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THE  
DOCTRINE  
OF  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
UPON THE  
EFFICACY OF BAPTISM  
VINDICATED  
FROM MISREPRESENTATION.

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THIRD EDITION, REVISED, WITH AN APPENDIX.

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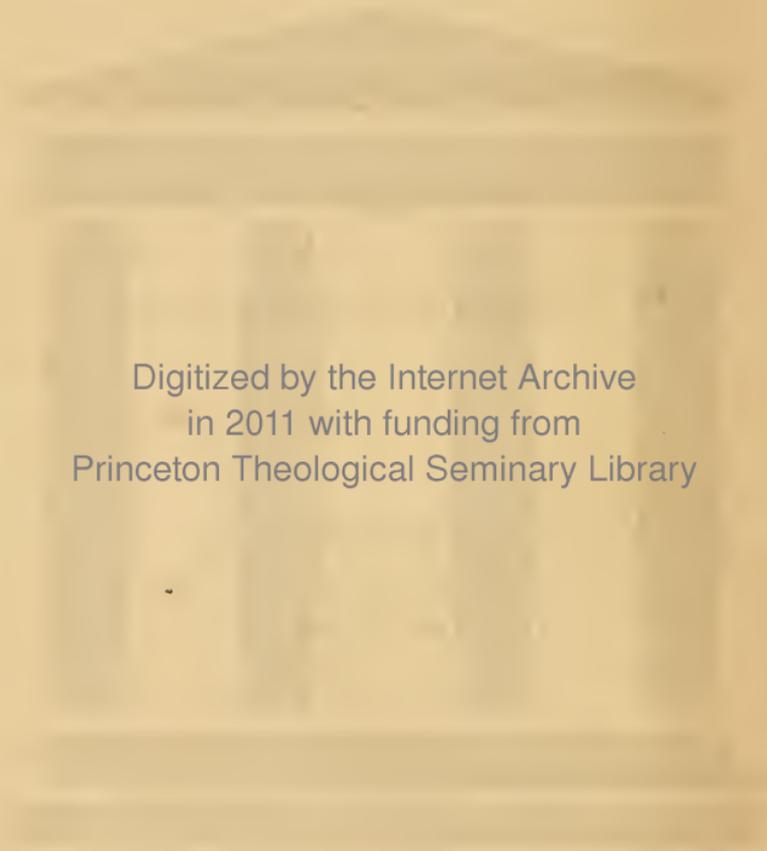
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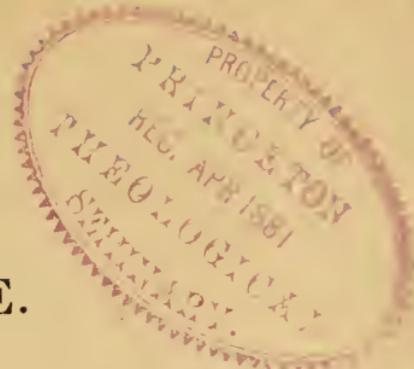
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## P R E F A C E.

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UNDERSTANDING that this Tract is now out of print, I have been induced to publish a new edition of it. My opponent indeed, the Vicar of North Ferriby, is no more ; but as the subject of which I treat is connected with a controversy by no means personal to him, or rather indeed with a controversy, in which the opinions of a party, not of an individual, are involved, I mean of a party which appropriates to itself the epithet *Evangelical*, I have complied with the solicitations made to me, and republish it.

Lately, however, and that in the place where I now write, men of talent, learning, and piety, have advocated from the pulpit and the press, among other things, the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism, which I have myself maintained ; but have encumbered it with opinions and appendages with which, if I do not misconceive them, I cannot coincide. In their zeal against *Rationalism*, they appear to me too much to decry the use of Reason in explaining the language of Scripture ; and they wish for the restoration of certain rites, viz.—exorcism—clothing the infant in a white vesture, and

anointing it with oil—rites which were first enjoined, but subsequently omitted, in our Baptismal Service.

In the ‘Tracts for the Times’ there is a distinct treatise on Baptism, in which the necessity of a strictly literal interpretation of Scripture is strongly urged. It is there said, ‘In setting forth this teaching of holy Scripture, we have, it is well to observe, adhered *strictly to the letter* of God’s word : we have not gone about to set forth any other doctrine than is contained in its *plain* words: we have only not glossed over, or distorted its language, but have taken God’s promises and declarations *simply*, as we found them. \*\*\* When the plain letter of scripture says, “we are saved by Baptism,” and men say, “we are *not* saved by Baptism;” our Lord says, “a man must be born of water and the Spirit,” man, that “he need *not, cannot* be born of *water* ;”\*\*\* Scripture, that “Christ cleansed the church with the washing of water by the word,” man, that “he did *not*, for bare elements *could* have no such virtue ;” Scripture, that “we were baptized into *one* body,” man, that “we were *not*, but that we were in that body *before* ;” surely they have entered into a most perilous path, which, unless they are checked in pursuing it, must end in the rejection of all Scripture truth, which does not square with their own private opinions. It did once so end; and it is a wholesome but

' awful warning, for those who will be warned, that  
 ' it was out of the *school of Calvin*, from familiar  
 ' intercourse with him, and the so called "*Reformed*  
 ' *church*"—that it was *out of and through the Re-*  
 ' *formed Doctrine*, that *Socinianism* took its rise ;  
 ' that the chief corrupters of the Polish and Tran-  
 ' sylvanian churches passed through *Calvinism or*  
 ' *Zuinglianism* to their Heresy. \* \* \* Let us not  
 ' be high-minded but fear. Especially let us be  
 ' aware of *that straining of the Letter of Holy*  
 ' *Scripture* in conformity with preconceived no-  
 ' tions, and the *requisitions of human reason*, wherein  
 ' the *school of Calvin* most fatally set the example  
 ' to *that of Socinus*<sup>a</sup>.'

The slightest inspection of the present Tract will shew, that the sole object of controversy was, in what sense Baptismal Regeneration was understood by the *Church of England*, not in what sense it was deducible from *Scripture*. In this way I only had to refute the misconceptions and consequent misrepresentations of the Evangelical party in our Church, who seemed to me to put a construction upon the words of our Liturgy, extracted from the principles of Calvinism, which they would not bear. Whether I annexed the same precise meaning to the words of our Liturgy, which the present advocates for Baptismal Regeneration annex, I cannot say ; but I am certain, that I did

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 197, 198, 201.

not represent my opponents as foes to Scripture, because friends to Reason; much less did I vilify the principles of their decisions, as naturally tending to *Socinianism*.

From the preceding quotations it will be seen, and others to the same purpose might be adduced, that 'the perilous path' pursued by the Calvinist on this subject, is ascribed to his not giving a *strictly literal meaning* to the words of Scripture, and overstraining them in conformity 'with the requisitions of human reason.' But it is not my business to defend, or my wish to censure, the Calvinist for his appeal to human reason in deriving the principles of his creed from Scripture. With this I am not directly concerned. I would however ask, when it is stated, that although 'the Scripture says that Christ cleansed the Church with the washing of water by the word; yet man (i. e. the Calvinist) says that he did *not*, for *bare elements could have no such virtue*;' whether it is intended to assert, that the words of St. Paul alluded to, (Ephes. v. 26,) if taken in a strictly literal sense, signify, that the *bare element* of consecrated water has in any way the virtue of regenerating the soul, which the Calvinist maintains that it *cannot* have? If so, it is a sense to which with the Calvinist I could not myself subscribe; and that not in contradiction to, but in conformity with, what I conceive to be the meaning of Scripture. To suppose

that the baptismal water, in what way soever consecrated, possesses *after* consecration that which it did not *before* possess, any virtue of this description, would be little better than to represent the Holy Spirit (to use an expression of Cranmer) as ‘*inaquate*, when sacramentally joined to the water ‘in Baptism<sup>b</sup>.’ But I will not do so much injustice to the good sense of the writer quoted, as to conceive that any love of adherence to the mere letter of Scripture could lead him to adopt so singular a position<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Defence of the Sacrament, &c. p. 33.

<sup>c</sup> No precise opinion upon the nature of Regeneration, or upon the mode in which it is effected, is distinctly stated in the ‘Tracts for the Times.’ It seems, as it is there described, that we should attribute it to what has been usually denominated, but in the best sense of that denomination, the *opus operatum*. In the advertisement, or preface, to the second volume (p. 5.) occurs the following passage; ‘*Rationalistic*, or (as they may be more properly called) ‘*carnal* notions concerning the Sacraments, and, on the other hand, ‘a superstitious apprehension of resting in them, and a slowness to ‘believe the possibility of God’s having *literally blessed ordinances* ‘*with invisible power*, have, alas! infected a large mass of men in ‘our communion. There are those whose “word will eat as doth ‘a canker;” and it is to be feared, that we have been over-near certain celebrated protestant teachers, puritan or latitudinarian, and ‘have suffered in consequence. Hence we have almost embraced the ‘doctrine, that God conveys grace *only* through the instrumentality ‘of the *mental energies*, that is, through *faith, prayer, active spiritual contemplation*, or (what is called) *communion with God*, in ‘contradiction to the *primitive view*, according to which the Church ‘and her Sacraments are the ordained and direct visible means of ‘conveying to the soul, what is in itself supernatural and unseen. ‘For example, would not most men maintain, on the first view of ‘the subject, that *to administer the Lord’s Supper to infants*, or to ‘the *dying and insensible*, however consistently pious and believing

To rationalise, it is true, upon *the obvious* language of Scripture, by giving it an overstrained signification, inconsistent with its *evident* one, must inevitably end in error; but how are we to decide that its language is in any case *obvious*, and that the evidence of its meaning lies upon the surface, except by the exercise of those reasoning faculties, which God has conferred upon us? Investigation, I trust, is not heresy, nor Critical acumen folly and presumption. Scripture indeed must be searched for the revealed will of God: but that will is conveyed to us in the language of man; a language, which necessarily partakes of human imperfection, and which is liable to all those verbal casualties that attend its transmission to us through a lapse of centuries.

At the same time however, if we maintain, that no doctrine of Scripture can be true, except human reason sanctions it by a previous approbation, we try scripture at the bar of a tribunal, to which, as a revelation from God, it is not amena-

‘ in their past lives, was a *superstition*? And yet *both* practices  
 ‘ have the sanction of *primitive usage*. And does not this account  
 ‘ for the prevailing indisposition to admit that Baptism conveys  
 ‘ Regeneration?’

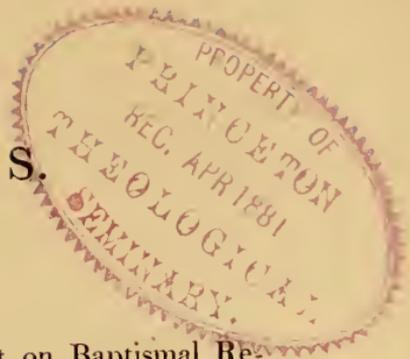
Does the sanguine writer of this preface flatter himself, that although *most men* must at *first* view think such an administration of the Lord’s Supper *superstitious*, yet that on a *second* view, when they are told by him that the usage was *primitive*, they will change their opinion, and believe, that, if restored, it would prove the mean of conveying grace, in some incomprehensible manner, to a soul unconscious of its application, and insensible of its efficacy?

ble; and if we admit that Scripture is of Divine authority, yet that upon the truth of the doctrines which it reveals reason alone must decide, and that it often accommodates itself to vulgar opinions and prejudices, by propagating *falsehoods*; it appears, I confess, to me, that we assert inconsistent absurdities. Reason has its province and its boundary, which if it exceeds, it degenerates into personal conceit and mental presumption; but let us not control its energies, where God and nature have given full scope for its exertions. Having ascertained by it what is and what is not, the meaning of Scripture, let us there rest, and ‘receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save our souls.’

To this third edition is added an Appendix, containing extracts from the formulary of Baptism, used in the Church of Rome, with the formularies adopted by the Lutheran and our own Church; as also further remarks upon the opinions of the Writer already alluded to; from whom, as I agree with him upon many points, in opposition to the Calvinistical doctrine of Regeneration, I grieve to differ upon any.



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THE DOCTRINE  
OF  
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
UPON  
THE EFFICACY OF BAPTISM.

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CHAP. I.

*Preliminary Remarks. Dr. Mant's Tract on Baptismal Re-  
generation. Mr. Scott's Reply to it. Evangelical Party.  
Limited View of the present Discussion.*

IT may perhaps appear singular that a controversy should still exist respecting the true sense of certain passages in the Baptismal Services of our Church, after a lapse of more than two centuries from the period of their original compilation; particularly as the language in which they are expressed seems to have been studiously adapted to popular comprehension and instruction. But this appearance of singularity ceases, when we recollect the natural anxiety of every writer upon the subject to prove that the doctrine of the Church to which he professes attachment and his own private opinion perfectly coincide. Yet ought this anxiety always to be indulged? Private opinion, it is indeed true, no man can control; but every man may control the public display of it: and surely when its conformity with the doctrine of the Church cannot be clearly and satisfactorily demonstrated, concealment is preferable to disclosure, and silence to justification. To support an ideal conform-

ity by a line of argument evidently strained and distorted, may suit the obliquities of party spirit, but can never promote truth, and produce conviction.

The Calvinistical, or, as they rather wish to be termed, the *Evangelical*, Clergy, have been always forward in advocating the cause of their own consistency. But no attempt at an accommodation of principle has been attended with more labour and difficulty, or has given birth to greater refinement of reasoning, and to less solidity of argument, than that which they have hazarded upon the subject of the efficacy of Baptism.

The ‘Society for promoting Christian Knowledge’ recently circulated a tract, composed by Dr. Mant, one of the Chaplains to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. This tract, as might have been conjectured, from the credit and connection of its Author, as well as from the mode of its circulation, has proved highly offensive to the Clergy alluded to; and Mr. Scott, Vicar of North Ferriby, in justification of his own conformity, and that of his party, has since published an elaborate and well written answer to it<sup>a</sup>.

It is not my intention to interfere in the personal contest which has taken place on this occasion. But as the principal subject in dispute is one to which I have myself already alluded in some of my former publications<sup>b</sup>, I embrace the opportunity, which Mr. Scott’s book affords me, of stating and discussing more

<sup>a</sup> The title of his work is, ‘An Inquiry into the Effect of Baptism, &c. By the Rev. John Scott, M. A. Vicar of North Ferriby,’ &c.

<sup>b</sup> In the Bampton Lecture of the year 1804, and in a Sermon upon Baptismal Regeneration preached at Christ Church, Oxford, Jan. 29, 1815.

correctly than I could otherwise have done, the true ground upon which Calvinistical conformity is maintained, and of pointing out its untenability.

That the reasoning of this writer may be identified with that of the party which he espouses (I do not mean to use the word ‘party’ offensively) will not, I presume, be controverted. Indeed he himself represents his sentiments as supported by something more than his own individual authority. ‘*Our* views of ‘Regeneration,’ he remarks, ‘(if, without any pretensions to be the *accredited advocate* of a party, I may presume to speak on behalf of many of my brethren as well as myself,) are surely more definite. *We* consider the term as equivalent, &c. Such I believe *I may venture to state* are the sentiments of those who are reproached, *as the self-denominated Evangelical* party. Whose views, *theirs* or their opponents’, best agree with Scripture, and the authorized writings of our Church, is to be the subject of further inquiry<sup>c</sup>.’ Again: ‘This language perfectly suits the ideas, which *we* entertain upon the subject. *We* hold the change of Regeneration to be indispensable to salvation in every child of fallen Adam. How Dr. Mant will make it accord with *his* sentiments, it is for him to consider<sup>d</sup>.’

Both sides maintain their respective opinions by different interpretations of the same passages in Scripture. But I do not propose, unnecessarily, as it appears to me, to drag Scripture into the contest: for the true question at issue is, not *what Scripture*, but *what the Church of England*, has inculcated upon the subject. Besides, to commence with ascertaining the precise sense of Scripture upon it is to commence

<sup>c</sup> P. 16, 17.

<sup>d</sup> P. 95. See also p. 60, and 201.

with a bias on the mind, which must unavoidably influence subsequent investigation. I shall not, I am persuaded, be misrepresented as entertaining the slightest doubt respecting the conformity of the doctrine of our Church with Scripture; because it is evident, that I am only contending for the propriety of first deciding what the doctrine of our Church really is, before any attempt be made either to establish or refute that doctrine by the Word of God.

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## CHAP. II.

*The Evangelical Clergy in their principles Calvinistical. Strictures upon the Conduct of the Controversy—Principal Point at issue stated. Misconception and Misapplication of the word Regeneration.*

IF those, whose opinions I propose to consider, prefer the denomination of the *Evangelical*, to that of the *Calvinistical*, Clergy, it is not, I presume, because they disapprove the tenets of Calvin; but, probably, because they are better pleased with a general, than an apparently sectarian, denomination. For reasons indeed best known to themselves, the open avowal of their creed upon the dogma of absolute Predestination seems to be studiously avoided; but indications of it, too plain to be mistaken, are occasionally betrayed. Thus the following observation occurs in a note; ‘Both this ‘author (Womack) and Dr. Mant would fain have the ‘words, Acts xiii. 48. *as many as were ordained to ‘eternal life*, to mean, as many as were *fit*, or *well ‘disposed* for the kingdom of heaven. They do not ‘however venture to assert, that *τάσσεσθαι* ever expresses *inward disposition of mind*.’ And in a few pages after, when what is conceived to be an inexpli-

<sup>e</sup> Scott’s Inquiry, &c. p. 263.

cable paradox in theory is noticed, viz. that Almighty God should in one passage of Scripture engage *to work in us* that which in another we are *ourselves exhorted and commanded* to do, (a paradox which, inexplicable as it may appear to them, every child can readily solve, who has not been educated in the Calvinistical school,) it is subjoined; ‘ If these things present a difficulty, and a *speculative* difficulty it is allowed they do present, he who has not felt *his own system encumbered with it*, either has not embraced the system of Scripture, or has very little considered, what he has professed to embrace<sup>f</sup>.’

But whatsoever denomination, as a party, they may approve, their doctrine upon the subject of Baptism is certainly founded upon Calvinistical principles. In the management however of their controversy, so many irrelevant topics have been introduced, so much collateral reasoning pressed, and the whole subject in dispute so involved in extraneous matter, that the principal point at issue has not been fairly and fully brought into discussion. That point I conceive to be of a more limited description, than it is generally represented, and simply to consist in the decision of this question; What is the doctrine of the Church of England respecting a restoration to Divine favour, as well of infants as of duly prepared adults, by baptism? Does she hold that they are not nominally but really regenerated; and that those of them who die after baptism, but before the commission of actual crime, are all without exception undoubtedly saved? Or does she hold, that Election and Salvation are conferred upon a favoured few alone, the great majority being rejected by the inscrutable will of God, and left to perish everlastingly? That she maintains the former opinion

<sup>f</sup> Ib. p. 266.

is the persuasion of the Established Clergy in general : that she maintains the latter is the persuasion of the Calvinistical party alone.

The question is by no means an indifferent one, as it involves a doctrine of considerable importance ; I mean that which relates to the nature and extent of Divine election. For if all baptized infants, and all duly prepared adults, are indiscriminately elected in Christ out of mankind, so that, if they die previously to the subsequent commission of sin, they are indisputably saved ; while of those who survive, some preserve the state of grace, to which they have been elected, if not uniformly, yet finally, but others fall from it, and eventually perish ; it must evidently follow, that our Church teaches not an absolute or arbitrary, but a conditional or contingent, election. This conclusion, although unnoticed, must have always been upon one side secretly anticipated. No pains therefore have been spared, and no little ingenuity has been exerted to counteract it, by explaining away and perverting the obvious import of the language contained in our Liturgy, and thus, if possible, to leave untouched the keystone of Calvinistical predestination.

A restoration to Divine favour, comprehending remission of sin, and adoption into the number of the elect, is, I apprehend, uniformly represented in our Liturgy, as the inseparable concomitant of Regeneration. In the general use however of this word, perhaps some little misconception might have been avoided, had proper attention been paid to the constant occurrence of *metonymies* in every language. It is admitted, that *Regeneration* and *Baptism* were regarded as synonymous terms by the early Fathers of the Church, who considered Regeneration as the *effect* of Baptism, using what is denominated a metonymy

of the *effect* for the *cause*. The same synonymous signification also is adopted in the Articles of our Church<sup>g</sup>, in which the Latin expression *renatis* is translated *baptized*. But there is also a metonymy of the *cause* for the *effect*, as well as one of the *effect* for the *cause*. To this principle it must probably be imputed, that the word Regeneration has been sometimes appropriated, not to the single act of spiritual birth, but to continued acts of spiritual reviviscence, embracing the whole period of the Christian life. But this metonymical and extended sense of it, confusing the primary cause with the subsequent effect, of existence, ought to be rather regarded as a figurative application, than as a literal demonstration of rigid theory. It nevertheless seems to have produced a variety of conception upon the point, occasioning some to represent the new birth as occurring more than once, and others to deny its reality, where, properly speaking, it is only to be found, in baptism.

With respect however to the strict definition of the term, as limited to a single occurrence, I do not perceive that any difference of opinion exists between us and the opposite party. Both describe it as the commencement, and the commencement only, of the Christian life. It is said; ‘As to a person *once* regenerated being regenerat-  
ed again, those at least, who hold with Calvin the doc-

<sup>g</sup> Art. ix. Dr. Mant’s opponent seems not aware of this identity of expression, p. 100, 101. But had he referred to the original Latin of the Article, which he appears to have both read and considered, because he quotes it in *the very next page*, he must have immediately perceived it. In this Article the word *renatis* occurs twice, ‘manet etiam *in renatis* hæc naturæ depravatio:’ again, ‘quanquam *in renatis* et credentibus nulla propter Christum est ‘condemnatio,’ &c. In the former instance it is translated *regenerated*, in the latter *baptized*. The conclusion seems obvious.

‘trine of final perseverance, will agree with Dr. Mant, that it cannot be, but that such a person evermore continues regenerate<sup>h</sup>.’ Reference is then made to a former passage<sup>i</sup>, in which occurs the following observation; ‘I have no wish to contend for a *second* death unto sin, where a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness appear really and practically to have taken place.’ But when they proceed to explain the mode and period of regeneration, a discordance of sentiment instantly appears. We consider it as the gift, connected with the medium of grace, exhibited in baptism; they, as the gift unconnected with that medium of grace, and solely dependent upon the irrelative will of God. We contend, that all who are baptized in infancy are truly regenerated; they, that the majority of Christians are never regenerated at all at any period of their lives.

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### CHAP. III.

*Reasoning from Adult to Infant Baptism incorrect. Efficacy of Adult Baptism as dependent upon the Assumption of sincerity. Opinion that Regeneration exists before and without Baptism controverted. Inconsistent with the express Language of our Liturgy, particularly with the Church Catechism.*

A COMPLAINT has been made that Dr. Mant confines, or nearly confines, his attention to *infant* recipients of Baptism<sup>a</sup>. But they who thus complain well know, that the principal question in debate hinges upon this very point, and that the Church of England possessed no form whatsoever of adult Baptism until the Restoration. They have nevertheless so completely inverted the argument, and perplexed it with foreign topics, that it seems no easy task to disentangle it. I

<sup>h</sup> P. 59.

<sup>i</sup> P. 49.

<sup>a</sup> P. 116.

do not however mean to undertake this task; but solely to discuss that which constitutes the true ground of difference between us.

The inverted order of argument alluded to consists in an attempt to explain the doctrine of infant by that of adult Baptism. But as in a Christian country it may be supposed, that all persons are baptized in infancy, and as the original framers of our Liturgy manifestly acted upon that supposition, I do not perceive how it can be reasonably argued, that they conformed their office of infant Baptism to the principles of an office of adult Baptism, which did not at the time exist. I very well understand how it might happen, that those, who subsequently compiled an office of adult Baptism, when such an office became requisite, might, *as far as circumstances permitted, mutatis mutandis*, copy the form of an office of infant baptism, which had been previously in use for more than a century. And this did in fact take place, with such alterations and additions as appeared proper to adapt a form for the baptism of infants to the peculiar case of adults; so that for instance, after the words, ‘Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will favourably receive these,’ which were in the former office, was inserted, ‘truly repenting and coming unto him by faith,’ in the latter office. But I cannot comprehend how the sense of the original is to be limited by that of the copy, especially upon topics where the cases are not parallel, and where no true point of comparison is to be found. I might also add, where a new paragraph is inserted expressly for the purpose of distinguishing the particular case of adult, from the general case of infant Baptism. Surely, to urge, that our Reformers in the reign of Edward the Sixth presumed, that infants, brought to baptism, possessed the previous requisites of repentance and faith, or any

equivalent requisite, respecting which the office compiled by them is wholly silent, merely because in the reign of Charles the Second a clause of that description was admitted into another baptismal office adapted to very different persons, would be to argue in contradiction to every rule of logic, and to every principle of correct reasoning.

The other party profess themselves to be aware that the office of adult baptism is ‘of later date than the ‘rest.’ But no one, they suppose, ‘will pretend, that ‘it has not *equal authority*. Besides, the very same ‘system,’ they say, ‘evidently pervades all the offices, and all ‘must be interpreted in the same manner<sup>b</sup>.’

The system here meant is the system of *charitable supposition*; and a whole chapter<sup>c</sup> is employed in demonstrating, that this *hypothetical* principle, this universal assumption of sincerity, pervades every office of the Church. The position asserted might have been taken for granted without the prolixity of minute detail, *in all cases relative to adults*; but what is the conclusion hence deducible? Will it be contended, that what is applicable to adults is applicable likewise to infants? The idea of a *charitable* supposition presumes the possibility of an *uncharitable* one; but in the case of infants is such a possibility to be conceived? Where incompetency alike excludes both suppositions, the hypothetical principle alluded to cannot exist, because liberality of opinion can have no scope for exertion.

Evident however as this reasoning appears to be, it has been disregarded on the present occasion, in the adaptation of the baptismal requisites expected in adults, under certain restrictions and exceptions, to the rule of infant Baptism. Much indeed of the work under review is occupied in refuting a position which

<sup>b</sup> P. 121.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. 8.

no one holds; the position, that supernatural grace is in point of fact *necessarily and constantly* conferred by baptism, in case of *adults* as well as in that of infants<sup>d</sup>. But I do not mean to enter into the discussion of topics so irrelevant to the more immediate object before me.

Omitting therefore this needless and barren controversy, in which the antagonist of the other party seems to be a mere man of straw, I proceed to consider their opinions upon the efficacy of the baptism of adults, before I advert to that of infants, according to the arrangement adopted by them.

‘The ground,’ they say, ‘upon which the Church speaks of all those whom she has baptized as regenerate, is neither more nor less than *the supposition—the assumption, of their sincerity in their professions*. Let us turn back to the exhortation before noticed. What do we there read? Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will favourably receive these present persons—doing what? simply coming to baptism? no, let the words be marked; *truly repenting and coming to him by faith*. Here the supposition, *elsewhere implied and understood, is positively expressed—truly repenting and coming to him by faith*. This is what is *supposed* concerning them. It is *assumed*, that they come to baptism with the proper requisites, *with repentance and faith*<sup>e</sup>.’

All this is perfectly correct and reasonable; but it is neither more nor less than what all parties have uniformly held upon the same subject. Had they rested here, no ground of objection could have existed. But they proceed further, and contend, that in the judgment of the Church of England a man may be born

<sup>d</sup> P. 98, 119, 132, &c.

<sup>e</sup> P. 135, 136.

again *otherwise* than by baptism, and indeed *without* baptism<sup>f</sup>. To those who receive baptism rightly, the inward blessing communicated is stated to be nothing more than ‘*the confirmation of faith and increase of grace—already received.*’ They add; ‘*regeneration strictly taken in the sense of the infusion of a new principle of life and of action, or, as Hooker’s words are, the first disposition towards future newness of life, cannot be received by these persons in baptism, for they already have it before they are baptized. They are partakers of repentance and faith, and consequently possess the grace of God, before they are baptized. All they need is, to have these spiritual graces confirmed and increased, which they may confidently expect in this sacrament, by virtue of prayer unto God*’<sup>g</sup>.

According then to this statement, Regeneration is not to be regarded as the *effect* of Baptism, but as the operation of the Spirit of God upon the soul of man *previously to it*; in all cases at least, where repentance and faith exist; baptism itself being nothing more than a mere *attestation* of a new birth *already* received. I shall not stop to dispute the specific meaning of the word Regeneration in an abstract theological point of view, because that would be still widely wandering from the mark; but I contend, that, according to the obvious unsophisticated sense of the language in our Liturgy, Regeneration including admission into divine favour is represented as the appropriate effect of Baptism, in *adults* as well as in infants.

The proof of this assertion appears in my judgment

<sup>f</sup> ‘This passage proves to me, that in her judgment also, a man may be thus born again *otherwise* than by baptism, and indeed *without* baptism.’ P. 128.

<sup>g</sup> P. 230.

to lie in a very small compass. Every adult person is supposed in the office under consideration to possess repentance and faith, *previously* to baptism. That will not be denied. In the preparatory form, although in possession of these requisites, he is regarded as still *unregenerate*; otherwise the minister would not be instructed thus to pray; ‘We call upon thee for this person, that he coming to thy holy Baptism *may* receive remission of his sins by spiritual Regeneration;’ and again, ‘Give thy Holy Spirit to this person, that he *may* be born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation.’ Surely this mode of expression sufficiently demonstrates, that he who possesses repentance and faith is not therefore to be necessarily considered as possessing spiritual Regeneration. But what follows? Immediately after the administration of baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he is pronounced to be *regenerated*, to be *born again*, and to be *made an heir* of everlasting salvation. Is it possible to deduce any other legitimate conclusion from these premises than this; that the person who after a due preparation comes to Christ’s holy Baptism *unregenerated*, departs *regenerated*?

When it is said *before* the act of baptism, ‘Give thy Holy Spirit to this person, that he *may be* born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation;’ and again *after* the act of baptism, ‘that *being now* born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, he may *continue* thy servant;’ does not the change of tense distinctly point out a change of circumstances dependent upon the *intervening* act of baptism; indicating that the person baptized, although repenting and believing, was not previously, but is now regenerated?

The misconception, which has taken place upon this point, seems to have arisen from the error of beginning at the wrong end of the inquiry, of arguing not according to the antiquity of the respective compositions from infant to adult, but from adult to infant, Baptism. It should have been considered, that the office of adult Baptism was expressly compiled for the use of those only, who had been examined and were *found fit*, who *truly repented and believed*, and not for infidels or hypocrites; and that therefore it was a mere verbal repetition, as far as circumstances would permit, of the more ancient office of infant Baptism, upon the efficacy of which the compilers of the new office were agreed. It must not however be forgotten, that I am only contending for an invariable efficacy of Baptism in adults, when the mind of the recipient is duly prepared; and that the only true question at issue is, whether Regeneration under such circumstances is or is not *the appropriate effect* of baptism? I maintain that it is; the other party that it is not, but that it consists in a sensible operation of the Spirit of God upon the soul of man, independent of all predisposing causes, and limited to no specific means of grace.

There seems a disposition to explain away the unequivocal language of our Liturgy by certain equivocal inferences, deduced from subsequent additions and compilations, particularly from the concluding part of the Church Catechism. But let the comparison be fairly made, and I am persuaded that a different result will ensue.

In answer to the question, ‘What is required of persons to be baptized?’ it is there said, ‘Repentance, whereby they forsake sin, and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the *promises* of God made to them *in that* sacrament.’ It will not, I apprehend,

be deemed improbable, that the compilers of the office of Adult Baptism at the Restoration had this very passage in view, when they stated *repentance and faith* to be the previous requisites for a worthy recipient, and such an one only was in their contemplation. But what is the species of faith particularly pointed out? It is a faith, by which the recipient ‘steadfastly believes the *promises* of God made to him *in that* sacrament.’ Let it be observed, that the promises which he is supposed steadfastly to believe are such as are made to him in *that* sacrament; not such as are applicable to *other* times and occasions. Nor will it, I presume, be denied, that the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of admission into the number of the elect, (the concomitant blessings of Regeneration,) are those, which are made to him *in that* sacrament; because these are distinctly indicated in the office itself, which directs the minister to pray before baptism that he *may* obtain the remission of his sins by spiritual Regeneration, that he *may be* ‘made an heir of everlasting salvation;’ and *after* it to declare that he *has been* ‘regenerated, and *has been* made an heir of everlasting salvation.’

According therefore to the doctrine of the Church of England, the true Christian state of salvation, in adults, commences not with Faith alone, but with Faith and Baptism united. Thus our Saviour at the institution itself of the very sacrament under consideration stated, not simply that he who believeth, but that ‘he who believeth and *is baptized*, shall be saved;’ which expression, she remarks, ‘sheweth unto us the *great benefit* we reap *thereby*.’ The commencement of this state, in conformity with the uninterrupted usage of the Catholic Church, she denominates *Regeneration*, or the new birth; that is the second and

spiritual, contrasted with the first and natural, birth : and as this happy state cannot exist without the forgiveness of sin, and an admission into the number of the elect, connected with the agency of the Holy Spirit, she contemplates these things as necessarily accompanying Regeneration, and as constituting the essence of those promises, which Christ himself has annexed to the sacrament of Baptism, worthily received. Repentance and faith, which are always presupposed, she considers as the *previous requisites* of Regeneration, but not as *Regeneration itself*; her language, as I have observed, is too plain and precise to be mistaken. She speaks of him who repents and believes, *before* baptism, as of one who *is not* regenerated ; but immediately *after* baptism she describes the same person as one who *is* regenerated. To deduce any other than the preceding conclusion from these premises, would be, I am persuaded, to exhibit as great an anomaly in grammar, as in logic.

A steadfast faith in the fulfilment of certain promises to take place *in that sacrament*, may be requisite for the application of them to the mind of the recipient ; but I do not understand, how faith can be correctly construed into the *effect* of that which it thus necessarily *precedes*. Besides, with what propriety can that man be said to be newly born in Christ, who is not yet a Christian even by profession ; who has not participated in that baptism of the new birth, which (to use the language of our Church) ‘ was ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive the same, and as a pledge to assure us thereof ; for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are *hereby* made the children of grace.’

The doctrine maintained on the other side seems to proceed upon the mistaken notion that by the word

*faith* our church implies on this occasion an assurance of pardon and election *already* received<sup>h</sup>, instead of an assurance of pardon and election *to be* received *in that* sacrament. Trust in the mercy and favour of God may have a prospective as well as retrospective object in view; and to the obvious fact, that the trust or faith here required looks not retrospectively to some preceding, but prospectively to some subsequent, effect, the express language of our Church, combining ‘the means of Grace’ with ‘the hope of Glory,’ bears ample testimony. Besides, is not the position, that Regeneration in *adults*, duly qualified, always takes place *before* baptism, in direct opposition not only to the general tenor of the office itself, but to the particular exhortation in it, which commences thus; ‘Beloved, ye hear in this gospel the *express* words of our Saviour Christ, that except a man be born of *water* and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Whereby ye may perceive *the great necessity of this sacrament*, where it may be had.’ Now if Regeneration be already obtained, in what can be supposed to consist *the great necessity* of Baptism with water?

Is it possible, I may perhaps be asked, that I can be arguing against the salvation of the penitent believer, who may happen to die unbaptized? Certainly not; I am only arguing for the obvious sense, which our Church attaches to the efficacy of a sacrament, upon the *great necessity* of which, *where it may be had*, she unequivocally insists. I am only contending, that, according to the usual, and I may add scriptural, process of conversion, she considers no repentance as valid,

<sup>h</sup> ‘Faith is, in all cases, the *effect* of the regenerating influence of the Spirit of God upon the mind.’ Scott’s Inquiry, &c. p. 210.

no faith as effectual, without baptism, without the administration of a rite, which she conceives to have been instituted for the full assurance of Divine favour and adoption by Christ himself. That she inculcates upon this point no Calvinistical principles, we may conclude from the known Creed of those who compiled the office in question<sup>i</sup>: and we may also conclude, that the object in her view embraces only the *ordinary* dispensations of mercy; because it is manifest, that the *extraordinary* ones, from the very nature of the service provided, could not have been in her contemplation.

<sup>i</sup> The compilers of this office were Henchman Bishop of Sarum, Lany Bishop of Peterborough, and Morley Bishop of Worcester, in conjunction with six others, not named, of the Lower House of Convocation. See Act of Convocation, A. D. 1661. in Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britan. &c.* vol. 4. p. 565. It is added: *Hæ preces pro baptizatiōe adultorum, ultimo die mensis Maii introductæ, unanimiter approbantur.* The Anti-Calvinistical principles of this Convocation will not, I presume, be questioned. The three Bishops had also acted under the royal commission previously issued for the revision of our Liturgy, and were in their proceedings under it all opposed to the Presbyterian party. Baxter represents Bishop Morley and Bishop Henchman as the principal opponents of that party in the Savoy Conference. *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 363. Henchman indeed he describes as speaking 'calmly and slowly, and not very oft;' but adds, 'he was as *high in his principles and resolutions* as any of them.' Lany he seems to have held in contempt, p. 337. and 364. But Morley he represents as the chief speaker of the Bishops, and the greatest interrupter of those who pleaded for alterations in the Liturgy, p. 363.

## CHAP. IV.

*Inaccuracy in the Definition of Regeneration. Doctrine of Luther upon the subject. Dawn of our own Reformation under Henry the VIIIth. Doctrine maintained in a book of Articles published 1536. Latin Articles, from which our established ones were partly derived, perfectly conformable with the preceding.*

THE other party assume to themselves credit for superior accuracy of idea and definition. Speaking of Regeneration, they say, ‘ the Holy Spirit of God is ‘ the author of the change ; the word of God the *ordinary* means of effecting it. Baptism we consider as ‘ the *pledge* of it, to those who *receive baptism rightly*; and also as *a means*, by which the blessing *may* ‘ be conveyed in answer to the devout prayers of the ‘ several parties concerned in the administration and ‘ *reception* of this sacrament.’ Were the question to be here put ; Can baptism prove a *means* whether the individual be predestined to salvation or not ? the answer might be easily anticipated. But passing over this dilemma, I would ask, what consistent sense they can affix to the assertion, that Baptism *may be* a means of conveying the blessing of Regeneration to a recipient capable of *devout prayer*, who is already, one would think, according to their own doctrine, in possession of it ?

Should I be informed, that I misconceive their meaning, and that with a certain degree of latitude devout prayer may be predicated even of the unregenerate ; I could not still release them from the charge of inaccuracy in their definition. For upon this presumption the same phrase, *devout prayer*, would be here used without discrimination, as applicable both to the rege-

nerated and the unregenerated; to the regenerated concerned in the administration of the sacrament, and to the unregenerated concerned in the reception of it.

Besides, is it not incorrect to call the sacrament itself the *means* of a blessing which would be thus solely attributed to *devout prayer*, an act certainly not confined to the administration of any sacrament?

And let it also be remembered that this description of Baptism, as being a *pledge* of previous Regeneration to those who receive it *worthily*, and as being a *possible* means of concomitant regeneration to those who receive it *unworthily*, but who unite with the minister and others in praying devoutly for that blessing, is supposed to be in perfect conformity with the doctrine of the Church Catechism. Now the Catechism represents a sacrament to be ‘an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.’ The obvious import of this language I take to be, that the outward and visible sign is to the same person, to whom it is a *means* by which he receives the inward and spiritual grace, a *pledge* likewise to assure him thereof, that is, of his *thus* receiving the grace alluded to. Indeed the whole object of the doctrine respecting the sacraments, contained in the latter part of the Catechism, is to point out the mode in which they may be worthily received, and what is in that case to be deemed their efficacy. But how is this object here perverted! The sacrament of Baptism is represented only as a *means*, although, correctly speaking, not the sacrament itself, but the adventitious act of devout prayer is rather the means, which, in the possibility of chances, *may* prove applicable to an *unprepared* recipient; and as a *pledge* to the *prepared* recipient of

his having been regenerated upon some *former* occasion, and at some *former* period.

I should not have dwelt so minutely upon the ideas of Regeneration entertained by the opposite party, if I had not been attracted to the examination of them by the confident assertion of their being particularly definite and consistent<sup>a</sup>.

But whatsoever may be their accuracy or inaccuracy either in a logical or a theological point of view, one deduction from them is unambiguous. It is this. That Baptism, as a sacrament, is in no case the appropriate means of Regeneration; and that in the case of a worthy recipient of baptism, that blessing is never during its administration, but always *previously*, communicated.

This position I wish distinctly to mark, because I am persuaded, that it directly contradicts what has always been the doctrine of the Church of England upon the same subject. For she, on the other hand, has uniformly held, that to him who receives baptism *worthily*, Regeneration, or an incipient state of salvation, including forgiveness of sin and adoption into the number of the elect, is to be regarded as *at all times the true and appropriate effect of that sacrament, not ex opere operato, but by the virtue which it derives from the ordinance and promise of God*. This I maintain was her doctrine from the dawn to the full splendour of the Reformation; and was certainly the doctrine of those, who at a much later period<sup>b</sup> compiled the very

<sup>a</sup> 'Our views of Regeneration are surely more definite and more consistent with themselves, whether they be more correct or not.' Scott's Inquiry, &c. p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> The Office for Baptism of Adults was composed after the conference at the Savoy.

Office, respecting the import of which a controversy is now agitated.

I have pointed out in some former publications the connection which subsisted between the principles of the Reformation and those of Lutheranism; and that our own Baptismal Service was little more than translated from one in use among the Lutherans<sup>c</sup>. I shall not therefore go over the same ground again unnecessarily; but shortly illustrate the point in hand by a few extracts, among many which might be quoted, from the works of Luther.

That Reformer repeatedly represents Baptism as consisting of water united to the word and command of God. ‘*Ex his jam memoratis,*’ he remarks, ‘*sanum intellectum percipe, atque interrogatus, quid baptismus sit, ita responde: non esse prorsus aquam simplicem, sed ejusmodi, quæ verbo et præcepto dei inclusa sit, et per hoc sanctificata, ita ut nihil aliud sit, quam divina aqua: non quod aqua per sese sit alia præstantior, sed quod ei verbum ac præceptum dei accesserint.*’ Thus also he comprehends what he denominates its full and absolute definition in the following few words; ‘*Baptismus est aqua et verbum dei, ex dei mandato institutus et datus*<sup>d</sup>.’

His opinion upon the principal point in dispute is clear and incontrovertible. For he distinctly states Regeneration, comprehending remission of sin, and adoption into the number of the elect, to be the appropriate effect of baptism. ‘*Hactenus de substantia et definitione baptismi diximus; nunc addemus cur a Christo institutus, et quis ejus usus sit, quid commo-*

<sup>c</sup> Baunpton Lectures, and Sermon on Baptismal Regeneration.

<sup>d</sup> Catechismus major, Opera, vol. v. p. 637. ed. Witebergæ. Homiliæ de Baptismo, vol. vii. p. 350.

‘det, quid efficere in nobis debeat, (de qua re et ante  
‘nonnihil delibamus,) videlicet quod deus ordinarit et  
‘mandaverit verbum et baptismum ministrari ad hoc,  
‘*ut homo salvaretur*, hoc est, *a peccatis et morte libe-*  
‘*ratus, regni dei et vitæ æternæ consors fieret.* Hic  
‘habes causam cur baptismus vocetur, *in quem usum*  
‘*sit institutus*, et quis ejus sit finis vel *causa finalis*,  
‘viz. ut sit animæ, vel ut Paulus vocat, *regenerationis*  
‘*lavacrum, per quod* ex hac carnali et peccatrice nati-  
‘vitate *ad vitam novam et spiritualem nascimur, in*  
‘*qua coram deo justî et cælestis regni hæredes reddi-*  
‘*mur*<sup>e</sup>.’ In another place also he remarks: ‘Omnia  
‘hæc nobis parit et adfert baptismi lavacrum, non ex  
‘eo quod *aqua est*, sed quod *in aqua nomen dei et*  
‘*virtus dei est.* Deus sic voluit, sic eam aquam con-  
‘secravit, ut non simplex et pura puta jam, sed *divina*  
‘*et cælestis* sit aqua; et *omnia ista salutis æternæ*  
‘*et vitæ cælestis commoda* per aquam et verbum, *tan-*  
‘*quam per media*, largiri constituit<sup>f</sup>.’ In what sense  
he here considers baptism as the *means* of Regenera-  
tion, the context sufficiently declares. Certainly not  
in a Calvinistical sense. Indeed, in a passage occur-  
ring only a few lines before this, he contradistinguishes  
the means, or the instrument, of Regeneration from  
the bare sign and mark of the Christian profession,  
precisely, I conceive, according to the meaning, and  
almost in the language, of the twenty-seventh Article  
of our Church upon the same subject<sup>g</sup>. For, in expa-  
tiating upon the great object proposed by the institu-  
tion of baptism, he there observes, that God did not

<sup>e</sup> Homiliæ de Baptismo, vol. vii. p. 353.      <sup>f</sup> Id. p. 361.

<sup>g</sup> ‘Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis  
‘nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est  
‘signum regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum,’ &c.  
Art. xxvii.

ordain it, ‘*ut tantummodo nota sit et signum inane ac nudum, quo ab aliis discreti agnosceremur, veluti Judæi circumcisione ab aliis discernebantur; sed, quod in hoc præcipue ipsum instituerit, ut per eum salvemur, hoc est, ut a peccatis, a morte, ab inferis, a malis et calamitatibus omnibus, liberati, utque justificati et sanctificati æternæ vitæ hæredes et bonorum cælestium consortes efficiamur.*’ And again, in another Homily, he thus prosecutes the same argument, in a phraseology, if possible, still more expressly in point. ‘*Qui hæc probe tenet et discit, quæ diximus, is poterit cavere sibi et se tueri spiritibus istis Anabaptisticis, qui somniant baptismum nihil aliud esse, quam aquam et humanum commentum, aut notam duntaxat tesseramque, qua discernantur Christiani ab iis, qui in Christi religionem nomen non sunt professi. Equidem ubi Deus instituit aut ordinat aliquid, id nullo modo humanum duntaxat signum esse potest aut nota, qua inter se cognoscantur et discernantur diversæ professionis aut religionis homines, sed necesse est id esse salvificum, sanctum et divinum quoddam, virtutisque eximiæ et maximæ, et tale quid, quod omnem mihi felicitatem allaturum, et in salutem æternam cessurum sit. Non potest itaque non id operari et efficere baptismus, ad quod institutus est, videlicet, regenerationem et renovationem Spiritus sancti, sicuti Paulus docet, Tit. 3. Quemadmodum enim ex Adam et Eva nati sumus in hanc vitam, ita idem vetus homo, ante in peccatis ad mortem natus, ad justitiam et vitam æternam, virtute Spiritus sancti, regeneretur oportet. Ad hanc regenerationem ac renovationem externe nihil amplius adhibetur ac sentitur, quam aqua et verbum, quorum alterum oculis duntaxat, alterum auribus, percipitur.*

‘ *Tantum tamen virtutem et energiam habent<sup>h</sup>, ut  
 ‘ homo, qui in peccatis conceptus, et natus est, regene-  
 ‘ retur coram Deo, et qui ante ad mortem erat damna-  
 ‘ tus, jam vere filius Dei fit<sup>i</sup>.’*

The preceding quotations, I presume, are too plain and perspicuous to require a comment. Luther’s idea then of the visible sign in baptism accorded not with that of those whose opinions I am controverting, who argue, that it was ordained to signify a previous regeneration of the Spirit, *unconnected with that sacrament*. Indeed he maintained, that it was instituted for the express purpose of counteracting such an imagination. For upon this point he thus strongly delivers his sentiments: ‘ *Necesse est primum adesse externum et  
 ‘ sensu perceptibile signum seu creaturam, per quam  
 ‘ Deus visibiliter nobis agit, ut de eo certi simus, nec  
 ‘ quicquam addubitemus; neque enim *citra externa  
 ‘ media, per nudas et arcanas tantum inspirationes et  
 ‘ afflatus, aut singulares quasdam arcanas Apoca-  
 ‘ lypses, seu revelationes nobiscum agere vult Deus<sup>k</sup>.’* And again towards the conclusion of the same Homily, after reprehending the enthusiastical fervor of those in his own time, who were for ever appealing to the secret influences of the Holy Spirit, he distinctly points out where the regeneration of the Spirit is to be found. ‘ *Certissimum est,*’ he remarks, ‘ *ibi (viz. in baptismo)  
 ‘ Spiritum præsentem adesse. Quod si Spiritus præsens  
 ‘ adest, necesse est et aquam spiritualem esse, eumque  
 ‘ per aquam et in aqua operari et efficacem esse, et  
 ‘ Spiritum per eam donare, seu eum spirituales ho-  
 ‘ mines per eam aquam efficere<sup>l</sup>.’**

That his doctrine however respecting the efficacy of Baptism was broadly distinguished from that of the

<sup>h</sup> Viz. aqua et verbum.

<sup>i</sup> Id. p. 377.

<sup>k</sup> Id. p. 347.

<sup>l</sup> Id. p. 352.

‘opus operatum’ of the Church of Rome, his whole works testify. And indeed the thirteenth Article of the celebrated Augsburg Confession, upon the use of the sacraments, is particularly guarded upon this point. ‘Damnant igitur illos,’ it concludes, ‘qui docent, quod sacramenta *ex opere operato* justificent, nec docent *fidem requiri* in usu sacramentorum, quæ credat remitti peccata.’

Faith therefore was considered by him as an indispensable requisite in the use of Baptism, but as adding nothing from itself to the efficacy of that sacrament. He held the necessity of faith for a due application of it to the individual; but he denied that the virtue annexed to it is any more affected by the incredulity of him who is baptized, than the light of the sun is affected by the act of one who shuts his doors and windows to exclude it from his dwelling. The following are his concluding words upon this argument: ‘Idem fit in incredulis, qui quamvis verum baptismum divinum et cæleste, lavacrum, et omnia, quæ Deus in eo habet, accipiunt, cum tamen id credere aut suscipere nolint, ideo nihil etiam iis baptismus prodest, non *quod non satis habeat energiæ et virtutis*, aut quod *perfectus non sit*, sed ideo, *quod obvertunt ei tergum, quod eum rejiciunt, et contemnunt, nec corda aperiunt*, ut in iis virtutem suam operetur<sup>m</sup>.’

Such then was the Lutheran doctrine upon this subject, which it is to be presumed regulated the sense of the Lutheran formulary of baptism; and from that

<sup>m</sup> Id. p. 362. On the other hand he thus describes its application to the believer: ‘Hæc quidem oculis et auribus percipio, sed verbum et fides dicunt mihi *Deum ipsum ibi adesse et operari opus illud*. Atque *hinc* tam efficax est lavacrum, et tantæ virtutis, ut regeneret hominem, et omnia, quibus madet, peccata abluat, atque absorpta deleat.’ p. 379.

formulary, let it be remembered, was the one adopted by our Church incontrovertibly borrowed.

If we examine the public documents of our own Reformation, from its commencement under Henry to its close under Edward, we shall find, that the same doctrine was uniformly held upon the same subject.

The dawn of the Reformation in this country is correctly stated by Neal in his *History of the Puritans* to have commenced with the *Book of Articles*, published by Royal authority in the year 1536. ‘One sees here,’ remarks that Historian, ‘the dawn of the Reformation. The Scriptures and the ancient Creeds are made the standards of faith without the tradition of the Church or decrees of the Pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four out of the seven sacraments are passed over; and Purgatory is left doubtful.’ This book of Articles, as appears from the preface annexed to it in the King’s name, was composed in Convocation to promote ‘unity and concord,’ and to prevent ‘diversity in opinions,’ as well in points of faith as respecting ceremonies°. There

<sup>n</sup> Vol. i. p. 24. He adds; ‘But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints still remained.’ He is here a little inaccurate upon the point of *transubstantiation*. The doctrine of the Articles is rather Lutheran than Papistical, asserting only the real presence, and not an absolute change of the elements.

<sup>o</sup> ‘We—also have caused our bishops and other the most discreet and best learned men of our Clergy of this our whole realm to be assembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same; where, after long and mature deliberation and disputations had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the said matters.’ Wilkins’s *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 817. These articles are given at large by Wilkins, from p. 817, to p. 823, with the subscriptions of the members of Convocation annexed. They were read and subscribed in Convocation, July 11, 1536. See *Excerpta ex Regist. Convocationis*, in Wilkins, *ib.* p. 803.

are also extant in the Cottonian Library<sup>p</sup> certain Articles drawn up in Latin, and in one or two instances corrected by Henry himself, which Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials refers to the year 1540, but which from their great resemblance to the foregoing might perhaps have been of an earlier date. They are upon the following subjects: De Ecclesia, De Justificatione, De Eucharistia, De Baptismo, De Pœnitentia, De Sacramentorum Usu. They seem to be merely extracts from the preceding articles translated into Latin. From some of these, a considerable part of the 25th, 26th, and 34th Articles of our Church, was copied almost verbatim. For a particular detail of this coincidence I refer to my Bampton Lecture<sup>q</sup>.

As so much respect then was paid to these Articles, when those, which still regulate the faith of our Church, were drawn up, I shall quote from them a passage upon adult baptism, applicable to my present inquiry. It is there said, ‘De adultis vero docemus, ‘quod ita consequuntur *per baptismum* remissionem ‘peccatorum, et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint pœnitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et credant vere ipsis *ibi* donari remissionem peccatorum, et justificationem propter Christum. Sicut Petrus ait in Actis; “Pœnitentiam agite; et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti.”’

We perceive, that the office of that faith, which with true repentance is thus required in baptism, is to believe not in a past remission of sins, as the Calvinists hold, but in one which is *there* conferred. But in the English book of Articles, published under the sanction of royal authority in 1536, the probable original of

<sup>p</sup> Cleopatra, V. 5. and Strype’s Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. Appendix, p. 300—306.

<sup>q</sup> P. 195, 196, 197, 1st edit., or 205—207, 3rd edit.

the Latin ones, this point is still more strongly and fully expressed. In the directions there given, all bishops and preachers are required among other things to teach the people, ‘that men, or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall *by virtue of that holy sacrament* obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or else not.

‘And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust *in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament*<sup>r</sup>, that is to say, that *in and by* this said

<sup>r</sup> How completely this explanation of baptismal faith breathes the true spirit of Lutheranism, no one at all conversant with the writings of Luther can for a moment hesitate to admit. In his larger Catechism he thus censures and exposes the contrary opinion. ‘Quod autem nostri *μαρόσοφοι*, hoc est, novi illi spiritus, superciliose admodum fabulantur fidem *solan* esse, quæ salvos faciat; opera vero et res externas ad salutem consequendam nihil præstare aut facere. Respondeo. Sane *in nobis* nihil aliud facere aut operari salutem, quam fidem, qua de re mox infra latius. Atqui hoc cæcorum duces videre nolunt, fidei aliquid habendum esse, quod credat, hoc est, cui innitatur, et qua re suffulta persistat. Ita jam fides *aquæ adhæret*, creditque *baptismum* esse, *in quo mera beatitudo et vita est*, non aquæ virtute (ut abunde dictum est,) sed per hoc, quod *baptismus verbo Dei unitus et ordine confirmatus est*, et ejus nomine nobilitatus. Jam hæc *credens*, quid aliquid quam in Deum credo, ut in eum, qui suum verbum baptismo indidit et inseruit, ac nobis *externas res* proponit, *in quibus tantarum rerum thesaurum* queamus comprehendere.’ Opera, Wit. vol. v. p. 637. Again, in his Homily on Baptism he says; ‘*Qui credit*, quod Deus baptismo ipsi constituerit lavacrum regenerationis, *per quod* a peccatis mundetur et sit Dei Filius, &c. *is accipit et experitur, quod credit.*’ Id. vol. vii. p. 362.

‘ sacrament, which they shall receive. God the Father  
 ‘ giveth unto them, for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake,  
 ‘ remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy  
 ‘ Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made  
 ‘ the very children of God, according to the saying of  
 ‘ Christ and his Apostle St. Peter, Pœnitentiam agite,  
 ‘ &c.<sup>s</sup>’

From the preceding quotations therefore it is impossible to deduce any other conclusion than that for which I am contending; that Regeneration exists *in* and *by*, but not *before* baptism. And let it be remembered, that these are the earliest documents of our Reformation, which our Reformers at the close of it evidently had in their contemplation, and which some of them, particularly their leader Cranmer, had been instrumental in drawing up, when they established that form of doctrine in our church which still subsists.

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#### CHAP. V.

*Same Subject continued. Reign of Edward. Cranmer. His Influence in the Reformation. Principal Author of the first Book of Homilies and the Liturgy. His Opinion upon Regeneration as taught in his Catechism, and his two Tracts upon the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Latimer not inconsistent with Cranmer.*

THE opinion upon the same point prevalent after the accession of Edward to the throne, when the first book of our Homilies and our Liturgy were composed, cannot, I apprehend, be better ascertained, than by investigating it in the public writings of Cranmer, who was principally concerned in the composition of both. The first book of the Homilies was published in July 1547, a few months only after the accession of

<sup>s</sup> Wilkins’s *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, vol. iii. p. 819.

Edward ; and the Book of Common Prayer was drawn up and ratified by Parliament in the subsequent year. The former has been generally considered as partly written by Cranmer himself<sup>a</sup>, and partly written under

<sup>a</sup> In a correspondence between Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the Protector Somerset, published by Fox in the *first* edition of his 'Acts and Monuments of the Church,' Gardiner represents the Archbishop as their avowed author, certainly of that to which he principally objected, the Homily of Salvation. 'My Lord of Canterbury was in hand *with his Homily of Salvation*, &c. p. 772. 'As for the book of Homilies, in that point, where *my Lord of Canterbury* would have taught, how faith excludeth charity, &c. p. 744. I am in no enmity with his person, and that I am able to prove ; but my Lord hath in the Homily of Salvation taken such a matter in hand *and so handled it*, &c. p. 745. As for my *Lord of Canterbury's* Homily of Salvation, p. 749. Now, I perceive, I am noted to have two faults. One not to like Erasmus's Paraphrasis ; another not to like my *Lord of Canterbury's* Homily of Salvation.' p. 803.

The foundation however of the Homilies seems to have been laid in the preceding reign. In a letter to the Protector, dated 10th of June, 1547, (seven weeks before their publication,) Gardiner thus notices a communication from Cranmer. 'I have received this day letters from my Lord of Canterbury, touching certain Homilies, which the Bishops, in the Convocation holden anno 1542, agreed to make for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people, for *other agreement there had not passed among us*. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in those matters which, established by his Highness's authority in the Convocation, *extinguished our devices*.' And again : 'Since my letters to your Grace, wherewith I sent unto you such letters as I had written to my Lord of Canterbury for answer to his letters touching Homilies, I have eftsoons received other letters from my Lord of Canterbury, *requiring the said Homilies by virtue of a Convocation holden five years past*, wherein we communed of that, *which took none effect then*, and much less needeth to be put in execution now, nor, in my judgment, cannot without a new authority from the king's majesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be enterprized.' p. 740.

From

his superintendance; and the compilation of the latter was expressly committed to him as Archbishop of Canterbury, 'with certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of this realm,' as it is stated in the Act of Ratification.

His great influence in the councils of the Protectorate is thus strongly pointed out by his opponent Gardiner, when imprisoned for contumacy. 'Men be mortal and deeds remain,' exclaims the remonstrating Bishop in a letter to Somerset, 'and methink my Lord of Canterbury doth not well to entangle your Grace *with this matter of religion*; and to borrow of your authority the fleet, the marshalsea, and the king's bench, with prisonment in his house, wherewith to

From this statement of Gardiner, so recently after the transaction, we might conclude that nothing more passed in the Convocation alluded to, than *an agreement* to write Homilies. It nevertheless appears from indisputable records, that Homilies were then and there actually composed. Among the MSS. bequeathed to Christ Church Library by Archbishop Wake are several volumes containing extracts from the Acts of Convocation at different periods. In one of these volumes the following brief account is given of what passed in the Convocation of 1541 and 1542 upon this subject. Feb. 2, 1541. 'Illic tractavit (viz. Cranmer) de homiliis conficiendis. April. 3. *Reverendissimus* tractavit de homiliis, &c. Feb. 16, 1542. *Illic prolatae sunt homiliae compositae per quosdam praelatos de diversis materiis. Qui libri traditi sunt magistro Hussey (Registrario) servandi.* Excerpta ex Actis Convoc. H. l. p. 69, and 71.

Gardiner however, it is possible, might not have been present when these Homilies were thus exhibited. That compositions of the kind were really drawn up in the Convocation of 1542, and delivered to the custody of the Registrar, seems incontrovertible.

Whether indeed these, with corrections and additions by Cranmer, constituted the principal portion of those which were subsequently published, cannot be now ascertained. But it should be observed, that the Archbishop is said to have *required such a publication*, by virtue of the powers vested in the Convocation of 1542.

‘ cause men to agree to that *it pleaseth him to call*  
‘ *truth in religion.*’ Fox’s Acts and Monuments, *first*  
edition, p. 744. ‘ If my Lord of Canterbury hath the  
‘ strength of God’s Spirit, with such a learning in his  
‘ laws, as he be able to overthrow with that breath all  
‘ untruths and *establish truths*, I would not desire *the*  
‘ *let of it* by your Grace, nor the work of God’s truth  
‘ *any way hindred.*’ p. 745. Gardiner, who was in-  
flexible in his opposition to further reform, well knew  
the weight of that influence with which he was con-  
tending.

But nothing perhaps more completely demonstrates  
the identity of the creed of Cranmer with that of our  
Reformation, than the circumstance of a change in  
the former, preceding, and most probably producing, a  
change in the latter. When our Liturgy was compiled,  
in the year 1548, Cranmer was a believer in the doc-  
trine of the *real presence*; and accordingly we find,  
that in the first edition of it the same doctrine evi-  
dently predominated. But in the year 1550 the Arch-  
bishop abandoned this opinion, and published his work,  
entitled, ‘ A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine  
‘ of the Sacrament, &c.’—Immediately afterwards the  
Liturgy was revised, and some passages, indicative of  
the real presence, omitted<sup>b</sup>. When we consider the

<sup>b</sup> In the Consecration prayer the following words occurred:  
‘ Hear us O merciful father we beseech thee; *and with thy holy*  
‘ *Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts*  
‘ *and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the*  
‘ *body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who*  
‘ *in the same night,*’ &c. Also in a subsequent prayer, similar ex-  
pressions were used. ‘ Humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever  
‘ shall be partakers of this holy Communion *may worthily receive*  
‘ *the most precious blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled*  
‘ *with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with*  
‘ *thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them, and they in*

high station which Cranmer filled, his constant zeal in promoting the Reformation, and his presidency at least in the commission for drawing up our Liturgy, if not his complete control over it, combined with these occurrences, we cannot surely doubt the identity alluded to.

The same year in which the first book of Homilies appeared, Cranmer translated and published for general instruction<sup>c</sup> a Catechism, originally composed for the use of the Lutheran Church at Nuremberg, in Germany; which he republished in the subsequent year. From this production, and from his celebrated works upon the Sacrament, professedly also written for general instruction<sup>d</sup>, I shall extract a few passages illustrative of the point in controversy.

*him.* Upon the review of our Liturgy in the latter end of the year 1550 and 1551, the sentences here marked in Italics were struck out.

<sup>c</sup> ‘And as my intent and endeavour is to profit both,’ (viz. the old and young). ‘and according to *mine office* to bring both to ‘right knowledge of God, so my most earnest and humble prayer ‘unto God continually shall be, that my good mind and desire ‘have good success, and take effect according to my expectation. ‘Which thing I assuredly hope shall come to pass, if it please your ‘Highness to suffer this little book, by me offerred unto your Majesty, *to be read, taught and learned of the children of your most loving subjects.*’ Epistle dedicatory to King Edward.

<sup>d</sup> ‘I know that everlasting woe appertaineth unto me, if I hold ‘my peace and put not to my hands and tongue, to labour in ‘purging his vineyard. God I take to witness, (who seeth the ‘hearts of all men thoroughly unto the bottom,) that I take this ‘labour for none other consideration but for the glory of his name, ‘and *the discharge of my duty*, and the zeal, that I bear toward ‘the flock of Christ. *I know in what office* God hath placed me, ‘and *to what purpose*, that is to say, *to set forth his word truly unto ‘his people*, to the uttermost of my power, without respect of person or regard of thing in the world, but of him alone.—And

In the Catechism there occurs a distinct sermon upon the subject of Baptism, which abounds with sentiments in direct contradiction to those which I am controverting. When commenting upon these words of our Saviour, ‘Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,’ the Catechism remarks, that ‘it is very necessary for us to know, *how* we must be born again; and what this second birth is, without which we cannot enter into the kingdom of God;’ and then proceeds thus to define the mode of Regeneration. ‘The second birth is *by the water of Baptism*, which Paul calleth the bath of Regeneration, *because our sins be forgiven us in baptism, and the Holy Ghost is poured into us, as into God’s beloved children*, so that by the power and working of the Holy Ghost we are born again spiritually, and made new creatures. And so *by baptism* we enter into the kingdom of God, and shall be saved for ever, *if we continue to our lives end in the faith of Christ*.’ Is not Regeneration here clearly described *as the appropriate effect of Baptism*; not indeed as an indelible effect, according to the Calvinistical idea, but as one which will ultimately lead to salvation, *if we continue in the faith of Christ to our lives end*?

Nor does the Catechism omit to point out in the phraseology of Luther that to which the regenerating effect of Baptism is to be ascribed. ‘Hitherto,’ it says, ‘you have heard what we promise to God when we are baptized; now learn, what God *worketh in us by baptism*, and what benefits he giveth us *in the same*.

‘moved by the duty, office and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning,’ &c.—Preface to a *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*.

<sup>e</sup> P. 228. ed. 1548.

‘ For baptism is *not water alone and nothing else be-*  
 ‘ *sides*; but it is the water of God, and hath its  
 ‘ *strength by the word of God, and is a seal of God’s*  
 ‘ *promise*. Wherefore it doth work in us all these  
 ‘ things whereunto God hath *ordained it*. For our  
 ‘ Lord Jesus Christ saith, Go and teach all nations,  
 ‘ and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the  
 ‘ Son, and the Holy Ghost. This God commanded his  
 ‘ disciples to do. Wherefore by the virtue of this  
 ‘ commandment, which came from heaven, even from  
 ‘ the bosom of God, baptism doth work in us, as the  
 ‘ work of God. For when we be baptized in the name  
 ‘ of God, that is as much as to say, as God himself  
 ‘ should baptize us. Wherefore we ought not only to  
 ‘ have an eye to the water, but to God rather which  
 ‘ did ordain the baptism of water, and commanded it  
 ‘ to be done in his name. For he is almighty, and  
 ‘ able to work in us *by baptism* forgiveness of our sins,  
 ‘ *and all these wonderful effects and operations for*  
 ‘ *which he ordained the same*, although man’s reason  
 ‘ is not able to conceive the same<sup>f</sup>.’

Upon Baptismal Regeneration indeed it again and  
 again expatiates; but, as in the following passage,  
 must always be understood, when alluding to the case  
 of adults, to confine the application of it to those only  
 who believe. ‘ Learn diligently I pray you the fruit  
 ‘ and operation of baptism. For it worketh forgive-  
 ‘ ness of sins, it delivereth from death and power of  
 ‘ the devil, it giveth salvation and everlasting life *to*  
 ‘ *all them that believe*, as the words of Christ’s promise  
 ‘ doth evidently witness. But peradventure some will  
 ‘ say; how can *water* work so great things? To  
 ‘ whom I answer, that it is not the *water* that doth  
 ‘ these things, but *the almighty word of God* (which

<sup>f</sup> P. 233.

‘ *is knit and joined to the water*) and *faith*, which  
 ‘ receiveth God’s word and promise. For without  
 ‘ the word of God water is water, and not baptism.  
 ‘ But when *the word of the living God is added and*  
 ‘ *joined to the water*, then is it the *bath of Regenera-*  
 ‘ *tion* and baptism water, and a living spring of eternal  
 ‘ salvation, and a bath, that washeth our souls by the  
 ‘ Holy Ghost<sup>g</sup>.’

Is it possible for words more distinctly to assert, that Regeneration exists not *before* baptism, but solely *in* and *by* it, than these? To put however the doctrine of the Catechism upon this point out of controversy, I will quote a passage or two more, which cannot, I apprehend, be well misconceived. Describing the order of Regeneration in adults, it proceeds thus; ‘ *First* of all the Holy Ghost provoketh and stirreth ‘ up men *to preach God’s word. Then he moveth* ‘ men’s hearts *to faith*, and *calleth* them *to baptism*; ‘ and *then by faith and baptism* he worketh so, that ‘ he maketh them *as new men again*. And *when we* ‘ *be thus newly born, and be become the children of* ‘ *God*, then the Holy Ghost doth dwell in us and make ‘ us holy and godly, that we may be the temples of ‘ God in whom God may dwell and inhabit<sup>h</sup>.’ Again: ‘ I trust you understand wherefore Baptism is called ‘ the bath of Regeneration, and how in baptism we be ‘ born again, and be made new creatures in Christ. ‘ The which doctrine you shall the better understand, ‘ if you consider in what condition you were *before* ‘ *you were baptized*, and in what state you stand in ‘ after your baptism.

‘ *First, before we were baptized* it is evident that ‘ we were sinners, and he that is a sinner can have no ‘ peace nor quietness of conscience *before he come to*

g P. 238.

h P. 152.

‘ *Christ*<sup>i</sup>, so much he feareth God’s wrath and everlasting damnation. But *after* that our sins *in baptism* be forgiven us, and *we believe the promise of God*, and *so* by our faith be justified, then our consciences be quieted<sup>k</sup>.’

From the preceding extracts then it appears, that the Catechism of Cranmer, published for general instruction, attributes Regeneration in adults wholly to the word of God combined with the water of Baptism; and describes the faith, which is deemed requisite for its due application to the individual, not as a belief in mercy already received, but as a belief in a promise of God to be fulfilled, and to be appropriately fulfilled, in that sacrament. That this opinion completely accords with what I maintain to be the true doctrine of our Baptismal Service, cannot, I conceive, be well disputed.

Such were the sentiments of Cranmer, when the Book of Common Prayer was first compiled. I now proceed to shew that they were not subsequently altered.

In the year 1550, I have remarked, he published his able ‘Defence of the True Doctrine and Use of the Lord’s Supper.’ And in the following year, came out his still more elaborate work, entitled ‘An Answer

<sup>i</sup> The phrase here used, *before he come to Christ*, is evidently intended to be synonymous with *before he be baptized*. In the same sense also, I apprehend, must a similar phrase be taken, which occurs in our Baptismal Service, ‘truly repenting and *coming unto him* (viz. Christ) by faith.’ That the word *coming*, when strictly explained, means a *first* approach, is an argument adopted in the second book of our Homilies, where it is said, ‘We do not turn again unto him with whom we were *never before*, but we *come* unto him.’ First Part of the Homily upon Repentance.

<sup>k</sup> P. 235.

‘ of the most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Arch-  
 ‘ bishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and  
 ‘ Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavilla-  
 ‘ tion, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law,  
 ‘ &c.’ In these productions, abundant evidences of  
 that, which I undertake to prove, exist.

In the *Defence* he thus limits Regeneration to Bap-  
 tism. ‘ For this cause Christ ordained baptism in  
 ‘ water, that as surely as we feel and touch water with  
 ‘ our bodies, and be washed with water, *so assuredly*  
 ‘ ought we to believe, *when we be baptized*, that Christ  
 ‘ is verily present with us, *and that by him we be*  
 ‘ *newly born again spiritually, and washed from our*  
 ‘ *sins*, and grafted in the stock of Christ’s own body,  
 ‘ and be apparelled, clothed, and harnessed with him,  
 ‘ in such wise, that as the devil hath no power against  
 ‘ Christ, so hath he none against us, *so long as we*  
 ‘ *remain* grafted in that stock, and be clothed with  
 ‘ that apparel, and harnessed with that armour<sup>1</sup>.’

To this extract it will be sufficient perhaps, if I add  
 only one or two more from the same work.

‘ And he bringeth for example here of the change  
 ‘ of us in baptism, *wherein* a man is so changed, (as is  
 ‘ before declared in the words of Eusebius,) that he is  
 ‘ made a new creature, and yet his substance remain-  
 ‘ eth the same that it was before<sup>m</sup>. In our spiritual  
 ‘ Regeneration there can be no sacrament of baptism  
 ‘ if there be no water. For baptism is no perfect sa-  
 ‘ crament of spiritual Regeneration, without there be  
 ‘ as well the element of water, *as the Holy Ghost,*  
 ‘ *spiritually regenerating the person that is baptized,*  
 ‘ which is signified by the said water. But forasmuch  
 ‘ as he (i. e. Christ) is joined to the bread but sacra-  
 ‘ mentally, there followeth no impanation thereof, no

<sup>1</sup> P. 9, 10.

<sup>m</sup> P. 26.

‘ more than *the Holy Ghost is inaquate*, that is to  
 ‘ say, made water, *being sacramentally joined to the*  
 ‘ *water in baptism*. Nor he was not made a dove,  
 ‘ when he took upon him the form of a dove, to sig-  
 ‘ nify that he, whom St. John did baptize, was very  
 ‘ Christ<sup>n</sup>.—Likewise is *the nature of the water changed*  
 ‘ *in baptism*, forasmuch as, besides its *common* nature,  
 ‘ which is to wash and make clean the body, it declar-  
 ‘ eth unto us, that *our souls be also washed and made*  
 ‘ *clean by the Holy Ghost*<sup>o</sup>.’

From Cranmer’s other production, viz. his answer to Gardiner, so numerous are the allusions to this subject in the general tenor of his argument, that quotation seems a more easy task than selection. I shall however content myself with adducing only a few of such passages as bear more immediately upon the principal point in dispute.

Upon what he terms the wonderful operation of God, not *previous to*, but *during* the administration of baptism, he thus expresses himself. ‘ The wonder is  
 ‘ not how God worketh in the outward visible sacra-  
 ‘ ment, but his marvellous work is in the *worthy re-*  
 ‘ *ceivers* of the sacraments. The wonderful work of  
 ‘ God is not in *the water*, which only washeth the  
 ‘ body, but God by his omnipotent power worketh  
 ‘ wonderfully in the *receivers thereof*, scouring, wash-  
 ‘ ing, and making them clean inwardly, and as it were  
 ‘ new men and celestial creatures. This have all old au-  
 ‘ thors wondered at, this wonder passeth the capacities  
 ‘ of all men’s wits, *how damnation is turned into sal-*  
 ‘ *vation, and of the son of the devil condemned unto*  
 ‘ *hell, is made the son of God and inheritor of heaven*.  
 ‘ This wonderful work of God all men may marvel

<sup>n</sup> P. 32, 33.

<sup>o</sup> P. 35.

‘ and wonder at ; but no creature is able sufficiently to comprehend it<sup>p</sup>.’

Distinctly also does he assert, that the inward and invisible grace is inseparable from the outward and visible sign, when duly received. ‘ In Baptism,’ he remarks, ‘ Christ and the Holy Ghost be not *in the water*, or font, but be *given in the ministration* to them, that be duly baptized in the water. And although the sacramental tokens be only significations and figures, *yet doth Almighty God effectually work in them*, that duly receive his sacraments, *those divine and celestial operations, which he hath promised*, and by the sacraments be signified. For else were they *vain and unfruitful* sacraments, as well to the godly as to the ungodly<sup>q</sup>. And in your handling here of St. Ambrose you seem to be utterly ignorant, and not to know difference between sacramental signs (in *the use* whereof Almighty God inwardly worketh) and other vain signs, which be nothing else but outward shows to the eye. For if you understood the matter, would you resemble a knave playing in a prince’s coat (in whom nothing is inwardly wrought or altered) unto a man being baptized in water, who hath put upon him *outwardly water*, but *inwardly is apparelled with Christ*, and is by the omnipotent working of God spiritually *regenerated and changed into a new man*<sup>r</sup>?’

In these as well as in various other passages he plainly teaches, that the thing signified does not *always precede*, but *always accompanies*, the sign when duly received ; that the sign indicates a change, which takes place by a real operation of the Spirit of God *in baptism*. ‘ Water in the font, or vessel,’ he observes,

<sup>p</sup> P. 74.

<sup>q</sup> P. 172.

<sup>r</sup> P. 389.

‘ hath not the reason and nature of a sacrament but  
 ‘ when it is put to the use of christening ; and then it  
 ‘ is *changed* into the proper nature and kind of a sa-  
 ‘ crament, *to signify the wonderful change*, which Al-  
 ‘ mighty God by his omnipotence *worketh really in*  
 ‘ *them that be baptized therewith*’.

Can we possibly read the preceding extracts, and not perceive how hostile were the sentiments of Cranmer to those of writers, who deny that Regeneration is the uniform and constant effect of baptism in minds duly prepared? The opinions inculcated by this great author of our Reformation, in productions avowedly published to instruct and enlighten the community at large, must be esteemed highly important upon every point connected with the principles, upon which it may be supposed that our Reformation was founded. It is on this account, that I have been so full in detailing them. Cranmer was not only instrumental in promoting every measure of reform, as circumstances favoured his efforts, but in personally carrying every measure of reform into effect, by superintending and drawing up himself the specific formularies of public doctrine and of public worship. In rank, station, and character, he stood preeminent ; nor was he deficient in ability to execute that amelioration of religious opinion, which he projected.

After the adduction therefore of so decisive a testimony as that of Cranmer, it must seem unnecessary to undertake the task of investigating that of others, who were either no agents at all, or at best inferior ones, in the work of our Reformation ; particularly as it occurs in writings, which were simply intended for documents of *individual* faith. But as the testimony of Latimer has been confidently brought forward upon

<sup>s</sup> P. 211. See also p. 22, 169, 207, 304, 327, 413, 451.

the other side, I shall briefly consider it; nevertheless premising that, were it on this occasion in truth really opposed to Cranmer's, it would only weigh as dust upon the balance.

Latimer was peculiarly distinguished by so much quaintness and bluntness of expression, blended with so much simplicity but energy of conception, and was so facetious as well as unreserved in his constant attacks upon Popery, that his compositions still extant ought rather to be regarded as monuments of his own singular taste and talents, than as accurate specimens either of the diction or doctrine of his times. Nor do we find any proof of his literary assistance being solicited or used in the compilation of the Liturgy. He has been supposed to hold opinions upon the efficacy of baptism contradictory to those which I have adduced from the writings of Cranmer. This supposition, or rather confident assertion, has been grounded upon the following quotations from his Sermons: 'Christ saith, 'Except a man be born again from above, he cannot 'see the kingdom of God. He must have *regeneration*. 'And what is this Regeneration? It is not *to be* 'christened in water, as these firebrands' (meaning the Papists) 'expound it, and *nothing else*. How is it 'to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth, that one 'place of Scripture declareth another. It is the cir- 'cumstance and collation of places, that make Scrip- 'ture plain. Regeneramur autem, saith St. Peter, *and* 'we be born again. How? Non ex semine mortali 'sed immortalis. *Not by a mortal seed but by an im-* 'mortal. What is this immortal seed? Per sermonem 'Dei viventis. *By the word of the living God*. By the 'word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in 'our new birth<sup>t</sup>.'

<sup>t</sup> Sermons, ed. 1571. p. 73.

Conclusive, however, as this passage is thought to be upon the other side, I see no reason to admit, that it excludes Regeneration from baptism. That the baptism of adults is alluded to, will not, I apprehend, be disputed. Upon this presumption then, as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, when Latimer said, ‘Thus *cometh in* our new birth,’ he might have meant to affirm, that, in the case of adults, effectual baptism always presupposes the existence of faith in the recipient, as a necessary requisite for the due application of its regenerating efficacy. Indeed, it is probable that this really was his meaning, because his sole object in the argument was to furnish a counterposition to the well known doctrine of the Papists, who represented the new birth to be mere ‘christening ‘in water and *nothing else* ;’ that is, to take place *ex opere operato sine bono motu recipientis*, by the external sanctity of the operation itself, without any actual purpose of amendment in him, to whom it is administered, or actual trust in the mercy of God through Christ. He did not deny that Regeneration was appropriated to baptism ; but he denied that it consisted in the simple affusion of water, and *in nothing else*. His argument I conceive to have been this ; that as the word of God communicates efficacy to the sacrament, so also without a previous contemplation of that word, faith is impossible, and the sacrament consequently fruitless.

In such a point of view Latimer’s opinion seems perfectly consistent with that of Cranmer in the following passage of his Catechism before quoted. ‘*First* ‘of all the Holy Ghost provoketh and stirreth up men ‘to preach God’s word. *Then* he moveth men’s hearts ‘to faith, and calleth them to baptism, and then by faith ‘and baptism he worketh so, that he maketh us new

‘*men again*<sup>u</sup>.’ Indeed, if we take his meaning in a different point of view, we make him not only inconsistent with Cranmer, but *with himself*; for he elsewhere distinctly states that we *begin* to enter into Christ, and to obtain remission of our sins, *by baptism*.

The statement to which I allude is thus unequivocally expressed. ‘Now like as he’ (viz. Christ) ‘was born in rags, so *the converting of the whole world is by rags*, by things, which are most vile in this world. For go to the matter. What is so common *as water*? Every foul ditch is full of it. Yet we wash out *remission of our sins by baptism*. For like as he was found *in rags*, so must we find him *by baptism*. *There we begin*. We are washed with water, and then *the words* are added; for we are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; *whereby baptism receiveth its strength*. Now this sacrament of baptism is a thing *of great weight*; for *it ascertaineth and assureth us*, that like as the water washeth the body and cleanseth it, so the blood of Christ our Saviour cleanseth and washeth it from all filth of sins. And so it appeareth, that we may not seek Christ in the glistering of this world; for what is so common *as water*? Yet he promiseth to be found *there*, when he is sought *with a faithful heart*<sup>x</sup>.’

I cannot therefore think, that the sentiments of Latimer upon the point differed from those of Cranmer. Nor do I admit, that, if they did, they could be justly considered as of weight in the controversy.

<sup>u</sup> Catechism, p. 152.

<sup>x</sup> Sermons, part ii. p. 175.

## CHAP. VI.

*First Book of Homilies. Paraphrase of Erasmus. Second Book of Homilies. Its Doctrine upon Regeneration misrepresented. The same explained and vindicated. Opinions of those who compiled the Office of Adult Baptism.*

ALTHOUGH the two books of Homilies, written at different periods, were never imposed by our Church upon her respective members as specific rules of faith; yet because her ministers are required to admit generally, that they contain ‘a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for the times<sup>a</sup>,’ in which they were written, it seems reasonable to invest every opinion, fairly deducible from them, with a relative importance. Should they however in any instance prove to be at variance with our Liturgy, it would not, I conceive, be difficult to determine, in which of the two compositions the true creed of our Church is to be found.

Independently however of this consideration, the *first* book of Homilies is important in another respect; I mean, because it was composed, as I have already observed, by the very persons (Cranmer and his associates) who originally compiled our Liturgy. The true sense therefore of any disputed parts of the Liturgy may, I conceive, be at least appropriately illustrated by it. I do not indeed perceive in it any direct allusion to the distinct subject of adult baptism; never-

<sup>a</sup> Article xxxv. ‘Piam et salutarem doctrinam *et his temporibus necessariam.*’ This is applied to the second book of Homilies; but it is added, ‘non minus quam prior tomus Homiliarum.’ In the Articles of Edward, A. D. 1552, the clause stood thus: ‘Homiliæ’ (the first book only, of course) ‘piæ sunt atque salutares, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent.’ Was the alteration adopted without meaning?

theless, as far as the general question of baptismal efficacy is at issue, it is not altogether silent.

In the Homily upon Salvation (universally ascribed to Cranmer) the meritorious cause of our restoration to Divine favour is said to be the sacrifice of Christ once offered for all upon the altar of the cross. By this sacrifice, it is added, infants, *being baptized*, are washed from their sins, and made the children of God; and ‘they which in act or deed do sin *after* baptism, ‘when they turn again to God unfeignedly, they are ‘likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins.’ In the statement here made, Regeneration is considered as inseparable from baptism; while repentance and faith, or ‘turning to God unfeignedly,’ are represented as the *sole* requisites for obtaining pardon and reconciliation only *after* baptism; the sacrament itself being regarded as the true channel, through which the operative efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ is first conveyed to the soul of man.

But these Homilies were not the only productions sanctioned by royal authority at the commencement of the reign of Edward. At the same time, and under the same authority, the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Gospels was ordered to be purchased by every parish, and to be placed in churches for general instruction; and every Clergyman under the degree of Bachelor in Divinity was required to provide ‘the ‘New Testament both in Latin and English, with the ‘Paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus, and diligently ‘to study the same, conferring the one with the other<sup>b</sup>.’ The exposition then of Erasmus was not only recommended to the Laity, but also to the Clergy, who were directed to receive it as a standard of Scriptural doc-

<sup>b</sup> Injunctions of King Edward, A. D. 1547.

trine, diligently studying it, and comparing it with the word of God.

The appeal to this testimony will require neither illustration nor comment. I shall therefore simply quote a few occasional paragraphs from the Latin original, selected with no particular industry, which will sufficiently speak for themselves.

‘ *Qui baptizatus est, jam exuit affectus carnales, et factus regeneratione spiritualis, Spiritus Sancti ducitur et agitur arbitrio.—Baptismus aufert omnia delicta vitæ superioris* <sup>c</sup>. Hæc ubi illos docueritis, si crediderint quæ docuistis, si pœnituerit vitæ prioris, si parati fuerint amplecti doctrinam Evangelicam, tum tingite illos aqua, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ut *hoc sacro symbolo confidant sese liberatos ab omnium peccatorum sordibus, gratuito beneficio mortis meæ, jamque cooptatos in numerum filiorum Dei* <sup>d</sup>.—A baptismo nec Eunuchus est, nec Æthiops, sed nova creatura. Cæterum Philippus simul ac egressus est aquam, rapuit illum Spiritus Domini, nec amplius vidit eum Eunuchus, nec desideravit doctorem suum, *semel afflatus Spiritu Sancto per baptismum* <sup>e</sup>.—*Per baptismum renascimur* <sup>f</sup>.—Jam quod fuit illis arca Noe, hoc vobis est baptismus. *Baptismus rite acceptus servat ab exitio, ac diluit sordes non corporum sed animorum*; repudiatus perdit in æternum, ac scelerum gravioribus undis involvit. Itaque *quod aliis salutis est, accedente fide, hoc incredulis ac rebellibus adfert exitium* <sup>g</sup>.

The *second* Book of Homilies was not composed until after the accession of Elizabeth. It was the pro-

<sup>c</sup> Ed. 1556. p. 19. Matt. iv.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 157. Matt. xxviii.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 724. Acts viii.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. p. 159. Gal. iii.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 291. 1 Pet. iii.

duction of those who revived, but who did not compile, our Liturgy, and who revived it unaltered. The *Evangelical* party cite from it a particular passage, which, they conceive, represents Regeneration as unconnected with baptism, as an operation of the mind, independent of all external acts, which communicates, without the means of grace, the hope of glory. Confidently however as the passage is brought forward, I cannot accede either to their interpretation of it, or to the conclusion which they deduce from that interpretation. Nor indeed, were they capable of proving what they wish more satisfactorily, would it follow, that we should expunge from the Creed of our Church a doctrine, which seems plainly and literally inculcated in her established Liturgy, because in a single passage of these Homilies, a doctrine of a different tendency appears to be obscurely and collaterally implied. Besides, had those who restored the Reformed Religion under Elizabeth really disapproved a doctrine so prominently conspicuous in our Baptismal Service, is it to be believed that they would have reestablished the same service,—a service also, it should be remarked, in almost daily use,—without the least emendation? Or that they would have been contented with merely introducing into a diffuse production, not prescribed as a rule of faith, a slight allusion, by implication only, to an opinion inconsistent with that which (in the view of my opponents) they were desirous of rejecting?

But I contend, that, as well in the second, as in the first, book of Homilies, the inward and invisible grace is expressly stated *always* to accompany the external and visible sign in the administration of the sacraments, when duly received; and that Regeneration is considered as the inward and invisible grace of bap-

tism, and consequently must in such cases always accompany it.

In the *Homily upon Common Prayer and the Sacraments*, we find the inseparable union between the sign and the thing signified (inseparable of course I mean to minds properly prepared when capable of such preparation) clearly and strongly asserted. It is there said, that, *in* the sacraments, God ‘embraceth us, and ‘offereth himself to be embraced of us.’ And shortly after it is added; St. Augustine ‘alloweth the *common* ‘description of a sacrament, which is, that it is a *visible sign of an invisible grace*; that is to say, that ‘setteth out to the eyes and other *outward* senses the ‘*inward working* of God’s free mercy, and *doth as it ‘were seal in our hearts the promises of God*<sup>h</sup>.’

The act of reciprocal amity between God and man is here stated to take place not *out of* but *in* the sacraments: and a sacrament is described as a visible sign of an invisible grace, which *outwardly* exhibits the *inward working* of God’s free mercy, and *seals* in our hearts the promises of God. When the two extracts are considered together, and they both occur in the same page evidently explanatory of each other, must it not be admitted, that the visible sign is represented as conveying the invisible grace, as exhibiting an inward working of God, which *at the time* takes place, as sealing God’s promises, which are *then*, not *previously*, fulfilled? The *sealing* of God’s promises is precisely the phrase used in our twenty-seventh Article, *upon Baptism*; in which baptism is said to be ‘a sign ‘of Regeneration, whereby (or by which sign, *per ‘quod*) the promises of the forgiveness of sin and of ‘our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed

<sup>h</sup> Ed. 1623. p. 123, 134.

‘ and sealed (visibly sealed, or sealed up, *visibilibiter* ‘ *obsignantur*).’ An attempt, I am aware, is made<sup>i</sup> to explain away the whole force of this phrase, by representing it as signifying no more than a mere attestation of the Church to a blessing unconnected with the sacrament itself, and already received. But I am persuaded that it has a very different signification, both in our Articles and in the Homilies under review. The latter will sufficiently speak for themselves. In the Homily upon Repentance, (*viz. after* baptism, or admission into Divine favour,) the third part of that duty is stated to be ‘ faith, whereby we do apprehend ‘ and take hold upon the promises of God, touching ‘ the free pardon and forgiveness of our sins, which ‘ promises *are sealed up unto us with the death and ‘ bloodshedding of his Son Jesus Christ.*’ The *sealing up by the death and bloodshedding of Christ*, will scarcely, I apprehend, be interpreted to mean no more than a *mere attestation* of a blessing otherwise conveyed. Now the sealing, which is here applied to the meritorious, is in the preceding extract applied to the instrumental, cause, the meritorious one being presupposed. The result is obvious.

Perhaps, however, it may be objected, more decisive evidence is still requisite to prove, that, in the quotations above given, the sign, when duly received, is always supposed to be accompanied by the thing signified. Produce, it may be said, a plain declaration of their inseparability in such case, and we may then be satisfied. Fortunately the very Homily, from which the quotations are themselves taken, furnishes, I apprehend, a proof of this description. In the subsequent page, when stating the number of the sacraments, the Homily remarks; ‘ If they should be considered ac-

<sup>i</sup> Scott against Mant, p. 231.

‘ cording to the exact signification of a sacrament,  
 ‘ namely, for *the visible signs*, expressly commanded  
 ‘ in the New Testament, *whereunto is annexed the*  
 ‘ *promise* of free forgiveness of our sin, and of our ho-  
 ‘ liness and joining in Christ, there be but two;  
 ‘ namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. For  
 ‘ although *absolution* hath the promise of forgiveness  
 ‘ of sin, yet *by the express word of the New Testa-*  
 ‘ *ment* it hath not this promise *annexed and tied to*  
 ‘ *the visible sign*<sup>k</sup>.’ Again, in order to expose the ab-  
 surdity of ministering in an unknown tongue, it is per-  
 tinently asked; ‘ Who shall in the ministration of the  
 ‘ sacraments’ (that is, when so administered) ‘ under-  
 ‘ stand what invisible grace is to be craved of [by] the  
 ‘ hearer, *to be wrought in the inward man*<sup>l</sup>?’

Surely, so express an assertion, that *the invisible grace is annexed and tied to the visible sign*, and that it is *to be*, not that it previously *has been*, wrought in the inward man, must preclude all idea of the former being separated from, or preceding, the latter.

The inference deducible from these premises cannot, I conceive, be evaded by the suggestion, that as spiritual manducation may take place out of, as well as in, the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, so may spiritual Regeneration take place out of, as well as in, the sacrament of Baptism. For although spiritual manducation for the support of spiritual life is necessarily capable of repetition, and may take place even without the external symbol; yet to say that the *same* act of spiritual manducation, which is specifically *annexed and tied* to the external symbol in the Lord’s Supper, takes place previously to the use of that symbol, would be a confusion in terms, and an anomaly in language. Nor, were the circumstance possible, would

<sup>k</sup> P. 135.

<sup>l</sup> P. 137.

the cases be parallel; because the invisible grace of the sacrament of Baptism, unlike that of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is confessed to be, in its very nature, incapable of repetition; it is a *commencement*, and not a *continuation*, of life.

There exists not, I apprehend, and never has existed, any difference of opinion respecting the denomination of the invisible grace of baptism. We should not therefore think it remarkable, that these Homilies do not formally designate it. Incidentally, nevertheless, it is alluded to. In the Homily for Good-Friday we are represented 'to be washed in our baptism *from the filthiness of sin*<sup>m</sup>:' but still more directly to the point, in the Homily for repairing and keeping clean of Churches, by way of urging a proper respect for the house of God, 'wherein be ministered the sacraments and mysteries of our redemption,' it is expressly said, '*the fountain of our Regeneration* is there presented unto us<sup>n</sup>.'

Having thus adduced the doctrine of the *second* book of Homilies upon the point at issue on one side, I come now to consider what some have conceived to be its doctrine upon the same point on the other.

The passages, which have been quoted with this view, all occur in the first part of the Homily upon Whitsunday; and they have been quoted as exclusively relating to the single act of Regeneration. This however I do not apprehend to be the case. The object of the whole first part of the Homily evidently is, (as it is in so many words stated to be,) to explain, 'what the Holy Ghost is, and how consequently he worketh *his miraculous works towards mankind*<sup>o</sup>.' In demonstration of the former point, his Divinity is asserted conformably with the doctrine of the Athanasian

<sup>m</sup> P. 176.

<sup>n</sup> P. 79.

<sup>o</sup> P. 207.

Creed, and shortly proved by the two following references; first, to the celestial appearances *at the baptism* of Christ in the river Jordan; and secondly, to the institution *of the sacrament of Baptism*, when Christ ‘sent his disciples into the whole world, willing them to *baptize* all nations, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; thus equally joining him with them in the commission, that the Apostles had to baptize all nations.’ In demonstration of the latter point, the Homily slightly touches upon his miraculous operation in the gift of Prophecy, and his still more miraculous operation in what is usually termed the *immaculate conception*; then adverts to the power displayed by him *in the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind*, and concludes with an allusion to the various gifts and graces, principally manifested by him in the apostolical and primitive ages of Christianity.

From the preceding account therefore of the whole first part of this Homily it appears, that only one portion of it bears more immediately upon the subject under discussion, in which is noticed ‘*the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind.*’ This portion has been carefully extracted; and represented as *exclusively* relating to Regeneration distinct from baptism. But is this the fact? Certainly not. It professedly relates not to Regeneration alone, but *to regeneration and sanctification united*. Nor is the statement correct, that it relates to Regeneration *distinct from baptism*. The very epithet used, *inward* Regeneration, would have been superfluous, had not the outward and visible sign, as well as the inward and spiritual grace, been in the contemplation of the writer, I mean not as opposed to each other, but as perfectly harmonizing together. Nor is even a distinct allusion to the outward and visible sign of Regeneration in baptism omitted. For in a few paragraphs only before, the

Godhead of the Holy Ghost is proved from the form of words commanded by our Saviour to be used in that sacrament: and in the *second* part of the same Homily the junction of the Word with the element of water is said to constitute the essence of the sacrament itself<sup>p</sup>. But what is still more to the purpose, the very passages in question *commence* with a direct reference to baptism, and with the same declaration of our Saviour to Nicodemus, ‘Unless a man be born anew, of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,’ with which declaration our Baptismal Service commences, and the precise sense of which therefore our Church had previously determined. It should also be observed, that immediately after this express mention of water as well as the Spirit; the ignorance of Nicodemus is imputed to his not knowing ‘the great power of the Holy Ghost *in this behalf*, that it is he which *inwardly* worketh the ‘regeneration and new birth of mankind<sup>q</sup>,’ that is, the power of the Holy Ghost *in baptism*, that it is he whose *inward* working accompanies and renders effectual the *outward* washing of water in the Regeneration of mankind. Nor should the word *mankind* be altogether overlooked. The use of it on this occasion proves, in my conception, that the writer had in his view *all* baptized infants indiscriminately, and *all* baptized adults truly repenting and believing at the time of baptism. And, even were we to set the consideration of baptism wholly aside, never can it, I am persuaded, be made consistent with the Calvinistical creed. For what rule of rational interpretation can

<sup>p</sup> ‘Christ ordained no other element to be used in baptism but water, *whereunto when the Word is joined*, it is made (as St. Augustine saith) a full and perfect sacrament.’ p. 213.

<sup>q</sup> P. 208.

possibly limit the general expression, regeneration of *mankind*, to the regeneration of *certain individuals only, arbitrarily selected out of mankind*, to whom God may be supposed to have had an especial purpose of love before the creation of the world, and whom he predestined to eternal salvation ?

I readily grant however, that the term *Regeneration* seems, perhaps, not here, and certainly not afterwards, to be used strictly and correctly, as an act beginning and ending with baptism ; but rather loosely and largely as blended with its usual effects ; the professed object of the writer being, as I have remarked, to treat of *regeneration and sanctification united*. Thus therefore he proceeds : ‘ As there are three several and sundry persons in the Deity, so have they three several and sundry offices proper unto each of them.

‘ The Father to create, the Son to redeem, the Holy Ghost to *sanctify and regenerate*<sup>r</sup>. Whereof the last, the more it is hid from our understanding, the more it ought to move all men to wonder at the secret and mighty working of God’s Holy Spirit, which is within us.’ Then, after having pointed out the total depravity of man in his fallen nature unassisted by grace, he adds<sup>s</sup> ; ‘ As for the works of the

<sup>r</sup> The very order in which these words are here arranged proves the little regard which the writer shewed to precision and accuracy of statement.

<sup>s</sup> That it was not the intention of those who composed the Homilies, when they described our nature as *totally* depraved by the fall, to assert an absolute incompetency in it to discharge moral duties, or to perform works, which were then technically termed *opera moraliter bona*, or *opera civilis justitiæ*, all the controversies of the times amply testify. And that they did not mean to represent us *as stocks and stones* in the hand of God, may be proved from various passages in different Homilies, and particularly from

‘ Spirit, *the fruits of faith*, charitable and godly motions, if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of *our sanctification*, and maketh us *new men* in Christ Jesus. Did not God’s Holy Spirit *miraculously* work in the child *David*, when of a poor shepherd he became a princely prophet? Did not God’s Holy Spirit *miraculously* work in *Matthew*, sitting at the receipt of custom, when of a proud publican he became a humble and lowly Evangelist? And who can choose but marvel to consider, that *Peter* should become of a simple fisher, a chief and mighty apostle? *Paul*, of a cruel and bloody persecutor, a faithful disciple of Christ to teach the Gentiles? Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to *regenerate* men, and *as it were to bring them forth anew*, so that they shall be *nothing like the men that they were before*.’

It is evident from the preceding extracts, that it was not the object of the writer to express himself upon the subject in the language of strict definition, but to comprehend under the term Regeneration, not only the commencement, but also the completion, of sancti-

the following, occurring in the third part of the very *next* Homily for Rogation-week. ‘ Let us *endeavour ourselves*, good Christian people, *diligently to keep the presence of his Holy Spirit*. Let us renounce all uncleanness, for he is the Spirit of purity. Let us avoid all hypocrisy, for this Holy Spirit will fly from that which is feigned. Cast we off all malice, and all evil will, for this Spirit will never come into an evil willing soul. Let us cast away all the whole lump of sin that standeth about us, for he will never dwell in that body that is subdued to sin. We cannot be seen thankful to Almighty God, and work such despite to the Spirit of grace, by whom we be sanctified. *If we do our endeavour, we shall not need to fear*. We shall be able to overcome all our enemies that fight against us. *Only let us apply ourselves to accept that grace that is offered us*.’ P. 232.

fication, and indeed even the *miraculous* operations of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of the Prophets and Apostles, when effecting in them a change of personal character. For the works of the Spirit are denominated *the fruits of faith*, and are said to proceed from him, who is the only worker *of our sanctification, and who maketh us new men* in Christ Jesus. And the personal change, which miraculously took place in David, when from a shepherd he became a *Prophet*, and in Matthew, Peter, and Paul, when called to the *apostolical* office, is designated *a new birth*. I shall not therefore, I apprehend, be contradicted, when I assume, that the sense of the word Regeneration is here extended to every supernatural, or, to speak perhaps more accurately, superinduced, operation of the Spirit of God upon the soul of man.

The defect of precision in statement, as well as the laxity of expression alluded to, is likewise observable in the concluding part of the Homily, which relates to the indwelling or continued operation of God's Spirit in those, who diligently preserve his holy presence. After that virtuous and good actions are represented as the only true tests of the inhabitaney of God's Spirit in our hearts, it is subjoined: ' The Holy Ghost *doth* ' *always* declare himself by his fruitful and gracious ' gifts, namely, by the word of wisdom, by the word ' of knowledge, which is the understanding of the ' Scriptures, by faith, *in doing of miracles, by healing* ' *them that are diseased, by prophecy*, which is the ' declaration of God's mysteries, by discerning of spirits, ' *diversities of tongues, interpretation of tongues*, and ' so forth. *All* which gifts, as they proceed from one ' Spirit, and *are* severally given to man according ' to the measurable distribution of the Holy Ghost ; ' even so *do* they bring men, and not without good

‘ cause, into a wonderful admiration of God’s divine ‘ favour<sup>t</sup>.’ It will not, I presume, be argued, that the intention of the writer was to represent the Holy Ghost as still *always* declaring himself by *all* the spiritual gifts here enumerated, *miraculous* as well as others, and as thus still exciting the admiration of mankind. And yet the tenor of the language, in which he has expressed himself, appears to admit such an interpretation.

I shall now dismiss the subject of this *second book* of the Homilies with this general remark, that it is of little consequence to the point at issue what exact idea was meant to be affixed to the word Regeneration in the Homily for Whitsunday ; because it is incontestable that in another Homily the very essence of a sacrament is said to consist in the annexation of the invisible grace to the visible sign, and Regeneration is acknowledged to be the invisible grace of baptism. So that were the Homily for Whitsunday even to be really understood as applying the same term to a *subsequent* operation of the Holy Spirit, the object which I have in view would not be affected by it. The *primary* admission to Divine favour and assistance is the only question for which I am contending.

Having been thus diffuse in my remarks upon the language contained in the Office of adult baptism itself, and upon the doctrine held by Luther, from whose original formulary that language was subsequently derived, by our earliest Reformers in a set of Articles established at the dawn of the Reformation, by Cranmer who principally composed our Liturgy, as well as the *first* book of Homilies, by Erasmus in a Paraphrase, authoritatively recommended as a rule of faith to the Clergy, and by the authors of the *second* book

<sup>t</sup> P. 210.

of Homilies, I shall be as brief as possible in my last reference to this branch of the subject.

It may perhaps be said, that the dispute upon the efficacy of baptism would terminate, could it be proved, that the compilers themselves of the Office in question publicly maintained the sentiments upon that point, which I impute to them; namely, that spiritual Regeneration, accompanied by remission of sin, and adoption into the number of the elect, takes place not *previously to*, but *in* baptism. That this *can* be proved I shall now endeavour to demonstrate.

The Office of adult baptism was compiled at the Restoration, when our Liturgy was under revision in the last instance. At the time that this revision was undertaken, certain commissioners of both parties, as well of that party which was denominated Low Church, or Presbyterian, as of that which went under the appellation of High Church, were appointed under the Great Seal to carry the object proposed into effect. Most of what passed between these commissioners was transacted by written documents; which were published the same year (1661), under the title of ‘An Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions, appointed by his Sacred Majesty according to Letters Patent, for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.’ The tract contains, besides the Royal commission, ‘the Exceptions of the Presbyterian Brethren against some passages in the present Liturgy,’ and also the answer to those exceptions, with the reply to that answer by the excepting party, printed together<sup>u</sup>. From this tract I shall quote

<sup>a</sup> All these proceedings, with some additional papers, viz. two petitions to the King, an address to the Bishops styled, a Petition for Peace, and a new Liturgy composed by Baxter, the leading

a passage or two relevant to the particular point which I undertake to prove.

Among the exceptions made to the language used in the Office of infant baptism, one was to the following expressions in the second introductory prayer, ‘*may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.*’ The exception was thus worded; ‘This expression seeming inconvenient, we desire it may be changed into this, *may be regenerated, and receive remission of sins*<sup>x</sup>.’

The answer of the High Church party, who finally conducted the revision by themselves without control, was this: ‘*Receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration*, most proper. For *baptism* is our *spiritual regeneration*. St. John iii. Unless a man be born again of water and the Spirit, &c. And by *this* is received *remission of sins*. Acts ii. 38. Repent and be *baptized* every one of you *for the remission of sins*. So the Creed; one *baptism* for the remission of sin<sup>y</sup>.’ When therefore the same party came to compose the Office of adult baptism, and adopted the very phraseology in question without alteration, can we possibly doubt what precise sense it was their intention to affix to it? They could certainly have intended to affix none to it consistent with the belief, that Regeneration takes place in adults *before* baptism; because they unambiguously avowed their creed to be, that baptism itself (and not its previous requisites) constitutes our spiritual Regeneration, and that by *this*, *so considered*, we obtain the remission of our sins.

Commissioner of the Low Church party, were republished by that party in the year 1704, under the title of ‘The History of Non-Conformity.’

<sup>x</sup> Account of Proceedings, &c. ed. 1661. part i. p. 24.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 98.

Another exception taken by their opponents was to these words in the Church Catechism : ‘ In my baptism, wherein I was made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.’ It was said ; ‘ We conceive it might more safely be expressed thus : Wherein I was *visibly* admitted into the number of the members of Christ, the children of God, and the heirs (rather than the *inheritors*) of the kingdom of heaven<sup>z</sup>.’

The following was the answer which they gave to this exception : ‘ We conceive this expression’ (that is, this mode of expression, or the language previously and still in use) ‘ as safe as that which *they desire*, and more fully expressing *the efficacy of the sacrament*, according to St. Paul, Galatians iii. 26 and 27 ; where St. Paul proves them all to be children of God, because *they were baptized*, and *in* their baptism had put on Christ. *If children, then heirs*, or, which is all one, *inheritors*, Rom. viii. 17<sup>a</sup>.’

So explicit a declaration, that we become the members of Christ, the children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, *by the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism*, in which we are stated to put on Christ, leaves not a shadow of suspicion respecting the sentiments of those who made it. And let it not be forgotten, that this was the very party, to which we are solely and exclusively indebted for the revision of the Liturgy, and for the compilation of the Office itself, the true meaning of which is now controverted.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. part i. p. 24.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 100.

## CHAP. VII.

*Infant Baptism. Theory of the other Party. Principally grounded upon a supposed Disposition in infants to fulfil, when capable of so doing, their baptismal Engagements. Theory rejected. A Passage in the Catechism urged in support of that Theory. Altered at the Restoration to exclude the very Sense imputed to it.*

FROM the consideration of *adult*, I now proceed to that of *infant* baptism, not according to the natural order of our Liturgy, which in truth requires the reversed discussion, but according to the adopted order of those, whose opinions I am opposing; and who, having a preconceived system to support, find such an arrangement most suitable to their purpose. The disjunction of Regeneration, with the consequent abstraction of all spiritual grace from the sacrament of baptism, was necessary to the doctrine of final perseverance, an inseparable link in the chain of Calvinistical predestination. This object they flatter themselves that they have effected by attributing Regeneration to the previous disposition of the recipient, and then by reasoning from adult to infant baptism; an object to which, had they reasoned otherwise, the obvious incapacity of the infant mind, connected with the total silence of the service itself respecting such a previous disposition, would have presented an insuperable barrier.

But even in the inverted order, which they have adopted, they seem conscious, that the task of satisfactory demonstration in the developement of their theory is one of considerable difficulty; for although adults may be pronounced regenerate upon the assumed sincerity of their repentance and faith, how, it may be asked, is the same thing to be said of infants, who are confessedly capable of exercising neither? While how-

ever the plausibility of the objection is admitted, it is declared to be unsound and delusive.

The first argument, which they advance in support of their ideal analogy, is founded upon the remark, that ‘the same prayers, and very nearly the same exhortations, are used in the case of infants, as in that of adults.’ This is indeed true, where the similarity between the two cases perfectly subsists, but not so where it fails; and it should be observed, that a failure occurs in the very point under discussion, the point I mean of *previous requisites*. In infants no *personal* qualifications of mind whatsoever are specified; but in adults the mental qualifications of repentance and faith are deemed necessary. In the former instance the exhortation before baptism runs thus; ‘Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive this present infant.’ But in the latter, although the same words, with the simple change of *infant* into *person*, are used, others are subjoined to them, purposely added, to denote a manifest distinction: they are these; ‘*truly repenting and coming unto him by faith.*’ The assertion in one case is absolute, in the other it is conditional.

But they contend, that, because certain previous requisites are expressly stated to exist in adults, the same requisites, or at least something resembling them, must *by implication* be supposed to exist in infants.

Of the Offices in question one was indisputably for the most part borrowed from the other; but that of infant baptism, as I have remarked, was the original, and that of adult baptism the copy; the former having been compiled more than a century before the latter. Surely therefore, instead of accommodating the sense of that which was first, to that which was last, compiled, it is more reasonable to adopt the opposite

rule in all instances, except where, from a defect of analogy, a direct deviation in language proves the intention of pointing out an evident distinction in the two cases; and this, it must not be forgotten, takes place in the precise point, upon which the controversy hinges. And if it be asked; But might not the compilers of the office of adult baptism have designed to give the deviation alluded to a *reflective* influence upon the more ancient office of infant baptism? the answer is obvious—That so circuitous a mode of proceeding, at a time in which *all* the offices of our Church were under revision, would have been to envelope their meaning in complete obscurity, when they might have written it with a sunbeam.

The second and principal argument, which the Calvinistical party bring forward, is grounded upon the engagements made by the sureties. The effect of the answers given, according to the style of our Liturgy, ‘*in the name of the child,*’ they represent to be the same, ‘as if by a sort of *legal fiction,* to which we are ‘no strangers in the most important temporal transactions, *the soul of the child were considered as transferred* to his sponsor, and as speaking *in* him, and ‘*by him*’<sup>a</sup>. They then subjoin: ‘One is certainly somewhat at a loss for words, in which to speak of engagements, supposed to be made by an infant incapable of any knowledge of the transaction. But when such promises and vows are *supposed* to be made, something must likewise be *supposed* concerning what, in another case, we should call the *sincerity*, with which they are made—concerning the performance of them, or the *disposition* to perform them; and according to what is thus supposed must

<sup>a</sup> Scott’s Inquiry, &c. p. 130.

‘ be the language subsequently used of the party concerned in them. Here then, as before, the Church by an hypothesis, certainly not more bold than that which imagines the infant to make engagements at all, *supposes* something which corresponds to *sincerity*—or (what is perfectly possible) that it *even now*, through the grace of God, possesses a disposition, which will lead it, as it becomes capable of so doing, to perform its vows ; and, *on the ground of this supposition*, returns thanks to Almighty God, that it hath pleased him to regenerate this infant with his Holy Spirit<sup>e</sup>.’

Such is the detailed statement of a theory, resting upon the visionary basis of that which is denominated *a sort of legal fiction*, upon the basis of a *supposed transfer of souls* ; and cemented by an unexampled combination of assumptions as irreconcilable with law, as with fact or probability. For what sort of legal fiction can possibly warrant the conclusion drawn from the nature of suretiship ? When a guardian contracts for the future conduct of a minor, can it be said, that the law supposes any thing respecting the *then* disposition of the minor himself ? It supposes indeed a sincerity in the contract ; but it is a sincerity attributable to the competent guardian, and not to the incompetent minor. Upon what principle therefore is it that our Church, which authorizes similar engagements, is to be considered as deducing from them different conclusions ? that she must be conceived to reason so preposterously, as to presume the existence of an act of sincerity, where the mental capacity for that act is undiscoverable ?

But what are the gradations in this singular scale

<sup>e</sup> Scott’s Inquiry, p. 141, 142.

of suppositions ascribed to our Church? First, the professions of the sponsor are supposed to be those of the infant himself, whose soul is conceived to speak *in* and *by* his sponsor, although he is acknowledged to be at the time incapable of all professions whatsoever, as well of comprehending as of performing them. Then these professions are supposed to be made with a species of *sincerity*. And lastly, by way of solving the preceding enigma, the infant is supposed to possess, not indeed *genuine* sincerity, but a *certain indescribable disposition*, which must hereafter *infallibly* lead him to prove by his subsequent conduct, that, if he could, he would even now be truly sincere.

How this extravagant mode of reasoning can render the doctrine of our Church more rational and intelligible, I am wholly at a loss to conjecture. Bold indeed I admit, but certainly not very rational and intelligible, is that hypothesis, which represents her as regenerating by fiction, and as presuming impossibilities.

The question of baptismal engagements is surely here involved in unnecessary perplexity. To a plain understanding, the contract of the sponsors simply appears to be a contract entered into by them *in the name and on the behalf* of the infant, for the regulation of his future conduct; and they are accordingly reminded, ‘that it is their parts and duties to see, that the infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession *he* hath made *by them*.’ The obligation is *his*, but the contract is made in his name by *them*; and the force of that obligation they are required to impress upon his mind, as soon as he becomes capable of understanding it. There is nothing in all this either puzzling or preposterous.

But, if the qualification of the infant is not to be found in the engagements of the sponsor, which have only a *prospective* application, in what, it may be asked, does his qualification consist? I answer, in that *innocence*, or exemption from *actual* guilt, inseparable from the condition of infancy, for which our blessed Saviour expressed a peculiar regard. And this is the qualification pointed out by our Liturgy itself, in an exhortation, which occurs in the Office of infant baptism, but which, from its inapplicability, is omitted in that of adults. ‘Beloved,’ it is said, ‘ye hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children *to be brought unto him*; how he exhorteth all men to follow *their innocency*. Ye perceive, how by his outward gesture and deed he declared *his good-will* towards them; for he embraced them in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not *therefore*,’ that is, upon the general ground of *their innocence* and *his good-will towards* them, ‘but earnestly believe, that he will *likewise* favourably receive this *present* infant.’ When the *universal* qualification of infants, resulting from a state of being which admits of no exception, is so clearly explained, why should we reject what lies immediately before us, and perplex ourselves with the fruitless attempt of making incomprehensibilities comprehensible, and incoherencies analogous?

Independently however of these considerations I contend, not only that the premises laid down by the other party are incorrect, but that the conclusion, which they draw from them, is in direct opposition to the obvious import of our Liturgy. They state, that our Church supposes the infant ‘*even now*, by the grace of God, to possess a disposition, which will lead it, as it becomes capable of so doing, to perform

‘ its vows ; and on *the ground of this supposition* returns thanks to Almighty God, that it hath pleased ‘ him to regenerate it with his Holy Spirit.’ Now it is certain, that our Church cannot suppose the infant to be in possession of a disposition to perform certain vows, which at the time are neither specified, nor in her contemplation. And this is precisely the case in controversy. For in the Office of *private* baptism, she unreservedly pronounces him regenerate *before* any vows are exacted, and consequently before any sincerity of disposition to perform them can possibly exist. In this Office the Church directs, that when necessity requires it, the infant shall be baptized at home *without* sponsors ; and declares, that being *so* baptized, he is ‘ *sufficiently* baptized ;’ simply pointing out the *expediency*, if he lives, of his being afterwards brought into the Church. And when he is thus brought, she publicly and immediately testifies of him, that ‘ being ‘ born in original sin and in the wrath of God, he *is* ‘ now, by the laver of *Regeneration in baptism*, received into the number of the children of God, and ‘ heirs of everlasting life.’ Then distinctly assigning, as the ground of such acceptance in baptism, (certainly not any disposition to keep vows, as yet *unheard of*, but) the good-will of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ towards infants in general, she adds, in language intended to form so complete a contrast with that which is used in the Office of *public* baptism, as to render it impossible to mistake her meaning ; ‘ Doubt ‘ ye not therefore, but earnestly believe,’ (not that he *will*, as in the other Office, but) ‘ that he *hath* likewise ‘ favourably received this present infant.’

Such is the effect, which she ascribes to baptism *without* sponsors ; and it is not until *after* these declarations are made, that she requires the usual promises

and vows for the future regulation of the infant's conduct. Could any mode of proceeding or form of expression have been devised, more effectually calculated than this, to exclude the chimerical idea advanced of infantine sincerity in religious profession?

But the opposite party, conscious perhaps that their argument is ungrounded, and to be shaken requires only to be touched, have endeavoured to corroborate it by a quotation from the Church Catechism, to which they attach considerable importance, and which they bring forward with peculiar complacency. The following is the detail of their statement. 'As the case of infants is obviously attended with difficulties peculiar to itself, the Church has entered into explanation upon the subject; which is *of great importance* in the argument. In the Catechism, it having been stated, that the things *required of persons to be baptized* are *repentance, whereby they forsake sin, and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament*, the question occurs; *Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them?* The answer returned makes it clear, that the question was *designed to introduce an explanation* of the Church's views in receiving infants, and considering them in the manner she does. The answer is; *Because they promise them both* (i. e. both repentance and faith) *by their sureties, which promise when they come to age themselves are bound to perform.* It is then avowedly upon the ground of this promise, and in the expectation of its performance, that the Church admits infants to baptism; and consequently it is upon the same ground, that she proceeds to speak of them in the manner we are considering. If it be thought, that there has been some more difficulty in

‘ making out this case than that of adults ; I beg to  
 ‘ suggest, that it is nothing more than what naturally  
 ‘ results from the condition of infants supposed to  
 ‘ make vows, and *upon the faith of those vows* pro-  
 ‘ nounced regenerate, while they can give no evidence  
 ‘ in their conduct, either of a regenerate or an unrege-  
 ‘ nerate state. I therefore consider the passage which  
 ‘ I have quoted from the Catechism, as furnishing, and  
 ‘ *designedly* furnishing, *the true key to the meaning of*  
 ‘ *the Church*, in the language which she uses concern-  
 ‘ ing infants. She requires of them by their sureties, as  
 ‘ she does of adults personally, certain vows ; she *as-*  
 ‘ *sumes their disposition*, as they become capable of it<sup>d</sup>,  
 ‘ *to perform those vows* ; and she speaks of them as  
 ‘ (what upon that supposition they must be) *rege-*  
 ‘ *nerate*, and the children of God by adoption and  
 ‘ grace<sup>e</sup>.’

Notwithstanding however this bulky buttress of their argument, it cannot, I am persuaded, stand, because it rests upon no solid foundation. When we examine the clause of the Catechism referred to, we find that it contains not the slightest allusion to any *supposed disposition* of the infant, but solely to the *promise* entered into by his sureties in his name, and the consequent obligation on his part to fulfil that promise, when he becomes capable of it. Had it been the intention of our Church in this clause to ground the doctrine of Regeneration upon any supposed disposition of the infant, would she have preserved a total silence upon the point of such a disposition, or have left it to be wire-drawn from her expressions by con-

<sup>d</sup> These words mean that she supposes them, *even now*, by the grace of God, to possess a disposition which *will* lead them as they become capable of so doing, &c. See p. 142.

<sup>e</sup> P. 143, 4, 5, 6.

jectural implication? Besides, as in her Liturgy she expressly pronounces all infants, privately baptized, regenerate *before* any promise is exacted from their sureties in their name, can we possibly conceive her to be so absurdly inconsistent, as in her Catechism to impute their regeneration to the effect of such a promise; a promise at the time not in existence, which, if they live, she indeed subsequently, but which in the event of their death, she never, requires?

But whatsoever sense may be attributed to this clause, that, certainly, which I am controverting, is so far from being the true sense, that it is one which the very wording of it, as it now stands, was purposely adopted to exclude. Before the last revision of the Liturgy at the Restoration, the passage was thus expressed: ‘Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Answer: *Yes, they do perform them by their sureties; who promise and vow them both in their names; which promise, when they come of age, themselves are bound to perform.*’ The explanation of the Sacraments contained in the Church Catechism, of which this passage formed a part, was originally composed and added to it in the reign of James, immediately after the celebrated conference at Hampton Court. When the Commission of Review took place at the Restoration, the words which I have quoted gave offence to the non-conforming party in the royal commission, who objected to the doctrine, which was supposed to be countenanced by them, in the subsequent terms. ‘We desire, that the entering of infants into God’s Covenant may be more warily expressed, and that the words may not seem to found their baptism *upon a real actual faith and repentance of their own.*’ And we desire that a promise may not be taken for

‘ the performance of *such* faith and repentance ; especially that it be not asserted, that *they perform these* by the promise of their sureties, it being to the *seed of believers*, that the Covenant of God is made, and not (that we can find) to all that have such believing sureties, who are neither parents nor pro-parents of their children<sup>f</sup>.’

The answer given to this objection by the conforming party in the commission, who, as far as the act of Revision proceeded, constituted what in this respect all sides must be agreed in denominating *the Church* itself, was thus worded : ‘ The effect of children’s baptism depends neither upon *their own* present actual faith and repentance, which the Catechism saith expressly *they cannot perform* ; nor upon the faith and repentance of *their natural parents or pro-parents, or of their godfathers or godmothers ; but upon the ordinance and institution of Christ*. But it is requisite, that when they come to age they should perform those conditions of faith and repentance, for which also their godfathers and godmothers charitably undertook on their behalf. And what they do for the infant in this case, the infant himself is truly said to do, as in the courts of this kingdom daily the infant does answer by his guardian ; and it is usual for to do homage by proxy, and for princes to marry by proxy. See St. Austin, Epist. 21. ad Bonifacium<sup>g</sup>.’

Notwithstanding however their satisfaction with the clause upon these principles, as it originally stood, in compliance with the objection brought against it, they altered it to the form in which it now stands ; so that for the words, ‘ Yes, they do

<sup>f</sup> Account of Proceedings, &c. part i. p. 26.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 101.

‘ perform them by their sureties, who promise and  
 ‘ vow them both in their names;’ they simply substituted,  
 ‘ Because they promise them both by their sure-  
 ‘ ties<sup>h</sup>.’

Indeed, that they believed *every* baptized infant to be regenerated seems indisputable. For when an objection was made to that part of the Baptismal Service, in which thanks are returned to God, ‘ *that it hath pleased him to regenerate* the infant by his ‘ Holy Spirit;’ and it was stated, ‘ We cannot in faith ‘ say, that *every* child that is baptized is regenerated ‘ by God’s Holy Spirit<sup>i</sup>;’ they returned the following explicit answer: ‘ Seeing that God’s sacraments have ‘ their effects, where the receiver doth not ponere obi- ‘ cem, put any bar against them, (*which children can- ‘ not do,*) we may say in faith, of *every* child that is ‘ baptized, that it is regenerated by God’s Holy Spirit; ‘ and the denial of it tends to anabaptism and the con- ‘ tempt of this holy sacrament, as nothing worthy, nor ‘ material, whether it be administered to children or ‘ no<sup>k</sup>.’

To a proposal also for expunging a passage then placed in the last rubric before the Catechism, and thus expressed, ‘ It is certain by God’s word, that children, ‘ being baptized, have all things necessary for their ‘ salvation, and be undoubtedly saved;’ they replied, ‘ It is evident, that the meaning of the words is, *that ‘ children baptized, and dying before they commit ac- ‘ tual sin, are undoubtedly saved,*’ (the very language to which the rubric in question was subsequently altered,) ‘ though they be not confirmed: wherein we see ‘ not what danger there can be of misleading the vul-

<sup>h</sup> Ib. Concessions, p. 128.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 96.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 99.

‘gar by teaching them truth; but there may be danger in this desire of having these words expunged, as if they were false; for St. Austin says, he is an infidel, that denies them to be true<sup>1</sup>.’ And it should be added, that the *new wording* of this rubric, which followed, and still remains, was ascribed by Baxter<sup>m</sup> to a commissioner, whose opinion upon the subject was unequivocal. Baxter’s argument upon it, and his proof of the intended universality of its application, seem irrefragable.

When the preceding transactions are duly weighed, which took place at the very time that the controverted clause in the Catechism assumed its present form; when we consider, that the sense imputed to it was a sense, which the new modification was confessedly intended to exclude; and that the creed of those who remodelled it, of those who constituted *the Church* of the day, was altogether hostile to the limitation of meaning imposed upon it; we cannot, I think, be persuaded, that it furnishes our modern Calvinists with a key, to unlock the door which the Calvinists of the Restoration believed to be closed against them.

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 102.

<sup>m</sup> ‘Some say that the word (*all*) children is not in, and of *some* it is true. Auswer. The *indefinite* here, according to common speech, is equivalent to an *universal*. *Children baptized dying before actual sin*, is equal to *all children baptized*. Your consciences must tell you, that, if you limit it to *some* only, you cross *the sense of the compilers of the Liturgy*. I am sure Dr. Gunning, who brought it in, hath publicly expressed his sense for the salvation of *all* such infants.’ Life of Baxter, p. 428. And in p. 364, Dr. Gunning is described as a man ‘vehement for his high imposing principles, and over zealous for *Arminianism*, and formality, and Church pomp.’

## CHAP. VIII.

*Position of a peculiar Disposition, abstractedly considered, in certain Infants, untenable. Defectibility of Grace, the Doctrine of our Liturgy. Addition to the Office of Private Baptism at the Restoration—Introduced to silence the cavils of the Non-Conforming Party—Proving Baptismal Regeneration absolute and universal.*

IN the remarks, which I have made upon the novel doctrine, that the peculiar disposition of infants is the implied criterion of Regeneration, I have considered that disposition as inseparable from the formal declaration of the sureties; because this is the precise view of those, whose opinions I am controverting. For they expressly state, that by a bold hypothesis the Church conceives, in all such baptismal engagements, something to exist, resembling an ideal transfer of souls; and that in this singular conception no greater difficulty occurs, than ‘what naturally results from the condition of infants supposed to make vows, and on the faith of those vows pronounced regenerate.’

But the line of argument may perhaps be changed, and, the idea of a transfer of souls being abandoned, it may be said, that the Church presumes, in the judgment of charity, all infants to possess, what she is persuaded that *some* possess, a disposition or propensity to good, *abstracted from every consideration of their baptismal vows.*

This mode of reasoning however, although not so preposterous, is as inadmissible as the other. For upon what principle can it be argued, that our Church has in her contemplation an indispensable qualification for

Divine favour, to which she never, in any part of her Service, either directly or indirectly, makes the slightest allusion? Nay, even when she distinctly refers to a qualification of a very different description, one, which, as being universally participated, excludes the judgment of charity altogether; I mean the qualification of *innocence*, or *exemption from the guilt of actual crime*, peculiar to the state of infancy, to which I have already alluded.

But of whatsoever species this presumed disposition in infants may be conceived to be, whether it be judged equivalent to sincerity in profession, or generally and irrespectively good, we must, it seems, ascribe to it no defective energies, but an infallible and interminable operation, extending to the future period of human life. ‘It is,’ we are told, ‘the *event* of their conduct which must determine, whether the persons baptized have received the sanctification of the Spirit or not<sup>a</sup>.’ The Church is represented as limiting the grace of God to certain infants only, but from her ignorance of what passes in the infant mind, as pronouncing all regenerate, leaving the fact of personal discrimination subsequently to develop itself. This hypothesis then rests upon the presumption, that Regeneration in infancy, communicated only to particular individuals, becomes conspicuous in maturer years; that the self-cultivated seed of grace once sown, in spite of the barren soil, never fails of producing its appropriate harvest.

That all this is perfectly consistent with the creed of Calvin, I readily admit; but with no other. The indefectibility of grace is indeed the corner stone of his peculiar system; but it is an opinion unknown to the Liturgy of the Church of England. By our Reformers the terms *regenerated* and *baptized* were deemed syn-

<sup>a</sup> Scott, p. 232.

onymous: but the ingenuity of modern controversialists has been exerted to superinduce upon the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration a new habit and a new direction; so that, wheresoever planted, and in whatsoever position placed, it may constantly turn to the sun of Calvinism.

If we examine the language of our Liturgy, we shall there find a very different doctrine. We shall there find, that after the infant is said to be ‘by the laver of Regeneration in baptism received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life,’ a prayer is offered up for him to the throne of grace, ‘that he, being born again, and being made an heir of everlasting salvation, may *continue* God’s servant.’ Now if continuance in the service of God be, as it is thus implied to be, only problematical, if the child may *not* so continue, may *not* ‘lead the rest of his life according to this beginning,’ that is, according to a beginning the certainty of which is not affected by the uncertainty of that which follows, the criterion must fail, and the supposed indelibility of Regeneration prove to be an opinion traced in sand. Indeed, so hostile is our Church to this opinion, that she not only represents grace as generally defectible, but asserts the possibility of even losing it in the last stage of human existence; for she instructs us in another Service to address Almighty God in the following unambiguous terms; ‘Suffer us not at *our last hour* for any pains of death *to fall* from thee.’

But an addition to the Office of private baptism was introduced at the last revision of our Liturgy, for the express purpose of declaring, that baptism alone, independent of all engagements whatsoever, constitutes in every case, in which infants are concerned, complete Regeneration.

The non-conforming party, in their exceptions to the Office of Confirmation, upon these words in the prayer before imposition of hands, *who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them the forgiveness of all their sins*, made the following observations: ‘ This supposeth that *all* the children, who are brought to be confirmed, have the Spirit of Christ, and the forgiveness of all their sins; whereas a great number of children of that age, having committed many sins since their baptism, do shew no evidence of serious repentance, or of *any special saving grace*. And therefore this confirmation, if administered to such, would be a perilous and gross abuse<sup>b</sup>.’ To this exception the conforming party answered: ‘ It supposeth, and *that truly*, that *all* children *were at their baptism regenerate by water and the Holy Ghost*, and had given unto them the forgiveness of all their sins; and it is charitably presumed, that notwithstanding the frailties and slips of their childhood, they have not totally lost what *was in baptism* conferred upon them, and therefore adds; *Strengthen them*, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, and daily *increase* in them thy manifold gifts of grace<sup>c</sup>.’ From the preceding quotations then it appears, that the non-conforming party considered Regeneration as appropriated to those children only, who exhibit, *after* baptism and the commission of actual crime, a *special saving grace*; while the conforming party attributed Regeneration to *all*, as a blessing universally received *in* baptism.—But surely our Church could not have more clearly expressed her opinion upon the point, than by praying, as she has done, *before* baptism, that the Child ‘*may be born again*’ and *after*

<sup>b</sup> Proceedings, &c. p. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. part ii. p. 103.

Baptism by declaring that the Child ‘*is regenerated* ;’ as well as by returning thanks to God, because ‘*it hath pleased him to regenerate the Child with the Holy Ghost.*’

The Non-conformists however, labouring by every means in their power to remove a doctrine irreconcilable with their creed, absurdly endeavoured to prove in another part of their reply, that the Liturgy itself admitted not an universal and absolute, but only a partial and hypothetical Regeneration. Their argument was thus framed: ‘That you may see,’ they remarked, ‘that the Church of England taketh not *all* infants infallibly to be regenerated in baptism (unless you grant that they repeat<sup>d</sup> the substance of baptism) the baptismal prayer is here used’ (viz. in the Office of *Private Baptism*) ‘for the *fore*-baptized, that God will give his Holy Spirit to this infant, that he *being born again, and made heir of everlasting salvation, &c.* which sheweth, that he is now supposed to be *re-generandus, non regeneratus.* Do they pray for his Regeneration whom they account *regenerated already*? You must either confess, that there they repeat much of the substance of baptism, and take the child as not baptized, or else that they take the baptized child to be not regenerate. And then we may well take them for unregenerate, *that shew no signs of it at years of discretion,* but live a carnal and ungodly life, although they can say the Catechism and seek Confirmation<sup>e</sup>.’

As the *Reply* closed the written documents, which passed between the respective commissioners on this occasion, we can only judge from the alterations, which

<sup>d</sup> In the original edition it is *repent of*; but it is worded in the History of Non-Conformity, p. 307, as I have given it.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* part ii. p. 101.

the Office of *Private* Baptism here alluded to afterwards underwent, of the disapprobation with which this remark was received. The expressions in the prayer referred to indeed were not changed, because it was unnecessary, as the argument was clearly founded upon a sophism, which carried with it its own refutation<sup>f</sup>; but an additional prayer was inserted to remove all ambiguity. To the simple form of baptism, previously alone required, ‘I baptize thee in the name of ‘the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,’ the following thanksgiving was now for the *first* time added. ‘We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful ‘Father, that it *hath* pleased thee to regenerate this ‘infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine ‘own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into ‘thy holy Church, &c.’ Now when we consider the extracts which I have given from the public acts of the respective Commissioners, can we doubt the motive which prompted this addition? When we consider, that their opponents held, and accused the Church of holding, none to be regenerated in infancy, except such as exhibit *signs of Regeneration*, and a certain *evidence of a special and saving grace*, at years of discretion, we cannot surely but perceive the evident object of the finally triumphant party in introducing it; we cannot

<sup>f</sup> The sophistry consists in the sense affixed to the participle *being*. That this participle relates to a *past* transaction in the prayer here quoted, is evident from the different wording of the *same* prayer when used *before* baptism, in the Office of Public Baptism, which sufficiently indicates the change of circumstances. It is then said, ‘Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he *may be* ‘born again, *and* be made an heir of everlasting salvation &c.’ A comparison of the two prayers, one *before*, the other *after* baptism, evidently proves that the compilers of our baptismal service used the word *being* made, in the sense of *having been* made, or *being now* made.

but perceive that they wished to exclude from our Liturgy every Calvinistical idea of a partial Regeneration.

In the seventeenth century, when the hair of Calvinism was split with a dexterity unknown to more recent times, when the respective theories of covenanted privileges, combined or uncombined with saving grace, relative regeneration, &c. with all their various divisions and subdivisions, were stated with grammatical, and argued with logical, precision, no little refinement of reasoning upon the subject before me was displayed by Dr. Cornelius Burges, a writer of considerable celebrity, who asserted, that every man converted at years of discretion must be considered as having previously possessed a certain species of *seminal* grace in infancy<sup>g</sup>. Whether the conforming Calvinists of the present day do, or do not, carry their idea of a *seminal* principle quite so high, is not distinctly avowed; but it seems certain, that, whatsoever commencement they may assign to special grace exhibited in manhood, they will not admit it possible for that peculiar principle of it, which is supposed sometimes to exist in infancy, ever to fail of its necessary and ultimate effect. The Church of England however, I am persuaded, acknowledges neither any distinction in the dispositions of infants, brought to Christ's holy baptism, nor any grace to be participated by them, except that which is universal.

<sup>g</sup> 'Baptismal Regeneration of elect Infants, by C. Burges, D. D. &c.' This infant grace he sometimes denominates *initial and potential*. Dr. Burges was Chaplain to Charles the First, and afterwards one of the two clerical assessors to the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He became subsequently a Non-Conformist. He was a man of talent and respectability.

## CHAP. IX.

*That all Infants without exception are regenerated in Baptism, the Doctrine of our Church. The same Doctrine always held by the Lutherans and in 1536 by the Zuinglians. English Articles of 1536. Latin Articles. Bishops' and King's Books. First Book of Homilies. Proclamation of Edward to the Rebels of Cornwall and Devon. Cranmer.*

AFTER what I have advanced in confutation of the adverse theory, after having stated what *is not*, there seems to be little occasion for me to dwell minutely on what *is*, the doctrine of our Church upon the subject under discussion. I shall therefore only briefly touch upon some of the principal points.

When she directs the minister to pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit, that the individual infant, brought to be baptized, 'may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation;' and when subsequently she recognises the same infant as 'regenerated with God's Holy Spirit, as received for his own child by adoption, and as incorporated into his holy Church;' to a plain understanding it must, I apprehend, appear, that *every* infant is considered by her as unregenerated before, and as regenerated after, baptism. But the other party argue differently; and contend, that she represents every infant after baptism as regenerated only upon a judgment of charity. Upon what sort of judgment then is it, we may ask, that she represents every infant before baptism as unregenerated? It certainly cannot be upon a judgment of charity. And it would evidently violate the very first principle of their theory to admit, that all infants, as well elect as others, remain unregenerated from their birth to their baptism. It may indeed be *assumed*, that our Church

supposes God to have a purpose of love towards one and not towards another infant : but such assumptions without proof amount to nothing ; and were even proof possible, would but render the Liturgy itself a whimsical tissue of enigmatical incongruities.

It is also asserted in our Baptismal Service, that the infant, who is regenerated and admitted into the number of God's elect at baptism, may not so *continue*, but may fall from the state of salvation, in which he has been placed. This circumstance alone surely should convince us, that our Church regards all infants as absolutely indeed regenerated, but only as conditionally elected in baptism ; and that consequently she knows nothing of what constitutes the corner stone of the Calvinistical system, the doctrine of the indefectibility of grace. And without this doctrine the rule of *charitable supposition* altogether fails of its application ; the rule I mean of present probabilities, or more correctly perhaps of present possibilities, connected with future certainties.

But it may be observed, that if our Church, instead of charitably presuming, really *believes* every baptized child to be regenerated, she must consider every child so endowed as possessing in that act of grace a sure passport to glory. This is perfectly true in cases where no subsequent change of circumstances intervenes ; and accordingly she expressly declares it ' to be certain by God's word, that children, which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.' What language could have been adopted which would have more satisfactorily proved, that she does not charitably presume, but that she confidently affirms *all*, and not *some* baptized infants only, to be in a real and effectual state of grace and salvation, than this ? If she conceived Regeneration

to depend upon a certain disposition peculiar to a *few*, would she in the event alluded to unreservedly predicate salvation of *all*<sup>a</sup>? The rubric indeed containing this declaration, or rather one even less strongly expressed, it was proposed at the last revision of the

<sup>a</sup> Authors, devoted to a favourite system, seldom advance a position more or less hostile in appearance to that system, which will not admit of some subtle explication in conformity with it. A remarkable instance of this occurs in a writer during the Usurpation, who published a temperate and masterly defence of infant baptism, upon the prevailing principles of the day, against the Anabaptists. This writer was Mr. Stephen Marshall, one of the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines, convoked by Parliament for the introduction of a new form of Church discipline and worship, and certainly a very acute as well as clear-headed Controversialist. He had asserted in a printed Sermon that *believing* parents (for the children of no other parents were allowed to be within God's Covenant, or to be baptized) 'need not *have any doubt* of their children's welfare if they die in their infancy, nor, if they live, until they shew signs to the contrary, God having both reckoned them among his people, and given them all the means of salvation which an infant age is capable of.' This position was attacked by his Anabaptistical opponent. Mark his reply. 'You answer, *I speak like one, who holds that baptism doth confer grace ex opere operato*. But why so, when I ground it upon the covenant, upon their *capacity* both of the seal and of the inward grace, and yet leave all to be done by God, who hath mercy upon whom he will have mercy? I said not, that they may be assured of their salvation, but that they need not have any doubt, the same which may be said of grown visible professors.' Marshall's Defence of Infant Baptism, p. 238.

Whether an apparent approximation to a similar opinion publicly maintained by a modern author, (Marsh's Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, p. 211.) requires a similar explanation, that Author himself must determine: but I trust he possesses too honourable a mind designedly to entrap the unwary reader by holding out false colours of liberality, as I believe him to be too consistent a theorist, to compromise what, he well knows, constitutes the very essence of his theory, the uncontrolled freedom of irrelative election, antecedent to all predisposing causes.

Liturgy to expunge, because it was ‘deemed dangerous ‘as to misleading the vulgar;’ but the proposal was not admitted. The Calvinists of that period excluded not only from salvation, but from baptism itself, all infants except such as were, what they denominated, *children of the promise*, that is, the children of *believing* parents; nor even of *their* fate did they speak with confidence. ‘I mean of them,’ said one of the ablest writers of the party, ‘as I mean of *other visible* ‘professors. They are taken into covenant both ways ‘*respectively*, according *as they are elect or not elect*. ‘*All* of them are in covenant in respect of *outward* ‘*privileges*; *the elect*, over and above the outward ‘privileges, are in covenant with respect to *saving* ‘*graces*<sup>b</sup>.’ And this, as far as I can collect from the Anabaptistical controversy of the time, was the general opinion; an opinion however which the rubric in question was expressly modified to preclude.

Upon the whole then, disregarding all restriction of Divine mercy, disapproved at the Reformation, and rejected at the last revision of our Liturgy, we may affirm, that, in the judgment of our Church, *every* infant is considered as truly admitted into God’s favour, and truly regenerated, so far at least as the infant mind is capable of Regeneration; and that, being thus numbered among the elect of God, in the event of death before the commission of actual crime, his salvation is certain: but, in the event of his surviving to years of discretion, his continuance in a state of grace and acceptance depends upon his continuance in well doing, upon his ‘obediently keeping God’s holy will ‘and commandments, and walking in the same all the ‘days of his life.’ This is so obviously the natural import of the language adopted in our Liturgy, that

<sup>b</sup> Marshall’s Defence of Infant Baptism, p. 112.

no common skill in logical legerdemain seems requisite to force upon it any other construction.

I shall now proceed to demonstrate, that the doctrine, which I have ascribed to our Church, was that which was universally held, except by Calvin alone, both before and at the period of our Reformation; and consequently both before and at the period when our Baptismal Service was originally compiled. The Office in use at Geneva was composed and published by Calvin in the year 1545<sup>c</sup>, previously to the compilation of our own, which took place in 1548. Had our Reformers therefore approved the principles, they might have adopted the form of Calvin, modelling their compilation after his. So far however was this from being the case, that, turning their backs upon his novel institution, they directed their eye to that quarter, to which they had been always accustomed to direct it. They adopted the Lutheran form in preference<sup>d</sup>. It seems most reasonable therefore to look to the doctrine of the Lutherans upon the subject for elucidation.

What that doctrine was, will scarcely admit of dispute. The works of Luther and Melancthon bear ample testimony, that it was not (if the anachronism be allowable) Calvinistical, but that it was in perfect conformity with that which I have represented to be the doctrine of our own Church<sup>e</sup>. I shall content my-

<sup>c</sup> Calvini Opera, vol. viii. p. 32.

<sup>d</sup> To this circumstance I have fully adverted in my Bampton Lecture, p. 377—380. third edition, and in my sermon upon Baptismal Regeneration, p. 38—44. I take this opportunity of adding, that the groundwork of all the Lutheran Offices of Baptism was a short form composed by Luther himself in German, which will be found in the Appendix. This was itself little more than an abridgment, and in some respects an emendation, of the ancient formulary used by the church of Rome.

<sup>e</sup> See Bampton Lecture, p. 405, 406. or 377, 378, third edit.

self with selecting only two quotations from the works of Luther, which will, I apprehend, be satisfactory upon the point.

In his Commentary upon Joel, he thus expresses himself upon the efficacy of the Holy Spirit in the baptism of infants. ‘ Porro cum de *verbo* Evangelii lo-  
 ‘ quimur, etiam *Sacramenta* includimus. Habent enim  
 ‘ *annexam promissionem Spiritus Sancti, et remis-*  
 ‘ *sionis peccatorum*. Ideo Petrus, cum interrogaretur,  
 ‘ quid faciendum esset, respondet, Agite pœnitentiam  
 ‘ et baptizetur unusquisque in nomine Jesu. Et Chri-  
 ‘ stus dicit, Nisi quis renatus fuerit per aquam et Spi-  
 ‘ ritum, non veniet in regnum Dei. Hæc manifesta  
 ‘ sententia est, *Spiritum Sanctum per baptismum velle*  
 ‘ *efficacem esse in animis*. Sicut Petrus quoque dicit,  
 ‘ Et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti. Atque hæc quo-  
 ‘ que causa est, cur ad baptismum exemplo Apostolo-  
 ‘ rum et primitivæ Ecclesiæ adhibemus etiam infantes.  
 ‘ Quia enim *certum est*, Spiritum Sanctum per aquam  
 ‘ baptismi efficacem *velle* esse, statuimus tam *non im-*  
 ‘ *pediri Spiritus Sancti* actionem per infantium *ἀνα-*  
 ‘ *σθησίαν*, quam nos adulti nostris viribus et sensibus  
 ‘ Spiritus Sancti opus non reddimus perfectius<sup>f</sup>.’ And  
 upon the certainty of the salvation of infants, dying  
 before the commission of crime, he thus delivers his  
 sentiments in another commentary. “ Sed cur mina-  
 ‘ tur Deus etiam innocenti ætati hostilia arma?—Re-  
 ‘ spondeo, Verum est, cum publicæ pœnæ grassantur,  
 ‘ etiam *innocentes* involvunt. Sic Daniel et socii ejus,  
 ‘ etsi ea tantum impiorum pœna esset, tamen abduce-  
 ‘ bantur captivi in Babylonem; et cum grassantur seu  
 ‘ bella, seu pestis, quantum perit puerorum, qui adhuc  
 ‘ sunt *innocentes*, hoc est, qui habent *remissionem pec-*

<sup>f</sup> In Joelem, iii. 28. Opera, vol. iv. p. 672. ed. Jenæ. fol. 806. edit. 1558.

‘ *catorum in baptismo promissam, nec dum a gratia exciderunt per peccata?*—Etsi autem durum videtur abripi innocentes, tamen *eis nihil mali accidit*<sup>g</sup>.’

Melancthon frequently asserted similar opinions. And in a public conference at Worms, held by command of the Emperor Charles the Fifth in the year 1540, he explained the Lutheran doctrine upon this subject in the following unambiguous language: ‘ *Baptismus infantium defensus et ornatus est multorum scriptis apud nos. Et sumus plerique patresfamilias. Certe de liberorum nostrorum salute cogitamus. Quoties ipse audivi hanc vocem, Non est voluntas Patris ut pereat unus de parvulis istis. Sentimus eos in baptismo fieri filios Dei, accipere Spiritum Sanctum, et manere in gratia tamdiu, quoad non effundunt eam peccatis actualibus ea ætate, quæ jam dicitur rationis compos*<sup>h</sup>.’

Nor was this the doctrine of the Lutherans alone, but that of the Zuinglians also, until it was at length remodelled and explained away under the influence of Calvin. In the year 1536, the leaders of the Reformation on both sides assembled at Wittenberg, to confer upon, and establish, if possible, a common form of doctrine upon certain disputed points. Among others, that of Baptism was one which was introduced. The following was the statement made by Luther: ‘ *Cum multi sint, qui infantes baptizari nolint; alii etiam reperiantur, qui quidem baptizari eos permittant, ipsum tamen baptisma tantum nudum symbolum esse statuunt, ideoque sine baptismo infantes mori patentur; alii demum sine aqua baptizent: ideo nostram nos fidem de his capitibus testari debere.*’ The object of this statement was thus distinctly explained:

<sup>g</sup> In Hoseam, ix. 13. Opera, iv. p. 529. fol. 651. edit. 1558.

<sup>h</sup> Opera Melancthonis, vol. iv. p. 664.

‘ Quid autem *ipse* (viz. Lutherus) faciendum crederet,  
 ‘ prius exponebat, videlicet, infantes baptizandos esse;  
 ‘ *eumque vere esse efficacem, et adoptionem filiorum*  
 ‘ *Dei conferre.* Denique aqua eum administrari de-  
 ‘ bere, prout de his in confessione Augustana, Apolo-  
 ‘ gia, et alibi scripserint.’ To this Bucer, who spoke  
 on the part of the Zuinglians, answered: ‘ Nos omnes  
 ‘ adversus hostes Pædobaptismi fideliter dimicasse, et  
 ‘ adhuc dimicare, id quod nostrorum scripta testantur;  
 ‘ præterea *sacrum* baptisma a nobis haberi, et de eo  
 ‘ doceri, non ut de *nudo* aliquo symbolo, sed ut de *vero*  
 ‘ lavacro *regenerationis, quæ* virtute Dei et ministerio  
 ‘ ministri *cum aqua* nobis exhibetur.—Nos enim *sim-*  
 ‘ *pliciter credere* et docere, infantibus in baptismo  
 ‘ *veram regenerationem, veramque in filios Dei adop-*  
 ‘ *tionem communicari, et Spiritum Sanctum in illis*  
 ‘ *operari* juxta illis datam mensuram, et modulum<sup>i</sup>.’

Upon the conclusion of this conference a form of concord was adopted and subscribed by both parties. In this form the article De Baptismate was thus worded: ‘ De Baptismate infantium omnes, *sine ulla*  
 ‘ *dubitatione,* consenserunt, quod necesse sit infantes  
 ‘ baptizari. Cum enim promissio salutis pertineat etiam  
 ‘ ad infantes, et pertineat non ad illos, qui sunt extra  
 ‘ ecclesiam; *necesse* itaque est eam applicari infantibus  
 ‘ per ministerium, et adjungere eos ecclesiæ.

‘ Cumque de talibus infantibus, qui sunt in ecclesia  
 ‘ dictum sit; Non est voluntas Patris, ut pereat *unus*  
 ‘ *ex illis,* constat infantibus per baptismum contingere  
 ‘ *remissionem peccati originalis, et donationem Spi-*  
 ‘ *ritus Sancti,* qui in eis *efficax est pro ipsorum modo.*  
 ‘ *Rejicimus* enim errorem illorum, qui imaginantur in-

<sup>i</sup> Historia Concordiæ, &c. inter D. Lutherum et superioris Germaniæ Theologos, anno 1536 Wittembergæ initæ. *Buceri Scripta Anglicana,* p. 655.

‘fantes *placere Deo, et salvos fieri sine actione aliqua Dei*, cum Christus clare dicat, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum Dei. Etsi igitur nos non intelligamus, qualis sit illa actio Dei in infantibus, tamen certum est in eis novos et sanctos motus effici<sup>k</sup>.’

At this period the name of Calvin was scarcely known to the world. But in how different a language the Zuinglians subsequently expressed themselves upon the same subject, (the sentiments of the Lutherans never changed,) when the Church of Geneva began to eclipse the minor Churches of Switzerland, the public Form of Concord, mutually adopted by them in the year 1549, testifies. The following extract from this form distinctly marks the contrast, to which I allude: ‘Præterea sedulo docemus, Deum *non promiscue* vim suam exerere in omnibus, qui sacramenta recipiunt, sed *tantum in electis*. Nam quemadmodum non alios in fidem illuminat, quam quos *præordinavit ad vitam*; ita arcana Spiritus sui virtute efficit, ut percipiant *electi*, quæ offerunt sacramenta.—Baptismo abluta sunt Pauli peccata, quæ *jam prius* abluta erant.—Utilitas porro, quam ex sacramentis percipimus, *ad tempus, quo ea nobis administrantur, minime restringi debet*; perinde ac si visibile signum, dum in medium profertur, eodem secum momento Dei gratiam adveheret. Nam qui in prima infantia baptizati sunt, eos *in pueritia, vel ineunte adolescentia, interdum etiam in senectute regenerat Deus*<sup>l</sup>.’

This is the first direct limitation of sacramental efficacy to the elect, and the first avowed disjunction of Regeneration from baptism, contained in any public

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 667, 668.

<sup>l</sup> Consensio de Re Sacramentaria, Calvinii Opera, vol. viii. p. 649, 650.

Confession of faith on record. At least I have been able to find no other of an earlier date. Its complete discordance with all which preceded it sufficiently points out its singularity, and the consequent improbability of its acquiring importance beyond the confines of the country in which it was drawn up. It could not possibly have had any influence upon the compilation of our own Baptismal Service, because that was composed before it, the Book of Common Prayer having been ratified by Parliament in the year 1548. Besides, our Service was framed, as I have remarked, upon a Lutheran, and not a Calvinistical model.

In my remarks upon adult baptism, I have noticed certain Articles of Religion drawn up in Convocation, and confirmed by royal authority, in the year 1536. These Articles clearly and fully express the doctrine of our Church upon infant baptism, at the very commencement of our Reformation. ‘We will,’ it is there said, ‘that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach, that the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; and they ought therefore and must needs be baptized: and that *by the sacrament of baptism* they do also obtain *remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God*, insomuch as infants and children, *dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby*, or else not. Item, that infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and purifieth them from

‘ sin by his most secret virtue and operation<sup>1</sup>.’ We here perceive, that Regeneration and its concomitant blessings are represented as the uniform effects of infant baptism; and that infants, *dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby*, (that is, by baptism,) *or else not*. Is it possible therefore to overlook the perfect coincidence of these sentiments, one point alone excepted, with those which every where occur in our Baptismal Service? Indeed the salvation of infants, dying after baptism in infancy, was asserted in the first edition of that Service almost in the same words<sup>m</sup>, although without the uncharitable reservation annexed to them.

The Latin Articles also, to which I before alluded, inculcated a similar doctrine in similar terms. Part of the Article De Baptismo was thus expressed: ‘ *Dicimus, quod infantes per baptismum consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, et gratiam, et sunt filii Dei. Quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet, non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio, per ministerium in ecclesia, infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissionis illius peccati. Et illud ita remittitur ut reatus*

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins’s Concilia, vol. iii. p. 818.

<sup>m</sup> The rubric after baptism originally ran thus: ‘ It is certain by God’s word, that children being baptized (if they depart out of this life *in their infancy*) are undoubtedly saved.’ The additional clause, ‘ *or else not*,’ was omitted. Still however in the Office of Baptism itself a clause appeared, which indicated that Baptism was *necessary* to salvation. The clause I allude to was in the first prayer, in which it was said, ‘ may be preserved in the ark of Christ’s Church, and so saved from perishing.’ But it should be remarked, that the latter part of the clause, ‘ *and so saved from perishing*,’ was struck out at the first revision of the Liturgy in the year 1552.

‘ tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ, seu concupiscentia, maneat in hac vita. Et sic incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax, et eos mundat suo quodam modo<sup>n</sup>.’

The same sentiments also were contained in the *Bishops' Book*, published in 1537, and in the *King's Book*, published in 1543, as certain explanatory forms of doctrine, composed at different periods in Convocation, were respectively denominated. Indeed the explanation of the point adopted in the *Bishops' Book* was a mere repetition of the Article upon it previously set forth under the royal sanction; and that adopted in the *King's Book* was little more than an enlargement of the same Article with a few additions.

In the year 1547, the *first* book of our Homilies was published. And here again remission of sin, adoption, and salvation, are expressly declared to be applied by baptism to infants, in virtue of the sacrifice of Christ once made for all. It is said, ‘ Insomuch that infants, being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children, and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven °.’ To confine to a certain number only the Regeneration, which is here predicated of all infants without restriction, would surely be to violate every correct principle of logical deduction.

To the testimony afforded by the first book of Homilies I shall add another, extracted from a proclamation of King Edward, addressed to the rebels of Cornwall and Devonshire, who in the year 1549 opposed by force of arms the establishment of the new Liturgy. ‘ Think ye, that a child christened is damned, because

<sup>n</sup> Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. Appendix, p. 302.

° Homily of Salvation, part i. p. 13.

‘ it dieth before bishoping? They be confirmed at the  
 ‘ time of discretion, to learn that which they professed,  
 ‘ in the lack thereof, in baptism; taught in age *that*  
 ‘ *which they received in infancy*; and yet *no doubt*  
 ‘ *but they be saved by Baptism*, not by Confirmation;  
 ‘ and *made Christ’s by christening*, and taught *how*  
 ‘ *to continue by Confirmation* <sup>p.</sup>’ If children then are  
*made Christ’s, and saved by Baptism*, previously to  
 a personal assumption of the promise and vow enter-  
 ed into in their name by their sponsors, which per-  
 sonal assumption does not take place till Confirmation,  
 it is plain, that their primary acceptance into Divine  
 favour cannot depend upon the event of their subse-  
 quent continuance in it. And it is likewise plain, that  
 the benefits, which they are here stated to receive by  
 Baptism, are believed to be as universal as the admin-  
 istration of the sacrament itself.

I shall finish my reference to the public authorities  
 of the Reformation with the opinion of Cranmer. Upon  
 this, however, there is no necessity of being diffuse, as  
 I have already pointed out the inseparable connection,  
 which he held to exist, between Regeneration and Bap-  
 tism. I shall therefore only quote a single passage  
 from his book against Gardiner, in which he expresses  
 himself too unequivocally to be mistaken by any one,  
 not disposed to pervert his meaning. ‘ In Baptism,’  
 he says, ‘ we must think, that as the priest putteth his  
 ‘ hand to the child outwardly, and washeth him with  
 ‘ water, so must we think, *that God putteth to his*  
 ‘ *hand inwardly, and washeth the infant with his*  
 ‘ *Holy Spirit*; and moreover, that *Christ himself*  
 ‘ *cometh down upon the infant and apparelleth him*  
 ‘ *with his own self* <sup>q.</sup>’

<sup>p</sup> Fox’s Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 667, 668. ed. 1641.

<sup>q</sup> P. 444. ed. 1551. His last sentiments upon the point are thus

## CHAP. X.

*Recapitulation. Office of Infant Baptism. Salvation of unbaptized Children. Comparison between the respective Offices of Adult and Infant Baptism. Inconsistent Reasoning of the Calvinistical Party. Present Controversy no Logomachy. Uniformity of Opinion unattainable.*

BEFORE I conclude my remarks upon this subject, I shall briefly recapitulate some of the leading points contained in them.

From the obvious import of the language adopted in our Liturgy, from the common form of doctrine held by all the Reformers, Calvin alone excepted, from the early records of our own Reformation, particularly from the writings of Cranmer, who principally conducted that Reformation, and published those writings to promote it, and finally, from the avowed sentiments of the Anti-Calvinistical party, who in the last instance revised our Baptismal Offices, and added a new one for the baptism of adults, I have sufficiently proved, I trust, that Regeneration is contemplated by the Church of England as the *appropriate effect* of Baptism. To deprive that sacrament of all spiritual efficacy, and to represent it as the mere attestation of the Church to an especial grace which *has been* previously, or *may be* subsequently, received, seems little better than to attempt the reduction of it to the old Anabaptistical standard, to a bare sign or symbol of the most lamentable inefficiency.

recorded by Fox, as delivered in the disputation at Oxford, not long before his martyrdom. ‘That doctrine,’ he emphatically asserted, ‘is *not to be suffered* in the Church, which teacheth, *that we are not joined to Christ by baptism.*’ And again: ‘*Infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ;*’ evidently meaning, that they participate in the benefits of his passion. Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 55.

Turning then our attention to the baptism of infants, according to the order of our respective Offices in point of antiquity, we may say, that our Church believes every child to be unregenerated *before*, and regenerated *after*, baptism; regenerated absolutely and universally, without the slightest restrictions; and that to this act of Regeneration, her Creed attaches a real state of Divine favour and election, combined with the gift of the Holy Spirit. Nor must we suppose her to ground the efficacy of the sacrament upon the assumption of any previous peculiar disposition possessed by *certain* infants, to be evidenced in maturer years; but solely upon God's universal promise, and his good-will, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, towards *all* infants brought to his holy baptism. Her principles are too liberal, to attribute to our 'almighty and most merciful Father' a personal distinction in the donation of his blessings, between those who are alike incapable of individually offending him by actual crime; and too rational to dream of a positive, where nothing but a negative, qualification can be supposed to preexist. Hence, from her idea of the universality of baptismal efficacy, where no disqualification of crime, as in the case of infants, is imputable to the recipient, she pronounces it to be 'certain by God's word, that children, which are 'baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are 'undoubtedly saved;' a persuasion inconsistent with the very basis of Calvinistical Predestination.

Upon the question of the salvation of infants dying *unbaptized*, our Liturgy is altogether silent; because, in providing an Office for the attainment of security, to have speculated upon the extent of Divine mercy, independent of the prescribed means of grace, would have been perhaps unwise, and certainly irrelevant to the professed object in her view. I should however remark,

that, in deciding against the exclusion of all unbaptized infants from salvation, the continental Reformers were unanimous; nor is the last of their number, Calvin himself, to be excepted, who nevertheless did not adopt this decision without certain obvious restrictions peculiar to his creed<sup>a</sup>. The sentiments of our own Reformers upon the subject were not, we may presume, fastidiously singular. Nor is this presumption wholly destitute of proof; for, to omit other circumstances, in a public document, which was drawn up for the reformation of ecclesiastical laws, by virtue of a royal commission, under the presidency of *Cranmer*, the exclusion of unbaptized infants from salvation is expressly denominated *a scrupulous and impious superstition*<sup>b</sup>.

But, although our Liturgy itself contains no direct allusion to this particular point, an indirect one occurs. In the Catechism the sacraments are stated to be, not

<sup>a</sup> The Zuinglians admitted to salvation all infants, dying unbaptized, of every description; the Lutherans all born of *Christian* parents, and *perhaps* (they argued) *all others*, adding however, that this latter point had not been clearly revealed; but Calvin only those whom God may have included in a secret decree of predestination; to which number he conceived the children, not of mere Christian, but of *truly pious*, parents to have the greatest *chance* of belonging.

<sup>b</sup> ‘*Illorum etiam impia videri debet scrupulosa superstitio, qui Dei gratiam et Spiritum Sanctum tantopere cum sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut plane affirmant, nullum Christianorum infantem æternam salutem esse consecuturum, qui prius morte fuerit occupatus, quam ad baptismum adduci potuerit; quod longe secus habere judicamus. Salus enim illis solum adimitur, qui scilicet hunc baptismi fontem contemnunt, aut superbia quadam ab eo vel contumaciter resiliunt; quæ importunitas, cum in puerorum ætatem non cadat, nihil contra salutem illorum auctoritati scripturarum decerni potest.*’ *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, p. 17. See also *Bampton Lecture*, pp. 68, 275. pp. 70, 265. third edit.

universally, but only '*generally*, necessary to salvation;' a statement which plainly implies, that salvation may be attainable without them.

If therefore we acquit our Church (as in reason we ought) of excluding from mercy those who are prevented by the fault of others from participating in the sacrament of Regeneration, it will be absurd to accuse her of professing a weak and childish reverence for the ideal sanctity of a mere sacramental element. It will be absurd to suppose, because she considers baptism as the *ordinary and certain* means of salvation in infancy, that she therefore attributes this effect to the bare external administration of the holy rite, according to the scholastical phrase, *ex opere operato*. For it is not to the virtue of the consecrated element, but to the word of God, that she ascribes it; to that word of God which does not return unto him void, but accomplishes the purpose for which it was sent.

When these things are duly considered, we immediately perceive the reason, why the Office for the baptism of infants was subsequently adopted, with a few slight alterations, for that also of adults. The sense ascribed to the former Office by those who compiled the latter remains on record; and I have shewn, that it precisely corresponded with that for which I have been contending. Indeed, because some doubts upon the point were then raised, they revised the former Office itself, and made an addition to it for the express purpose of removing them. With the full persuasion therefore, that 'Baptism is our spiritual Regeneration,' and that 'God's sacraments have their effects, where 'the receiver does not put any bar against them,' when compiling a Baptismal Office for those solely, who *truly repent and believe* in riper years, they adopted the almost entire form which had been previously ap-

propriated to infants; and that evidently upon this plain principle, that *in such a case* all which is predicated of infants may be equally predicated of adults. Upon the certainty, (as far at least as human certainty is attainable,) that the recipient is duly prepared, the parallelism of the two cases is clearly grounded; and upon the same certainty it is, that he is admitted to ‘the washing of Regeneration, and the renewing of ‘the Holy Ghost.’

If then the question at issue be considered in this point of view, (and in no other I am persuaded can it be reasonably or consistently placed,) it admits of a very easy solution. For, if the language of the baptismal forms in our Liturgy was adapted in the first instance to infants, whose condition of being, alone constitutes their qualification; and in the second to such adults only as are found upon examination to be duly prepared; it will follow, that every attempt to interpret it, built upon the assumed data, that the qualifications of both are merely *hypothetical*, must fall to the ground. For what can the dubious assumption of qualification have to do with cases, in which the suspicion of disqualification is either impossible, as in infants, or declared not to exist, as in adults, of whom none are baptized except such as *have been examined, and are found fit*? It is upon this principle our Church pronounces every individual, when he is baptized, whether it be in infancy or manhood, as *then* regenerated; not reasoning, as it has been suggested, from adult to infant, but from infant to adult, baptism.

But in truth, those who disjoin Regeneration from Baptism annihilate the idea of qualification altogether; for what *we term qualification, they consider as regeneration itself*. Upon this presumption however, mark the inconsistency of their argument. The can-

didate for Baptism is first examined and found fit ; that is, say they, is found to be already regenerated ; for according to their theory ‘ every adult person receiving baptism rightly, is regenerated *before* baptism<sup>c</sup>.’ Then, when approaching the sacred font, notwithstanding the admission of his previous Regeneration, he is declared to be still *unregenerate* ; for upon this point the language of our Liturgy is too express to be mistaken. And lastly, after his Baptism, the Church attests, what is completely at variance with an attestation made at the very beginning, but subsequently forgotten, that he is *now* regenerated. The same incongruity occurs in their reasoning upon the baptism of infants. For they maintain, that our Church conceives, upon what they denominate a charitable supposition, the infant to be regenerated *previously* to his participation of that sacrament ; and that consequently she predicates of the same child first a regenerated, secondly an unregenerated, and finally a regenerated state again. So much versatility of idea, incoherence of declaration, and defect of system, do those ascribe to our Church, who torture the doctrine of her Liturgy into an ideal conformity with the creed of Calvin.

Nor is inconsistency discoverable only in the application, but also in the very foundation itself of their argument upon the subject. They affirm, that the child is pronounced regenerate, because the Church supposes, that ‘ *even now*, through the grace of God, he possesses a disposition, which will lead him, as he becomes capable of so doing, to perform his vows<sup>d</sup>.’ and yet they expressly maintain, that ‘ *the word of God* is the *ordinary* means<sup>e</sup>’ of Regeneration, a means, which, in their sense of it, must be totally inefficient until years of discretion. How are these

<sup>c</sup> Scott’s Inquiry, &c. p. 209.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. p. 142.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 17.

things to accord? How can Regeneration, or a change of disposition<sup>f</sup>, according to the usual course of events, be said to be wrought in infancy, at a period when it is impossible that *the ordinary means* appropriated to it can have begun to operate? To assert of one and the same act a double commencement, certainly seems much like asserting a direct contradiction in terms.

From the preceding observations it will appear, that the dissension which has arisen upon this subject, although greatly to be regretted, as all dissensions are, is nevertheless very far from being a mere logomachy. It is not imputable to the habit of affixing different senses to the word *Regeneration*; but it results from a marked and complete diversity of opinion. The metonymical use of the term<sup>g</sup> may have indeed occasioned

<sup>f</sup> ‘ That even infants are capable of receiving from God *such a disposition*, as I have supposed, seems to me as clear, as that they may and do, *by nature*, possess a *contrary disposition*. And that Almighty God may be pleased, *in many instances*, to communicate such grace, especially to the children of pious parents, presented to him with devout and fervent prayers, I can readily hope and believe.’ Scott’s Inquiry, p. 233. The *generality* of the assumption ascribed to our Church, and *the many instances* in which Regeneration is thus supposed to be communicated, prove, that the *ordinary*, and not the *extraordinary* commencement of grace, was here also in the contemplation of the writer.

<sup>g</sup> This use of it, as a metonymy of the cause for the effect, has been adopted as well by those who deemed that effect to be *contingent*, as by those who held it to be *necessary*. Archbishop Tillotson in his sermons on Regeneration considers such an use of it as perfectly correct. And we plainly recognise the same application of the term in the following passage of Calvin: ‘ *Regnum Dei incipere in hominibus sentimus, quando regenerantur. Tunc autem regenerari dicimus, quando illuminantur in Christi fidem, reformantur in obedientiam Dei ipsorum corda; et in summa, quando in ipsis instauratur Dei imago. Sed regenerationem nego momento perfici. Satis est, si quotidianos facit progressus usque ad mortem.*’ Opera, vol. viii. p. 518.

some little misconception of meaning upon both sides : but there exists a radical and entire discordance of sentiment respecting the thing itself ; respecting the period when it commences, the mode of its agency, and the duration of its effects. The principal point therefore in dispute is one, upon which accommodation appears to be impracticable. For, to omit minuter differences, as the reception of grace is broadly distinguishable from the retention of it, what possible accommodation can take place between the opinions of those who contend, that grace once received is always subsequently retained, and of those who hold, that its real reception may and does take place without its perpetual retention ? And what arrangement of idea and expression can ever be suggested to make men think and speak alike upon the *nature* of a sacrament, respecting the *efficacy* of which they are altogether at variance.

*As individuals*, whatsoever may be the theological system which we embrace, our duty as well as our wisdom indisputably is, to abstain from every harsh reflection upon those, whose code of faith happens to differ from our own, and to practise reciprocal forbearance. The bond of charity, which endures the contrast of opinion in public, and the link of amity, which constitutes personal attachment in private, life, strong as may prove the opposing effort, ought always to be preserved unbroken. But in our official capacity, *as ministers of the Church of England*, if we misrepresent her doctrine, and give publicity to that misrepresentation by the press, if we betray the trust, and abuse the confidence reposed in us, must we not expect that censure will follow close at the heel of detection ? Obsequious pacification may hang the dewdrop of its mediating argument upon the thorn of controversy ;

but the moment that the ideal gem is pressed, it disappears, exhibiting only the mere semblance of solidity.

Something indeed like an approximation towards union might be possible, were both parties disposed to relinquish, during inquiry, preconceived system, and to deduce the creed of our Church from the plain and evident tendency of her language; to state it with simplicity, and to explain it without sophistry. But while on one side a zealous predilection for a favourite theory predominates, even approximation seems impossible; particularly, when that predilection is manifested towards a theory, which rooted, as its admirers conceive, in the all-perfect will and word of God, abhors the contaminating grasp of human criticism, and, ever tremblingly alive to its approach, shrinks within itself at the slightest touch.

## APPENDIX.

### *Baptismal Service as used in the Church of Rome.*

Exsufflet Sacerdos in facie infantis tribus vicibus, dicens :  
Exi, immunde Spiritus ; et da locum Spiritui sancto.

Deinde faciat crucem in fronte, et in pectore ejus, dicens :

Accipe signaculum sanctæ crucis tam in fronte, quam in corde.

Oremus.

Deus immortale præsidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum ; Te invoco super hunc famulum tuum, qui Baptismi tui donum petens, æternam consequi gratiam spirituali regeneratione desiderat. Accipe eum Domine, et quia dignatus es dicere, Petite et accipietis, quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis ; petenti igitur præmium porrige, et januam pande pulsanti, ut æternam cœlestis lavacri benedictionem consecutus, promissa tui muneris regna percipiat, per Christum Dominum nostrum.

[Then follows a form of *exorcising Salt*, which is put into the mouth of the Infant, the Priest saying:]

Accipe salem sapientiæ, ut propitiatus sit tibi Dominus in vitam æternam.

[First Exorcism of the Devil.]

Ergo, maledicte Diabole, recognosce sententiam tuam ; et da honorem Deo vivo et vero ; da honorem Jesu Christo filio ejus, et Spiritui Sancto ; et recede ab hoc famulo Dei ; quia istum sibi Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem, fontemque Baptismatis dono suo vocare dignatus est ; et hoc signum crucis +, quod nos fronte ejus damus, tu, maledicte Diabole, nunquam audeas violare.

Audi, maledicte Sathana ; adjuratus per nomen æterni Dei,

et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; et cum tua victus invidia tremens gemensque discede; nihil tibi sit commune cum servo Dei jam cœlestia cogitanti, renuntiantique tibi a seculo tuo, et beata immortalitate victuro. Da igitur honorem advenienti Spiritui Sancto, qui ex summa cœli arce descendens, perturbatus fraudibus tuis, divino fonte purgatum pectus, id est, sanctificatum, Deo templum et habitaculum perficiat; ut ab omnibus penitus noxis præteritorum criminum liberatus, hic servus Dei gratias perenni Deo referat semper, et benedicat nomen ejus in secula seculorum. *Amen.*

[Second Exorcism of the Devil.]

Exorciso te, immunde spiritus, in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ut ex eas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei. Ipse enim tibi imperat, maledicte damnate, qui pedibus super mare ambulavit, et Petro mergenti dexteram porrexit.

[Third Exorcism of the Devil.]

Nec te lateat, Sathana, imminere tibi pœnas, imminere tibi tormenta, imminere tibi diem judicii, diem supplicii sempiterni, diem qui venturus est velut elibanus ardens, in quo tibi et universis angelis tuis præparatus sempiternus erit interitus. Proinde, damnate et damnande, da honorem Deo vivo et vero, da honorem Jesu Christo filio ejus, et da honorem Spiritui Sancto Paraclito, in cujus nomine atque virtute præcipio tibi, quicumque es, spiritus immunde, ut ex eas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei, quem hodie idem Deus, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem fontemque Baptismatis dono vocare dignatus est, ut fiat ejus templum per aquam Regenerationis in remissionem omnium peccatorum in nomine ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem.

*Priest.* Dominus vobiscum.

*Ans.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

Evangelium e Marco.

‘ In illo tempore offerebant Jesu parvulos; &c.—manus imponens super illos, benedicebat eos.’ Marc. x.

Tunc Presbyter ponat manum super caput infantis, dicens,

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c.

Credo in Deum, &c.

Deinde spuat Sacerdos in sinistra manu, et tangat aures et nares infantis cum pollice suo dextero de sputo, dicendo ad

aurem dexteram, ‘Effetha,’ quod est, Aperire. Ad nares, ‘In odorem suavitatis.’ Ad aurem sinistram: ‘Tu autem effugare, Diabole, appropinquabit enim iudicium Dei.’

[When the child is brought into the Church: the priest inquires his name: and then asks:]

Abrenuntias Sathanæ? *Ans.* Abrenuntio.

*Pr.* Et omnibus operibus ejus? *Ans.* Abrenuntio.

*Pr.* Et omnibus pompis ejus? *Ans.* Abrenuntio.

[Then the priest anoints him with oil, saying,]

Et ego lineo te super pectus oleo salutis, inter scapulas, in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, ut habeas vitam æternam et vivas in secula seculorum. Amen.

[Then the priest asks,]

Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ? *Ans.* Credo.

*Pr.* Credis et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum natum et passum? *Ans.* Credo.

*Pr.* Credis et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam æternam post mortem? *Ans.* Credo.

*Pr.* Quid petis? *Ans.* Baptismum.

*Pr.* Vis baptizari? *Ans.* Volo.

[The priest takes up the child, and dips him three times, saying:]

Et ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

*Pr.* Dominus vobiscum. *Ans.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Pr.* Oremus. Deus omnipotens, pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum (here he marks the child with the chrism) ipse te linit chrismate salutis in eodem Filio suo Domino nostro Jesu Christo in vitam æternam.

[Here the child is clothed with the chrisom cloth, the priest saying,]

Accipe vestem candidam sanctam et immaculatam, quam perferas ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas in secula seculorum. Amen.

[Then he places a lighted taper in the child's hand, saying,]

Accipe lampadem ardentem et irreprehensibilem: custodi

baptismum tuum: serva mandata: ut, cum venerit Dominus ad nuptias, possis ei occurrere una cum sanctis in aula cœlesti; ut habeas vitam eternam; et vivas in secula seculorum. Amen.

Pater Noster, &c.

Credo in Deum, &c.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Lutheran Formulary of Baptism, as corrected by Luther from a previous Formulary, and published in the year 1527.*

[Translated from the German.]

The Baptizer says;

Depart, thou unclean spirit, and give place to the Holy Ghost.

Then shall he make on him a cross, on his forehead and breast, and say;

Receive the sign of the holy Cross, both on thy forehead and on thy breast.

Let us pray.

Almighty, immortal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I call upon thee for this *N.* thy servant, who soliciting the gift of thy Baptism, desireth thy eternal grace by spiritual Regeneration.

Receive him, O Lord, as thou hast promised; Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. So extend now this good to him who asketh; and open the door to him who knocketh, that he may obtain the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and receive the promised kingdom of thy gift, through Christ our Lord.

Let us pray.

Almighty, everlasting God, who by the deluge according to thy severe judgment didst condemn the unbelieving world, and didst save faithful Noah, eight persons, by thy great mercy; and didst drown hardened Pharaoh with all his in the Red sea, and didst lead thy people Israel dry through it, in order that

this bath of thy holy baptism might be prefigured; and by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, didst sanctify and consecrate Jordan and all waters for a blessed deluge and abundant washing away of sins; we beseech thee by thy same unbounded mercy, that thou wilt mercifully look upon *N.* and bless him with a right faith in spirit, that by this wholesome deluge may be drowned and sunk in him all which was born in him from Adam, and which he himself has added thereto; and that he, being separated from the number of unbelievers, may be kept safe and secure in the holy ark of Christianity, and always fervent in spirit, joyful in hope, may serve thee; that he with all believers may be worthy to obtain thy promise of everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from this servant of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Let us hear the holy Gospel of St. Mark.

At that time they brought young children, &c.—he put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

Then shall the priest put his hand upon the head of the child, and repeat Our Father, together with the sponsors, kneeling down.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

Afterwards, while the child is held at the font, the priest shall say;

The Lord preserve thy coming in and going out, from this time forth for evermore.

After let the priest make the child through his sponsors renounce the Devil, and say;

Dost thou renounce the Devil? *Answer*, I do.

And all his works? *Answer*, I do.

And all his pomps (wesen)? *Answer*, I do.

Believest thou in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? *Answer*, I do.

Believest thou in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born and suffered? *Answer*, I do.

Believest thou in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church,

the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and after death the Life everlasting? *Answer*, I do.

Wilt thou be baptized? *Answer*, I will.

Then he shall take the child and dip it in the font, saying,

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Then shall the sponsors hold the child in the font, while he marks it with the chrisom ;

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee with water, and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins, strengthen thee with his grace to life everlasting. Amen.

Peace be with thee ! Amen !

This was the German formulary of Baptism, corrected and published by Luther in 1527, which was generally used in the Lutheran churches. In 1523 Luther wrote and published his first formulary of Baptism, which was a closer copy of the one used by the Church of Rome. In this first formulary *salt* was put into the infant's mouth, called the *salt of wisdom*, the first two exorcisms of the Devil were fully adopted, and the use of spittle, the chrisom, the white garment, and the burning light enjoined, with their respective prayers. But these things were all omitted in the corrected formulary.

I have remarked in my Bampton Lectures, p. 377. (third edition,) that our Baptismal Offices appear to have been partly taken from a formulary drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer for the use of the Archbishopric of Cologne, which was published in Latin in the year 1545, and translated into English in the year 1547. In this formulary there is a prayer which is not to be found in either that of Rome or of Luther, but which is, with the exception of a single sentence, wholly adopted in our own. It is the following ;

### *Formulary of Cologne.*

Oremus. *Omnipotens et æterne Deus, Pater cælestis, gratias agimus tibi æternas, quod ad hanc agnitionem gratiæ tuæ*

*et fidei erga te nos vocare dignatus es ; Auge et confirma hanc fidem in nobis perpetuo ; da huic infanti Spiritum Sanctum tuum, quo regeneretur et hæres fiat æternæ salutis, quam Ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ, pueris simul et senibus propter Christum ex gratia et misericordia tua promisisti, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui tecum vivit et regnat nunc et in perpetuum*<sup>a</sup>.

The adoption of this prayer, not to be found in any other formulary, plainly proves, that our Reformers must have consulted this of Cologne.

But there are further marks of imitation from the Cologne formulary, which, not occurring elsewhere, demonstrate the source whence they were derived. These are principally found in the Exhortations and Rubrics.

#### *First Exhortation.*

Dilecti in Christo Jesu, quotidie ex verbo Dei audimus, et propria experientia discimus, tam in vita, quam in morte, jam inde ab Adæ lapsu *nos omnes concipi et nasci in peccatis*, esse reos iræ Dei, et damnatos propter Adæ delictum<sup>b</sup>, nisi liberemur morte meritis Filii Dei Christi Jesu, nostri unici liberatoris. Cum igitur præsentés infantes communi nobiscum sorte nati sunt, dubium non est, quin et ipsi peccato originali morbo commaculati sint, atque obnoxii æternæ morti et damnationi. Sed Deus Pater pro ineffabili sua misericordia erga genus humanum Filium suum misit ut mundum servaret, quare etiam et hos infantes servare vult. Ille peccata totius

<sup>a</sup> *Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace, and faith in thee : Increase and confirm this faith in us evermore ; give thy Holy Spirit to these infants ; that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit now and for ever.*

<sup>b</sup> The guilt of Adam, imputed to his posterity, appears in this formulary to be the actual corruption of our nature, and not a metaphysical conception in the Divine mind. Thus, in a subsequent prayer, it is said, *Et ne imputes his parvulis peccatum Adæ in eis per parentes propagatum et innatum.* P. 75.

mundi tulit, et tam parvulos, quam nos adultos, a peccatis, morte, Diabolo et æterna damnatione liberavit, et salvos fecit, qui voluit sibi offerri parvulos, ut iis benedictionem impertiretur. Quare pro immensa pietate vestra, hunc puerum assumite, et ad Christum adducite, et offerte piis vestris precibus, quo peccatorum suorum remissionem ab illo consequatur, transferatur in regnum gratiæ, ereptus e tyrannide Satanæ et constituatur hæres æternæ salutis.

*Et vobis certissimum sit, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum hoc opus charitatis vestræ erga hunc infantem clementissime respecturum* c. P. 71.

*Exhortation, after the reading of the Gospel from St. Mark.*

His verbis et huic facto Domini nostri Jesu Christi, super illos *fidem habete, nec dubitate eum et vestros infantes sic in sacro Baptismate suscepturum, et complexurum esse ulnis misericordiæ suæ, et benedictionem vitæ æternæ, et sempiternam regni Dei communionem iis collaturum* d. P. 72.

*Second Exhortation.*

Nullius ergo laboris vos pigeat, quin quisque hunc curet Domino pie et religiose educandum et instituendum, quo servare tandem possit omnia, quæ Christus servator nobis præcepit. *Pertinet igitur ad vos, ubi primum excreverit, curare, ut ad Scholas, ut in Ecclesiam ducatur, quo in Christi mysteriis et in aliis instituaturs plenius, quo gratiam et immensa Dei beneficia in Baptismo collata intelligat, atque ita in Christo Domino nostro ad finem perscveret.* P. 73.

Vultis ergo infantem e Baptismo suscipere et habere pro

c ‘ Wherefore *we being thus persuaded* of the good-will of our heavenly Father towards this infant, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, and *nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours,* &c.

d ‘ *Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive these present infants; that he will embrace them with the arms of his mercy; that he will give unto them the blessing of eternal life; and make them partakers of his everlasting kingdom.*’ Exhort. after the Gospel.

vero filio Dei, fratre et membro Christi, atque *primum ubi ad usum rationis pervenerit, curam ejus habere, quo Decalogum, et Articulos fidei, et Orationem Dominicam, et Sacramenta perdiscat tum Domi, tum in Ecclesia*<sup>e</sup>. Ibid.

As the other parts of the Cologne service for *public* baptism are principally the same as those in the service of Luther, they are here omitted. But there is a distinct service for *private* baptism, no trace of which is to be found in any other formulary. I will therefore add some extracts from it, which appear to have been in the eye of our Reformers.

*Cologne Rubric.*

Si autem infantuli infirmiore fuerint valetudine, ut periculum sit non victuros esse, *vel ad proximum Dominicum vel Festum diem, aut si propter graviores causas illis diebus Baptismus conferri non possit, admonebunt Pastores populum*<sup>f</sup> &c. P. 76.

De Baptismo recens natis collato propter periculum mortis. Si extrema necessitas urserit, tum qui adsunt periclitanti infantulo, *jungant sese in Domino*, pie sublatis ad Deum animis, misericordiam ejus, in Christo Domino nobis promissam et exhibitam, *super infantulo implorent, eumque, dicta oratione Dominica, baptizent*, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Quod cum fecerint, ne dubitent infantem suum vere

<sup>e</sup> ‘ You must remember it is your parts and duties to see that these infants be taught, so soon as they shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession they have wade by you. And that they may know these things the better, ye shall call upon them to hear sermons; and chiefly you shall provide that they may learn the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the English tongue, and all other things which a Christian man ought to know and believe to his soul’s health.’ Concluding Exhortation.

<sup>f</sup> ‘ The Pastors and Curates shall oft admonish the people that they defer not the baptism of infants any longer than the Sunday or other holyday next after the child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause.’

baptizatum, peccatis ablutum, in Christo renatum, et filium, hæredemque Dei factum esse §. P. 76.

*Hos ergo Pastores interrogabunt, qua ratione, et quibus verbis infantem baptizarent<sup>h</sup>. Ibid.*

*Si vero ii qui infantem offerunt non satis constanter respondere possunt ad dictas interrogationes, adeo ut fateantur se haud satis scire quæ cogitarint aut fecerint baptizando, perturbati scilicet præsentis periculo, ut fieri non raro solet, tunc ommissa anxia disputatione<sup>i</sup>, &c. P. 77.*

From the whole tenor of the Cologne formulary it is evident, that the authors of it considered every baptized infant as truly regenerated, and a child of God. In a passage already quoted, the baptized infant is expressly stated to be ‘*washed from his sins, to be regenerated in Christ, and to be made a son and heir of God.*’ Similar precise declarations occur in their Office of Private Baptism, in which it is said, when the child is brought to church; *Hunc igitur vobis infantulum, filium et hæredem Dei, fratrem et cohæredem Christi, membrum Christi et vestrum in Christo, fidei vestræ et curæ in Domino committo et commendo, ut eum Domino in quem renatus est, et regno Dei, in quod renatus est, quam diligentissime fovendum, educandum, instituendum curetis.*

Then follows this prayer, if possible, still more express; *Domine Deus Pater Domini Jesu Christi, qui regenuisti hunc infantem ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, et peccatorum omnium remissionem ei sacrosancto Baptismate contulisti, confirma hunc*

‘ § *Let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. \* \* \* And let them not doubt but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized.*’

‘<sup>h</sup> *Then shall the Priest examine them further; With what thing or what matter they did baptize the child? With what words the child was baptized?*’

‘<sup>i</sup> *But if they which bring the infants to the church do make an uncertain answer to the Priest's questions, and say that they cannot tell what they thought, did, or said, in that great fear and trouble of mind, as oftentimes it chanceth, then let the Priest,*’ &c.

tua gratia, et regas provehasque *hanc novam vitam, quam donasti.* P. 77.

To this I shall subjoin one quotation more, from the Rubric of Private Baptism: Quibus præmissis, infantem statim baptizent, et astantes hortentur, *ut certo statuant infantulum, sive vivat, sive mox moriatur, esse filium Dei, et hæredem vitæ æternæ.* P. 76.

And surely it must be admitted, that our own Formulary perfectly coincides in this respect with that of Cologne. Omitting all other references to the point, I should be content to rest the proof of it upon this single declaration in the Office of Confirmation. ‘*It is certain by God’s word, that children being baptized, if they depart out of this life in their infancy, are undoubtedly saved*’<sup>k</sup>.

And it should be remarked, that the subsequent alterations of this Rubric rendered the point in discussion, if possible, less questionable. At first the limitation was to children *dying in infancy*: but it is now extended to those *who die before they commit actual sin*; making Baptism, in all cases before the actual commission of crime, effectual to salvation.

I have stated in my Bampton Lectures, p. 377 and 378, (third edition,) that the Cologne Formulary of Baptism, as suggested by Melancthon himself, was drawn up after the Formulary of Nuremberg, and that the Formulary of Nuremberg was conformable with that of Luther, as amended in 1527. I should however remark, that although the *Cologne* Formulary was, as Melancthon stated, drawn up after that of *Nuremberg*, and therefore after Luther’s, this similarity relates chiefly to the *prayers and essential parts of the service*, and not to the *Rubrics and Exhortations*. These latter were *new*; and, as I have shewn, were partly adopted and intro-

<sup>k</sup> Common Prayer Book, A. D. 1549. When the Common Prayer was revised in 1552, this Rubric was thus altered: ‘It is certain by God’s word, that children, being baptized, *have all things necessary for their salvation*, and be undoubtedly saved.’ This underwent another alteration at a subsequent revision, and it now stands thus: ‘It is certain by God’s word, that children which are baptized, *dying before they commit actual sin*, are undoubtedly saved.’

duced by our Reformers into our own Formulary. As a whole nevertheless they sufficiently indicate what Luther expressively termed the *Clappermaul* (or perpetual clack) of Bucer, and were therefore, I presume, only *in part* adopted by our Reformers.

I have not given the Nuremberg Formulary, because it would have been little more than a repetition of Luther's.

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*Our own Formulary of Baptism, as worded in the first Common Prayer Book, A. D. 1549.*

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men be conceived and born in sin, and that no man born in sin can enter into the kingdom of God, (except he be regenerate and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost,) I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to these children that thing, which by nature they cannot have, that is to say, they may be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made lively members of the same<sup>1</sup>.

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, which of thy justice didst destroy by floods of water the whole world for sin, except eight persons, whom of thy mercy (the same time) thou didst save in the ark; and when thou didst drown in the Red sea wicked king Pharaoh with all his army, yet at the same time thou didst lead thy people Israel safely through the midst thereof, whereby thou didst figure the washing of thy holy Baptism; and by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ thou didst sanctify the flood of Jordan, and all other waters, to this mystical washing away of sin; We beseech thee (for thy infinite mercies) that thou wilt mercifully look upon these children, and sanctify them with thy Holy Ghost; that by this wholesome laver of Regeneration, whatsoever sin is in them may be washed clean away, that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church, and so

<sup>1</sup> If this exhortation be compared with the first part of the first exhortation in the Cologne Formulary, it will be found to express its general sense without some of its exceptionable expressions.

saved from perishing; and being fervent in spirit, steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, rooted in charity, may ever serve thee, and finally attain to everlasting life with all thy holy and chosen people. This grant us, we beseech thee, for Jesus Christ's sake our Lord. Amen<sup>m</sup>.

Here shall the Priest ask what shall be the name of the child; and when the godfathers and godmothers have told the name, then he shall make a cross upon the children's forehead and breast, saying,

*N.* Receive the sign of the holy cross, both in thy forehead and in thy breast, in token that thou shalt not be ashamed of the faith in Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue his faithful soldier and servant unto thy life's end. Amen.

Let us pray.

Almighty and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead; We call upon thee for these infants, that they coming to thy holy baptism may obtain remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive them, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask, and you shall have; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you. So give now unto us that ask; let us that seek find; open the gate unto us that knock; that these infants may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing; and may come to the

<sup>m</sup> This prayer was transferred from Luther's into other Formularies. The clause, '*and so saved from perishing,*' was omitted in 1552. A writer in '*Tracts for the Times,*' noticing this first revision, has the following remark: '*The alterations in the Baptismal Service were few; but they were all unhappily of the same character. It was the omission of certain significant rites, whereby either men's natural condition before baptism, or the privileges bestowed through baptism, and the duties consequent thereon, were set before men's eyes.*' Vol. ii. p. 242. Oxford, 1836. The omission here noticed, being not that of a *significant rite*, was not one perhaps the loss of which is thus regretted.

eternal kingdom, which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. Amen <sup>n</sup>.

Then let the Priest, looking upon the children, say,

I command thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy baptism, to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ has bought with his precious blood, and by this his holy baptism calleth to be of his flock <sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> The first part of this prayer, ‘the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead,’ do not occur in Luther’s Formulary. In that of the church of Rome, which our Reformers seem to have had in their eye, the passage is thus expressed: ‘Præsidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum.’

<sup>o</sup> The whole of this exorcism was expunged at the revision in 1552. The church of Rome commenced its Baptismal Service with the following ejection of Satan: *Exsufflet* sacerdos in facie infantis tribus vicibus, dicens; Exi, immunde spiritus, et da locum Spiritui Sancto.

This was thus translated and adopted in Luther’s first Formulary: ‘The baptizer *shall blow* (blase) upon the infant between the eyes, and say, Depart, thou unclean spirit, and give place to the Holy Ghost.’ But this part of the service, as far as relates to the mode of ejecting the Devil *by blowing into the face of the child*, was omitted in Luther’s amended Formulary; and was never adopted in our own. Instead of it the Priest is required, as above, *to look upon the child* during the act of exorcism. But, as I have observed, all exorcism was omitted when the service was revised; much however to the regret of the pious and warm-hearted writer before alluded to in the ‘Tracts for the Times.’ Referring to this omission, he observes: ‘It could not have been foreseen that men’s sense of these things would be weakened by our omission of this

Then shall the priest say,

The Lord be with you.

*The People.* And with thy spirit.

*The Minister.* Hear now the Gospel, written by St. Mark.

At a certain time they brought children to Christ, that he should touch them, &c.

After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel :

Friends, you hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour

‘rite : and yet *this has contributed much* to the present unbelief in  
 ‘the scriptural statements of a personal unseen enemy of men’s  
 ‘souls, and *the indifference* with which they view, or hear of, *his*  
 ‘*visible agents and servants*, and *the fearlessness* with which they  
 ‘allow themselves to sink gradually into his grasp, as if they could  
 ‘again free themselves from it when they would. \* \* \* Against the  
 ‘scriptural statement man’s pride revolts. It would have been  
 ‘impugned doubtless, even had the rite of exorcism been re-  
 ‘tained (as in Germany and Denmark) ; and so will every doc-  
 ‘trine ; but it would not have been so easily forgotten, which is  
 ‘the greater evil. It has doubtless been a device of Satan to per-  
 ‘suade men that this expulsion of himself was *unnecessary* ; *he*  
 ‘*has thereby secured a more undisputed possession*. *Whether the*  
 ‘*rite can be again restored*, without greater evil, God only know-  
 ‘eth ; or *whether it be not irrecoverably forfeited* : but *this is cer-*  
 ‘*tain* ; *until it be restored*, we shall have much more occasion to  
 ‘warn our flocks of the devices and power of him, against whom  
 ‘we have to contend.’ P. 242. I cannot myself feel disposed to  
 participate with this author in his regret and anxious wish for such  
 a restoration. As I do not deny with one professor (Ibid. Preface,  
 p. xii.), that ‘the sacraments are instruments or channels of grace,’  
 so do I not think it desirable, with another professor, to restore  
 the *superstitious ceremony* of ejecting the Devil, by words, exsuf-  
 fiation, or otherwise. It is one thing to believe in the existence of  
 an evil spirit, and another to persuade ourselves that his influence  
 is to be controlled, and his agency frustrated, by what is termed a  
*significant rite*. May not a rite be *significant*, and at the same time  
*absurd* ? Or, if we are told that it is ancient, does its *antiquity*  
 prevent its *absurdity* ? I need not perhaps observe, that, unless we  
 believe in the actual possession, and consequent expulsion of the  
 Devil by the rite of exorcism, the rite itself cannot be correctly  
 termed *significant*.

Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him; how he blamed those who would have kept them from him; how he exhorteth all men to follow their innocency. Ye perceive how by his outward gesture and deed he declared his goodwill toward them. For he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise receive these present infants, that he will embrace them with the arms of his mercy, that he will give unto them the blessing of eternal life, and make them partakers of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore, we being thus persuaded of the goodwill of our heavenly Father toward these infants, declared by his Son Jesus Christ; and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours in bringing these children to his holy baptism<sup>P</sup>; let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say the prayer which the Lord himself taught. And in declaration of our faith, let us also recite the Articles contained in our Creed.

Here the Minister, with the godfathers, godmothers, and people present, shall say,

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.

And then shall say openly;

I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.

The Priest shall add also this prayer;

Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to knowledge of thy grace, and faith in thee; increase and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy Holy Spirit to these infants, that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit now and for ever. Amen<sup>Q</sup>.

<sup>P</sup> I have pointed out, in my extracts from the Cologne Formulary, whence these two last paragraphs were taken.

<sup>Q</sup> This prayer also was taken from the Cologne Formulary, not to be found elsewhere, as I have before remarked.

Then let the Priest take one of the children by the right hand, the others being brought after him ; and coming into the church toward the font, say ;

The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into his holy household, and to keep and govern you always in the same, that you may have everlasting life. Amen <sup>r</sup>.

Then standing at the font, the Priest shall speak to the god-fathers and godmothers on this wise ;

Well-beloved friends, ye have brought these children here to be baptized ; ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive them, to lay his hands upon them, to bless them, to release them of their sins, to give them the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life. Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for, which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform ; wherefore after this promise made by Christ, these infants must also for their part promise by you, that be their sureties, that they will forsake the Devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments.

Then shall the priest demand of the child (which shall be first baptized) these questions following, first naming the child, and saying ;

Dost thou forsake the Devil and all his works? *Answer.* I forsake them.

*Minister.* Dost thou forsake the vain pomp, and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same? *Answer.* I forsake them.

*Minister.* Dost thou forsake the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them? *Answer.* I forsake them.

*Minister.* Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? *Answer.* I believe.

*Minister.* Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son our Lord, &c.—to judge the quick and dead? Dost thou believe this? *Answer.* I believe.

<sup>r</sup> The introduction into the church here required was omitted in 1552.

*Minister.* Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, &c.—and everlasting life after death? *Answer.* I believe.

*Minister.* What dost thou desire? *Answer.* Baptism.

*Minister.* Wilt thou be baptized? *Answer.* I will.

Then the priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name. And naming the child, shall dip it in the water thrice. First dipping the right side; second, the left side; the third time dipping the face toward the font, so it be discreetly and warily done, saying;

N. I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it saying the same words. Then the godfathers and godmothers shall take and lay their hands upon the child, and the Minister shall put upon him his white vesture, commonly called the chrisom, and say,

Take this white vesture, for a token of the innocency, which by God's grace in this holy Sacrament of Baptism is given unto thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished so long as thou livest to give thyself to innocency of living; that after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.

Then the priest shall anoint the infant upon the head, saying;

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins; he vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> The whole of this ceremony, including both the white vesture and the anointing, together with the subjoined prayer, was omitted in 1552. The prayer contains a distinct and express avowal of the fact, that in *previous* baptism the child *has been regenerated*, by the Holy Ghost as well as by water, and *has thus obtained remission of all his sins*. That those however, who revised the service, and left out this particular part, did not so act, because they objected to the doctrine comprised in the clauses quoted, appears indisputable from the circumstance of their having retained the very same doctrine and expressions in the first prayer of the Office for Confirm-

When there be many to be baptized, this order of demanding, baptizing, putting on chrisom, and anointing, shall be used severally with every child. Those that be first baptized, departing from the font, and remaining in some convenient place within the church until all be baptized. At the last end the priest calling the godfathers and godmothers together shall say this short exhortation following:

Forasmuch as these children have promised by you to forsake the Devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him; you must remember, that it is your parts and duty, to see that these infants be taught so soon as they shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise and profession they have here made by you; and that they may know these things the better, ye shall call upon them to hear sermons; and chiefly you shall provide, that they may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue; and all other things, which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health. And that these children may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life; remembering always, that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that, as he died, and

ation, thus; 'Almighty and everliving God, who *hast* vouchsafed 'to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, 'and *hast* given unto them forgiveness of all their sins; &c.' The sole object in their view seems to have been the omission of what they deemed superstitious ceremonies, the investing the child with a white garment, and the anointing his head with oil, lest the people should imagine (too commonly the case) that some intrinsic holiness resided in the garment and oil after consecration. Besides they substituted another prayer, clearly declarative of the same doctrine, which thus commences; 'We yield thee hearty thanks, most 'merciful Father, that it *hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant 'with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, &c.'* Superstition was not then, nor is it now, annihilated in the minds of the common people; and had the use of the white garment and holy oil been retained, they would have been perhaps regarded as something more than mere *significant* rites; as rites in themselves invested with inherent virtue and with indescribable sanctity.

rose again for us, so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

The Office of Private Baptism, being principally the prayers and exhortations directed to be used in Public Baptism, but not previously used in private houses, I have not noticed.

At the end of these Offices occurs a consecration of the Baptismal water, in the following manner :

The water in the font shall be changed every month once at least ; and before any child be baptized in the water so changed, the priest shall say at the font these prayers following :

O most merciful God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hast ordained the element of water for the regeneration of thy faithful people, upon whom being baptized in the river Jordan the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove ; send down we beseech thee the same thy Holy Spirit to assist us and to be present at this our invocation of thy holy name. Sanctify + this fountain of baptism, thou that art the Sanctifier of all things; that by the power of thy word, all those that shall be baptized therein may be spiritually regenerated, and made the children of everlasting adoption.

1. O merciful God, grant that the old Adam in them that shall be baptized in this fountain may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up again. Amen.

2. Grant that all carnal affections may die in them; and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in them.

3. Grant to all them which at this fountain forsake the Devil and all his works, that they may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph against him, the world, and the flesh. Amen.

4. Whosoever shall confess thee, O Lord, recognise him also in thy kingdom. Amen.

5. Grant that all sin and vice here may be so extinct, that they never may have power to reign in thy servants. Amen.

6. Grant that whosoever here shall begin to be of thy flock, may evermore continue in the same. Amen.

7. Grant that all they, which for thy sake in this life do deny and forsake themselves, may win and purchase thee, O Lord, which art everlasting treasure. Amen.

8. Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry, may also be endowed with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things world without end. Amen.

The Lord be with you. *Answer.* And with thy spirit.

Almighty and everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood, and gave commandment to his disciples, that they should go teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation, and grant that all thy servants which shall be baptized in this water, prepared for the ministration of thy holy Sacrament, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

At the revision in 1552 the first prayer, containing the invocation for the presence and assistance of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying the water prepared for baptism, was totally omitted; so likewise were the 4, 5, 6, and 7th of the short ejaculatory petitions; and the remainder, viz. the 1, 2, 3, and 8th, with the subsequent prayer inserted in the Office of Public Baptism immediately before the actual administration of that rite by the words, 'I baptize thee in the name, &c.' There can be little doubt, but that those who made these alterations, made them with an intention of preventing a too superstitious people from losing sight, in the significant symbol, of the thing signified; from contemplating the bare element of water, when thus prepared by a distinct and impressive ceremony, as endowed in itself with a regenerating influence, and sanctifying efficacy; forgetful that baptism operates in us (to use the language of Cranmer<sup>t</sup>) 'as the work of God, by virtue of that command-

<sup>t</sup> Cranmer's Catechism, p. 186. Oxford ed. 1829. The Latin of Justus Jonas is, Propter hoc tantum mandatum, quod ex Deo est e cœlo Baptismus efficaciter operatur in nobis, ut opus Dei. p. 158. 2nd part.

‘ment, which came from heaven, even from the bosom of God himself.’

But whatsoever might have been their intention in this respect, it is evident, that their omission of the first prayer here noticed was not occasioned by any objection, entertained by them, to the concluding part of it; which, by praying that the baptized infants, spiritually regenerated, ‘may be made the ‘children of *everlasting* adoption,’ infers that some children, although spiritually regenerated, may *not be everlastingly* adopted, and thus asserts *the defectibility* of grace. This also appears from their retaining the whole of the last prayer quoted, which concludes thus, in allusion to the children baptized; ‘that they may receive *the fulness* of God’s grace, and ‘*ever remain* in the number of his faithful and elect children;’ words distinctly maintaining, that there may be a grace which is not *indefectible*, a grace in which the baptized may *not remain for ever*.

If therefore our Baptismal Service be compared with that of the Lutherans and of the Church of Rome, its origin will not be dubious; and it will be impossible for a moment to suppose, that it was clothed in the language, and composed upon the principles, of the Zuinglian or Calvinistical formularies. Services which our Reformers found established, and of which they approved, they did not discard from the mere love of innovation; but reestablished with as few alterations as possible. Nor do I apprehend, that they dived deeply into the writings of antiquity; but satisfied themselves with rubbing off from the surface some of that superstitious rust, which had been contracted by long usage during a period of illiterate centuries. I find no proof that they attempted to compose, after a recon-dite and laborious search, a new form; but solely endeavoured to amend an old one. Much less did they think of substituting traditional opinions and ceremonies for scriptural simplicity; but contented themselves with enforcing the word and promise of Christ as the sure ground of Baptismal efficacy.

It has indeed been said, that ‘our Church (blessed be God!) ‘never took Luther, or Calvin, or any modern name for its ‘teacher or its model, but *primitive antiquity*; and by the ‘holy Scripture alone, and *the universal consent of primitive ‘antiquity*, as *the depository of its doctrines*, and *the witness*

' of its teaching, would she be judged<sup>u</sup>. ' But with Luther she *did* model her own formulary after that of the Church of Rome, which she found established, (some objectionable parts excepted,) when she compiled the very service under consideration; and I know not what proof exists of her having tested the doctrines and ceremonies contained in it by *primitive antiquity*. That she was anxious to discard, and did discard, what she deemed superstitious in the formulary, from which she copied, I am well convinced: but that she had previously consulted every writer of primitive antiquity upon the subject, and, in addition to her own deductions from Scripture, had satisfied herself upon the point of universal consent in all things which she adopted, I very much doubt. If she had so satisfied herself in her original compilation, she must have conducted her inquiries very carelessly; because some superstitious ceremonies, which she had incautiously adopted, she rejected at the very first revision. If the ceremonies alluded to (exorcism, with the use of the white garment, and holy oil) were not sanctioned by the *universal consent of primitive antiquity*, which had been carefully investigated, why were they originally adopted? and if they were so sanctioned, why were they subsequently rejected? But whether they were or were not so sanctioned, I cannot, with the zealous writer in the 'Tracts for the Times,' to whatsoever universal consent or traditional authority he may think them entitled, lament their rejection, and wish for their restoration.

To the *universal consent of primitive antiquity*, when fairly and fully ascertained, I am willing to pay the highest respect; but upon points of doctrine, particularly such as regard the true sense of the sacred text, I cannot deem its judgment infallible, and its decisions incontrovertible. To *Scripture alone*, and not to *primitive antiquity*, much less to *tradition*, I am persuaded that the Church of England appeals, for the purity of her Liturgy and the truth of her doctrines; and that, a perfect stranger to the presumptuous dictates of modern Rationalism, she does not scruple to make unperverted reason her interpreter of the word of God.

Unperverted reason is the offspring of Deity, the parent of

<sup>u</sup> 'Tracts for the Times,' Vol. II. Preface to View of Baptism, p. vii.

truth, and the noblest energy of human intellect; and we cannot be too cautious in decrying the use, when arguing against the abuse, of it. To fancy indeed that Scripture must necessarily teach what reason presumes that it *ought* to teach, is indeed to make revelation subservient to mental conceit: but we run into a contrary extreme, if to humble human pride, when contemplating the language of inspiration, we give Scripture on every occasion a simply *literal* interpretation, in contempt of all rational deduction. Our blessed Saviour said, ‘I *am the door*,’ John x. 7; and again, ‘I *am the good Shepherd*,’ and can we doubt that he here spoke, not *literally* but *figuratively*? If however, when at the last supper he brake the bread, saying, ‘*This is my body*,’ we explain his words *literally*, which was the explanation given for many ages by universal consent in all Christendom, shall we not incur the folly of asserting, that our Saviour converted bread into his own body, held that body in his hands, and then gave it to be eaten by his disciples? Humility of mind, and simplicity of conception are indeed, when not pushed to an extreme, estimable qualities; but if they lead us to interpret *literally*, what was meant *figuratively*, there is no absurdity into which we may not run, no paradox which we may not support.

Let me not however be misunderstood. In censuring that which has been misnamed Rationalism, I would by no means point my shafts against Reason. When we investigate the meaning of Scripture, as it is necessary on one hand to avoid the extreme of adapting to it a *strictly literal* interpretation, by tying down that interpretation to the mere expressions, disregarding critical research, inquiry into the language, style, and probable scope of the inspired writers, and of the various dialogues by them recorded; so is it equally necessary to avoid the other extreme of entering into a deep, conjectural, and overstrained interpretation; of constantly exercising our ingenuity in hunting after possibilities; in searching after, not what the words of Scripture *do*, but what they *may*, signify; and even that only in conformity with what we previously judge reasonable. We may thus indeed display our talents, and gratify our vanity, by indulging in recondite speculations and refined distinctions; we may pride ourselves upon clothing revelation in the garb of reason: but it will be at the risk of

our present enjoyments and our future consolations. Ought we however, on that account, to let our mental faculties lie dormant, sink into an irrational simplicity, and extinguish that intellectual light, which God has kindled within us to guide our feet in the paths of truth?

Sensible objects, it is true, deeply affect our feelings; but such is the constitution of our nature, that the more we are attached to *sensible* objects, the less mindful shall we be of *intellectual*. What has been the consequence, for instance, of perpetually blazoning the figure of the *holy cross*? Inquire among Roman Catholics, and you will find, that the cross is become an object of vanity to the priest, but one of bigoted Veneration, not to say of actual Adoration, to the common people. If then we bury piety under external observances, if we ostentatiously consult the eye in our public devotions, if we prescribe fastings, self-abasements, mortifications, and other afflicting penances<sup>x</sup>, under the pretext, and subject to the

x ‘ God is always ready to forgive; sins *can* be forgiven; and yet they are *not*! Why? Because to rise again, *after falling from baptismal grace*, is far more difficult, than the easiness, with which men forgive their own sins, leads them to think: the frame of mind, which would really seek forgiveness, requires *greater conflict, more earnest prayers, more complete self-abasement, and real renunciation of self*, than men can bring themselves to think *necessary* or comply with. Men will not confess to themselves how far astray they have gone; they cannot endure that all should be begun anew; and so they *keep their sins and perish!* But on that account did the early Church more earnestly warn them of the *greatness* of the effort needed. While she affectionately tendered *the hopes* of pardon held out in God’s word, she faithfully warned men not to build those hopes on *the sand*. She called on men to return—not as if now they could at once lay down all their burden at their Saviour’s feet, but to wash his feet with their tears; to turn—not with the *mockery of woe*, but with *weeping, fasting, mourning*, and with *rending of the heart*. \* \* \* The blood of Christ is indeed all-powerful to wash away sin; but it is not at our discretion at once, on the first expression of what may be a passing sorrow, to apply it. On *true* repentance it will yet cleanse men from all sin; but *how much* belongs to *true* repentance! The fountain has indeed been opened to wash away sin

regulations, of *Church discipline*, as conditional requisites for the obliteration of sin after baptism, that is, for the obliteration

‘ and uncleanness ; but we dare not promise men *a second time* the  
 ‘ same easy access to it, which they *once* had ; that way is open but  
 ‘ *once* ; it were to abuse the power of the keys entrusted to us,  
 ‘ again to *pretend to admit them thus* ; now there remains only the  
 ‘ *Baptism of tears*, a Baptism obtained, as the same Fathers said,  
 ‘ *with much fasting, and with many tears.* \* \* \* Tertullian thus  
 ‘ timidly, or rather reverently, advances to set forth God’s provision  
 ‘ against the malice of Satan, *Repentance after Baptism.* “ Full  
 ‘ confession is the discipline of prostrating and humbling the whole  
 ‘ man ; enjoining a conversation, which may excite *pity* ; it enacts  
 ‘ as to the *very dress and sustenance* ;—to lie on sackcloth and  
 ‘ *ashes* ; the *body defiled*, the *mind cast down with grief* ; those  
 ‘ things, *in which he sinned* <sup>y</sup>, changed by a mournful treatment ;  
 ‘ *for food and drink, bread only and water*, for the sake of life, not  
 ‘ of the belly ; for the most part to nourish prayer by *fasting* ; to  
 ‘ *groan* ; to *weep* ; to *mourn day and night* before the Lord their  
 ‘ God ; to embrace the knees of the presbyter, and of the friends  
 ‘ of God ; to enjoin all the brethren to pray for him. All this is  
 ‘ contained in full confession. \* \* In as far as thou *sparest not*  
 ‘ *thyself*, in so far will God, be assured, spare thee.” It is not of  
 ‘ course the outward instances and expressions of grief, of which  
 ‘ Tertullian speaks, which one would *contrast* with our modern  
 ‘ practice ; although most *sincere* penitents will probably have a  
 ‘ great hinderance to effectual repentance, that they were obliged  
 ‘ to bear about their load of grief in their own bosoms ; that they  
 ‘ might not *outwardly* mourn ; that they must go through the daily  
 ‘ routine of life without unburdening their souls by a *public con-*  
 ‘ *fession.* \* \* But this is a distinct subject, although it may well  
 ‘ make us pray, that God would fit our Church again to restore the  
 ‘ godly discipline, which she annually laments, (Commination ser-  
 ‘ vice,) and yet cannot restore. \* \* \* Rightly are they blamed,  
 ‘ says St. Ambrose, who think that repentance is frequently to be  
 ‘ reenacted. \* \* \* Will any one call that repentance, where men  
 ‘ *seek for worldly dignity, drink wine to the full, or use the enjoy-*  
 ‘ *ments of marriage* ? *The world must be renounced.* Sleep itself

y One would think that *gluttony and drunkenness* in the days of Tertullian were the principal sins after Baptism, as these only are here alluded to, and have appropriate punishments affixed to them.

of sin in almost all men, and at the same time teach the penitent even then to *doubt* of Divine forgiveness; shall we not be labouring to establish the principles of a system, which, as the experience of ages testifies, enthrones Superstition above Religion, tramples Reason in the dust, and creates, under a mask of humility, the proudest domination that ever enthralled the mind of man?

‘ must be less indulged than nature requires, must be interrupted with groans, must be sequestered for prayer. We must live so as to die to this life. Man must deny himself, and be wholly changed.’ *Tracts for the Times—Baptism*, p. 58, 59, 60, 61, 68, 69.

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