; and that those who admit no other rule, cannot possess any rational

security, that their religious creed is perfectly conformable to the doctrine of our Saviour.

In conclusion, should there occur in the preceding pages, any expression which may be deemed disrespectful to the books of the New Testament, let it once more be remembered, that it was employed in arguing on the hypothesis of my adversaries. It is my conviction, that each of these books was written under the superintendence of the divine Spirit, and is to be received as the word of God; but, at the same time, I am persuaded, that, to hold up these occasional tracts as the whole, and only rule of religious belief, is to exhibit them in a light, derogatory from the wisdom of the deity, and injurious to the cause of christianity.

APPENDIX.

IN my "Review of certain Anti-catholic Publications," I had made some remarks on the third canon of the fourth council of Lateran. As these have been noticed by Dr. Marsh, I may be allowed once more to return to that subject.

Dr. Marsh maintains, 1st, that the provisions of the canon include all who dissent from the church of Rome at the present day, as well as in former ages; and, 2d, that they include sovereigns, such as the king of England, no less than feudatory lords.

On the first head he complains, that I have inserted in my translation of the canon, the word "Albigenses," which does not occur in the original. I must reply, that the passage in my tract was not meant for a translation, but for a summary of the meaning of the canon. The word "Albigenses" is, indeed, not to be found in the original: but the words "*hæc hæretica fœditas*," are to be found there. Now the *hæc hæretica fœditas* appeared to me to be the errors previously condemned in the first and second canons, viz. those of the Albigenses, and of Almeric and Joachim: and, as the two latter had but few followers, and as the design of the framers of the canon, if we may believe historians, was

to put down the Albigenses, I did not conceive I should distort the meaning of the original by making use of that word. If Dr. Marsh object, that by *hæc hæretica fœditas* should be understood “*universi hæretici, quibuscunque nominibus censeantur:*” (Ibid).—I might answer, that these very words are to be explained by those immediately preceding, “*adversus hanc sanctam, orthodoxam, catholicam fidem, quam superius exposuimus:*” or that they could only include the different sects, which existed at the time. But the point is not worth discussion: for, if the church ever possessed any inherent right to make such a law against one sect, it must still possess it against another. The truth, however, is, that it never possessed it: and this we have declared to be our belief upon our oaths. If, then, it can be shewn, that councils have issued decrees trenching upon temporal rights, we say that these decrees possessed no authority without the concurrence of the temporal power. In the states of the Pope, and of those bishops, who were temporal princes, they might be immediately put in execution: in others they were of no avail.

On the second head, to prove that the canon included sovereigns, Dr. Marsh appeals to the words, *sæculares potestates, quibuscunque fungantur officiis*, than which he observes, no expression can be more general, (p. 221.) But “*potestates,*” in the language of that age, meant not sovereigns, but those magistrates to whom was intrusted the *power* of executing the laws: and its Italian representative “*podesta,*” still retains the same signification. This is also plain from the accompanying words, *quibuscunque fungantur officiis*: and from the parallel passage in the constitution of Frederic, “*potestates, consules, seu rectores, quibuscunque fungantur officiis.*” This emperor proceeds to impose on them the obligation of taking the prescribed oath, under the penalty of removal from office, and the revocation of all the judgments which they may pronounce: *alioquin nec pro potestatibus nec pro consulibus habeantur, et eorum sententias ex tunc irritas declaramus et inanes.*” Certainly, no man can

think that the *potestates*, with respect to whom Frederic could publish such a law, were independent sovereigns.

Dr. Marsh urges, moreover, the clause, “*eadem nihilominus lege servata circa eos qui non habent dominos principales.*”—“For, surely,” he observes, “lords, who have no principals, must themselves be principal lords.” (p. 220.) That, however, they were not sovereigns, is evident; for the constitution of Frederic could only include subjects, and yet it includes, “*eos, qui non habent dominos principales.*” Indeed, it is hardly possible that the council could have meant sovereigns by such a designation. To describe them in an official document by the term of “persons not having principal lords,” would have been as extraordinary, as if his present majesty were to be described in an act of parliament by the stile of “one not having a principal lord in the united kingdom.” Dr. Marsh, however, is unwilling that the expression should mean the possessors of frank-allodial property: and draws a distinction between *tenere a domino principali*, and *habere dominum principalem*. But the distinction is imaginary, when these expressions regard the tenure of land. *Tenere a domino principali ratione soli*, and *habere dominum principalem ratione soli*, mean the same thing. Now this is the case in the canon, which deprives the delinquent of his land, whether he hold it of a superior lord, or not: but, in the first case, reserves the right of the superior lord, which in the second it could not.

In copying the constitution of Frederic, I am accused by Dr. Marsh of two mistakes: of having substituted *principalis* for *temporalis* in one place, and of having omitted *temporalis* in another. The quotation was procured for me by a friend, nor was I then aware that the constitution had been differently printed by different editors. I have since learned, that in the edition of Goldastus, *Francof. ad Mœn*, 1615, the passages are printed as they are cited by Dr. Marsh: but that in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, *Parisiis*, 1576; and, in Dupin, *De antiqua eccl. disciplina*, *Par.* 1686, p. 575, they

are printed as they have been cited by me. The difference, however, in the words, will make no difference in the reasoning : and, as far as I can judge, the reading which I have followed, is the better : as it is more intelligible, is conformable to that of the canon, and is perfectly accordant with the jurisprudence of the age.

Before I leave this subject, I may observe, that a decree of the council of Trent, quoted by Dr. Marsh, will, perhaps, throw some light upon it. It is the nineteenth of the twenty-fifth session, and was made against those who *assigned* places in their domains for public duels, not those who merely “suffered duelling,” as Dr. Marsh represents it : *qui locum ad monomachiam in terris suis inter Christianos concesserint.* It deprives them of their jurisdiction and domain in that place, if they hold it of the church, “*quod ab ecclesia obtinent :*” and adds, “*si feudalia sint, directis dominis statim acquirentur.*” From this distinction; it is not improbable that those, who in the canon of the Lateran council are described as not having principal lords, were those who held their lands immediately of the church.

Much of the remainder of Dr. Marsh’s reasoning, in this chapter, is novel and interesting. 1st. He denies that there is any distinction between the obligation of canons relating to discipline, and the obligation of canons relating to doctrines : and asserts, that the Irish Catholic clergy, on their appointment to benefices, swear to the observance of both. This is rather extraordinary : since, it is a well-known fact, that in five of the Irish dioceses, and the wardinate of Galway, the discipline of the council of Trent has never been received. Are the clergy of these dioceses to be considered as perjured ? But on what does Dr. Marsh found his opinion ? On these words of their oath. *Cœtera item omnia a sacris canonibus, et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta tridentina synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor.* But here is not one word regarding discipline. The words *tradita, definita, declarata,* are so many technical terms, if I may so call them, re-

garding doctrine. The instrument itself is a profession of the Catholic doctrine, *professio fidei*, and in the very sentence immediately following the passage quoted by Dr. Marsh, it is called *hanc veram catholicam fidem?*

Dr. Marsh's next discovery is still more extraordinary. "There cannot be a doubt," he tells us, "that *ordine*," (in the clause, *salvo meo ordine*, inserted in the oath taken by Catholic bishops) means, "*ordine monastico*." In taking an oath of obedience to the pope, "It was deemed necessary to stipulate, that such obedience (for it seldom happened that a man was consecrated bishop, who had not previously belonged to some monastic order), should not prejudice the privileges of his own order." (p. 236, note.) It will certainly excite a smile in Catholic prelates, who never belonged to any monastic institute, to be told that they have upon oath professed themselves monks. But the mistake may be excused in a writer, who is not acquainted with the peculiar language of Catholics. When a bishop speaks of his own *order*, he understands his *order in the hierarchy—the episcopal order*: and the words, *salvo meo ordine*, means, *saving what becomes the character and rights of a christian bishop*. No one ever pretended, as Dr. Marsh supposes, that this clause was lately "inserted, for the purpose of saving allegiance to the kings of England. It is probably as ancient as the oath itself: but it shows that the bishop is bound by his oath to nothing repugnant to the episcopal character, and consequently to nothing inconsistent with his allegiance.*

But the most amusing of all these discoveries, is, the creation of an independent "poppedom" in Russia, "by a master-piece of policy in the Empress Catharine." (p. 245, 249.) Let Dr. Marsh, however, revert to the sources from which he derived his information, and he will then learn, what he seems to have

* Will Dr. Marsh condescend to review what he has written, p. 240, and say, whether he has not, inadvertently, attributed to the expressions of the Irish archbishops, a meaning most foreign from that which those expressions naturally convey?

overlooked, that the courts of Petersburg and Rome, understood each other in this transaction : that the Russian government has an agent at Rome for the expedition of ecclesiastical business : that if the Empress erected Mohilow into an archiepiscopal see, on her side, the pope erected it into one also on his : that if she named Stanislaus Tsches Tschersovich to that dignity, the pope gave him the usual faculties of institution : that the Nuncio Archetti invested him with the pallium, and that he took the usual oath of obedience to the pope, in the presence, and with the approbation of the empress. Yes : this very Russian pope swore that obedience to the Roman pope, which Dr. Marsh declares cannot be done but “at expense of fealty to the sovereign ;” and swore it too before the whole Russian court, and with the approbation of that princess, who, as Dr. Marsh also informs us, “was one of the most profound politicians that ever sat upon a throne !!”

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OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
LAWS AND ORDINANCES,
WHICH EXIST IN
FOREIGN STATES,
RELATIVE TO THE
RELIGIOUS CONCERNS
OF THEIR
Roman Catholic Subjects.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN

1817.

OBSERVATIONS

of the

LAWS AND ORDINANCES

of the

WESTERN BRANCH

of the

LEGISLATURE OF THE

STATE

OF MISSISSIPPI

FOR THE YEAR 1854

THE following pages are devoted to the elucidation of a subject, which has excited considerable attention. By order of the House of Commons there has lately been printed a voluminous collection of documents, purporting to contain "the laws and ordinances existing in foreign States, respecting the regulation of their Roman Catholic subjects on ecclesiastical matters, and their intercourse with the See of Rome, or any other foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction." It is apprehended that such documents, unaccompanied with explanations, are calculated as much to mislead, as to guide, the judgment. They relate to questions with which few persons in this country are conversant, but which involve in the result the religious interests of some millions of British subjects. It will not then be deemed presumptuous or disrespectful in a British Catholic, if he attempt to place them in a true light, by pointing out their origin and object, and by shewing how far they do, or do not, apply to the Roman Catholic Church in the United Kingdom.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c. &c.

I.

Foreign Ordinances—their nature and tendency.

BEFORE the regulations existing in foreign states with respect to the concerns of the Roman Catholic Church, are adopted by the legislature of this empire, two questions deserve to be answered. 1st, Are they of such a nature that Roman Catholics may conscientiously assent to them? 2d, Are they of such a nature as to be applicable to the situation of the Roman Catholic religion in the British islands? For it is certainly possible, that in states, where the will of the prince is the law of the land, arbitrary sovereigns may have invaded the religious as well as the civil liberties of their subjects: and it is obvious that national churches, possessing splendid civil establishments, stand in a very different situation from the Roman Catholic Church of the United Kingdom, which possesses no civil establishment whatsoever.

1. Are they of such a nature, that Roman Catholics may conscientiously assent to them? Of many it is

contended that they are not. The office of teaching, the administration of the sacraments, the right of granting dispensations, the collation or extinction of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are all of them spiritual matters, and, according to the principles of Catholic theology, beyond the competence of the civil power. Yet it is well known, that on all these subjects foreign states have occasionally made regulations inconsistent with the essential discipline and doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.

Of this assertion sufficient proof is furnished at the very commencement of the collection, where Austria and its Italian dependencies occupy one hundred and twenty pages. But what do these pages contain? The ancient regulations, which for centuries preserved harmony between the Church and State in that powerful empire? No: they offer us nothing but the pretended reforms of the Emperor Joseph, which were afterwards adopted and improved by the National Assembly in France.* If some of them were reconcilable, others were irreconcilable with Catholic principles. The emperor might indeed enforce them by pains and penalties. His right to do so was denied by the bishops in every part of his dominions: and the exercise of such disputed right was considered as a religious persecution.

The character and history of this prince are well known. Possessed with the mania of innovation, and conceiving that every obstacle must yield to his imperial authority, he formed the most visionary schemes, and pursued them with a pertinacity bordering upon madness. His experiments extended to everything; to the law, the army, the church, and the constitutions of the provincial states. He consulted neither the opinions nor the feelings of his subjects. Institutions the most ancient and most sacred, confirmed by treaties

* This is observed by his panegyrist. *Ce qui ne peut échapper à l'esprit du lecteur, c'est de voir presque tous les plans de l'assemblée nationale, qui se tient actuellement à Paris, ébauchés par l'empereur — Rien de plus ressemblant.* Carracioli, *Vie de Joseph*, ii. 190.

and charters, were swept away: every remaining vestige of the liberty of former times was abolished: and decrees on all kinds of subjects, sometimes indeed salutary, sometimes absurd and impious, were issued in rapid succession.* Irritated by the opposition of his clergy, he conceived, in 1785, the idea of separating his dominions from the communion of the Church of Rome. It was the Chevalier Azara, the Spanish minister at the Papal court, who convinced him that his subjects were not yet ripe for such a measure. † He therefore reverted to his former plans of reform, and continued to encroach on the spiritual authority of the bishops. It was in vain that the prelates of Austria, of Hungary, of Bohemia, of Germany, and of the Netherlands, protested against them. The remonstrances were treated with contempt: ‡ the disobedience of some was punished with fines, of others with exile. Many lost with part of their dioceses, the greater portion of their incomes: and all were stripped of the situations which they held in the provincial states. At length the effect of his innovations, civil and religious, recoiled upon himself. Austria was in a ferment: Hungary was on the point of insurrection: the Netherlands had revolted and established their independence; when his death opportunely saved the monarchy.

While Joseph was acting in this manner, his brother Leopold was Grand Duke of Tuscany. Guided, perhaps driven by the emperor, he pursued a similar

* For example his catechism, in which children were compelled to learn by heart his decrees after the manner of the decalogue. "Thou shalt not appear at processions with feathers in thy hat; thou shalt forbear all occasions of dispute on matters of faith; thou shalt not hold in thy house assemblies for the purpose of devotion; thou shalt not keep any useless dogs; thou shalt not plant tobacco without the permission of thy lord," &c. See the *Volkskatechismus*, Ersterband, 1785.

† Dans cet entretien Joseph avoit développé avec une extrême chaleur un plan qui alloit étonner l'Europe. Il ne s'agissoit pas moins que de rompre avec la cour de Rome. Il vouloit soustraire ses sujets tout-à-fait à l'autorité pontificale. Il rioit de ses foudres. On l'appelleroit schismatique, peu lui importoit. See *Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son pontificat*, i. 331. The author is citizen Bourgoin, one of the Revolutionary Ambassadors.

‡ They have been collected and published in five volumes, 8vo.

course, and was aided by the counsels of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia. The same edicts were published by the Tuscan government, and equal opposition was made by the Tuscan bishops. In 1787, the Grand Duke convoked a national council at Florence to sanction these innovations. But the influence of the court was ineffectual: and out of seventeen prelates, four only could be induced to favour the measures of government. After nineteen sessions, the assembly was dissolved with marks of the strongest displeasure on the part of Leopold.

This short statement will, it is presumed, warrant the inference, that the religious edicts of Joseph and Leopold are entitled to very little authority: that, if they shew how far an arbitrary sovereign can sport with the religious liberties of his people, they do not shew, as it might be supposed they do, how far a Catholic prince may conscientiously interfere with the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic church. To adopt such ordinances without inquiry or discrimination, would be to sanction the encroachments of despotism, and to convert the abuse of power into the legitimate exercise of right.

In opposition to this reasoning may be urged, 1. the resolutions of the congress at Embs, 2. the extracts from some Catholic jurists published among the documents, and, 3. the fact that many of Joseph's regulations remain still in force. To such objections the answer is easy.

1. The resolutions of the congress at Embs are of no authority. They are merely articles of a project which was never carried into execution. The emperor had induced Frederic d'Erthal, the Prince of Saxe, and his own brother Maximilian, who were electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, and Jerome of Colloredo, archbishop of Saltzburgh, to second him in his plan of reforming the church of Germany. Each of these prelates, in 1786, clandestinely sent an envoy to the baths of Embs, a singular spot for an assembly of such importance, as it was a Lutheran town in which the exercise of the Catholic religion was severely prohibit-

ed. The fruit of the congress was a long memorial of three and twenty articles, which the electors presented to the emperor, and which the emperor returned to the electors, with a request, that they would procure the signatures of the other German prelates. One only could be obtained: after some time the very authors of the plan began to feel ashamed: the Elector of Treves was the first to withdraw from the confederacy: he was followed by the Elector of Mentz: the two remaining prelates gradually desisted from their pretensions: the French revolution ensued: and all four were driven from their dioceses and dominions. Such was the termination of the affair.*

2. The opposition which Joseph had experienced, suggested to him the idea of new-modelling the education of the clergy. With this view he dissolved the universities, abolished the episcopal seminaries, in which the candidates for holy orders were educated under the eye of their respective prelates, and established general seminaries, to which every bishop was ordered to send the young clergymen of his diocese. The professors in the new schools were appointed by the emperor himself: and the theology which they taught, was accommodated to his opinions and ordinances. Their chief authority was the Belgian canonist Van Espen, who had been accused of having, to favour his friends the Jansenists, exalted the jurisdiction of the crown by the depression of that of the church: but they pushed his principles to the utmost extent, and drew from them conclusions, which he had not admitted. It is to this new school that we owe the work of Rechberger, from which copious extracts are given in the Appendix to the Reports, and the theses maintained by some students in the law at Co-

* It is singular that so much importance should be attached to this schismatical and abortive project: but it is still more singular that the opinion of Mr. Brown, an English barrister, should have been introduced among the ordinances of foreign states. Mr. Brown is convinced that a pagan emperor by his baptism became the head of the christian church. Hundreds of writers have shewn the contrary.

imbra, which are inserted among the documents from Portugal.*

3. It is indeed true that many of the ordinances of Joseph still remain unrepealed. It should, however, be observed, that from the impracticability of enforcing some of them he was compelled to issue explanations, and to allow of indulgencies for the ease of tender consciences: that before his death, in his declaration to the states of Luxemburgh, he revoked all his edicts on religious matters from the year 1781, and that his successor Leopold restored to the bishops of Belgium their former liberties and jurisdiction. In Austria itself the more obnoxious regulations are said to have fallen silently into desuetude: and some are still subjects of negotiation between the courts of Vienna and Rome.—In Tuscany, after the death of the emperor, things gradually returned to their former state. Leopold himself compelled Ricci to resign his bishopric, Ferdinand by a decree of October 13, 1792, revoked several of the late regulations, and Louis, by another of the 15th of April, 1802, re-established the bishops in their former rights and authority.

It would be tedious to pursue this inquiry through all the different heads, under which the documents are arranged. Measures, similar to those of the Emperor Joseph have occasionally been adopted by other Catholic sovereigns, sometimes through motives of resentment, sometimes with the view of extending their own authority, in particular by the court of Portugal during the sway of the despotic Pombal, and by the court of Naples during its long quarrel with the Roman see, previous to the year 1791. But sufficient has been said to shew that the mere fact of a religious regulation having existed in a Catholic state, is no proof of its being consistent with the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or such that a Roman Catholic may conscientiously assent to it.

* Report, p. 74. 354. The translations of both are incorrect: that of the latter seldom preserves the sense of the original for half a dozen lines together.

What has been said of states which are Catholic, may with equal truth be said of states which are not. In Denmark and Sweden the number of Catholics is so inconsiderable, that the regulations respecting them hardly deserve notice: in Prussia and Russia they amount to some millions, who have been successively included within those states by conquest and the two partitions of Poland. The very mention of that partition is sufficient to remind the reader of the injustice of the powers by whom it was effected. As they respected not the civil rights, it was not to be hoped that they would respect the religious liberties of their new subjects of a different communion. The King of Prussia, indeed, allowed them the exercise of their religion under certain regulations: but the case was different with those who fell to the share of Russia. The Roman Catholics of Lithuania, Volhinia, Podolia and the Ukraine, were partly of the Latin, and partly of the Greek rite. The former met with little molestation; the latter were without their consent or knowledge, united to the Russian church by a decree of the empress. She expelled the national Greek clergy, sent them bishops and priests from Russia, drove them to church at the point of the bayonet, and by imprisonment and corporal infliction punished and overcame their resistance. Certainly it is not to sovereigns of this description that a British parliament must apply, to learn in what manner it ought to legislate for British subjects.

II. Are the regulations contained in the Report and documents of such a nature as to be applicable to the Catholic church in this kingdom? It is apprehended that they are not, because they all, with one or two trifling exceptions, relate to churches placed in very different circumstances from those of the Catholic church in the British islands.

During the three first centuries of the christian era the church possessed no civil establishment. It existed in the empire, but it derived no civil advantages from the emperors. It was unknown to the laws, unless

occasionally for the purposes of vengeance. During this period its chief pastors enjoyed and exercised, independently of the civil power, that spiritual authority which had been transmitted to them from the apostles, the right of teaching the christian doctrine, of administering the sacraments, of determining the forms of divine worship, and of making disciplinary laws relative to spiritual objects.

In the fourth century the emperors embraced christianity, and the church obtained a civil establishment. The sovereign became its protector: revenues, immunities, and distinctions were assigned to its ministers: the authority of its canons was recognised by the civil power: the secular tribunals enforced the execution of the decrees given by the ecclesiastical courts: and civil effects were allowed to result from religious acts. Such is the state of all national churches established by law. It was that of the Catholic church in this island before the reformation; it is that of the reformed church at the present day

When the former ceased to be the established church, it lost all those temporal advantages which it had derived from its union with the state: and reverted to the same condition in which the christian church had originally existed. But it still retained its spiritual authority. That it had not received from the civil power; of that it could not be deprived by the civil power.

Now it is submitted that the ordinances in question relate not to a church of this description. They relate to national churches established by law, and deriving civil advantages from such civil establishment. This is the case with regard to all the documents from Austria, the Milanese, and Lombardy; from Venice, Tuscany, Naples and Sicily; from Sardinia, Piedmont and Savoy; from France, Spain, Portugal and the Brazils; from the Cantons of Switzerland, and many parts of Germany. The same may be said of those from Prussia respecting the Catholic churches of Silesia and Poland, and of those from Russia, respecting the Catholic

churches enclosed within the limits of that extensive empire. In all these states the Catholic church possesses splendid civil establishments.

It is moreover of churches of this description that we are to understand the doctrines of Van Espen, Rechberger, and the jurists of Coimbra. These canonists thought not of a church existing, like that of the first christians, with no other advantages or authority than such as are merely spiritual. They spoke of churches which flourish under the fostering care of the state, which have the sovereign for their protector and advocate, which can enforce their laws by temporal penalties, and which derive their revenues from the munificence of the civil power.

Denmark and Sweden indeed form exceptions. These two kingdoms can supply an abundant harvest of religious restrictions. In Denmark the exercise of the Catholic religion is prohibited by law, and permitted only in particular places by special license from the sovereign. In Sweden it is prohibited to the natives, and only tolerated in foreigners, who come to settle in the kingdom. In neither have the catholics any bishop. As long as the penal laws were in force in these islands, the example of Denmark and Sweden might have been prized: at the present day it is of no value whatever.*

There still remains a country, which can furnish an instance in point, the United States of America, where the Catholic church exists, as it does in this empire, without any civil establishment. "No communications," says the Report, "have been made respecting the laws affecting Roman Catholics in the United States of America." The reason is obvious. No communication was made, because no such laws existed. In the United States, the Catholic clergy perform their sacred functions, and exercise their spiritual authority

* The ecclesiastical regulations for the new kingdom of the Netherlands are not yet completed. But the intolerant edict of the states of Holland and West Friesland of the 21st of September, 1730, which is noticed in the Report and Appendix, was annulled by the new constitution, when Louis Buonaparte was king of Holland.

without molestation. The government meddles not with the appointment of their bishops, or their correspondence with foreign prelates. In the eye of the law, every creed is equal. No one is singled out as a particular object of jealousy and restriction. As long as religion interferes not with the civil power, the civil power interferes not with religion.

II.

On the Appointment of Bishops.

In the first ages of christianity, while the church possessed no civil establishment, the sovereign never had any part in the appointment of bishops.

In the middle ages, during the prevalence of the feudal notions, the estates belonging to each bishopric began to be considered as fees held of the crown. They were subjected to secular services: at each vacancy they reverted to the possession of the sovereign: and he claimed and exercised the right of bestowing them, on the usual tenure, to whomsoever he pleased.

This practice produced the most enormous abuses. The bishoprics were kept vacant, that the sovereign might receive the revenues: they were sold to the highest bidder: they were granted in reversion, and to children. At length in the 12th and 13th centuries, by the exertions of the popes and councils, an approximation was made to the ancient discipline, by the establishment of what was called the freedom of canonical election. The choice of the bishop was given to the chapter: but the prelate elect applied to the king for his temporalities, and did homage and swore fealty, as an acknowledgment that he held them of the crown.

The freedom of canonical election was frequently impeded, on the one side by papal provisions, on the

other by the claims of patronage still urged by the crown. In England, the substance of the thing was taken away, while the shadow remained: and the king, by adding a recommendation equivalent to a command to the *congé d'elire*, secured the appointment to himself. In some other countries the sovereigns, by concordats with different popes, obtained the undisturbed exercise of the right of nomination.

At present the Austrian sovereign appoints to all the bishoprics within his dominions on this side of the Alps, with the exception of the Archbishopric of Olmutz, the nomination to which belongs to the chapter. In France the nomination is in the king, by virtue of a concordat with Leo X.—In Spain it is in the king, by virtue of a concordat with Adrian VI.*—In the states of the king of Sardinia, it belongs to the monarch, by a concordat with Nicholas V.—In Portugal also it has long been exercised by the crown.†

In Italy the case is different. The bishops of Lombardy were appointed by the pope. Joseph assumed the right of nomination, but declared that, with the exception of the archbishopric of Milan, he would principally name such persons as should be recommended by the pontiff.—The Venetian Senate named the Patriarch of Venice.‡ For the other bishoprics it

* Among the documents is another concordat with Benedict XIV. of which the Report says, p. 27, "That the principal object seems to have been a reservation to the See of Rome of fifty benefices in the kingdom of Spain, which was acceded to by the crown." The truth is, that by ancient custom the appointment to most benefices under bishoprics was not in the crown, but in the Pope during eight months of the year, and in the bishops and chapters during the other four. This privilege Benedict XIV. resigned, and in lieu of it consented to accept the perpetual nomination to fifty-two benefices specified in the concordat.

† A concordat was drawn up in 1778, the year after the disgrace of Pombal. It is said by Sir Charles Stuart, "not to answer the tone which is remarkable in M. de Pombal's communications with the clergy and the court of Rome." *Append. to Rep.* p. 354. He sent a copy of it, but it is not noticed in the Report, nor has it found its way into the Appendix.

‡ The Report says also of Aquileia, the patriarch of which was compelled to choose a noble Venetian for his coadjutor, p. 14. The fact is, that by treaty the nomination of the patriarch belonged alternately

presented three names to the pope.—In Tuscany, the government selects four persons, and presents their names to the pope.—With respect to the kingdom of Naples and the two Sicilies, we are told that the appointment of the Neapolitan bishops is the subject of negotiation, but that in Sicily the nomination to all bishoprics is exclusively in the crown.* The assertion requires some explanation. In the dominions of his Sicilian majesty were one hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics. Of these, twenty-six only were in the presentation of the king: the rest were at the appointment of the pope. In the year 1790, after a long controversy respecting this and other matters, a concordat was concluded, by which the appointment to benefices of the second order was reserved to the pontiff, who was bound to name subjects of his Sicilian majesty: but with respect to the bishoprics, the king was to present the names of three persons to the pope, who was to select one. It is only in this sense that the nomination is exclusively in the crown.

In Switzerland, the nomination is in the pope or the chapters. In Germany it was regulated by different concordats, which fixed it principally in the chapters. But in consequence of the new arrangements of territory settled by the treaty of Vienna, by which most of the Catholic bishoprics are placed under the dominion of Protestant sovereigns, negotiations have been opened for a new concordat. The same may be said of the present kingdom of the Netherlands.

The appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in the Russian dominions appears to approach towards the ancient form of canonical election. They are chosen by the Catholic consistory; that is, by an assembly of Roman Catholic prelates of the Latin and Greek rites,

to Austria and Venice; but the senate, by means of coadjutors chosen repeatedly by the Venetian patriarch for the time being, contrived always to defeat the claim of Austria. But in 1751, Benedict XIV. put an end to the contests on that subject, by suppressing the patriarchate, and erecting in its stead the two archiepiscopal sees of Udina and Goritz.

* Report, p. 18, and memorandum by Lord William Bentinck, Appendix. p. 200.

with the metropolitan at their head. The person so chosen is recommended or presented by them to the emperor, who informs the pope that he has named such a clergyman to the vacant bishopric, and requests the necessary letters of institution.*

From the Prussian dominions the accounts are not satisfactory. The Catholic bishoprics are all situated in countries which have been acquired by conquest. Hence, in some parts, the appointments are regulated by previous concordats; and the chapters of Breslau and Ermland choose their bishops subject to the royal approbation. Hence in others the king assumes that he has succeeded to all the claims of the former Catholic sovereigns, and on that ground names to the Polish bishoprics of Gnesen, Culm, and Posen.

Now it should be observed, that in all these countries there is no proof that any sovereign, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, ever named or claimed a right to name to a bishopric, which had no temporalities attached to it.† This is a very important consideration. The bishops so named by the civil power, bear two characters. They may be spiritual ministers: but they are also temporal lords. By their appointment, they come into the possession of revenues derived from and secured to them by the state: they enjoy civil rank and consideration: they have seats in the national assemblies, diets, and states; and they hold courts, in which their officers judge according to the canon law, and enforce their judgments by temporal penalties.

The truth of this statement will not be denied, as far as regards the Catholic churches within the dominions of Catholic sovereigns. The same is the case

* Report, p. 327.

† It may perhaps be proper to observe, that the titular bishops, whom the emperor appoints in Hungary, are the bishops of sees, which formerly were a part of that kingdom, but are now under the dominion of Turkey. These prelates retain all their former privileges, and their seats in the diet, and the tribunals of Hungary, Rep. p. 99. To avoid mistake, it should also be observed, that the vicar apostolic at Stockholm is not a bishop, but a missionary priest.

with respect to those under the governments of Prussia and Russia. The king of Prussia, when he united his conquests to his former territories, always allowed the Catholic bishops to retain their temporalities and privileges. Their external jurisdiction is formally recognised in the Prussian code. "Gross misdemeanors, as also private actions, originating in the exercise of ecclesiastical functions, belong to the ecclesiastical courts." "To the bishops belong the church discipline and punishments, consisting either in penitential ecclesiastical exercises, or in fines not exceeding twenty-five dollars, or in imprisonment not exceeding the space of one month."* In the ukases for the establishment of new Roman Catholic sees in the Polish provinces seized by Russia, we find estates and revenues assigned to the bishops, a power given them to establish courts "for the examination and judgment of all ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, appertaining to their jurisdiction, and a prohibition to the civil tribunals to interfere in any way in the affairs concerning the Roman Catholic churches." †

But the Roman Catholic bishops in the United Kingdom are in a very different situation. They are merely spiritual ministers, such as were the first christian bishops, before the church obtained a civil establishment. They have no temporalities allotted to them: they have no rank in the state, no courts, no civil privileges, no civil jurisdiction. Certainly it will not be argued that because foreign sovereigns appoint bishops, who are temporal lords, the sovereign of this

* Report, p. 453.

† In the ukase respecting the archiepiscopal see of Mohilow, the fifth article, "the archbishop shall not receive any ukase or order from any person whatever besides us and our senate," appears to have been considered of much importance, and on that account has been copied into the Report. It is probable, however, that it relates merely to the archbishop's rank in the state, and has no reference to the pontiff. The fourth article assigns the revenue of his coadjutor; next comes the fifth, declaring his immediate superiors to be the sovereign and the senate; then follow two others, authorising him to establish courts, and exempting him from the jurisdiction of the tribunals of Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland, p. 400.

empire ought to appoint bishops, who are not so. Where the prelates receive from the state, rights, privileges, and revenues, there only does the state interfere in their appointment. It may have acquired a claim to do so.* But in Great Britain and Ireland the Roman Catholic bishops receive nothing more from the state than any other private individual.

Nor should the ground be forgotten on which the sovereigns originally contended for the right of appointment. It was that they were the patrons. Their predecessors had founded and endowed the bishoprics: they had a claim to appoint those who were to enjoy them. "Our kings," says the advocate of the agreement between Francis and Leo X. "founded the greater part of the bishoprics: of course the collation to those bishoprics ought to appertain to their successors."† Thus Ferdinand II. of Arragon maintained that the popes ought to confirm the bishops nominated by him; "because his predecessors were the founders of those churches."‡ The same is asserted in the *Jus consuetudinarium* of the kingdom of Hungary. "The kings of Hungary having been the sole founders of all the churches and bishoprics of the kingdom, they have acquired and exercised all the rights of patronage, nomination, election, and collation of benefices."§ But the sovereign of this realm has no claim to the patronage of the Roman Catholic bishoprics. They

* This is the doctrine of Pithou, transmitted by Sir Charles Stuart. "The instant the church acquired a civil existence, its dignities became real magistracies, the disposal of which belongs to the sovereign, as they are a delegated portion of the supreme power, and protected by the laws and arms of the state." Report, p. 265.

† Le concordat est juste en ce qu'il remet au roi le droit de nomination, puisque nos rois ont fondé la plupart des grands benefices, dont par conséquent la collation doit appartenir à leurs successeurs. *Nouvel abrégé chronologique, &c.* Report, p. 291.

‡ Report, p. 264.

§ *Reges Hungariæ cum soli fuerint omnium ecclesiarum et episcopatum in hoc regno fundatores, per ejusmodi fundationem omnem facultatem juris patronatus, nominationis, electionis, et collationis beneficiorum sibi ipsis acquisierunt et vindicarunt.* Werbenz. n. 538. Rep. p. 263.

have no endowments: they are not even permitted by law to have any. It is plain then, that the example of foreign princes, who nominate the Catholic bishops in their dominions, furnishes no proof that the King of the United Kingdom ought to do the same in his.

The bishops are the chief ministers in the church. It is their duty to watch over their flocks, to preserve the integrity of faith, to enforce the rules of discipline. On their virtues, talents, and industry, depends the welfare of religion. Now, without meaning anything invidious, it can hardly be thought that the selection of proper persons for such a ministry should be entrusted to a government, which not only professes a different creed, but is sworn to protect a different church. In England by 3 Jac 1. c. 5. 1 W. and M. c. 26. 12 Ann, st. 2. c. 14. and 11. Geo. II. cap. 17. and in Ireland by 2 Ann, c. 6. and 33 Geo. III. c. 21. it has been enacted that no Catholic shall exercise the right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever in the established church. Those who admire these statutes will certainly be able to appreciate the reasons which induce the Roman Catholics to object to any measure, which may transfer the appointment of their bishops to persons professing a different religion.

“Never,” says Mr. Burke, “were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint pastors to another. Those who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. The seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, whether Catholics or Protestants, and, where their own sect is concerned, full as religious: but the sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek church, the factions of the Haram to which they make them subservient, the continual sale to which they expose and re-expose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy, is nearly equal to all the other oppressions together exercised by Mussulmen over the unhappy members of the oriental church. It is a great deal to suppose

that the present castle would nominate bishops for the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot ;—perhaps they dare not do it.”*

To the sentiments of Mr. Burke it may be allowable to add those of Sir J. Cox Hippisley, with whom the Report originated, and by whose care it was compiled. “ An honourable and learned member has entertained an opinion that his Majesty, instead of the see of Rome, should in future nominate to the vacant sees of bishops of the Roman communion.—I conceive, Sir, that neither could the Catholics consistently concede such an innovation, nor could his Majesty consistently assume such an exercise of power.”†

* Burke's Works, vol. vi. p. 290.

† Substance of additional observations intended to have been delivered in the debate on the 14th of May, 1805, p. 111.—It may perhaps be objected that in the appointment of Catholic Bishops in Malta and Canada, the crown has interfered, at least by its recommendation. But it should be observed, 1st, that these are cases of conquest, where a mutual good understanding was equally desirable to both parties. 2dly, That both in Malta and Canada the Catholic church may be said to possess a civil establishment. 3dly, That when Canada was ceded to England, the see of Quebec was vacant: the chapter named Mr. Olivier de Bryant, who came to England, returned to Canada in 1766, and exercised the episcopal jurisdiction ; with the consent of Governor Carlton, he chose a coadjutor, whom he consecrated in 1772, with the permission of Governor Cramake. But all this was done without any direct interference of the British ministry. For Lord Dartmouth, expressly says, “ I do not find, upon the fullest examination, that any authority whatever has at any time been given by his Majesty, for the exercise, within the colony, of any powers of episcopacy in matters relative to the religion of the Church of Rome.” Report, p. 473. Indeed, as long as the penal laws remained in force, it would have been unsafe for his Majesty's ministers to have interfered in a direct manner.

III.

On the Origin and Object of the "Placet."

By the "Placet" is understood a custom prevailing in many states, according to which papal bulls and briefs are subjected to the inspection of the civil power before they are permitted to be carried into execution. From the word by which the assent of the sovereign is signified, it is called the 'Placet, Pareatis, or Exequatur.'

The following is the real origin of this custom. When, in the middle ages, a sovereign found himself engaged in a controversy with the Pope, it was usual for him to order the seizure of all bulls and letters from Rome, as soon as they should arrive in his dominions. It was a temporary and precautionary measure, to prevent the publication of any sentence of excommunication, interdict or deposition, which might have been issued against him.

At the same period papal provisions and reservations were the subject of much angry discussion. It was complained that they trenched on the rights of the sovereign, and of the patrons of benefices. As a remedy in this country, the statutes of provisors and premunire were enacted. In other countries other remedies were adopted: but the result of them all was the same, to prevent the execution of papal grants or decisions on beneficiary matters, till it should be ascertained, that they contained nothing prejudicial to the

customs of the kingdom, or to the rights of the crown, or of individuals.

These were the two causes which gave birth to the "Placet:" causes which no longer exist, as far as regards the United Kingdom. The times, in which the popes pretended to depose sovereigns, are gone by: and the Catholic church of these islands possesses no benefices with which they can interfere. But even were it otherwise, the oaths which the British Catholics have taken, are a sufficient security against the one: the statutes of provisors and premunire are still in force against the other.

To shew the real nature of the "Placet," it will be proper to point out, 1st, the cases to which it does not,—2dly, those to which it does apply, in the countries in which it is enforced.

Now, 1st, it does not apply to anything but official letters, enjoining some particular duty, or granting some particular favour. It has never occurred to the governments of other countries to restrain or forbid the *epistolary intercourse* between their subjects, whether clergy or laity, and any individuals in the Roman states.*

2dly, From the operation of the "Placet" are also exempted rescripts concerning the "forum internum," or cases of conscience, and the private concerns of individuals. This is evident from the Report itself. In the memoria jurisdictionale, transmitted by Lord Burghersh, it is said: "Here it is proper to distinguish between the briefs and rescripts which have an influence on the civil state, and those which emanate from the penitentiary, and which interest only the consciences of individuals. With respect to the latter, the govern-

* Even under the iron reign of Buonaparte this unrestrained intercourse was allowed to the bishops and clergy in the concordat, which with his approbation the Italian republic concluded with Pius VII. Tout archevêque et évêque pourra toujours, librement et sans obstacle, communiquer avec le saint siège pour toutes les matières spirituelles et affaires ecclésiastiques. Concordat. art. 7.

ment has no right to interfere, nor has it ever interfered.—Hence grants that have no external influence, have never been subjected to the “*regium exequatur* :” it being free to each citizen to provide by spiritual means for the tranquillity of his own conscience.”* And in Durand’s commentary, transmitted by Sir Charles Stuart: “Particular rescripts of the Pope regard the private concerns of those by whom they are solicited. They are not submitted to this formality (the *Placet*) unless they concern the public tranquillity, or involve the interests of a third person, as certain special indulgences granted to prelates for the collation of livings, in which case they require the royal approbation, or at least being verified and duly registered.”†

3dly, When this exception has been made, the other rescripts, which may emanate from the court of Rome, may be divided into two classes, the one of a nature entirely spiritual, comprising bulls which regard the doctrine and essential discipline of the Catholic church: and the other of a mixt nature, regarding objects which in one respect belong to the spiritual, and in another to the civil authority. Such particularly is the case in beneficiary matters, which involve the temporal interests of the patron or the incumbent. Now with respect to rescripts of this mixt nature there is no dispute. The “*Placet*” applies to them. They cannot be carried into execution without the approbation and concurrence of the secular authority. †

But in regard of the former, the case is widely different: they are entirely of a spiritual nature, and of the competence of the spiritual power only. With

* Report, p. 180.

† Rep. p. 259. See also p. 277. 293. 319. 368. 375.

‡ S’il est question d’objets mixtes, soit dans les loix civiles, soit dans les loix ecclésiastiques, l’acceptation et la publication doivent alors être communes. Elles doivent se faire, chacune pour sa partie, et par la puissance spirituelle, et par la puissance temporelle. Lett. Pastor. de l’Evêque de Sisteron, du 25 Août, 1791.

them, according to the principles of Catholic doctrine, the civil power has no right to interfere, either to confirm or disprove them, much less to prevent their publication. Still some Roman Catholic governments have claimed of late years the right to inspect them before publication: and of this new claim, it may not be improper to give a short historical account.

It is apprehended that no attempt was ever made to subject dogmatical decisions to the operation of the *Placet*, before the rise of the controversy caused by the condemnation of the work of Jansenius, Bishop of Ipres, by Urban VIII. His doctrines found many zealous partisans among his countrymen, and particularly in the supreme council of Brabant; who endeavoured to shield themselves from the papal sentence under the cover of the *Placet*. On the ground that the bull of Urban VIII. had not received this preliminary sanction, they declared its publication by the bishops illegal and null: but were immediately checked by the sovereign Philip IV. and compelled to permit the publication. They repeated the attempt with respect to the bulls of Innocent X. in 1653, and of Alexander VII. in 1656, but with no better success. The king in his final answer, in 1659, declared, that the "*Placet* was necessary only in beneficiary and litigated cases." The council submitted, but in the very act of submission maintained in reality their former claim, by pretending that they had at least a right to examine whether the bull required the *Placet* or not.* Their pretensions were eagerly supported by Van Espen. Whatever may be thought of his reasoning, it is evident that he was unable to corroborate it by a single precedent.†

In France the same doctrine has been taught by several jurists. They have numbered the *Placet* even

* See Van Espen, tom. iv. p. 212, 213. N'étant le placet requis qu'en matière bénéficiale et litigieuse entre parties, p. 212.

† Id. p. 164—174.

with respect to doctrinal decisions among the liberties of the Gallican church. But the clergy have always rejected it, together with other similar liberties bestowed upon them by these writers, and have declared it to be an abuse and usurpation on the part of the civil power.* De Marca, the zealous champion of the real liberties of the Gallican church, declares, that decisions respecting doctrine want not the authority of the prince to become binding in conscience: and De Bissy, after observing that as the laws of princes require not the confirmation of the spiritual power, so dogmatical decisions require not the confirmation of the temporal power, adds, that the sovereigns have never arrogated to themselves the right of retarding the execution of doctrinal decrees.†

The bulls mentioned above had been published in France without any *Placet*. The Jansenists discovered means to elude their authority. Louis XIV. in 1665, solicited another bull from Alexander VII. which was published with the *Placet*, and an injunction to all civil officers to enforce its execution with temporal penalties. It was the object of the king to compel obedience by the joint influence of the spiritual and civil authorities: the French jurists were willing to see in his conduct a precedent for the necessity of the *Placet* even in doctrinal decisions.

* As among the documents we find a long extract from a commentary on Pithou and Dupuy, by Durand de Maillane, with several pieces respecting the declaration of the French clergy, in 1682, it may not be amiss to subjoin the following passages from the defence of that declaration by Bessuet. Le clergé de France, pour prévenir les soupçons qu'on pourroit avoir, qu'il comprenoit sous le nom de *coutumes* des usages pernicioeux, qu'on nomme dans le droit des abus et de vieilles erreurs, declare que la discipline et les libertés de l'église Gallicane consistent à observer les coutumes établies du consentement du S. Siège et des églises.—Comme s'il étoit à craindre que les prelates François parussent approuver ce qu'il y a de reprehensible dans Févret, Pierre Dupuy, et ce que leurs predecesseurs ont tant de fois condamné. Liv. xi. c. 12. 20.

† De Marca, *Concord. Sacrd. et Imper.* l. 2. c. 10. Mandement du Card. de Bissy, Evêq. de Meaux, 1725.

It would be tedious to relate the sequel of the Jansenistical controversy: but a few notices are necessary to understand some of the documents added to the Report. The French bishops strove to enforce obedience to the papal bulls: the magistrates of the parliament of Paris supported with all the means in their power the cause of the refractory, who were termed Appellants. In 1766, in consequence of the urgent remonstrances of the assembly of the clergy, Louis XV. published several declarations, among which was one calculated to satisfy, if it were possible, both parties. In it he acknowledges, "that it is the undoubted right of the church to decide what ought to be believed and practised in the order of religion, and to determine the nature of its judgments in matters of doctrine, and their effects on the souls of the faithful: so that the temporal power cannot in any case pronounce on the doctrine, or anything purely spiritual. But at the same time the temporal power, before it authorizes the publication of the decisions of the church, before it makes them laws of the state, before it orders them to be executed under temporal penalties against those who disobey, has a right to examine the form of these decrees, their conformity with the maxims of the kingdom, and whatever may in their publication alter or influence the public tranquillity."*

It is evident that this declaration evaded the real point in question. The parliament proceeded in its former course, and published an arrêt forbidding, under certain penalties, the reception and publication of any bulls or briefs whatsoever, unless they had previously been presented to that court, and examined by it. But in 1771, the king's patience was exhausted by the refractory spirit of the magistrates. The parliament was dissolved, and new courts of judicature

* Report, p. 295.

erected in its place: the clergy who had been banished by it, were recalled: and the last arrêt was suspended by letters-patent of the 18th of January, 1772.* Shortly afterwards, however, he commanded by a public declaration, that all bulls should be enregistered, without making any distinction between those on doctrinal and those on other matters.†

In Spain it appears, that the precaution of the Placet was first extended to doctrinal bulls by a law of Charles III. in 1761. The next year that monarch thought it necessary to declare, that though this order comprised all bulls, yet “if any of them related to doctrine or universal discipline, he was and always should be ready to pay them due obedience, and to order their most strict and punctual execution, by interposing for that end his authority and royal power.”‡

Portugal presents no instance of it before 1765. In that year Clement XIII. by the bull *Apóstolicum* confirmed the order of the Jesuits. The court of Lisbon, considering the bull as a tacit condemnation of its conduct in having expelled the order from its dominions, published a decree to forbid the execution of *any* papal rescripts without the Placet. The king, however, in 1770, thought it expedient to add a declaration, that by such law he had never intended to prevent recourse to the justice of the sovereign Pontiff, or to the tribunals at Rome, in matters which come within their competence.§

The precedents given by these powers could not fail of being adopted by the Emperor Joseph. The necessity of the Placet, even in doctrinal decisions, was established by him on the 4th of May, 1781, but was immediately opposed by the bishops in every part of

* Report, p. 275. By a mistake in a note of page 289, these letters patent suspending the arrêt, are described as confirming it.

† Ibid. 277.

‡ Ibid. p. 318, 319.

§ Ibid. p. 368. The two next articles, though printed with general titles, regard only favours solicited by individuals of religious orders to the prejudice of domestic discipline.

his dominions. Remonstrance followed remonstrance. He was told, that as such decisions derived all their authority from the church, and not from the throne, the sovereign could not, without incurring the guilt of sin, prevent them from being published, and received by the people with submission and respect.* The Imperial court is not hasty to retrace its steps: but Joseph, in 1782, consented to explain his decree, and to declare that, "though he retained the use of the Placet, it must be evident, that doctrinal bulls were made subject to the royal inspection, only inasmuch as might be necessary to ascertain that they were merely doctrinal, and did not contain any incompetent article." †

From this hasty sketch, it may be inferred, that the application of the Placet to doctrinal bulls is a recent innovation; that the sovereigns who have adopted it, have found it necessary to explain their reasons; and that by the Catholic clergy it has always been considered as an abuse, which, if they cannot prevent, they at least condemn.

But whatever be the object of bulls and rescripts, whether doctrinal or not, it should be observed, that the effect of the Placet is not merely to license the introduction or execution of such instruments. It does much more. It invests them with civil authority. It makes them laws of the state. They may then be pleaded in the courts civil as well as ecclesiastical: and it becomes the duty of the officers of justice to see them executed. Thus Louis XV. in his letters patent, cited above, tell us, that the civil power

* Les princes séculiers ne peuvent sans se rendre coupables, empêcher qu'on ne les publie, et que les fideles ne les reçoivent avec soumission et respect. Remonst. des Evêques d'Autriche à sa M. l'Empereur, touchant l'Edit. du 4 Mars, 1781.

† Report, p. 170. In Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily, there is no proof that the Placet was ever applied to doctrinal decisions. The instances mentioned in the long extract from Gianone, all relate to mixed matters. The same may be said of other kingdoms. The instances adduced prove the existence of the Placet for bulls of other descriptions, but not for dogmatical bulls, before the time mentioned in the text.

makes them laws, and enforces them by temporal penalties.* D'Hericourt lays down the same doctrine: "Dogmatical decisions ought to be published by order of the king, that they may be considered as laws of the state."† Durand de Maillane in the Appendix to the Report, after having observed that papal bulls, rescripts, citations, &c. are not executed in France without the royal approbation, adds: "They obtain the force of law by the formal letters of the king or his ministers, called "Pareatis:" consequently by the sole authority of the king, not by apostolic authority."‡ Hence in Van Espen we are told, that the necessity of the "Placet" is founded on this, that bulls, by being received, become laws of the state.§ Even in the Russian and Prussian dominions, the decisions of the episcopal courts are guided by the canon law, and papal decrees; and therefore the previous approbation of the sovereign is required.

From the preceding statement, it is plain that the Placet, as it is employed in foreign states, is totally inapplicable to the Catholic churches of this empire. The last paragraph furnishes a most powerful argument against it. To give it to the sovereign, would be to invest him with the power of making the mandates of a foreign prelate binding on British subjects: a power which seems repugnant to the principles of the British constitution.

But, independently of this objection, if it were given, it would prove inoperative. Where the Roman Catholic is the religion of the state, the Pope, as head of that religion, can hardly be called a foreign prelate.

* Report, p. 295.

† Les souverains doivent travailler suivant l'entendue de leur pouvoir à faire exécuter ce que l'Eglise décide par rapport à la doctrine, il est à propos que ces décisions soient publiées par ordre du roi, afin qu'elles soient regardées comme des lois de l'état. D'Hericourt, droit ecclésiastique François.

‡ Report, p. 259.

§ Necessitas autem placiti fundatur in eo, quod bullæ receptione fiant leges regnorum. Van Espen, tom. iv. p. 133, not.

His acts necessarily regard institutions upheld by the state, and as far as they partake of a civil character, owing their existence to the state. There the temporal power may find occasion to exercise the Placet for the protection of temporal rights. But in the Roman Catholic church of the United Kingdom, as long as it possesses no civil establishment, what is there to which the Placet can properly apply ?

It cannot apply to the ordinary epistolary correspondence between individuals in the two states. (See No. 1.) As well might it apply to the correspondence between the Quakers of this country and their brethren in America.

It cannot apply to the briefs issued by the Penitentiary, and regarding the consciences of individuals. (No. 2.) Indeed, it is believed that such briefs are unknown among the Catholics of these islands.

It cannot apply to dispensations. The few dispensations required are regularly obtained immediately from the bishops, who for that purpose are furnished with the most ample powers.

It ought not to apply to doctrinal decisions. (No. 3.) But supposing that it did, where could be its use ? As long as the press is free, such decisions will come to the knowledge of British Catholics through the same channel through which they do at present, the papers and periodical publications.

It cannot apply to these instruments to which it chiefly applies in foreign states, to letters of nomination, citation, or execution, respecting the collation, exchange, or resignation of benefices ; for this plain reason, that in the United Kingdom the Catholic clergy have no benefices. Of course all rescripts of that description are unknown among them.

There will remain nothing but the letters containing the institution of bishops and their faculties, and letters of advice and instruction respecting difficult cases, which may occasionally occur in the exercise of their ministry. The Placet is useless with respect to the

first, which are always conceived in the same form of words; so that he, who has seen one, has seen all: it is never applied to the second in foreign states, as they contain no ordinances affecting the temporal rights of the state or individuals, but are entirely confined to spiritual matters.

But let us make the gratuitous supposition, that a Roman Catholic bishop receives from Rome an order affecting civil interests. Could he, or would he, carry it into execution? He *could* not, because he has no courts, no exterior jurisdiction. He *would* not, because he has sworn that the Pope has no civil authority, directly or indirectly, within this realm. This oath is a stronger barrier than any "Placet." It binds the conscience of the prelate: the "Placet" could only affect the legality of his conduct.

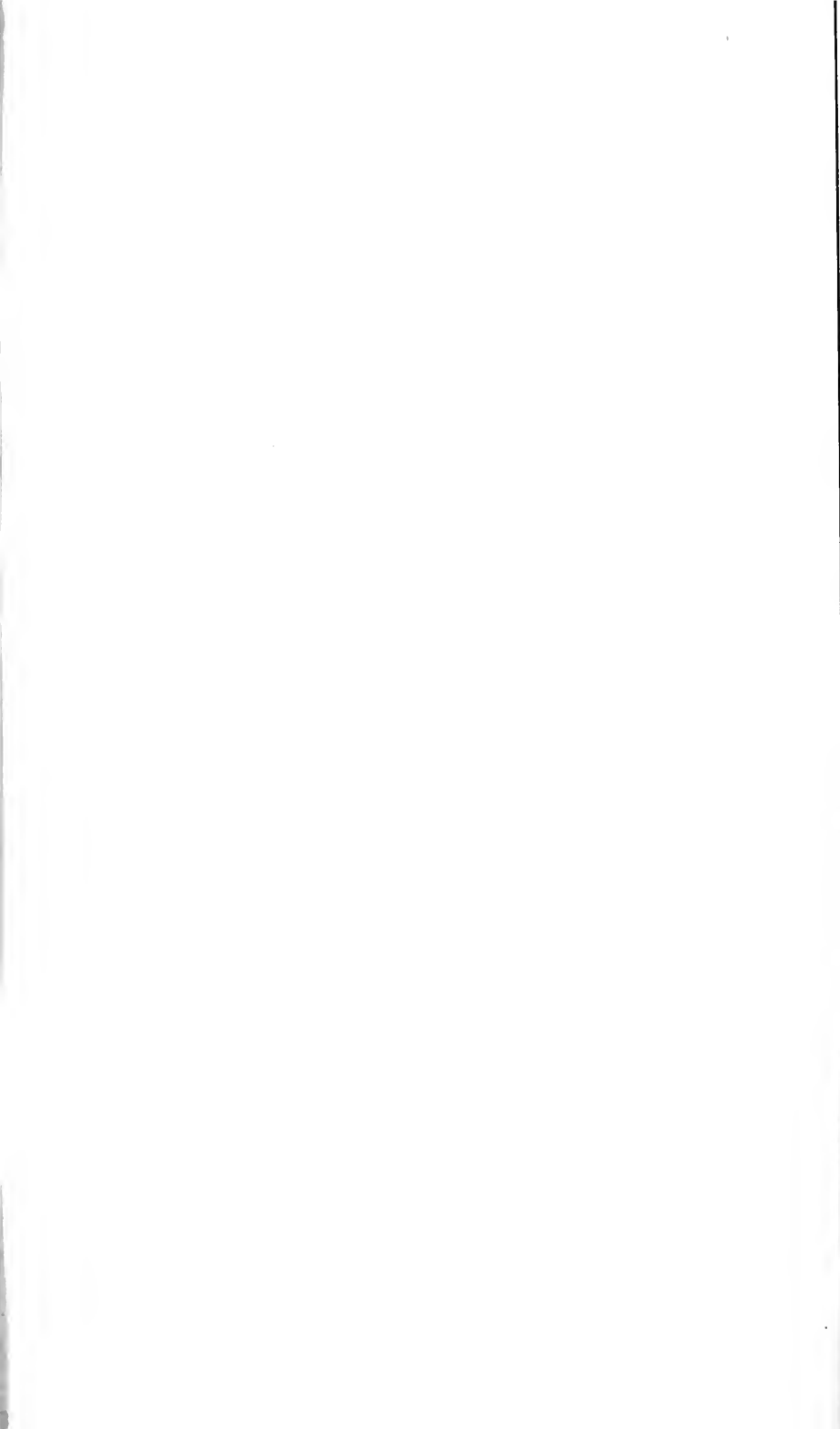
Again let us suppose that the Roman Catholic bishops are compelled to exhibit all letters that they may receive, to one or more commissioners appointed by the civil power: what is to be the consequence, if the commissioners disapprove of the letters? Are the commissioners to suppress them? Still the bishops will be apprised of their contents, and at liberty to comply with them, if they please. Are they to forbid compliance under certain penalties? But assuredly it will not be borne in a free country, that the private conduct of any individual should be regulated by the judgment or caprice of one or more individuals. That is the prerogative of the law. If the bishop transgress the law, he is amenable to justice. If he do not, he has the right, like any other subject, to act according to his own judgment.

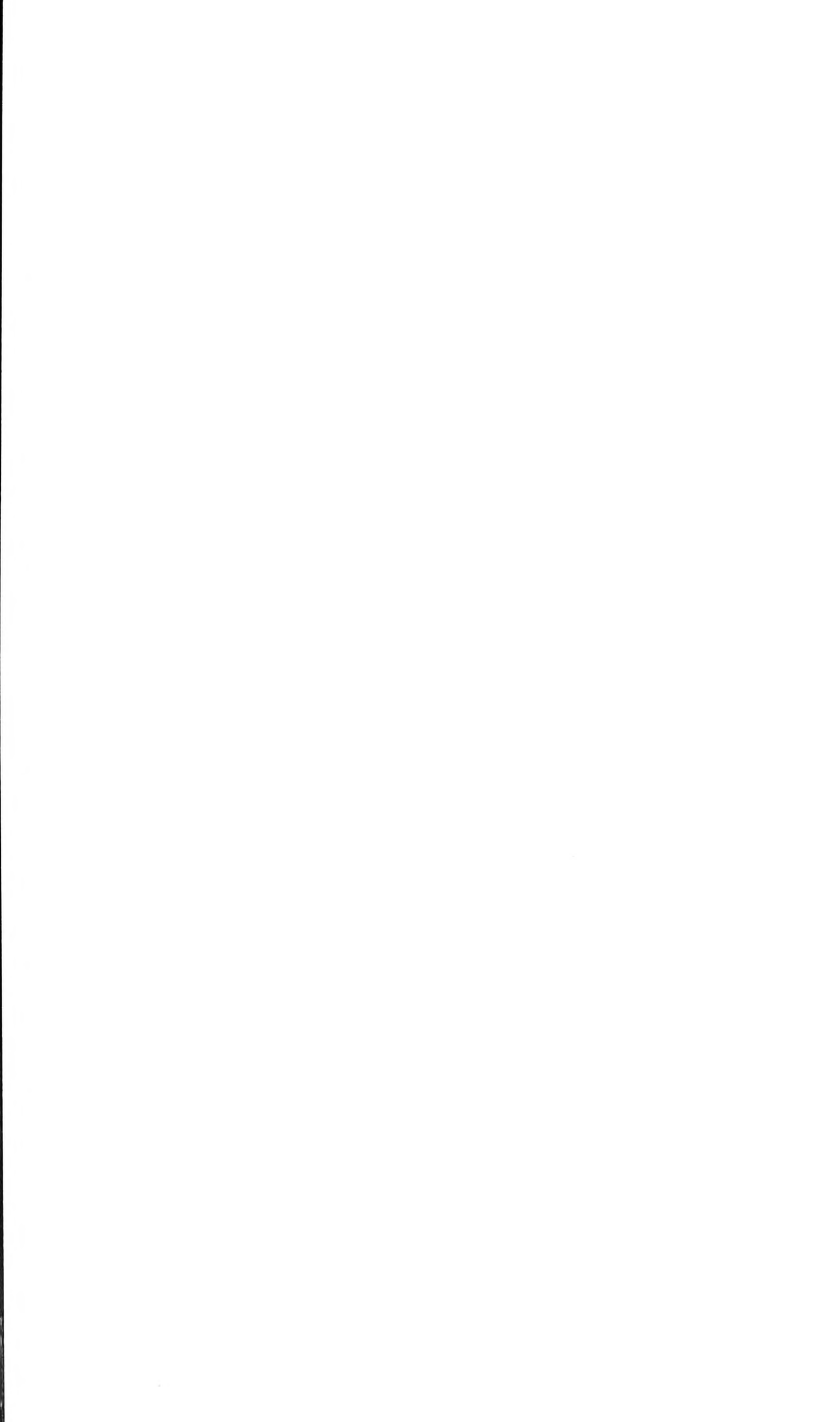
In treating this subject, the writer has confined himself to one line of argument, the practice of foreign states. His object has been to answer the question, why British Catholics ought not to be subjected to the regulations which affect foreign Catholics, by shewing that the cases are altogether dissimilar. In conclusion, he would wish to point the attention of the

reader to ordinances of foreign states, which do not appear in the Report and Appendix, to the ordinances which have restored the Protestants in Catholic kingdoms to the full enjoyment of civil rights. In every Catholic country, in which the Protestants exist in any number, all disqualifications on account of religion have been abolished. Now on what conditions have these concessions been made? On no conditions whatever. None were ever required. It never occurred to Catholic legislators, when they emancipated their Protestant brethren, that it was necessary to make men purchase the extension of their civil liberties with additional restrictions on the exercise of their religion.

THE END.

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