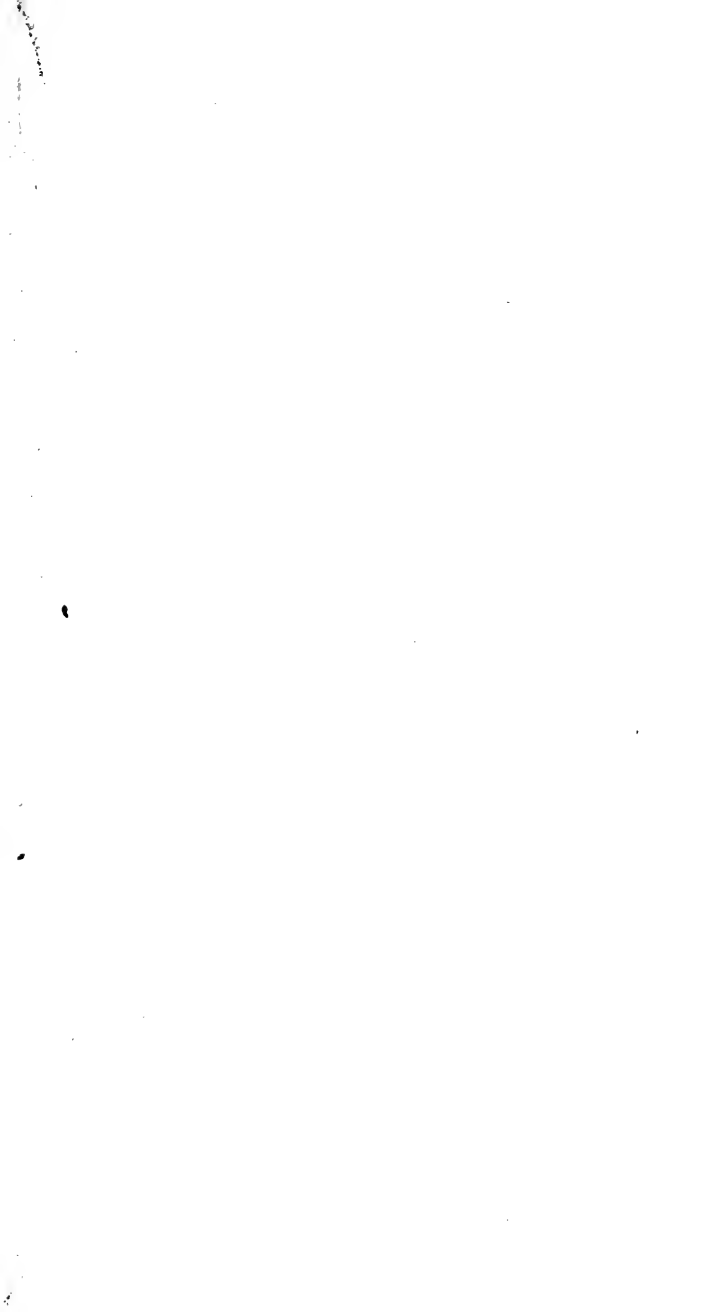


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Hook, Walter Farquhar, 1798  
1875.  
An ecclesiastical biography







AN  
ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY,  
CONTAINING THE  
*Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines,*  
INTERSPERSED WITH NOTICES OF  
**HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS,**  
FORMING  
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN EVERY AGE.

BY  
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VICAR OF LEEDS.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:  
F. AND J. RIVINGTON;  
PARKER, OXFORD; J. AND J. J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE;  
T. HARRISON, LEEDS.

1848.

G. CRAWSHAW, PRINTER, LEEDS.

## PREFACE.

THE present Volume of the Ecclesiastical Biography is perhaps the most interesting of the series, as the Reader will at once perceive, when he refers to the names of those Fathers and Divines of whom the Biography is given.

Several important portions of Ecclesiastical History are, under some of the Lives, brought before the Reader: in the Life of St. Cyprian he will observe the freedom of the Primitive Church, from the dominion of the see of Rome; in the Lives of St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and Dionysius, he will gain some insight into the practices of the Early Church; and he will find a History of the Nestorian Controversy under the head of St. Cyril of Alexandria, a controversy of much importance in the present age, when many are unconsciously Nestorians, who account themselves Orthodox.

The History of our Church before the Reformation is illustrated in the Lives of Cuthbert, Columba, Dunstan, St. Edmund, Courtney, and Colet; and of the early years of the Reformation, in that of Cranmer. The Articles on Dominic, Erasmus, Eck, and Compton, will be interest-

ing to those who are investigating the character and pretensions of Romanism; and in the History of the Remonstrants, which is given in the Life of Episcopius, is displayed the persecuting and intolerant temper which seems to be inherent in Calvinism.

For the Life of St. Cyprian, the Reader is indebted to the REV. G. A. POOLE. For the other Lives the Compiler is responsible.

The Work is still continued in Numbers, as many persons prefer receiving it as a Monthly Periodical, in which shape they can easily peruse the whole work.

The object of this Work is to supply the Reader with an Ecclesiastical History, in a form which will admit of easy reference. Although the labour is of a humble character, still it is considerable; and the contribution of Articles, by persons competent to prepare them, will be gratefully received, as the work has become much more extensive than was originally contemplated, and has hitherto been conducted without help.

# ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY.

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CHILLINGWORTH, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH was the son of William Chillingworth, citizen, afterwards mayor of Oxford, and was born there in October, 1602. He was baptized on the last of that month, the celebrated William Laud, then fellow of St. John's College, being one of his sponsors. After he had been educated in grammar learning at a private school in Oxford, he was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, in 1618, and was elected fellow in 1628. He studied divinity and geometry, and showed some skill in versification. The conversation and study of the university scholars, in his time, turned chiefly upon the controversies between the churches of England and Rome, occasioned by the liberty allowed the Romish priests by James I. and Charles I.; several of whom lived at, or near, Oxford, and made frequent attempts to pervert the young men. Of these Jesuits, the most famous was John Fisher, alias John Perse; and Chillingworth being accounted a very ingenious man, Fisher earnestly sought his society. Their conversation soon turned upon the points controverted between the two Churches, but particularly on the necessity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith. Chillingworth unable to answer the arguments of the Jesuit on this head, was brought to believe that this judge was to be found only in the Church of Rome, which,

therefore, must be the true Church, out of which there could be no salvation. Upon this he forsook the communion of the Church of England, and embraced the Romish religion. In order to secure his conquest, Fisher persuaded Chillingworth to go to the college of the Jesuits at Douay ; and he was desired to set down in writing the motives or reasons which had engaged him to embrace the Romish religion. But his godfather, Laud, who was then Bishop of London, hearing of this affair, and being extremely concerned at it, wrote to him ; and, Chillingworth's answer expressing much moderation, candour, and impartiality, that prelate continued to correspond with him, and to press him with several arguments against the doctrine and practice of the Romanists. This set Chillingworth upon a new enquiry, which had the desired effect. But the place where he was not being suitable to the state of a free and impartial enquirer, he resolved to come back to England, and left Douay in 1631, after a short stay there. Upon his return into England, he was received with great kindness and affection by Bishop Laud, who approved his design of retiring to Oxford, of which university that prelate was then chancellor, in order to complete the important work he was upon, a free enquiry into religion. At last, after a thorough examination, the protestant principles appearing to him the most agreeable to the holy Scripture and reason, he declared for them ; and having fully discovered the sophistry of the arguments, which had induced him to go over to the Church of Rome, he wrote a paper about the year 1634 to confute them, but did not think proper to publish it. This paper is now lost ; for though we have a paper of his upon the same subject, which was first published in 1687, among the additional discourses of Chillingworth, yet it seems to have been written on some other occasion, probably at the desire of some of his friends.

That Chillingworth's return to the Church of England was owing to Bishop Laud, appears from that prelate's



appeal to the letters, which passed between him and Chillingworth; which appeal was made in his speech before the Lords at his trial, in order to vindicate himself from the charge of Popery. "Mr. Chillingworth's learning and ability," says he, "are sufficiently known to all your lordships. He was gone and settled at Douay. My letters brought him back, and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England. And that this is so, your lordships cannot but know; for Mr. Prynne took away my letters, and all the papers which concerned him, and they were examined at the committee."

As Chillingworth, in forsaking the Church of England, as well as in returning to it, was solely influenced by a love of truth, so, upon the same principles, even after his return to Protestantism, he thought it incumbent upon him to re-examine the grounds of it. This appears by a letter he wrote to Dr. Sheldon, containing some scruples he had about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England: and these scruples, which he declared ingenuously to his friends, seem to have occasioned a report, but it was a very false and groundless one, that he had turned papist a second time, and then protestant again. His return to the protestant religion making a great deal of noise, he became engaged in several disputes with those of the Romish religion; and particularly with Mr. John Lewgar, Mr. John Floyd a Jesuit, who went under the name of Daniel, or Dan. a Jesu, and Mr. White. Mr. Lewgar, a great zealot for the Church of Rome, and one who had been an intimate friend of our author, as soon as he heard of his return to the Church of England, sent him a very angry and abusive letter; to which Chillingworth returned a mild and affectionate answer, in the course of which he observes, that it seems to him very strange and not far from a prodigy, that this doctrine of the Roman churches being the guide of faith, or having the privilege of infallibility, if it be true doctrine, should not be known to the Evangelists, to the Apostles, and to the primitive Church,

as he shews it was not; and concludes thus: "All these things, says he, and many more are very strange to me, if the infallibility of the Roman Church be indeed and were always by Christians acknowledged the foundation of our faith: and therefore I beseech you pardon me, if I choose to build mine upon one that is much firmer and safer, and lies open to none of these objections, *which is Scripture and universal Tradition*; and if one that is of this faith may have leave to do so; I will subscribe with hand and heart, your very loving and true friend," &c.

Lewgar was so far softened by this letter, that he had an interview with his old friend. They had a conference upon religion before Skinner and Sheldon; and we have a paper of Chillingworth printed among the additional discourses above-mentioned, which seems to contain the abstract or summary of their dispute. Besides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote one to demonstrate, that "the doctrine of infallibility is neither evident of itself, nor grounded upon certain and infallible reasons, nor warranted by any passage of Scripture." And in two other papers, he shews that the Church of Rome had formerly erred; first, "by admitting of infants to the Eucharist, and holding, that without it they could not be saved;" and secondly, "by teaching the doctrine of the Millenaries, viz: that before the world's end Christ shall reign upon the earth 1000 years, and that the saints should live under Him in all holiness and happiness;" both which doctrines are condemned as false and heretical by the present Church of Rome. He wrote also a short letter, in answer to some objections by one of his friends, in which he shews, that "neither the fathers nor the councils are infallible witnesses of tradition; and that the infallibility of the Church of Rome must first of all be proved from Scripture." Lastly, he wrote an answer to some passages in the dialogues published under the name of Rushworth. In 1635 he was engaged in a work which gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the Church of Rome, and to vindicate the religion

of Protestants. A Jesuit called Edward Knott, though his true name was Matthias Wilson, had published in 1630 a little book called "Charity mistaken, with the want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that protestancy unrepented destroys salvation." This was answered by Dr. Potter, provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1633, in a tract entitled, "Want of charity justly charged on all such Romanists as dare without truth or modesty affirm, that protestancy destroys salvation." The Jesuit in 1634 published an answer, called "Mercy and truth, or charity maintained by Catholics: . . . . with the want whereof they are unjustly charged, for affirming that protestancy destroyeth salvation." Knott being informed of Chillingworth's intention to reply to this, resolved to prejudice the public both against the author and his book, in a pamphlet called "A direction to be observed by N.N. if he means to proceed in answering the book entitled Mercy and Truth, &c., printed in 1636, permissu superiorum:" in which he makes no scruple to represent Chillingworth as a Socinian, a charge which has been since brought against him with more effect. Chillingworth's answer to Knott was very nearly finished in the beginning of 1637, when Laud, who knew our author's freedom in delivering his thoughts, and was under some apprehension he might indulge it too much in his book, recommended the revisal of it to Dr. Prideaux, professor of divinity at Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester; and desired it might be published with his approbation annexed to it. Dr. Baylie, vice-chancellor, and Dr. Fell, Lady Margaret's professor in divinity, also examined the book; and at the end of the year it was published, with their approbation, under this title; "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation: or, an answer to a book entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics, which pretends to prove the contrary."

In this work he was successful in his attack upon

Romanism, but laid himself sadly open to triumphant retaliation, by his taking too wide ground. The Church of England can successfully maintain her ground against the Church of Rome: but when the dispute is between Romanism and Protestantism in general, it is, to say the least of it, a drawn battle. It was in this book that he propounded the ultra-protestant fallacy of the Bible and the Bible only being the religion of Protestants. What he meant by the religion of Protestants he expresses thus: "When I say the religion of Protestants is in prudence to be preferred before yours: as on the one side I do not understand by your religion, the doctrine of Bellarmine or Baronius, or any other private man amongst you, nor the doctrine of the Sorbonne, or of the Jesuits, or of the Dominicans, or of any other particular company among you, but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, the doctrine of the council of Trent: so accordingly on the other side, by the religion of Protestants, I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon: nor the confession of Augusta, or Geneva, nor the catechism of Heidelberg, nor the articles of the Church of England, no, nor the Harmony of Protestant Confessions; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the Bible. The Bible, I say, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." "I am fully assured," he says in another place, "that God does not, and therefore man ought not to require any more of any man than this, to believe the Scripture to be God's word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it."

This work of Chillingworth's has been by some overpraised, and by others unduly depreciated. It should be borne in mind that in such passages as those quoted above, Chillingworth's object was not to point out the way in which truth is to be discovered, but what it is sufficient to hold as the foundation when the heart is honest. His

argument is intended to establish this position. that taking Protestantism in general. it is as safe a way to salvation as Romanism: its general principle. of taking the Bible only for the guide, is as definite and as safe as that which rests on the infallibility of the Church of Rome. But when the question arises. as to what is the way to arrive at the truth,—how are we to understand the real sense of Scripture,—then he takes very different grounds, and in the preface. where this question was started, he says, “I profess sincerely, that I believe all those books of Scripture. which the Church of England accounts canonical, to be the infallible word of God: I believe all things evidently contained in them; all things evidently. or even probably. deducible from them: I acknowledge all that to be heresy, which by the act of parliament primo of Queen Elizabeth. is declared to be so, and only to be so: and though in such points which may be held diversly of divers men *salva Fidei compage*. I would not take any man’s liberty from him. and humbly beseech all men, that they would not take mine from me! Yet thus much I can say (which I hope will satisfy any man of reason.) that whatsoever hath been held necessary to salvation. either by the Catholic Church of all ages. or by the consent of fathers. measured by Vincentius Lyrinensis’ rule, or is held necessary either by the Catholic Church of this age, or by the consent of Protestants. or even by the Church of England. that. against the Socinians, and all others whatsoever, I do verily believe and embrace.”

In the mean time. Chillingworth had refused preferment, which was offered him by Sir Thomas Coventry, keeper of the great seal, because his conscience would not allow him to subscribe the thirty-nine articles. Considering that, by subscribing the articles, he must not only declare willingly and *ex animo*, that every one of the articles is agreeable to the word of God; but also that the book of common prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God; that it might lawfully be used; and

that he himself would use it : and conceiving at the same time, that, both in the articles, and in the book of common prayer, there were some things repugnant to the Scripture, or that were not lawful to be used, he fully resolved to lose for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the subscriptions required. One of his chief objections to the common prayer related to the Athanasian Creed : the damnatory clauses of which he looked upon as contrary to the word of God. Another objection concerned the fourth commandment ; which, by the prayer subjoined to it, Lord, have mercy upon us, &c., appeared to him to be made a part of the Christian law, and consequently to bind Christians to the observation of the Jewish Sabbath ; and this he found contrary both to the doctrine of the Gospel and to the sense of the Church of England, concerning that holy day of the Christians called Sunday. The true notion of that and other holy-days, and the reasons for appointing them for the service of God, are thus expressed in the act of parliament passed in the year 1552. That act sets forth, that, “ as at all times men be not so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort and hear God’s holy word, and to come to the holy communion, and other laudable rites, which are to be observed in every Christian congregation, as their bounden duty doth require : therefore to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholesomely provided, that there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein the Christians should cease from all other kinds of labours, and should apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining unto true religion.....and.....as these works are both most commonly, and also may well be called God’s service, so the times appointed specially for the same, are called holy-days, not for the matter or nature either of the time or day.....(for so all days and times considered are.....of like holiness) but for the nature and condition of those godly and holy works.....whereunto such times and days are sanctified and hallowed ; that is to say,

separated from all profane uses, and dedicated and appointed, not unto any saint or creature, but only unto God, and his true worship."

And lest any body should imagine that these holy-days have been determined by the Scripture, it is added: "Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain time or definite number of days prescribed in holy Scripture, but that the appointment both of the time, and also of the number of the days is left by the authority of God's word to the liberty of Christ's Church to be determined and assigned orderly in every country, by the direction of the rulers and ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true setting forth of God's glory, and the edification of their people."

And that these judicious reflections do not relate to holy-days or saint-days only, but also to Sundays or Lord's days, is evident by what follows: "Be it therefore enacted.....that all the days hereafter mentioned shall be kept, and commanded to be kept holy-days, and none other; that is to say, all Sundays in the year, the days of the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany, of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, of Saint Matthew the Apostle, of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin," &c. All the other holy-days now kept are here named. By which it appears, that the Sunday is no otherwise ordered to be kept holy-day than these other holy-days.

And in order to settle still more clearly the notion people are to have of the Sunday and other holy-days, it is further provided and enacted: "that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person and persons, of what estate, degree or condition he or they be, upon the holy-days aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other time in the year when necessity shall require, to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free wills and pleasure."

Which perfectly agrees with the injunctions of King Edward VI., published in 1547 (five years before the

said act), wherein it is ordered, that "all parsons, vicars, and curates shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that they then should grievously offend and displease God." These very words Queen Elizabeth inserted in her injunctions published in 1559: save only that after the words quiet conscience, these are added, after their common prayer.

This shews the sense of the Church of England as to the manner of observing the Christian Sabbath or Sunday. But then another difficulty arises as to the day itself, the fourth commandment being thus: "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gate. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it." Mr. Chillingworth conceived that praying to God to incline our hearts to keep this law, imported that the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday is still in force: which he thought neither true, nor lawful to be said, and consequently the Common Prayer Book unlawful to be used.

This difficulty has embarrassed our divines. But Chillingworth, at last, was convinced of the lawfulness of declaring his assent and consent to the use of the Common Prayer Book, as we shall see hereafter.

On this subject Chillingworth corresponded with Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It appears that several letters passed between them on the



subject of conformity, and that Chillingworth objected to the XXth Article, importing, "that the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.

2. "To the XIVth Article, that voluntary works besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety, &c.: which seemed to condemn the doctrine of Evangelical Counsels, maintained by the fathers, and by several eminent divines of the Church of England, as Bishop Andrews, Bishop Morton, Bishop Montague, &c.

3. "To the XXXIst Article, that the offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: and that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits: scrupling, I presume the generality of the expressions contained in the first part of this article, and disliking the word blasphemous, which is the latter part of it.

4. "To the XIIIth Article, that works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, (or as the school-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin: which appeared to him to confine God's grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from salvation the most virtuous among the pagans, &c.

5. "Lastly, he objected to the Articles in general, as an imposition on men's consciences, much like that authority which the Church of Rome assumes."

To his objections Sheldon replied, with respect to the XXth Article, that if "occasion require, the Church hath power to establish ceremony or doctrine according to Scripture, but not against the Scripture.

2. "To the XIVth Article, he desires him to consider, that this article only condemns such Evangelical Counsels as suppose a fulfilling of the law, and going beyond it, to satisfy and merit for us, which the papists call works of supererogation. And upon these reasons, says he, I presume did that reverend prelate Andrews, and that learned Mountague, subscribe, when they publicly taught Evangelical Counsels in their writings.

3. "To the XXXIst Article, that it was framed against the popish doctrine of the mass, wherein it is pretended that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead; as another satisfaction for sin: there being no such offering of Christ in the Scripture, where he will find it once offered for all. And that the consequences, which may be drawn from transubstantiation, amount to little less than blasphemy.

4. "To the XIIIth Article, he observes, that works done by bare nature are not meritorious *de congruo*: nature of sin they must have, if sin be in them: and that unless he be a downright Pelagian, he may give it a fair, and safe, and true interpretation.

5. "To the objection against confessions of faith, or articles of religion, he answers, that the end of these general forms of peace, if capable of any construction, lies against the papists. And he concludes by admonishing him not to be too forward, nor possessed with a spirit of contradiction: thus he might—The sentence is here broke off—but no doubt Dr. Sheldon meant, that if Mr. Chillingworth would lay aside his mistaken scruples and objections; he might then comply with the subscription required, and enjoy the advantages of subscribing."

Maizeaux, the biographer of Chillingworth, illustrates what Sheldon says of Evangelical Counsels, by the following quotation from Montague's Appeal to Cæsar:

"I do believe there are," says he, "and ever were, Evangelical Counsels; such as St. Paul mentions in his *Consilium autem* do; such as our Saviour pointed at and directed unto his *Qui potest capere capiat*; such as a man may do or not do, without guilt of sin, or breach of law; but nothing less than such as the papists fabric up unto themselves in their works of supererogation. It is an error in divinity, not to put a difference between such works, and works done upon counsel and advice. If any man, not knowing or not considering the state of the question, hath otherwise written, or preached, or taught, what is that to me, or to the doctrine of the Church of England? His ignorance, or fancy, or misunderstanding, or misapplying, is not the doctrine of antiquity, which with universal consent held Evangelical Counsels; nor of our Church, in which our Gamaliel hath told us; *Quis nescit fieri a nobis multo liberè, et quæ a Deo non sunt imperata voveri et reddi?* These promoters knew it not. B. Morton in his Appeal saith (if he does not say true, inform against him for it) that we allow the distinction of precepts and counsels, lib. v. cap. iv. sect. 3. For his sake excuse me from popery, who write no more than he did before me: what in God's indulgence is a matter of counsel; in regard of strict justice, may come under precept." Cap. iv. sect. v.

The scruples of Chillingworth to subscription were known to his antagonist Knott, and furnished him with an objection; but the scruples had been overcome before the religion of Protestants was published, as will have been seen from a passage already quoted, and at the close of the preface, he says, that "though he does not hold the doctrine of all Protestants absolutely true, yet he holds it free from all impiety, and from all error destructive of salvation, or in itself damnable. And this he thinks, in reason, may sufficiently qualify him for a maintainer of this assertion, that Protestantism destroys not salvation." Then he adds this remarkable declaration: "For the

Church of England, I am persuaded, that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he shall be saved; and there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace, or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opinion, says he, is all intended by subscription; and thus much, if you conceive me not ready to subscribe, your charity, I assure you, is much mistaken." Chillingworth expresses here, not only his readiness to subscribe, but also what he conceives to be the sense and intent of such a subscription: which he now takes to be a subscription of peace or union, and not of belief or assent, as he formerly thought it was. When he had got the better of his scruples, he was promoted to the chancellorship of Salisbury, with the prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, annexed; and, as appears from the subscription-book of the church of Salisbury, upon July 20, 1638, he complied with the usual subscription, in the manner just related. About the same time he was appointed master of Wigston's hospital, in Leicestershire. In 1646 he was deputed by the chapter of Salisbury their proctor in convocation. He was zealously attached to the royal party, and at the siege of Gloucester, begun August 10, 1643, was present in the King's army, where he advised and directed the making certain engines for assaulting the town, after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*, but which the success of the enemy prevented him from employing. Soon after, having accompanied the Lord Hopton, general of the King's forces in the west, to Arundel Castle, in Sussex, and choosing to repose himself in that garrison, on account of an indisposition occasioned by the severity of the season, he was taken prisoner on the 9th of December, 1643, by the parliament forces under the command of Sir William Waller. But his illness increasing, and not being able to go to London with the garrison, he obtained leave to be conveyed to Chichester; where he was lodged.

in the bishop's palace, and where, after a short illness, he died. It was at Arundel Castle that he first met with Cheynell (*see Cheynell*), at whose request he was removed to Chichester, where that wild fanatic attended him constantly, and treated him with as much compassion as his uncharitable principles would permit. He is supposed to have died on the 30th of January, 1644, and was buried, according to his own desire, in the cathedral of Chichester.

Chillingworth's loyalty made him look with a friendly eye upon the doctrine of Episcopacy. He wrote a small tract to shew that Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. The occasion was this: Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, having composed a treatise, entitled, *The judgment of Protestant Divines, of remote Churches, as well such, as were the first Reformers of religion, as others, after them, in behalf of episcopal degree in the Church*: his manuscript was sent to Archbishop Usher, who was then at Oxford; and he published it without the author's name to it, and knowledge of it, under the title of *Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches, that Episcopacy is in respect of the office according to the word of God, and in respect of the use the best*. The learned Primate added to it a brief treatise of his own, with his name prefixed before it, touching the original of Bishops and Metropolitans. And in order to complete that collection, Mr. Chillingworth furnished him with the aforesaid tract, which being subjoined to the other two, as a conclusion, was intitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; deduced out of the premises by W. C.* This little piece has been reprinted several times: "and I don't find," says Maizeaux, "any thing was published against it till of late. But whether it may be easily confuted, the reader will judge by the ensuing passages."

"If we abstract from Episcopal government," says Mr. Chillingworth, "all accidentals, and consider only

what is essential and necessary to it; we shall find in it no more but this. An appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency to have the care of all the churches, within a certain precinct or diocese; and furnishing him with authority, not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by laws, and moderated by joining to him a convenient number of assistants. To the intent that all the churches under him may be provided of good and able pastors: and that both of pastors and people conformity to the laws and performance of their duties may be required, under penalties, not left to discretion, but by law appointed.

"To this kind of government," pursues he, "I am not by any particular interest so devoted as to think it ought to be maintained, either in opposition to Apostolic institution, or to the much desired reformation of men's lives, and restoration of primitive discipline, or to any law or precept of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: for that were to maintain a means contrary to the end: for obedience to our Saviour is the end for which church government is appointed. But if it may be demonstrated, or made much more probable than the contrary, as I verily think it may: 1. That it is not repugnant to the government settled in and for the Church by the Apostles: 2. That it is as compliable with the reformation of any evil, which we desire to reform either in Church or State, or the introduction of any good which we desire to introduce, as any other kind of government: and 3. That there is no law, no record of our Saviour against it: then I hope it will not be thought an unreasonable motion, if we humbly desire those that are in authority, especially the high court of parliament, that it may not be sacrificed to clamour, or overborne by violence: and though (which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude should cry, Crucify, crucify, yet our governors would be so full of justice and courage, as not to give it up until they perfectly understand concerning Episcopacy itself, *Quid mali fecit*. I shall speak at this time only of the first of these

three points: that Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles. Whereof I conceive this which follows as clear a demonstration as any thing of this nature is capable of," &c.

What he says afterwards upon that point he resumes thus in the conclusion: "Episcopal government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the church presently after the Apostles' times. Between the Apostles' times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of so great an alteration. And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended. And therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be granted also to be apostolic. Quod erat demonstrandum."—*Maisieux. Birch.*

## CHISHULL, EDMUND.

EDMUND CHISHULL was born at Eyworth in Bedfordshire, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts in 1693, previously to which he published a Latin poem on the battle of La Hogue. In 1698 he became chaplain to the factory at Smyrna, where he continued till 1702. In 1705 he was admitted to his degree of B.D., and the next year he wrote an answer to Mr. Dodwell on the immortality of the soul. In 1707 he zealously exposed the enthusiastic absurdities of the French prophets, in a sermon, on the 23rd of November, at Serjeant's Inn chapel, in Chancery-lane. On the 1st of September, 1708, he was presented to the vicarage of Walthamstow, in Essex; and in 1711 he was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to the Queen. He now became distinguished for his researches in classical antiquities, and in 1721 he published, *Inscriptio Sigæa antiquissima ΒΟΥΣΤΡΟΦΗΔΟΝ exarata. Commentario eam Historico-Grammatico-Critico illustravit*

Edmundus Chishull, S.T.B. Regiæ Majestati a sacris, folio. This was followed by Notarum ad Inscriptionem Sigæam appendicula; additâ a Sigæo alterâ Antiochi Soteris inscriptione, folio, in fifteen pages, without a date. Both these pieces were afterwards incorporated in his Antiquitates Asiaticæ. When Dr. Mead, in 1724, published his Harveian oration, delivered in the preceding year at the Royal College of Physicians, Mr. Chishull added to it, by way of appendix, Dissertatio de Nummis quibusdam a Smyrnæis in Medicorum Honorem percussis. In 1728 appeared, in folio, his great work, Antiquitates Asiaticæ Christianam Æram antecedentes; ex primariis Monumentis Græcis descriptæ, Latine versæ, Notisque et Commentariis illustratæ. Accedit Monumentum Latinum Ancyranum. The work contains a collection of inscriptions made by consul Sherard, Dr. Picenini, and Dr. Lisle, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph. Chishull added to the Antiquitates Asiaticæ two small pieces which he had before published, viz: Conjectanea de Nummo ΚΝΩΠΙ inscripto, and Iter Asiæ Poeticum, addressed to the Rev. John Horn. In 1731 he was presented to the rectory of South-church in Essex. He died in 1733. Dr. Mead testified his regard for the memory of Chishull by publishing, in 1747, his travels in Turkey, and back to England, folio.—*Biog. Brit. Nichols's Bowyer.*

#### CHOISY, FRANCIS TIMOLEON DE.

FRANCIS TIMOLEON DE CHOISY was born in Paris, in 1644. His youth was very irregular, and so indeed were his maturer years; nevertheless, notwithstanding the boasted discipline of Roman Catholic Churches, he was highly preferred, and that too, through the interest of the French court, the patronage of which, especially of Monsieur, the brother of Louis XIV., those very irregularities procured him. He became dean of the cathedral at



Bayeaux, and a member of the French academy. He was sent to the King of Siam, with the Chevalier de Chaumont in 1685, and was ordained priest in the Indies by the apostolical vicar. He died in 1724. His principal works are:—1. *Quatre Dialogues sur l'Immortalité de l'Ame*, &c. which he wrote with M. Dangeau, 12mo. 2. *Relation du Voyage de Siam*, 12mo. 3. *Histoires de Piété et de Morale*, 2 vols, 12mo. 4. *Hist. de l'Eglise*, 11 vols, in 4to, and in 12mo. 5. *La Vie de David*, avec une *Interpretation des Pseaumes*, 4to. 6. *The Lives of Solomon*; of *St. Louis*, 4to; of *Philip de Valois*, and of *King John*, 4to; of *Charles V.* 4to; and of *Charles VI.* 4to; and of *Mad. de Miramion*, 12mo; his *Memoirs*, 12mo.—*D'Alembert. Moreri.*

## CHRISTOPHERSON, JOHN.

JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON was a native of Lancashire, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was one of the first fellows of Trinity College, being appointed in 1546. He shortly after became master of that house. During the reign of Edward VI., being adverse to the reformation party then in power, he resided abroad, being supported by his college. On the accession of Mary he returned to England, and in October, 1554, he was sent by Bonner to Cambridge, to enforce the observation of three articles, which it seems were not so exactly regarded before :

I. That every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

II. Touching the pronounciation of the Greek tongue. In which, no question, the university followed Sir John Cheke's reformed and correct way of reading and sounding it; though this Gardiner, their chancellor, in King Henry's days, had sent a peremptory order forbidding it. But he being under a cloud in the reign of King Edward, Cheke's way prevailed again. And so now it was to be forbidden again.

III. That every preacher there should declare the whole style of the King and Queen in their sermons.

Upon these and several other orders, many students left the university. Some were thrust out of their fellowships; some miserably handled. Four and twenty places in St. John's College became vacant, and others more ignorant put in their rooms.

He also published an exhortation upon occasion of the late insurrection directed to all men to take heed of rebellion, wherein are set down the causes which commonly lead men to rebel, and shewing there was no cause that ought to move a man thereto. It was printed in 8vo by Cawood. He was soon after made dean of Norwich, and taking an active part against the reformers, has the discredit of being associated with Bonner, through whose influence he was appointed examiner of heretics. While the Elect of Chichester, to which see he was consecrated in 1557, he acted under a commission from Cardinal Pole, and went to Cambridge with two other prelates, when, after a formal process, they caused the body of Martin Bucer to be disinterred and burnt. He was one of the prelates who sat in judgment upon the martyr Philpot, and when he had reproached him with ignorance of the doctors, Philpot told the bishop, "that it was a shame for them to wrest and wreath the doctors as they did, to maintain a false religion: and that the doctors were altogether against them, if they took them aright: and that it was indeed their false packing of doctors together had given him and others occasion to look upon them: whereby we find you," said he, "shameful liars, and misrepresenters of the ancient doctors."

He died in 1558, and was buried at Christ Church, London, with all the popish ceremonies. A great banner was carried of the arms of the see of Chichester, and his own arms; and four banners of saints. Five bishops did offer at the mass, and two sung mass. And after, all retiring from the place of burial, were entertained at a great dinner. He translated Philo Judæus into Latin,

Antwerp, 1553, 4to, and also the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Evagrius, and Theodoret, Louvain, 1570, 8vo; Cologne, 1570, fol.

Valesius, in his preface to Eusebius, says, that, compared with Ruffinus and Musculus, who had translated these historians before him, Christopherson may be reckoned a diligent and learned man, but that he is far from deserving the character of a good translator; that his style is impure, and full of barbarisms; that his periods are long and perplexed; that he has frequently acted the commentator, rather than the translator; that he has enlarged and retrenched at pleasure; that he has transposed the sense oftentimes, and has not always preserved the distinction even of chapters. The learned Huet has passed the same censure on him, in his book *De Interpretatione*. Hence Barónius, among others, has often been misled by him. Christopherson wrote, also, about the year 1546, the tragedy of Jephthah, both in Latin and Greek, dedicated to Henry VIII., which was most probably a Christmas play for Trinity College.—*Strype*.

## CHRYSTOSTOM, ST. JOHN.

JOHN, surnamed CHRYSTOSTOM, or the Golden Mouth, from his eloquence, was born at Antioch, about A.D. 347, of a wealthy family. He was piously educated by his widowed mother, Anthusa, a woman worthy to take rank with Monica, the mother of Augustine, and Nouna, the mother of St. Gregory Nazianzen. He studied under Libenius, the celebrated teacher of eloquence and literature at Antioch. He afterwards devoted himself to the avocations of the Forum, and practised as an advocate. But his mind was bent upon higher studies, and in the study of sacred literature he was encouraged and assisted by Meletius, his bishop, who, at the same time, prepared him for the Sacrament of Baptism. In those days, many parents, through a mistaken awe of the Sacrament,

neglected to have their children baptized in infancy, and such had been the mistaken conduct of Anthusa. After three years' instruction under Meletius, Chrysostom was baptized by that bishop, and soon after was ordained as a reader.

It was the custom of that day for converts to choose between the ecclesiastical and monastic state, according to their inclinations to an active or retired life. Many of the young men of Antioch thus spiritually awakened, connected themselves with the monks who lived in cells upon the hills near the city, and who occupied themselves by prayer and devotional music, by religious meditation, the study of the sacred writings, and various manual occupations. The enthusiasm of that age tended to asceticism, just as the religious enthusiasm of the present age tends to excitement, self-indulgence, and the violent advocacy of human systems of theology, such as Calvinism. The young mind of St. Chrysostom was ascetic, and if he had been his own master, he would have joined the monks; but his mother, dreading to be separated from her son, endeavoured to retain him in her house, and without consulting him, provided for all his personal wants, that he might follow the bent of his mind the more undisturbed. On the other hand his friend Basil, the companion of his youthful studies, having chosen a path of life different from his own, and having joined the monks, exerted himself in every way to bring over Chrysostom to his views. This, however, his mother strove to prevent, representing to him, that he was the only comfort of her old age, and that there was no sacrifice she had not made for his sake; and without doubt he was influenced by these representations.

In this retirement he was zealously occupied by the study of the Bible. His spiritual father, Meletius, could no longer be his guide and instructor; he had been exiled p. c. 370, by the Emperor Valens, who persecuted many of the opponents of Arianism, and he passed several years in banishment. His place was supplied by the

presbyters Evagrius and Diodorus, the latter of whom was afterwards known as Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and who obtained great esteem by his learning and persevering zeal in the defence of divine truth against heathens and heretics. He wandered unwearied through the old town of Antioch on the further side of the Orontes, where the congregation of Meletius had fixed their seat, to confirm men in the true faith. He would not accept any settled income with his office; but he was received first in one house and then in another, and was content to have his daily need relieved by the love of those, for whose salvation he laboured amid so many perils. He also conferred a great benefit upon the Church of this district, by assembling around him, as the presbyters Dorotheus and Lucianus had done at the latter end of the third century, a circle of young men, whose religious education he superintended. In this union Chrysostom and Theodorus were alike conspicuous, the latter of whom subsequently distinguished himself as the successor of Diodorus, both in this and in the episcopal office. We may suppose that the influence exercised by Diodorus over Chrysostom must have been great, when we remember that Diodorus above all others contributed to form that Antiochian school so remarkably distinguished by the character of its theology, and which was perfected by Theodorus. In this school Chrysostom acquired that simple, sound, grammatic and historical mode of interpreting the Bible, in which he suffered himself to be guided and determined by its spirit, rather than by that capricious system of allegory adopted by others, which gave to the inspired volume a sense foreign to it, and substituted for its simplicity far-fetched and specious meanings, supposed to lie concealed within it. Thus from the simple word did Chrysostom derive the rich treasures which are to be met with in his homilies; and thus was formed the sober, practical Christianity which afterwards rendered him so eminent, and which is always to be found with those, who in singleness of heart seek from the fountain source a knowledge of divine truth.

Meanwhile the fame of his pious zeal and ability extended far and wide, and raised in bishops and in flocks a wish to draw him from retirement, and win him to a higher office of the Church. Many sought to persuade both him and his friend Basil to undertake episcopal ministries, although thirty was the age prescribed by the law, and they were not above twenty-six years old. Both agreed to act together on a common plan, and to decline any invitation of this nature ; because they entertained too high an idea of the importance and duties of the office, to consider themselves fitted for it. But the opinion, which Chrysostom held of his friend, totally differed from that, which he formed of himself. While he was only conscious of his own defects, he remarked qualities in his friend, which rendered him more worthy of the episcopal dignity, than many others of his contemporaries and fellow countrymen ; and he thought himself justified in a deception, in order to place his friend in such a sphere of action. Basil was elected Bishop, and received consecration under the impression, that his friend had also received it, according to their agreement ; but Chrysostom had contrived to withdraw himself from the charge. In conferences with Basil, he had to defend himself against the accusation of having violated friendship ; and one word giving rise to another, Chrysostom disclosed to him his views concerning the dignity and duties of the episcopal office ; but at the same time he strove to encourage him in his undertaking. These conversations gave occasion afterwards to one of Chrysostom's most important writings, the *De Sacerdotio*.

On his mother's death Chrysostom put in execution his favourite project of joining the monks near Antioch, but, in 380, his health having been injured by his studies and his austerities, he returned to the city, and he was in 384 ordained deacon by Meletius ; by whose successor, Flavian, he was ordained priest five years afterwards, and then his duties as a preacher commenced.

Although he tells us that some persons were displeased at the slowness of his speech, his preaching at Antioch was attended with the best results, and he himself states to us the principle upon which he prepared his discourses, when he says, "that which is plain will benefit the simple, and that which is deep will edify those whose perception is more acute. The table must be covered with a variety of dishes, because the guests have different tastes." Thus he provided much for the many, and a little for the few. One piece of advice that he gave to his congregation sounds strange to modern ears, "since there are some so weak that they cannot follow the discourse its whole length, I advise them as soon as they have heard as much instruction as they are able to receive, to depart." This is better, perhaps, than the modern practice of falling asleep. The following passage shews that the custom of leaving the church when the sermon was concluded, and before the Eucharist was administered, prevailed in his time, and it also shews that the Romish custom of non-communicants remaining while the holy Sacrament is administered, did not at that time exist.

"Often in that sacred hour," he said, "have I looked around for this vast multitude, which is now assembled here, and listening with such great attention, but found them not; and deeply did I lament, that ye so earnestly and eagerly listened to your fellow-servant, who now addresseth you, thronging each other and remaining to the last, but, when Christ was about to appear in His Holy Supper, that the church should be deserted. Your hurrying away the moment my discourse is ended is a proof, that none of the words addressed to you have been received and treasured up in your hearts; or, fixed in your souls, they would surely have detained you, and led you to receive the holiest of mysteries with increased veneration. But now, when the preacher hath ceased, ye depart without benefit, as if ye had listened to a player upon the harp. And what is the cold excuse of the many? We can pray,

say they, at home ; but we cannot there receive instruction and hear the sermon. Ye err ;—ye can truly pray at home, but not as ye can pray in the church, where so great a number of the fathers are met together, and where so many voices unite to raise a prayer to God. Ye find here what ye cannot find at home—the harmony of souls, the accord of voices, the bond of love, the prayers of the priests ; for therefore do the priests preside, that the feeble prayers of the multitude, borne aloft by their more powerful petitions, may reach together unto heaven. And what advantageth the sermon, if it be not joined with prayer ? First, prayer ; then, the word. Thus say the Apostles : ‘ We will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.’ And thus did Paul commence his epistles with prayer, that he might enkindle with the sparks of prayer the fire of speech. If ye accustom yourselves to pray with a proper earnestness, ye will not need the instruction of your fellow-servant, but God Himself will enlighten your minds without a mediator.” In another sermon, he says, that the consciousness of being beloved by so great a community inspired him with much confidence, because on that account he felt sure of their intercession. The worth of this intercession might be seen in the instance of the Apostle Paul, since that great Apostle declared, that he needed the intercession of his disciples. He then comments upon the powerful influence of a common prayer. He said not this on his own account, but to stimulate their zeal for a communion in the prayers of the Church. To the objection : Can I not pray at home ? he answered : “ That, indeed, thou canst : but prayer hath not so great a power, as when it is offered up in communion with thy brethren ; when the whole body of the congregation, out of one heart and with one voice, poureth forth the request, in the presence of the priests, who bear aloft the common prayers of the multitude.” We will compare with this extract a passage from one of his sermons preached at Constantinople, in which



he expresses himself yet more strongly upon this point. He answered those, who inquired: "Wherefore should we go to church, if we can hear no preacher there?—This delusion is your destruction. Wherefore do we need a preacher? The necessity hath arisen from our own negligence. For what need have we of a sermon? In the Holy Scriptures all is clear and plain; every thing necessary is therein manifest. But because ye are listeners, seeking entertainment, ye long so much for the sermon."

He attached great value to the prayers of the old Antiochian liturgy, drawn from the depths of Christian experience, and clothed for the most part in biblical language; and he frequently drew the attention of his congregation to them in his sermons. We have already remarked the fruitful manner, in which he availed himself of these prayers, and applied them; and we will further illustrate this by a few examples. One of his homilies was solely devoted to an explanation of the beautiful church prayer for the catechumens, and he availed himself of it to shew in what consisted a fit preparation for baptism, and a lively faith. He was often compelled to remark, how many listened mechanically to these beautiful forms of liturgy, scarcely conscious of their import, and to notice that deficiency of piety, which betrayed itself in their pressing against each other during the prayers of the Church, and during the celebration of the Holy Communion, that they might depart earlier without waiting for the termination of the prayers and the solemn dismissal of the congregation. He frequently delivered strong censures upon this conduct. On one occasion, he said: "Hear these words of Christ, ye, who have again departed before the last prayer offered up after the celebration of the Holy Communion: Christ gave thanks to God before He distributed the supper among His disciples, that we also might give thanks; and after He had distributed it among them, He sung a hymn to the praise of God, that we likewise might do the same." And on the festival of

the holy Epiphany, he says: "Let us, then, to-day, endeavour to correct a sin openly committed by all. Would ye know what this sin is? It is the not approaching the Lord's table with fear and trembling, but stamping, striking, swelling with wrath, screaming, insulting, and pushing those near to you, full of passion and turbulence. Tell me, why are ye thus tumultuous? Wherefore hasten ye? Doth business summon you? Can ye think, in that hour, of worldly affairs? Can ye then remember, that ye are upon earth—deem yourselves dwelling among men? Doth it not betray a heart of stone, to recollect in that moment that ye are standing upon earth, and not amid the choirs of angels, with whom ye have resounded aloft that holy hymn? with whom ye have chaunted that song of triumph unto God? Shall I tell you whence this disorder and noise proceed? Because we do not close the doors during the whole time of divine service, but permit you, before the last prayer of thanksgiving is offered up, to rise suddenly, and depart home. This, of itself, is an act of great contempt. While Christ is present, while the angels are standing around, while that holy table is spread before you, while your brethren are yet partaking of the Holy Supper,—ye hasten away. Were ye invited to a feast, though your own hunger were appeased, ye would not venture to absent yourselves, so long as the other guests are reclining at the table." He likewise exhorted them to join with devotion in these prayers of the Church; and, according to his custom, he sought, by using the forms of the liturgy, to impress his exhortations deeper upon their minds: "Even the words," he said, "of the deacon, calling upon all: 'Let us stand up, as it becometh us,' are not introduced without a meaning, but that we should raise our grovelling thoughts, and, throwing off the fetters of earthly cares, raise our souls to God. That this is signified—that these words regard not the body, but the soul, we may learn from Paul, who in like manner useth this mode of speech; for, writing to fallen and desponding men, he saith: 'Wherefore lift up

the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.' What then? Shall we say, that he speaketh of the hands and knees of the body? Certainly not; for he addresseth not runners, nor pugilists; but he exhorteth them by these words to raise the power of their souls, laid prostrate by temptations. Consider near whom thou standest,—that with the cherubim themselves thou art about to call upon God. Examine the assembled choir, and it will suffice to excite thy watchfulness, when thou thinkest, that, bearing about with thee a body, and held together by flesh, thou art deemed worthy of singing hymns to the common Lord of all, in company with the spiritual powers. Let no one, then, with a faint heart take part in these sacred hymns; let no one in that season entertain a wordly thought; but, having banished all earthly things from his mind, and transferred himself entirely to heaven, as if standing near the very throne of glory, and flying amid the seraphim, let him send forth that holiest of hymns to the God of glory and power. Therefore are we then called upon to stand erect, as it beseemeth us; for this signifieth nothing more than to stand so, as it becometh man to stand before God, with fear and trembling, with a watchful and a sober mind." And in another sermon, "Oh, man! what art thou doing? Hast thou not pledged thyself to the priest, when he said to thee, 'Lift up your hearts,' and thou didst answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord'? Fearest thou not, and art thou not ashamed, in that awful hour to be found a liar?"

In his exposition of the 41st Psalm, he thus speaks on the salutary influence of vocal music in the churches: "Nothing so lifteth up, and, as it were, wingeth the soul, so freeth it from earth, and looseth it from the chains of the body, so leadeth it unto wisdom, and a contempt of all earthly things, as the choral symphony of a sacred hymn, set in harmonious measure. Our nature delighteth so much in song, and so accordeth with it, that infants at the breast, when fretful or sobbing, are thereby lulled asleep."

After having endeavoured to show, by various examples, that when the soul is under the influence of song, men are better enabled to endure exertion and labour, he continued ; “ the singing of psalms bringeth with it much gain, support, and sanctification, and can supply various lessons of wisdom, if the words purify the heart, and the Holy Ghost straightways descend upon the soul of the singer. For we learn from Paul, that those, who sing with understanding, call down upon them the grace of the Holy Spirit. He saith : ‘ Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess ; but be filled with the Spirit,’ and he addeth thereunto the manner ; in which we are to be filled with the Holy Spirit : ‘ By singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.’ What signify these words, ‘ in your heart’ ? He would say with understanding, that the mouth utter not the words, while the soul wandereth everywhere abroad ; but that the soul be conscious of that which the tongue speaketh.” Again, in the same discourse : “ Let us not, then, without due thought, enter here, and carelessly sing the responses ; but let us bear them hence, as a staff for the rest of our days. Each verse may impart to us wisdom, correct our doctrines, and afford us the greatest aid in life ; and if we nicely search each saying, we shall gather therefrom rich fruit. No one can, in this instance, allege the excuse of poverty, business, or want of understanding ; for shouldest thou be poor, and because of thy poverty possess no Bible, or shouldest thou possess one, and not have the time to read therein, thou needest only to keep in thy heart the responses thou hast so often chaunted here, and thou wilt draw from them a great consolation.”

He frequently and earnestly exhorted his people to study the Bible. The following may be quoted as one sentence out of many :

“ Let us then heed the reading of the Holy Scriptures, not only during these two hours, but constantly ; for the mere listening here will not be sufficient to secure the

salvation of our souls. Let each man, when he returneth home, take the Bible in his hand, and if he desire to derive a full and enduring advantage from the Holy Scripture, let him ponder therein upon the things spoken in the church. For the tree, which groweth beside the stream, mingleth not with its waters for two or three hours only, but during the whole day and the whole night. Therefore is the plant rich in leaves: therefore is it laden with fruit, although no man water it; because, standing upon the bank of the river, it draweth up moisture through its roots, and through them imparteth strength to the whole stem. Thus he, who continually readeth the Bible, although no man be near to expound it, receiveth thereby into his soul abundant nourishment from that sacred fountain."

But while he thus preached, he taught men also to defer in their interpretation of Scripture to apostolical tradition, and the authority of the Church, for "Scripture cannot contain two contradictory meanings."

He was particularly anxious to promote a zealous observance of the festival of Christmas, as the following extract from one of two sermons he preached on this subject in the year 387 will shew.

"The festival approacheth, the most to be revered, the most awful, and which we might justly term the centre of all festivals,—that of the birth and manifestation of Christ in the flesh. Hence the festivals of Epiphany, of holy Easter, of Ascension, and of Pentecost, derive their origin and signification. Had Christ not been born a man, he would not have been baptized, and we should not have observed the festival of Epiphany; he would not have been crucified, and we should not have solemnized the festival of Easter; he would not have sent down the Holy Ghost, and we should not have celebrated the day of Pentecost. Therefore from this one festival all other festivals arise, as various streams flow from the same fountain. But not for this reason alone, should this day be pre-eminent, but because the event, which occurred upon

it, was of all events the most stupendous. For that Christ should die, was the natural consequence of His having become man ; because although He had committed no sin, He had assumed a mortal body. But that being God, He should have condescended to become man, and should have endured to humble Himself to a degree surpassing human understanding, is of all miracles the most awful and astonishing. It was at this, that Paul wondered and said : ‘ without controversy great is the mystery of godliness.’ What did he say was great ? ‘ that God was manifest in the flesh.’ And again : ‘ Verily He took not on Him the nature of angels, but He took on Him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behoveth Him to be made like unto His brethren.’ Therefore I love and honour this day beyond all others, and I hold up this my love in the midst of you, that ye may likewise become participators in it. Therefore I beseech you on this day to leave your houses with zeal and alacrity, and to be here present, that we may together behold our Lord wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in the manger. For what excuse, what pardon can there be for us, if we will not so much as come hither from our houses to seek Him, Who for our sakes descended from heaven ? The Magi, although they were strangers and barbarians, hastened from Persia, that they might behold the Saviour lying in the manger ; and shall not we, who are Christians, endure to measure so short a distance for the enjoyment of this blessed sight ? For if we approach with faith we shall surely behold Him lying in a manger. His holy table will supply the place of a manger. For there will be spread the Body of our Lord, not wrapped in swaddling clothes as then, but on all sides surrounded by His Holy Spirit. Approach then, and make the offering of thy gifts, not such as were presented by the Magi, but gifts infinitely more precious. They brought gold ; do thou bring temperance and virtue : they offered frankincense ; do thou offer the prayer of a pure heart, which is spiritual frankincense : they presented myrrh ; do thou present

humility, meekness, and charity. If thou draw near with these gifts, thou mayest with much confidence partake of the Holy Supper."

Again his observations on Lent are worthy of being remembered:

"Wherefore do we fast during these forty days? Formerly many persons partook of the Lord's Supper without due preparation, and especially at this season in which Christ instituted that Holy Sacrament. When the fathers perceived the evil consequences arising from this careless attendance, they met together and appointed a period of forty days for the purpose of hearing the divine word, for prayer and fasting, that we being purified during these forty days by prayer, by giving of alms, by fasting, by vigils, by tears, by a confession of our sins to God, and by all other means, might be enabled to approach the holy table with a conscience as clear as sinners may possess. And it is evident that the fathers by this condescension effected much good, in that they thereby habituated us to fasting. For were we during the whole year to raise our voices, and to call upon men to fast, no one would heed our words; but when the season of the fast arriveth, without the exhortation of any one, the most supine are awakened, and take counsel from the season itself. Should therefore the Jew or the heathen ask: Wherefore fast ye? answer not, on account of the festival of Easter, nor on account of the crucifixion; but on account of our sins, because we would draw near to the Lord's Table. For Easter is not otherwise a time for fasting, nor for grief, but an occasion of joy and exultation. The death of our Lord upon the cross hath taken away sin; it was an expiation for the whole world; it hath put an end to long enmity; it hath opened the doors of heaven; it hath reconciled God to those who before were hateful in His sight, and led them back to heaven; it hath raised our nature to the right hand of the Almighty's throne, and hath acquired for us many other blessings. Wherefore Paul saith: 'God forbid, that I should glory, save in the

cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And again : ' God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.' And St. John expressly declareth : ' God so loved the world.' In what manner? Passing by all other things, he holdeth up to us the cross ; for after saying, ' God so loved the world,' he addeth, ' that He gave His only-begotten Son' to be crucified, ' that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' If then the cross be a proof of God's love towards us, and an occasion of our exultation, let us not say, that it is the cause of our grief. For we grieve not on that account. God forbid ! but on account of our sins. Therefore we fast."

The festival of Ascension was instituted, according to Chrysostom, in the remembrance of the glorification of human nature through Christ. He observes that, " Christ hath presented to the Father the first fruits of our nature, and the Father hath valued the gift so highly, on account of the worthiness of Him Who offered it, and on account of the sanctity of the thing offered, that He received it with His own hands, and placed it next Himself: saying, ' Sit Thou at My right hand.' But to what nature did God ever say, ' Sit thou at My right hand?' To that very nature, which once heard the words : ' Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return.' Willingly do I dwell upon the lowliness of our nature, that we may learn to prize in a still higher degree the dignity which hath come unto us, through the grace of our Lord."

He describes the festival of Pentecost to be a commemoration of the Divine Spirit having been communicated to man, as a proof and pledge of his glorification and reconciliation to God : " Ten days ago our nature ascended to the Throne of heaven, and to-day hath the Holy Spirit descended unto our nature. Ten days have scarcely elapsed since Christ ascended into heaven, and already hath He sent down to us the gift of the Spirit, as a pledge of reconciliation ;—that none may doubt what Christ effected after His ascension ; that none may inquire, if He



have reconciled us to the Father. Desirous of proving to us, that He had propitiated the Father, He straightways sent unto us the gift of reconciliation; for when enemies become reconciled and united together, friendly greetings and gifts immediately follow the reconciliation. We sent up faith, and received the gift of the Spirit; we offered obedience, and received justification." He afterwards brings forward proofs of the continued operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church: "Were not the Holy Spirit present, we could not name Jesus, Lord; 'for no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, we, who believe, could not call upon God, nor say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' For as we cannot call Jesus, Lord; neither can we call God our Father, but by the Holy Ghost. For the same Apostle saith: 'because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' When therefore ye call God, Father, remember, that ye have obtained the gift of thus addressing Him, through the operation of the Holy Spirit within your souls. Were not the Holy Spirit present, the gifts of wisdom and of knowledge would not be granted to the Church; 'for to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, there would be no pastors nor teachers in the Church, 'over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, the Church would not endure. If, therefore, the Church endure, it is a proof that the Holy Spirit is present."

He often preached twice in the week, probably on Sunday and on the Sabbath, Saturday,—which was in many Eastern Churches appointed for the assembling of the congregation. He occasionally preached at break of day, an hour which was perhaps chosen in consequence of the great heat. Bishop Flavian appears to have acknowledged, and availed himself of the superior attainments of Chrysostom. On one occasion, after the Bishop in a few

preliminary words had addressed his congregation upon a subject, which in the polemics of that day frequently came under discussion, he permitted him to come forward and answer the objections of the heretics, which the congregation desired to hear refuted by Chrysostom. At another time, in the early morning, when Chrysostom had preached a sermon to the catechumens at one of the distant Baptisteries, and had afterwards arrived at the mother Church, oppressed by fatigue and expecting to hear a discourse from his Bishop; the latter desired to become the auditor of Chrysostom, whom he called upon to preach instead of himself, that the wishes of the congregation might be accomplished, who were filled with anxiety to hear him. The eloquence of Chrysostom soon excited general admiration throughout the city, and attracted men of all classes to the church. The listeners thronged around the pulpit, eager to catch each word that he uttered. At times, when he had preached at greater length than he had intended, and towards the end of his sermon feared to have wearied his audience, the tokens of applause becoming louder at every moment, gave him clearly to understand, that it was their wish still longer to receive his instruction; and in that age, when men were more accustomed to hear the word expounded by their preachers, than to study it in manuscript, a teacher of such amazing eloquence, as Chrysostom,—who testified by his own holy life, that the doctrines, which he delivered with so much power and feeling to others, had a sanctifying and blessed influence upon himself—was capable of producing effects, which, as St. Jerome says, were wont to reveal themselves in a zealous performance of all good works. Chrysostom wrote some of his sermons with care; some he had composed before hand, but altered according to circumstances, and others again he delivered unprepared, availing himself of any event of the moment. We find an instance of the latter, when on a winter-day, as he bent his steps towards the church, being deeply affected by the sight of a number of beggars, lying in a miserable

state upon the ground, he was moved to commence his discourse by the following address: "I have risen to-day to advocate a cause, just, useful, and worthy of you. I have been deputed by the mendicants of our city. They have called upon me,—not by words,—not by votes,—nor by any common resolve; but by their frightful and wretched appearance. For in hastening to this assembly as I crossed the forum, and passed through the narrow streets, and saw many of them lying in the midst of the ways, of whom some were deprived of their hands and eyes, others covered with incurable sores, and exposing those places especially, which on account of the putrid gore they discharged, needed concealment, I held it to be the most cruel insensibility not to appeal to your charity in their behalf; and still more, as the season itself demanded it of me. It is indeed necessary to exhort men at all seasons to have pity upon their brethren, as we ourselves need it so much from our merciful Lord, but now especially during the severe cold." The second case is exemplified by those sermons, in which he instantly perceives and takes advantage of the impression made either by his words, or by any sudden occurrence in the church;—thus upon remarking, that the attention of his hearers was attracted by the lighting of the lamps in the church, he exclaimed: "Awake from your inattention; lay aside your sloth; while I explain to you the Holy Scriptures, ye have turned your eyes to the lamps, and to him, by whom they are lighted. How great an indifference! I also kindle for you a light, the light of the Holy Scriptures; upon my tongue burneth the light of instruction, a better and a greater light, than that upon which ye gaze." It may likewise be observed, that he suffered himself in a great degree to be impelled by the feeling of the moment, when, according to his own confession, the mention of a favourite theme exercised such power over his mind, that in the remainder of his homily he occupied himself with the new subject to the entire exclusion of that with which he

had commenced ; and on another occasion, when he had intended to preach a shorter discourse,—upon observing, that notwithstanding the length at which he had spoken, the sympathy of his flock, instead of decreasing, continued to augment,—he was induced, contrary to his original design, still further to enlarge upon the subject.

In the second year of Chrysostom's ministry an event took place which spread confusion and dismay throughout Antioch, and at the same time manifested the influence which he possessed over his flock. In the year A.D. 387, one of those imperial decrees, which frequently in that age of despotism oppressed the cities of the Roman empire, exacted from the Antiochians taxes to all appearance impossible to be raised. A general alarm was excited and the irritation of the people was increased by the severity of the tax-gatherers. Citizens of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, hastened to the churches, and implored the Almighty for deliverance. They then assailed the Imperial governor with complaints and entreaties. No redress being obtained, an insurrection took place, which, as Chrysostom and many of his contemporaries maintain, originated in a small number of strangers, collected together from different countries, and actuated by wantonness or a desire of gain. An application to the Bishop was frequently made by the citizens in similar calamities, and by this means relief was sometimes obtained. At first the discontented sought in the church the Bishop Flavian, in order probably to procure a diminution of the taxes through his representations to the Emperor at Constantinople. Not finding him, they threatened to storm the house of the governor. Enraged, they hastened to the market-place, tore down the statues of the Emperor, of the Empress, and of the young Princes, Arcadius and Honorius ; and insulted and reviled them with songs. The more distinguished citizens, who composed the senate, and administered the general government of the city, ventured not even to make the attempt of appeasing

the rage of the multitude : they themselves had reason to fear the anger of the people, and were compelled to seek concealment. This superior class found itself in the most embarrassing situation. Impoverished and deprived of many of their privileges by the tyranny of the government, they were called upon to exercise the same authority over the city, as in the days of their former prosperity and opulence, and even to support greater burthens. The people vehemently demanded of them assistance and relief, which they were incapable of affording; and the Imperial government made them responsible for the insurrection of the people, which they could neither prevent nor suppress.

The incensed populace had already set fire to the house of the most distinguished citizen, when a body of soldiers, which had been previously expected, arrived and repulsed them. The rebellion was in a short time put down. All those who were taken in the act of crime, of every sex and age, were immediately condemned and executed by order of the governor, who dreaded the displeasure of the Emperor. But this was not enough : the violent temper of Theodosius was well known, and an insurrection, in which the busts of the imperial family had been insulted, was sufficient in those days to call down ruin upon a whole city. Messengers were dispatched to Constantinople to report the events which had taken place, and to demand instructions from the Emperor. Until his final decision became known at Antioch, the most painful fluctuations of hope and fear prevailed. It behoved the preacher of the Gospel to take this changing mood into consideration. Chrysostom had frequently reproved the frivolous and wicked disposition of those idlers, who spent the greatest part of their time in the theatre, and had taken the most active part in this insurrection. He had often required from the Antiochians not to tolerate that sacrilegious feeling, which discovers itself in the profanation of every thing sacred, and in a brutal indifference towards the higher concerns of life. It was remarkable,

that on the Sunday preceding the insurrection, he had more particularly called their attention to this subject in a sermon preparatory to the annual fast of Lent,—a time especially consecrated to repentance.

After Chrysostom had held this discourse, a further opportunity of working upon the minds of his congregation presented itself. Bishop Flavian, notwithstanding his advanced age, his infirm state of health, and other circumstances, which might have prevented him, was induced by a paternal solicitude towards his flock, to undertake a journey to Constantinople for the purpose of making a personal application to the Emperor. In the mean time, the fast of forty days preceding Easter had commenced, which always produced a remarkable change in the lives both of the rich and poor, and was wont to give to the whole city a different aspect. The public amusements were suspended, and the people assembled daily in the Church to offer up prayers, and hear the divine word. The calamity of the times augmented the severity of the fast, and led the people to repentance; and, bereft of human aid, they were the more disposed to seek refuge in God. After the departure of the Bishop, Chrysostom had, without doubt, the chief direction of affairs in the diocese. In the first discourse which he held after Flavian's departure, he pourtrayed to the people the paternal love of their Bishop: "When I behold that vacant throne deserted, and without its master, I at the same time both weep and rejoice. I weep, because I see not our father present, but I rejoice, that he hath undertaken this journey for our preservation, and hath departed to snatch from the fury of the Emperor so great a multitude. This is to you, an ornament; to him, a crown. An ornament to you, because ye have chosen such a father,—a crown to him, because he is attached with so much tenderness to his children, and hath confirmed by his works the words of Christ. For having been taught, that 'the good shepherd giveth His life for the sheep,' he departed ready to lay down his life for us all. Still there were many obstacles to his depar-

ture,—many circumstances inducing him to stay;—his advanced age; his bodily infirmity; the season of the year; the necessity of his presence at the approaching festival; his only sister lying at the point of death. But he disregarded alike old age, infirmity of body, the ties of consanguinity, the asperity of the season, and the difficulties of the journey; and preferring to everything your deliverance, he broke through all these bonds, and as a youth the old man hasteneth, borne upon the wings of zeal. For if, said he, Christ ‘gave Himself for us,’ what excuse should we have, or what pardon should we deserve, were we, to whom He hath committed the care of so great a flock, not ready to do and to suffer all things, for the salvation of those entrusted to us. For if, said he, the patriarch Jacob, when set over cattle, feeding irrational sheep, and about to render an account to man, passed sleepless nights, and endured heat, frost, and every extreme of weather, that none of his flock might perish; much more behoveth it us, who are not set over irrational, but spiritual sheep, and are not about to render an account of our stewardship to man, but to God, to be watchful and to face every danger for the sake of our flock. For inasmuch as this flock is better than that flock,—men better than brutes, and God higher than man; in the same degree ought we to exhibit a far more exceeding diligence and zeal.” He then endeavoured to inspire them with hope: “God will not overlook such great readiness and zeal. He will not permit his servant to depart without having accomplished his purpose. I know that his appearance will suffice to appease the wrath of the pious Emperor. For not the speech alone, but the aspect of holy men is full of spiritual grace. Moreover he is filled with much wisdom, and experienced in the divine laws, he will speak to the Emperor, as Moses spake to God: ‘Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin;—and if not, blot me, I pray Thee out of Thy book, which Thou hast written.’ For holy men are so filled with love, that

they had rather die with their children, than live without them. He will also call the holy festival of Easter to his aid; he will remind him of the season, in which Christ remitted the sins of the whole world. He will exhort him to imitate his Lord; he will recall to his memory the parable of the ten thousand talents, and the hundred pence. I know the fearless sincerity of our father,—he will not hesitate to alarm him by this parable and say: take heed that thou hear not at the last day: ‘O! thou, wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst Me: shouldest thou not also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee?’ To these words he will add the prayer, which the Emperor was taught to offer up by those, who gave him the instruction preparatory to Holy Baptism, and taught him to pray, and say: ‘Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.’ He will then shew, that the transgression of the city was not general, but proceeded from certain strangers and adventurers, who did nothing with reason, but conducted themselves with audacity and lawlessness; that it would not be just for the folly of a few to raze so great a city, and to punish those who have committed no wrong; and that, though all had sinned, they have made sufficient atonement, having been consumed by fear so many days, expecting each day to die, driven away, fugitives, living more miserably than criminals, bearing their blood in their hands, and insecure of their lives. Be satisfied, he will say, with this punishment, and proceed not further in thy wrath. Render the judge above merciful to thee by thy mercy towards thy fellow servants. Consider the greatness of the city, and that it is not a question of one, two, three or ten souls, but of thousands innumerable, of the head of the whole world. For this is the city in which Christians first assumed their name. Honour Christ; respect that city, in which was first proclaimed to men that high and cherished appellation. There was the resort of the Apostles; there the dwelling place of the



just. This is the first instance of sedition against those in power, and all past time testifieth for the manners of this city. Had its inhabitants constantly rebelled, it might have been necessary to have condemned them for their iniquity. But since in the lapse of time this hath only once come to pass, it is evident that the transgression hath not arisen from the corruption of the city; but from the lawlessness of those adventurers who, to our misfortune, audaciously and foolishly entered it. These things will the Bishop say; yea, more than these, and with still greater confidence. To these things will the Emperor listen. We have a faithful Bishop and a benevolent Emperor,—on either side good hope; but far more than the fidelity of the teacher or the humanity of the Emperor, do we place our trust in the mercy of God; for while the Emperor is being implored, and the Bishop is imploring, God himself will stand between, will soften the heart of the Emperor, and animate the speech of the Bishop.” He then sought to turn their thoughts to God: “I have beheld many afflicted and cast down while they exclaimed: ‘The King’s wrath is as the roaring of a lion.’ What shall we say to these men? That He, Who spake: ‘The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox,’ will be able to convert this lion into a gentle lamb. Let us therefore, call upon God, and He will deliver us from all danger. Let us assist our father with our prayers. The united prayers of a congregation avail much, when they proceed from troubled souls and contrite hearts. We are not called upon to cross the sea, or to undertake a far journey. Each of us, both man and woman, either at home or in the church, may with heart-felt fervour invoke the Almighty, and He will surely hear our prayers. Wherefore do I know this? Because it is His good pleasure, that we should ever take refuge with Him,—ask Him for every thing,—and neither act, nor speak without Him. It is the manner of men, that when we constantly burthen them with our affairs, they become

wearied and displeased with us ;—far different is it with God. Not when we continually have recourse to Him in our concerns, but when we have it not,—then is He most incensed. Hear how He accuseth the Jews, saying, ‘Woe to the rebellious children, that take counsel, but not of Me ; and that cover with a covering, but not of My Spirit.’ For this is the way of those who love ; they desire that the affairs of the beloved one should all be regulated by them ; that without them they should neither act nor speak.”

He pointed out to the Antiochians the great comfort to be derived from a communion with the Church, a communion which the present calamity and fast contributed to render peculiarly sincere. He said, “We derive no ordinary consolation from the present season ; for we daily meet together, and rejoice in hearing the Divine Word ; we daily behold each other ; pour forth together our sorrows and supplications ; and before we return home receive the common blessing. All these things lighten our affliction.” Again : “the forum is deserted, but the church is filled. That giveth cause for grief ; this for spiritual gladness. When, therefore, ye come to the forum and groan at the sight of its desolation, fly to your spiritual mother, and she will straightwise console you with the multitude of her children ; will discover to you the united band of brethren, and dispel your grief. We seek for men in the city as in a desert ; but if we take refuge in the church we are thronged by the multitude. As when the sea is lifted up, and driven by the raging storm, terror constraineth those without to fly into the harbours, so now the tempest, which hath burst upon our city, hurrieth every one from all directions into the church, and uniteth its members by the bond of love.” Again : “Whence could ye derive consolation, if we did not console you ? The authorities of this world terrify you,—the ministers of the Gospel strengthen you ;—the Church, our common mother, openeth daily her bosom to welcome you as her children.”

Flavian arrived at Constantinople a short time before Easter, and the success of his mission was greatly advanced by the period of his arrival. The Christians, according to ancient usage, celebrated their festivals by acts of mercy, especially that of Easter, on account of the great event then solemnized. It was even acknowledged by the civil code, that during that season mercy ought to prevail. About this time the Emperor issued to the provinces an edict, in which he commanded, that all prisoners should be released in honour of the festival of Easter, and added, "Would that I were able to recall the executed? Would that I could raise them and restore them to life!" Bishop Flavian reminded the Emperor of these words, and they made a strong impression upon his mind, as Chrysostom had predicted, when he read that edict to his congregation for the purpose of consoling them: "Deeply affected, Theodosius uttered words, says Chrysostom, which became him more than his imperial crown: 'Is it then,' said the Emperor, 'wonderful, that we, being men, should remit our anger against men who have insulted us; when the Lord of the world, Who descended upon earth, and took upon Him for our sake the form of a servant, while crucified by those, whose benefactor He had been, prayed to His Father for His murderers, saying, 'Forgive them; for they know not what they do?' Wherefore then are ye surprised, that we forgive our fellow-servants?' Theodosius wrote a letter to the Antiochians, in which he promised to forget their past offences, and Flavian was commissioned to carry this letter with diligence to his flock, that it might arrive during Easter, and contribute to the joy and gratitude with which that festival was celebrated. Chrysostom announced these events to his congregation in a discourse on Easter-day, A. D. 387, which he thus began:—"In the words with which I was wont to commence my appeal to your love in the period of danger, in the same words I will commence my discourse to-day, and say with you, blessed be God! Who to-day permitteth us to celebrate this sacred feast with exceeding joy and

gladness ; Who hath restored the head to the body, the shepherd to his flock, the master to his disciples, the leader to his soldiers, the high-priest to his clergy. ‘Blessed be God !’ Who doeth exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think.” He concluded with the following exhortation, in allusion to their conduct upon the arrival of a messenger dispatched by Flavian with the welcome intelligence to Antioch : “As ye then did, when ye crowned the market with wreathes of flowers, kindled the lights, extended the carpets before the workshops, and celebrated, as it were, the birthday of a city ;—do always, but in a different manner : crown not the forum with flowers, but crown yourselves with virtue ; kindle the light of good works in your souls, and rejoice with spiritual gladness. Let us not cease to thank God for the mercy, which He hath shewn to us, and let us confess our great obligations to Him, not only for having dispelled these dreadful calamities, but likewise for having permitted them to impend over us ; for by both of these dispensations He hath conferred honour upon our city. Declare these events to your children with prophetic voice ; let your children relate them to their children ; they again to another generation ;—that all futurity may know the mercy shewn by God towards this city ; may deem us blessed to have enjoyed beneficence so great ; may venerate our Lord, Who hath raised a city thus fallen : and may thereby be benefited and excited to piety. For the history of these events will not only greatly benefit ourselves, if we be constantly mindful of them, but likewise those who live after us.”

These important events induced many of the heathens at Antioch to become converts to Christianity.

The XIXth Homily of St. Chrysostom ad pop. Antioch. is in these days worthy of attention, being addressed to the presbyters of the distant country parishes, who came to the metropolis to celebrate Ascension-day. St. Chrysostom represents them as simple persons, chosen from among the peasantry, deficient in the higher mental

attainments, and unacquainted with Greek literature and accomplishments, although fully capable of propounding in plain language the essential doctrines of their faith.

During the ensuing year Chrysostom appears to have been often interrupted in the exercise of his vocation by sickness, which had been brought on by his former ascetic practices. When, after a second illness, he was sufficiently recovered to preach again, he began by testifying his joy at being enabled to re-appear in the midst of his beloved flock, the separation from whom had been more painful to him than the disease itself. He then alluded, as was often his custom, to the sermons preached during the late fast, by which he had induced a part of his congregation to pass a law among themselves renouncing all forms of asseveration, except yea and nay. While he praised those who had entered into an agreement strictly to fulfil this command of Christ, he at the same time added, that they must not suppose, that it was enough to comply with this single injunction; for the observance of all the commands of Christ was necessary to form the harmony of a Christian life; and he therefore required of them to obey another more difficult law, that of suppressing anger and revenge, and of forgiving injuries, in support of which exhortation he explained and applied the parable of the ten talents.

It is evident from this that he did not see any objection to the formation of societies, to enable their members to observe with greater strictness particular duties.

When St. Chrysostom entered upon his ministry at Antioch, there existed a schism in the Church, which had been maintained above twenty years in all the rage of party spirit. Independent of the larger portion of the community, which looked up to Meletius as their Bishop, a separate congregation had grown up, which had never been brought to acknowledge that worthy man, because he had been appointed to his high office by the influence of Arians, although his opinions conformed so little to those of Arius, that he was shortly after his installation, exiled

on account of his opposition to those doctrines. When Meletius died, A. D. 381, while the council of Constantinople was being held, the schism might easily have been healed, had it not been arranged according to the demands of Gregory Nazianzen, and agreeably to the decision of a former treaty ratified by oaths, that no other Bishop should be associated with the aged Paulinus. In that case, after the death of Paulinus,—which could not have been very distant—the schism would of itself have subsided. But the arrogant self-will of the Orientalists permitted not this arrangement; and by the choice of Flavian in the room of Meletius, the schism was handed down to succeeding ages. This schism had been accompanied by the injurious consequences ever attendant upon such divisions. Those very persons, who distinguished themselves by a more than ordinary interest in the concerns of religion and the Church, were led, from a mistaken sympathy to engage the most ardently in the cause of one or other of the contending parties; and they, who could have effected so much for their own salvation and that of others, had their zeal been properly directed, forgot that the true spirit of Christianity is that of humility and love. On this point Chrysostom thus expresses himself: “Of those who form our Church, some never come hither, or once only in the year; and then they demean themselves carelessly, and are devoid of godly fear. Others come more frequently, but they likewise behave themselves irreverently, talking lightly and jesting about trifles. They, however, who seem zealous and in earnest, are the workers of this mischief.” He was compelled particularly to censure the women, who took a vehement part in those factious disputes, and against them his admonitory discourses were chiefly directed.

Besides this little party, separated from the mother church, more through accidental circumstances than by any essential difference of doctrine, there were scattered throughout the city of Antioch members of other sects, dissenting from the Church in important points. As they

contended with the other Christians upon certain dogmas, and endeavoured to promulgate their own opinions, Chrysostom considered it to be his duty, by thoroughly refuting their errors, to guard his congregation against these attacks, and at the same time to instruct them in the means of refuting the sectarians in their own discussions with them. He hoped likewise to turn many from their mistaken views, as both heathens and heretics attended his sermons, either attracted by his eloquence, or desirous of hearing his allegations against them. In order to obtain a hearing among the unlearned, the heretics commonly pretended, that, differing from the Church in no essential points, they equally believed in Christ, and equally preached His religion. They appealed to the words of St. Paul: "What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached." Chrysostom in order to preserve his flock from indifference, endeavoured to prove, in a homily upon this passage, that it had been perverted to an end entirely foreign to its real signification. He first asserted that St. Paul spoke not here of what ought to occur, but of what was occurring. Then, that St. Paul alluded not to those, who under the name of Christ, promulgated a false religion; but to those who delivered the true doctrine from impure motives, and not from sincere conviction. Against this perversion of the doctrine of St. Paul, he shews from passages such as Gal. i. 8, and II Cor. xi. 2, 3, that St. Paul attached great importance to purity of doctrine, and considered as deeply injurious the errors which seduced men from the true faith.

Among the peasantry, and in the smaller towns of Syria, the Manicheans and Gnostics had always maintained themselves, but few of them appear to have resided at Antioch,—at all events, their influence was slight in that great metropolis. Chrysostom, therefore, merely noticed their doctrines incidentally in his sermons, when he defended the free-will of man against their views of

predestination and fatality; or when he sought to prove, in opposition to their tenets, that the body in itself is not the cause of evil, and that neither the body, nor aught that is external, can compel men to sin.

The Eunomians were a sect of far greater importance at Antioch. They were transplanted thither at an early period, and combatted the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ,—that the Son was of the same substance with the Father; and it appears, that their chief leaders, *Œtius* and *Eunomius*, had formerly preached in that city. Soon after he had entered upon his ministry, St. Chrysostom felt himself compelled to defend in his discourses this important doctrine against the objections disseminated by members of this sect among his congregation. But for some time he purposely refrained from attacking them, because he observed, that many of their party frequented the church for the sake of hearing him, and he was desirous not to scare them away, trusting, that, if he could obtain their confidence, his instruction might win a more easy access to their hearts. He was successful in the attainment of his object, being in the first years of his ministry called upon by the sectarians themselves to state the opinions he held in opposition to their tenets.

Equally cogent were his arguments against the *Protopaschites*, the Jews, and the Heathens. Many of the Christians observed, with uneasiness, that some of the heathens led a life consistent with the ordinary demands of morality, but that, nevertheless, they continued in heathenism. If there were, among the Christians, those to whom the true requisites of holiness were unknown, the idea obtruded itself upon them, that without being Christians, they might lead a good life and attain to eternal happiness. In allusion to those, who became thus troubled at beholding a heathen mild, virtuous, and benevolent, remain unconverted, Chrysostom observed: “He hath perhaps another disease of the soul, vanity, or sloth; he provideth not for his salvation, but thinketh that



chance will guide all things to his advantage." Again : "Tell me not of those who are by nature modest and discreet ; for theirs is not holiness. But name to me those who have to struggle with vehement passions, yet possess the power of controlling them. Tell me not, that a man leadeth a sober life, and defraudeth no one of his property : this alone is not holiness ; for of what avail is it, if a man do these things, and yet be the slave of vain glory ? or continue in heathenism, because he is ashamed to desert his friends ? This is not living righteously. The slave of ambition is not less wicked than the fornicator."

In those days the Church did not enjoin as necessary auricular confession previous to the celebration of the Holy Communion, nor indeed at any other time. When Chrysostom exhorts his flock to a confession of their sins, he means the silent confession of the heart before God. Since therefore no confession preceded the Lord's Supper, the liturgy of the communion service was so ordered, as to excite men to self-examination, and to deter those from approaching the altar, who, on account of their evil lives, merited exclusion from the congregation. With this view, Chrysostom thus availed himself of the short, but important demands of this liturgy : "Hear ye not the words of the deacon, during the celebration of the holy communion, who constantly calleth out : *Know one another*. Doth he not entrust to you the strict examination of your brethren ?" That no one might plead as an excuse his ignorance of the danger connected with an unworthy participation of the supper of the Lord, and since no man can look into the heart of another, the priest, says Chrysostom, requires all those to retire, whose consciences admonish them of their own unworthiness ; "for standing aloft, seen by all, and raising his hand, he calleth in that moment of awful stillness with a loud and solemn voice : '*Holy things for the holy.*'"

At the same time, that he exhorted men to repentance, he warned them against the delusion of those, who con-

sidered atonement for sin to consist in certain mortifications of the flesh, and other outward performances, an error which, he says, was particularly prevalent among the women, and, as he had done in two writings already cited, he called attention to that Christian repentance, which sprung from the heart. Thus he says: "Let us not then despair on account of our sins, neither let us become slothful; but while we acknowledge our sins, let our hearts be contrite, and let not our repentance consist in mere words. For I know many who profess to grieve for their sins, and yet give no real proof of their repentance. They fast indeed and wear sackcloth, but are more greedy after gain than hucksters; are more a prey to anger than wild beasts; and delight more to speak evil of their neighbour, than others do to speak good of their neighbour. This is a mere mask, a shadow of repentance; it is not repentance. In such cases it were well to say, take heed, 'lest Satan should get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices.' Some he destroyeth through their sins, others he bringeth to perdition through their repentance, by suffering them to gather thence no fruit. For those whom he cannot ruin in a common way, he inciteth to greater exertions, that he may render their repentance unfruitful, by persuading them, that they have made full atonement for their sins, and may therefore rest in security. If we fast, and are thereby filled with arrogance, our fasting will prove to us an injury, not a benefit. Humble therefore thine heart, that God may be near to thee; for 'the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart.' If thou have committed sin, lament not, because thou hast incurred punishment, for that is nothing; but because thou hast offended the Lord, who is so merciful, so good to thee, and so solicitous for thy salvation, that He hath given up His only Son unto death for thy sake. Lament therefore unceasingly; for thus to lament, is truly to confess thy sins."

Neander observes that Chrysostom, anxious to withdraw from man every prop of immorality, opposed the placing of

any confidence in the intercession of the saints, because many were thereby lulled into a state of security and indolence; and were restrained from drawing out of the one fountain of all good, and from applying in the concerns of their souls to the one Eternal Mediator. It is true, that Chrysostom did not reject the imploring of the intercessions of the saints, which custom was beginning to prevail at that time throughout the Church; but he always directed men from the saints, as the mere instruments of divine grace, to God and Christ.

In the year 397 Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, died. Some time was passed in deliberating in the choice of his successor; several were proposed, and some priests offered themselves, offering presents, and even falling on their knees before the people, who were so scandalized at it, that they besought the Emperor to look out for some one worthy of the sacerdotal office. The eunuch, Eutropius, who governed the Emperor Arcadius, had been acquainted with the virtues and talents of Chrysostom, in a journey he had made to the East; and at his recommendation Chrysostom was elected Bishop of Constantinople, by the unanimous consent of the people and clergy, and with the approbation of the Emperor. But it was so notorious how well he was beloved at Antioch, where he had officiated as priest for twelve years, and how ready the people of that city were to raise commotions, that Eutropius caused the Emperor to write to Asterius, Count of the East, with orders to send him away without noise. The count having received the Emperor's letter, desired Chrysostom to meet him, on pretence of some business, at a church near the Roman gate. Here taking him into his chariot, he drove with speed to a place called Bagras, where he placed him in the hands of an eunuch and an officer sent to conduct him to Constantinople.

St. Chrysostom found in Constantinople all the vices of Asia concentrated, and, determining to effect a reformation, he commenced with his own household. He sold

the sumptuous furniture and rich vessels with which his predecessor had dazzled the public eye; and thinking to maintain the dignity of the episcopate, not by his splendid equipages, but by his active benevolence, he established hospitals, and devoted his whole income to charitable purposes. But while he obtained from the poor the glorious title of John of Almsdeeds, he offended the worldly, who respect while they murmur at the magnificence of their prelate. At the same time it appears from Socrates that his temper was not always under control, and that his manners were far from conciliatory. In the church and in the pulpit he was unequalled: but he was perhaps better adapted to be the preaching presbyter of Antioch, than to be the representative of the democratic interest at Constantinople. The remains of the democracy of the old Roman empire were found in the Church, where and where only the cause of the plebeian and the poor was fearlessly maintained, against an aristocracy of wealth as well as birth. It was through the Church that the progress of a grinding despotism was checked; and to put down the power of the Church was the great object of the temporal authorities. St. Chrysostom weakened the worldly power of the Church by doing his duty as a man of God. His attempt to reform the clergy alienated from him all who preferred sentiment to self-denial, and who viewed holy orders with merely professional views. And ecclesiastics, to indulge their animosity against their bishop, were willing to unite with the civil authorities to depose him, while the faction found a powerful leader in the Alexandrian patriarch, whose feelings of jealousy had long been excited against Chrysostom, and who, probably, regarded with equal jealousy the powers and authority conceded to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The aristocratic party, thus strengthened by a division among the ecclesiastics, were able to degrade for the first time the episcopal authority at Constantinople, and though their triumph was not completed by the fall of St. Chrysostom, an

advantage was gained, which was brought ere long to a successful issue.

St. Chrysostom, like all the bishops of that age, regarded the Church as the protector of the oppressed as well as the poor. It had power, and that power was exerted to protect men against the tyranny of the dominant aristocracy, and even the great men of the empire when injured sought the protection of that very body which, when in power, they sought to afflict. This accounts for St. Chrysostom's conduct to Eutropius. When disgraced Eutropius sought sanctuary in the church, St. Chrysostom, as the great ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople, unintimidated by threats, extended to him his protection. The privilege of the ecclesiastical state was to be maintained; but St. Chrysostom had a duty also as bishop to perform, and therefore to the criminal he addressed himself in the severest terms.

"Where now," he says, addressing himself to Eutropius, "are your cup-bearers? your attendants who made way for you in the streets, and who flattered you? They are fled, they have renounced your friendship, they seek their own safety by your ruin. We do not act thus; the Church, to whom you have offered violence, opens her bosom to receive you; and the theatres, which you have supported at so vast an expense, which have so often been the cause of your indignation against us, have betrayed you. I say not this to insult over him that is fallen, but to strengthen those that yet stand." He adds further, speaking of Eutropius: "Yesterday, when they came from the palace to force him hence he ran to the sacred vessels, pale as death, trembling all over, with chattering teeth and stammering tongue." Then recommending him to their compassion, he adds: "You will say, 'He hath shut the doors of this sanctuary by divers laws;' but experience hath taught him what mischief he hath done; he himself is the first that hath broken the law, and his disgrace is become a warning to all. The altar now appears more terrible, for it holdeth the lion chained;

like the image of our Prince, treading under foot the vanquished and captive barbarians." He goes on : " Have I soothed your passion ? Have I assuaged your anger ? Have I extinguished your cruelty ? Have I raised your compassion ? Yes, your looks, these torrents of tears declare it. Come then, let us throw ourselves at the feet of the Emperor ; or rather, let us beseech the God of mercy, to inspire his heart with pity, that he may grant us the favour we ask in full. He is already changed ; as soon as he heard that Eutropius had fled for refuge to this holy place, he harangued at length his court and troops, who strove to exasperate him against the criminal, and were clamorous for his death. The Emperor shed tears, and made mention of the holy table, whither he had fled for safety, and thus did he appease their rage. After this, what mercy can you deserve, if you retain yours ? How will you approach the mysteries, and say the prayer in which we entreat forgiveness even as we forgive ? Let us rather pray to the God of mercy to deliver this unhappy man from death, and grant him time to put away his crimes ;" St. Chrysostom refers here to holy baptism, for Eutropius was a pagan.

This discourse had the desired effect ; and St. Chrysostom saved the life of Eutropius, but not without difficulty, and some blows. The people came to the church in arms, drew their swords, and brought the holy Bishop to the palace, where he was charged with the discourse which he had made as with a crime, and threatened with death. He was unmoved, nor would he deliver up Eutropius, thus proving, as he says, the invincible power of the Church, founded upon the Rock : the Church, he adds, which consists not in a building, walls, and roofs ; but in its morality and laws.

St. Chrysostom thus did his duty, and was saving the people from themselves. They only saw in Eutropius, the representative of an oppressive aristocracy, although his had been only the aristocracy of wealth, and having their oppressor in their power they sought to take ven-

geance upon him, not seeing that by the protection that was extended to him, St. Chrysostom was upholding that power through which alone their own rights and liberties could be maintained.

In his office of preacher he was still as successful as at Antioch. He was an advocate for an evening service. He exhorted the people to be constant at the church service of the night, that is, the men who had not leisure in the day-time; for as to women, he would have them stay at home, and only come to church in the day-time. "It is necessary," says he, "to remember God at all times; but especially when the mind is at rest, that is, in the night season; for by day we are interrupted by other affairs." And in another place: "It was not intended that we should spend the whole night in sleep and inactivity. This appears by the practice of handicraftsmen, drivers, and merchants; so also by those of the Church, who rise at midnight. Do you rise likewise, and behold the beautiful order of the stars, that profound silence, that universal repose. The soul is then more pure, more free, and more elevated; darkness and silence excite compunction; and all men being stretched upon their beds, as in their graves, represent the end of the world. I speak both to men and women; bend your knees, sigh and pray; if you have children, wake them also; and let your house be like a church in the night-season. If they have not strength to bear watching, let them say a prayer or two, in order to accustom them to rise, and then lie down again." These exhortations gave offence to the slothful among the clerks, who were wont to spend the whole night in sleep.

Chrysostom laboured also to abate the pride of the rich, and to teach them humility and moderation. "What reason have you," said he, "to set so great a value on yourselves, and to think you do us a favour, when you come to this place, to hear what conduces to your salvation? Is it your wealth? Your robes of silk? Know ye not, that they are spun by worms, and wrought by the hands

of barbarians? That they are worn by abandoned women, robbers, the sacrilegious, and by others of character most infamous? Descend from this haughtiness; reflect upon the vileness of your nature; what are ye but earth, dust, ashes, and vapour? You have, indeed, many men under your command, but yourselves are slaves to your own passions. You resemble the man who suffers himself to be beaten by his servants at home, and boasts of his power abroad."

His exhortations had so good an effect, that the whole city of Constantinople daily made a visible progress in piety. Even those who had been passionately fond of the horse-race, and the other public shows, forsook the circus and the theatre, and came in crowds to the church. We find also very powerful discourses delivered at Constantinople against these abuses. It was in this city that he expounded, among others, the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to the Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles. He preached three times a-week; and sometimes seven days successively. The crowd was so great at his sermons, that, to place himself where he might be heard, he was obliged to quit his usual station, and sit in the middle of the church, in the reader's desk. Some came to hear him out of curiosity; but many became converts, as well pagans as heretics.

St. Chrysostom did not confine his anxious care to his own Church of Constantinople, but extended it to all the rest. He reformed the Churches of the six provinces of Thrace, the eleven provinces of Asia, and the eleven provinces of Pontus, in all twenty-eight. He applied himself likewise to missionary labour, and especially to the conversion of the Scythians.

Thus did he gain more and more the affection of the people by his courage, his piety, and his eloquence, while at the same time he became more odious to the great, and a section of his clergy. He came again into collision with the court, where the Emperor wished to conciliate the bar-



barian and Arian Gains, by granting to him a place of worship within the city ; St. Chrysostom refused.

The Arians indeed were very numerous at Constantinople, and as they were obliged to hold their assemblies without the city, they met within the walls near the public porticoes to go out together, on the solemn days of every week, that is, on Saturday and Sunday. They sang, in two choirs, hymns in accordance with their doctrine ; and after having spent the greater part of the night in this manner, they went out in the morning, and crossed the city to repair to their place of assembly. In these hymns they endeavoured to incense the Catholics, by saying ; “ Where are those who affirm that three things are but one power ? ” St. Chrysostom, fearing lest they should shake the faith of some of the simple, procured some Catholics also to sing during the night. The success did not answer his good intention. The Catholics performed their nocturnal prayers with more display than the Arians ; they carried silver crosses surmounted with waxen torches, the invention of St. Chrysostom, and provided at the expense of the Empress Eudoxia. The Arians, still insolent from the power they once enjoyed, could not endure this ; they fell one night upon the Catholics with such fury, that an eunuch belonging to the Empress, called Brisco, who was singing with the rest, was wounded in the forehead with a stone, and some private persons were slain on both sides. This occasioned the Emperor to forbid the Arians to sing any more in public, thus renewing the prohibition made under the pontificate of Nectarius, in 396, which forbade their assembling in the city to perform litanies or prayers night or day. All which increased the affection of the people for St. Chrysostom, and at the same time procured him enemies.

In the year 400 St. Chrysostom had received a decree from the clergy of Ephesus, and the neighbouring Bishops, most solemnly conjuring him, to come and reform that Church, which had long been afflicted by Arians and bad Catholics ; and to arrest the cabals of those who were

endeavouring by money to get possession of the vacant see. St. Chrysostom, seeing that the question was really the restoration of discipline throughout the whole diocese of Asia, where it had fallen into decay, as much through the want of pastors as their ignorance, resolved to undertake the journey, notwithstanding his ill health, and the severity of the winter. He left the Church of Constantinople to the care of Severian, Bishop of Gabala, in Syria, who had come to preach there, and in whom he placed full confidence; and took three bishops to accompany him, Paul, Syrian, and Palladius.

During his absence the faction which had been formed against him gained strength, and a correspondence had been established with Theophilus of Alexandria. An accusation had been lodged against Theophilus before Chrysostom, therefore he had a plea for coming to Constantinople in addition to the imperial command. At length he came, bringing with him a great number of bishops, who came from Egypt, and even from India. He arrived on Thursday about noon, and was immediately received with loud acclamations by the Egyptian mariners, who had come with corn to Constantinople. Having landed, he passed by the church, without entering it as was usual, and lodged without the city in one of the Emperor's houses, called Placidiana. Chrysostom had provided lodgings for him and all his retinue, and earnestly pressed them to come to his house, all which they refused; and Theophilus would neither see him, speak to him, pray with him, nor give him any other mark of communion. Such was his behaviour during the three weeks he stayed at Constantinople. He never came near the church, though St. Chrysostom continually pressed him to go there, to see him, or at least to let him know the reason why he had thus declared war against him, from the very moment of his entrance into the city, and thus caused so much scandal to the people. Theophilus, however, would never return him any answer.

His accusers, that is, the monks whom he had driven out of Egypt, urged St. Chrysostom to do them justice; and the Emperor, having sent for him, ordered him to cross the bay, on the other side of which Theophilus lodged, and hear his cause. He was accused of violence, murder, and several other crimes. But St. Chrysostom refused to take cognizance of it, partly out of regard to Theophilus, but more out of respect to the canons, which forbade Bishops to judge any cause beyond the limits of their own province, and upon which Theophilus himself insisted in the letters, which St. Chrysostom kept by him.

In the mean time, Theophilus laboured day and night for the means of driving St. Chrysostom from his see. He found many persons at Constantinople full of resentment against him. Acacius, Bishop of Berrhæa, who had arrived there some time before, being dissatisfied with the lodging prepared for him, regarded it as a slight put upon him by St. Chrysostom; and transported with rage, said to some of the clergy of St. Chrysostom: "I will dress him a dainty dish." He entered into a strict friendship with Severian of Gabala, Antiochus of Ptolemais, and a Syrian Abbot called Isaac, who made a practice of travelling from place to place, and calumniating the Bishops. The first thing they did was to send to Antioch, to enquire into the behaviour of St. Chrysostom in his youth; and finding nothing for their purpose, they sent to Alexandria to Theophilus, who from that time carefully sought some pretence for accusing him.

In the city of Constantinople itself, Theophilus met with several who were enemies to St. Chrysostom, namely, such of his clergy as were unwilling to submit to the discipline he would have introduced among them; and in particular two priests and five deacons; two or three persons belonging to the Emperor's court, who procured soldiers for Theophilus, to assist him in any violent measures; and three widows of the first rank, Marsa, widow of

Promotus, Castricia, widow of Saturninus, both consular men, and Eugraphia, whose husband is not known. St. Chrysostom was in the habit of reproving them, because, though now grown old, they continued to adorn themselves, and wore artificial hair. The Bishops of Asia, who had been deposed, were not backward in their resentment. Theophilus was very careful to foment these animosities. He was profuse in distributing his money, entertained great numbers of guests, and caressed and flattered the ambition of the ecclesiastics, by promising them the highest dignities. He found two deacons whom St. Chrysostom had expelled the Church for their crimes ; one for murder, and the other for adultery. He promised to restore them to their former station ; which he accordingly did after the banishment of St. Chrysostom. On this assurance he prevailed on them to present petitions to him, which he had drawn up himself, and were false in every article except one, which was this : they accused the Bishop, St. Chrysostom, of advising every body to take, after the Communion, some water and some pastils, lest they should cast out with their spittle some part of the elements, and of doing so himself. Theophilus, having received this petition, went to the house of Eugraphia with Severian, Antiochus, Acacius, and the rest of the enemies of Chrysostom. Being all assembled, they considered how they should begin to proceed against him. One of them proposed the presentation of a petition to the Emperor, to oblige St. Chrysostom to come to their assembly. This advice was put into execution, and money was not wanting to remove the difficulties that attended it. It is even said that the Empress Eudoxia was personally offended with Chrysostom, who, on hearing that she had incensed St. Epiphanius against him, had, following the natural heat of his temper, delivered a discourse against women in general, which the people applied to the Empress. She, being informed of it by some ill-disposed persons, had complained to the Emperor, and had urged

Theophilus to assemble immediately a council against John.

A suburb of Chalcedon called the Oak, of which Cyrinus was Bishop, was the place chosen for holding this council. Cyrinus was an Egyptian by birth, and an enemy of St. Chrysostom. When Theophilus with the Bishops in his retinue passed through Chalcedon in their way to Constantinople, Cyrinus expressed himself with great resentment against St. Chrysostom, calling him impious, insolent, and inexorable, at which the other Bishops were much pleased. He was, however, unable to go with them to Constantinople, because Maruthas, Bishop of Mesopotamia, had hurt him by accidentally treading on his foot. But as Theophilus believed Cyrinus' presence necessary in a council where St. Chrysostom was to be accused, he resolved to hold it in his city; as he was besides apprehensive of the people of Constantinople, who were much attached to their Bishop. The place, then, where the council assembled, was the suburb of the Oak, where Ruffinus had built a palace, together with a church dedicated to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and a monastery.

The charges brought against St. Chrysostom were either so frivolous, or so notoriously false, that this single fact was sufficient to shew that the members of the council only sought a pretext for pronouncing sentence upon one already condemned. Among other charges brought against him, one was that he had ordained priests in his own domestic chapel instead of the cathedral; another that he had given the Holy Communion to persons who were not fasting. It would be neither edifying nor interesting to give in detail the history of these proceedings. It will be sufficient to state that St. Chrysostom refused to obey the summons of the council, until his avowed enemies ceased to act as his judges; and that he was therefore sentenced to exile for contumacy and a contempt of the Emperor's authority.

The next question was, how to put the sentence into

execution, a revolt being anticipated on the part of the people if they saw their Bishop, the fearless protector of the people's rights, and the redresser of their wrongs going into exile. His persecutors therefore endeavoured to put him on board a vessel, ready to receive him, by night; but not all their precautions could prevent the intelligence from spreading through the city, and carrying grief and consternation along with it. The people ran down to the beach, demanding with cries his restoration to them, some exclaiming with all the enthusiasm of the Greek character: Rather let the sun be blotted from the firmament than the mouth of John (Chrysostom) be silenced! others, with tears, entreating his parting benediction. The lamenting crowd was like a long funeral train, or some dismal ceremony of expiatory penance. In proportion as the people were conscious of their degradation as a people, they had attached themselves to this great man, as the defender of their natural rights: his austere and simple mode of life made him appear sacred in their eyes; and in the sincerity of his language, which applied its censures with still more rigour to the rich than to the poor, they found a security for the firmness of his character, alike inaccessible to flattery or to fear.

Two or three days after the departure of Chrysostom from Constantinople, the shock of an earthquake was felt throughout the city. The people, not yet recovered from their grief at his loss, loudly proclaimed that it was a sign of the displeasure of Heaven against them, for having suffered him to be taken from them. The clamours increased. Arcadius shook with fear; the Empress, more courageous and quick-sighted, said to him, "We shall no longer retain the empire, if we do not recall John." She wrote the same night to Chrysostom, inviting him, in the most courteous terms, to return, and throwing all the blame of his departure upon his enemies, whose machinations she now affected to see through and deplore. The Bosphorus was covered with vessels to welcome him back again. As soon as he landed, he requested to be allowed

to remain in the outskirts of the city, and not resume the episcopal office, until he should have been acquitted of the charges brought against him, by a more numerous council than that which had condemned him ; but the feelings of the people were not to be controlled. Thousands ranged themselves around him with lighted tapers, and, with spontaneous hymns, and amid an out-burst of holy joy, conducted him to his church, and insisted upon his ascending his throne, giving them the benediction, and addressing them.

Scarcely however, had St. Chrysostom enjoyed a calm of two months since his return, when a statue was set up at Constantinople in honour of the Empress Eudoxia. It was of solid silver, and raised on a column of porphyry, with a lofty base, in the square situated between the palace where the Senate was held, and the church of St. Sophia which was opposite this palace, and separated from it by the square, and by a street that went across it. It was erected under the Consulate of Theodosius the younger, and Rumoridus, that is, in the year 403, probably in the month of September, when the first indiction began. At the dedication of this statue, great rejoicings were made, as was customary. These were very solemn exercises, and still tinged with superstition, as appears by a law of Theodosius the younger, made twenty-two years after, to purge them from every thing that might appear idolatrous in them. On the erection of this statue of Eudoxia, the Præfect of Constantinople, who was a Manichee, and half heathen, encouraged the people to extraordinary rejoicings. They celebrated it with dances and shows of farce-players, which drew such loud applauses and acclamations, that Divine Service was interrupted.

But St. Chrysostom, unable to bear these improprieties, spoke with his usual freedom, and blamed not only those who actually took part in them, but even those who had ordered them. The Empress was offended at it, and resolved once more to assemble a council against St. Chry-

sostom; but he continued firm and resolute, and, it is said, pronounced upon this occasion a celebrated discourse, which began as follows; "Herodias is again furious, and again demands the head of John." There is still extant a speech which begins with these words, and is an invective against women; but the general opinion is, that St. Chrysostom is not the author. Be this as it may it is certain that a new conspiracy was formed against him.

The decision of the Council of the Oak had not been formally reversed, and his re-assumption of his pastoral duties might, according to a decree of the Council of Antioch, with respect to such cases be considered as irregular. In the hope of rendering him liable a second time to censures on this account, the Bishops of Greece and of the East convened themselves again at Constantinople, to debate on the measures to be pursued respecting him. Lent being come, this faction had a private audience with the Emperor, and gave him to understand that John was convicted, and that he ought to give orders for his banishment before Easter. The Emperor Arcadius not being able to refuse them, ordered St. Chrysostom to quit the Church. He answered; "I received this church from God, for the salvation of the people, and I may not abandon it; but as the city is yours, if you are resolved upon my going, drive me out by force, that I may have a lawful excuse." Officers were therefore sent from the palace, but not without some feeling of shame, for this purpose; with orders, however, for him to continue in the episcopal residence. "They waited," says Palladius, "to see whether Divine vengeance would display itself, that they might have the means of restoring him to his church in the one case, or, on the other, of renewing their ill treatment."

On Easter Eve he was again commanded to leave the church, to which he made a suitable reply. The Emperor fearing both the holiness of the day, and the risk of a



tumult in the city, sent for Acacius and Antiochus, and asked them: "What must be done? Take care," he added, "that you have not given me ill advice." They boldly answered; "On our heads, my Liege, be the deposition of John."

Still there was delay in the execution of the sentence from fear of the people, and some attempts were made to assassinate St. Chrysostom. Five days after Whitsuntide which, in the year 404, fell on the fifth of June, Acacius, Severian, Antiochus, and Cyrinus, went to the Emperor, and said to him: "You may do your pleasure; but we have said to you, on our heads be the deposition of John; you ought not to ruin us all for the preservation of a single individual." The Emperor sent Patricius the notary, to give orders to St. Chrysostom to recommend himself to God, and leave the church. After so express a command, St. Chrysostom came down from the episcopal residence, with the Bishops his friends, and said to them, "Come, let us pray, and bid farewell to the angel of this church." Immediately a person of great power, and one that feared God, and sided with the better party, gave him the following information: "Lucius, to whose insolent behaviour you are no stranger, lies now ready in a public bath, with the soldiers under his command, to carry you off by force, in case you resist, or hesitate to obey. The city is in great confusion; go therefore out of it as speedily and as privately as possible, for fear the people should come to blows with the soldiers." On this St. Chrysostom, (too much affected to take leave of all,) bade farewell to several of the Bishops, saluting them with a kiss accompanied with tears, and said to the others who were in the sanctuary, "Stay here; I am going to take some rest."

Accordingly he went into the baptistery and called Olympias, (who never left the church,) with Pentadia and Procula, deaconesses, and Silvia, widow of Nebridius, and daughter of Gildo: "Come hither," said he to them, "my daughters, and hear me. My end is at hand; I

have finished my course, and perchance you will see my face no more. All I ask of you is, not to let your affection for the Church wax cold; and should any one be ordained involuntarily, without any solicitation on his part, and with the consent of all, to bow the head before him, as you have before me; for the Church cannot be without a Bishop. And as you hope for the mercy of God, remember me in your prayers." They threw themselves at his feet dissolved in tears. He signed to one of the most prudent of his priests, and said to him; "Remove them hence, lest they disturb the people." They became more tranquil; and he went out on the side facing the east, while at the same time some persons, by his order, got ready his horse on the west side before the great gate of the church, in order to mislead the people who were expecting him there. He embarked, and landed in Bithynia.

He arrived at Nicæa, the capital of that province, on the 20th of June, 404. But the malice of the Empress still pursued him, and at her instigation an order came from the court for him to be removed to Cucusus in the deserts of Mount Taurus, a barren and cold region grievously infested by robbers, and already marked by the murder of Paul, a former Bishop of Constantinople. He sent the following letter to Olympias at the beginning of the year 405. "I write to you on my deliverance from the gates of death. Therefore I am rejoiced that those who came from you did not arrive sooner; for had they found me in the extremity of my illness, I could not easily have deceived you, by sending you good tidings. The winter, more severe than usual, has increased my stomach complaint; and I have passed these two last months in a condition worse than death, since I had only so much life as left me sensible of my sufferings. All was night alike to me, the day, the morning, and the noon. I passed whole days in bed, and tried in vain a thousand inventions to protect myself from the cold. It was to no purpose that I kept fires burning, endured the smoke,

shut myself in my chamber without daring to stir out, and loaded myself with a hundred coverings: all the while I suffered excruciating torments, continual sickness, head-ache, loss of appetite, and inability to sleep through those long and tedious nights. But not to pain you any longer; I am now recovered: the spring no sooner arrived, and the weather grew a little milder, than all my ailments left me of themselves. I am still, however, obliged to observe a strict regimen in my diet, and to eat but little, that my digestion may be easier."

And in another letter to the same: "Since you desire to hear from me, I write to tell you that I am recovered from my great illness, though I yet feel some effects of it: I have good physicians, but we are in want here of remedies, and other things necessary to restore a wasted body. We even now foresee a famine and plague: and to increase our misfortunes, the continual incursions of robbers make our roads impassable. Therefore I pray you not to send any one here: for I fear it might be the cause of their being murdered, which, as you well know, would exceedingly afflict me." He wrote in the same manner to a deacon whose name was Theodotus. "It was no slight comfort to me in this solitude, to be able constantly to write to you: but the incursions of the Isaurians have deprived me even of this; for they have begun to appear again with the spring; they are spread over the country, and have made all the roads impassable. They have already taken some ladies of rank, and murdered several men." Then he continues; "After having suffered very much during the winter, I am now somewhat better, though still uneasy from the unusual severity of the weather: for we are still in the depth of winter; but I hope that the fair weather of summer will disperse the remains of my illness. For nothing is more injurious to my health than cold, and nothing does me more good than warmth." In another letter to the same Theodotus, he says, "I dare not at this time invite you to Armenia, so great are our calamities. Wherever we go, we see

torrents of blood, multitudes of dead bodies, houses demolished, and towns destroyed. We thought we should be safe in this fortress, where we are confined as in a gloomy prison; but we can enjoy no peace even here." "For," he says in another letter, "the Isaurians attack these places also."

This was the fortress of Arabissus, as appears by the same letter, and by another, in which he says: "Having found some intermission, we have taken refuge in Arabissus, where the fortress seemed more secure than any other; for we do not reside in the town. But death is daily at our gates, for the Isaurians devastate the whole country with fire and sword. We fear a famine, from the multitude of people blocked up in so close a place." And in another letter to Polybius he writes: "The fear of the Isaurians makes every one seek safety in flight: the towns are nothing but walls and roofs; the ravines and forests are become cities. The inhabitants of Armenia are like the lions and leopards, who find their safety only in the deserts. We daily change our habitations, like the Nomades and Scythians; and often little children, hastily removed by night in the excessively cold weather, are left dead in the snow."

These continual alarms obliged him to send back a young reader, named Theodotus, whom he had taken with him to instruct and form in piety; another additional reason being an affection of Theodotus' eyes, to which very hot or very cold weather was equally injurious. He therefore sent him back to his father, a man of consular rank, and also named Theodotus, and with him the presents also which his father had made him. He commended the young reader to the deacon Theodotus as his spiritual guide, and wrote to him himself, consoling him, and exhorting him to pay great attention to his eyes, and to apply himself as much as possible to read the Holy Scriptures. "Study their letter," he says, "unceasingly, and some day I will explain to you their sense."

He wrote again to Olympias while he was at Arabissus,

probably in the spring of the year 406. "Do not be uneasy," he says, "at the severity of the winter, my stomach complaint, or the incursions of the Isaurians. The winter has been as might be expected in Armenia; but it has not been very troublesome to me, by reason of the precautions which I have taken. I have kept continual fires, and carefully closed the chamber I live in on all sides; covering myself warmly and not going abroad. This is it must be confessed irksome, but I am willing to bear it, because I find myself the better for it: for while I keep my room the cold has no great effect on me; but whenever I am forced to go out, and be exposed to the air even a little, I suffer from it not a little." He afterwards says, "Do not be concerned at my passing the winter in this place, for I am in much better health than I was last year; and you yourself would have been less indisposed had you taken proper care of your health." He enlarges on this subject, and on the value which people ought to set upon health; and then continues, "If our separation afflict you expect to see an end to it. I do not say this merely to comfort you, but I know it will surely be so; otherwise I should have died long since with what I have suffered. As it is I bear myself so well with so weak a body, that the Armenians themselves are surprised at it: for neither the rigour of the air, nor solitude, nor the want of provisions, and servants to attend me; nor the ignorance of physicians, nor the absence of baths, which I have been accustomed to use continually; nor the chamber in which I am daily shut up as in a prison, without taking my usual exercise; nor being perpetually over the fire and in the smoke, and being continually in a state of siege and alarm; none of these things has been able to overwhelm me; nay, I am even better in health here than at Constantinople, owing to the care I have taken of myself."

The enemies of St. Chrysostom being informed of the great good he did by his conversion of the infidels in that neighbourhood, and how celebrated his virtues were at

Antioch, resolved to remove him to a more distant place. For Severian of Gabala, Porphyrius of Antioch, and several other Bishops of Syria were still afraid of him, though he was in banishment, and they were enjoying the riches of the Church, and disposing of the secular power. Therefore having sent to court, they obtained of the Emperor Arcadius a more severe rescript, to have him speedily removed to Pityus, a desert place in the country of the Tzani on the borders of the Euxine sea. The journey was long, and St. Chrysostom was three months on the road; though the two soldiers of the Prætorian prefect, who conducted the holy Bishop, hurried him on extremely, saying that such were their orders. One of them, not so self-interested as the other, shewed him some humanity, as it were by stealth, but the other was so brutal that he would make him set out in the heaviest rain, so that he was drenched to the skin; and would make a jest of the most scorching heat of the sun, knowing how painful it was to the venerable prelate, whose head was bald; nor would he suffer him to stop for a moment in any city or town where there were baths, that he might not be indulged with that relief.

On arriving at Comana, they went through without stopping, and rested at a church about five or six miles from the town, and dedicated to St. Basiliscus, Bishop of Comana, who had suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, with St. Lucian of Antioch. The next morning, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of St. Chrysostom, they pursued their journey, and had proceeded rather more than three miles when St. Chrysostom was taken so extremely ill that they were obliged to return to the church which they had left. On arriving there, he changed his garments and clothed himself in white from head to foot, not having yet broken his fast. After which he distributed the few things he had left, among those who were then present; and having received the Communion of the sacred symbols of our Saviour, that is, the Eucharist, he made his last prayer in the hearing of all who were present, and added, according

to his usual custom, these words : “ Glory to God for all things.” Then he pronounced his last Amen, and stretching out his feet, yielded up his spirit. There was at his funeral such a vast concourse of Virgins and Monks of Syria, Cilicia, Pontus, and Armenia, that many thought they had appointed the meeting. The feast was observed as for a martyr, and his body was interred near that of St. Basiliscus in the same church.

He died and was buried on the fourteenth of September, or the eighteenth of the calends of October, under the seventh Consulate of Honorius, and the second of Theodosius, that is to say, in the year 407. He was about sixty years old, and had governed the Church of Constantinople six years to the time of his banishment, and in all nine years and eight months.

Gibbon says, that the character of St. Chrysostom “ was consecrated by absence and persecution ; the presumed faults of his administration were no longer remembered, but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and his virtues. The respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus ; from that solitude, the Archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a frequent correspondence with a great variety of persons, while his letters show a firmness of mind, far superior to that of Cicero in his exile. He extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia ; negotiated with the Roman pontiff, and the Emperor Honorius ; and boldly appealed from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent, though his captive body was exposed to the vengeance of his oppressors.” The works of St. Chrysostom are very numerous. They consist of commentaries, seven hundred homilies, orations,

doctrinal treatises, and two hundred and forty-two epistles. The best editions of his works are those of Sir Henry Saville, Eton, 1613, 8 vols, folio, the Greek only; and Montfaucon's in Greek and Latin, 1718—1738, 13 vols, folio.—*Neander. Fleury. Tillemont. Dupin. Socrates. Sozomen.*

#### CHURCH, THOMAS.

THOMAS CHURCH was born in 1707, and educated at Brazennose College, Oxford. In 1740 he was instituted to the vicarage of Battersea, and was afterwards promoted to a prebendal stall in St. Paul's cathedral. He published *A Vindication of the Miraculous Powers which subsisted in the first three Centuries of the Christian Church*, in answer to Dr. Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, with a preface, containing some observations on Dr. Mead's account of the *Demoniacs* in his *Mediæ Sacra*, 1749. This was followed, about a year after, by *An Appeal to the serious and unprejudiced, or a Second Vindication, &c.* For these works the university of Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.D. by diploma. He also published anonymously *An Analysis of the Philosophical Works of the late Lord Bolingbroke*, 1755. He died in 1756.—*Nichols's Bowyer.*

#### CHYTRÆUS, DAVID.

DAVID CHYTRÆUS was born in 1530, at Ingelfing, in Suabia. After receiving instruction in Greek and Latin from Camerarius at Tubingen, and Hebrew at Heidelberg, he studied theology under Melancthon at Wittemberg.



He then travelled in Italy, and on his return to Germany was made professor of hermeneutics at Rostock. The Emperor Maximilian II., Eric XIV., King of Sweden, Christiern III. and Frederick II., Kings of Denmark, invited him to their respective kingdoms to establish churches and schools, and they loaded him with presents. He mainly contributed to the establishment of the university of Helmstadt. He died on the 25th of June, 1600. He wrote:—A Commentary on the Apocalypse, 8vo, 1575. 2. A History of the Confession of Augsburg. 3. A Chronology of Herodotus and Thucydides. A Collection of all his works, which are mostly compilations, was printed at Hanover in 1604, 2 vols, fol.—*Melchior Adam. Fraheri Theatrum.*

## CIACONIUS, or CHACON.

CIACONIUS was born in 1540. He became a Dominican and titular Patriarch of Alexandria. A great number of his works remain; the most considerable among which is entitled, *Vitæ et Gesta Romanorum Pontificum et Cardinalium*, which, with the continuation by his nephew, was published in 1602, two vols, folio; the sequel down to Clement XII. was published by Marie Guarnacci, Rome, 1751, 2 vols, folio; *Bibliotheca Scriptorum ad annum 1583*, Paris, 1731, folio; and Amsterdam, 1732, folio. He wrote also, *Historia utriusque Belli Dacici, in Columna Trajana expressi, cum Figuris Æneis*, Rome, 1616, folio. Ciaconius left in MS. a Universal Library of Authors, which falling into the hands of Camusat, was published by him with numerous notes, Paris 1732, folio. This work is a useful repository of authors. Ciaconius died in 1599.—*Moreri.*

## CLAGETT, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM CLAGETT was born at St. Edmund's-bury, in 1646, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of D.D. in 1683. He first became lecturer at St. Edmund's-bury, but afterwards was chosen preacher to the society of Gray's Inn. He was also presented to the rectory of Farnham Royal in Buckinghamshire, and elected lecturer of St. Michael Bassishaw, London. He was chaplain in ordinary to King James II., and was one of the divines who made a stand against Popery in that King's reign. Dr. Clagett died of the small pox, March 28th, 1688. His works are—1. A Discourse concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, two parts, 8vo. The third part was destroyed by fire. Dr. Stebbing abridged this useful book. 2. A Reply to a pamphlet called the Mischief of Impositions, 4to. 3. An Answer to the Dissenter's objections to the Common Prayer, 4to. 4. Some Tracts against the Romanists. 5. Four volumes of Sermons, 8vo.—*Biog. Brit.*

## CLAGETT, NICHOLAS.

NICHOLAS CLAGETT, younger brother of the preceding, was born in 1654, and educated first at the free school of St. Edmund's-bury, and next at Christ's College, Cambridge, where in 1704 he took his doctor's degree. In 1683 he obtained the rectory of Thurlo Parva in Suffolk; in 1693 he was made Archdeacon of Sudbury, and in 1707 was presented to the rectory of Hitcham. He died in 1727. He published—1. A Persuasive to an ingenious trial of opinions in Religion, 4to. 2. Truth defended, and boldness in error rebuked, against Whiston, 8vo. 3. Some Sermons. His son Nicholas became Bishop of Exeter, and died in 1746.—*Biog. Dict.*

## CLARIO, OR CLARIUS, ISIDORE.

ISIDORE CLARIUS was born in the castle of Clario, near Brescia, in Italy, in 1495. Dedicating himself to God from his early years, he became in process of time a Benedictine monk, and a celebrated preacher. He was advanced to the dignity of Abbot of St. Mary de Cesena, and was sent by Pope Paul III. to the council of Trent, where in the fifth session which was held on the 17th of June, 1546, he assumed the quality of Abbot of Pontido, near Bergamo. He was admired in that assembly for his learning and eloquence, and he was probably in the council when Paul III. gave him the bishopric of Foligno, in Umbria; he quickly retired to his diocese, and zealously discharged the duties of his sacred office. He died in 1555. The principal work of Clarius was a reform of the Vulgate, with annotations upon the difficult passages. Though he extended this reform only to passages in which he thought the sense of the original misrepresented, he asserts that he has corrected it in upwards of 8000 places. This freedom gave offence to the rigid Romanists, and the first edition of his work, printed at Venice in 1542, was put into the Index Expurgatorius. Afterwards the deputies of the council of Trent allowed it to be read, omitting the preface and the prolegomena. Clarius was accused of plagiarism, in having made great use of Sebastian Munster's annotations on the Old Testament without acknowledgment; the fact is true, but the spirit of the times would not allow him to quote a protestant author. His Letters, with two Opuscula, were published at Modena, 1705, 4to.

## CLARK, SAMUEL.

SAMUEL CLARK was born in 1599, at Woolston, in Warwickshire, of which place his father was vicar above forty years. He received his education at Emanuel

College, Cambridge, after which he entered into orders, and officiated some time at Shotwick, in Cheshire, from whence he removed to Coventry, and afterwards to Alcester, on the presentation of Lord Brooke. Here he resided nine years, and then became minister of St. Bennet Fink in London, where he continued till the Restoration. During the whole of this period he appears to have disapproved of the practices of the numerous sectaries which arose, and retained his attachment to the constitution and doctrines of the Church, although he objected to some of those points respecting ceremonies and discipline, which ranks him among the ejected non-conformists. In 1660, when Charles II. published a declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, the London clergy drew up a congratulatory address, with a request for the removal of re-ordination and surplices in colleges, &c., which Mr. Clark was appointed to present. In the following year he was appointed one of the commissioners for revising the book of common prayer. When ejected for non-conformity, such was his idea of schism and separation, that he quietly submitted to a retired and studious life. From the Church, which he constantly attended as a hearer, he says, he dared not separate, or gather a private Church out of a true Church, which he judged the Church of England to be. In this retirement he continued twenty years, partly at Hammersmith, and partly at Isleworth, revising what he had published, and compiling other works, all of which appear to have been frequently reprinted. He died in 1682, universally respected for his piety, and especially for his moderation in the contests which prevailed in his time. His principal publications were,—1. *A Mirror or Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners*, containing remarkable examples of the fate of persecutors, and vicious persons of all descriptions, and notices of the lives of persons eminent for piety. 2. *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, containing the Lives of the Fathers, Schoolmen, Reformers, and eminent modern

Divines, &c., 1649, 4to. Clark was unquestionably the first who published any collection of biography in English, and who is respectfully noticed by Fuller, as his predecessor. In 1650 he published a second part, and both together, with additions, in a thick quarto of above 1000 pages, in 1654, with many portraits in wood and copper; but the best edition is that of 1675, folio. 3. A General Martyrology, or abridgment of Fox and of some more recent authors, 1651, folio; to this, in 1652, he added an English Martyrology, reprinted together in 1660, and in 1677, with an additional series of the lives of Divines. 4. The lives of sundry eminent persons in this latter age, 1683, folio. 5. The Marrow of Divinity, with sundry Cases of Conscience, 1659, folio; a treatise against the toleration of schismatics and separatists, entitled Golden Apples, or Seasonable and Serious Counsel, &c., 1659, 12mo. In these volumes we have quoted him several times.—*Autobiography. Calamy. Fuller.*

## CLARK, SAMUEL,

SAMUEL CLARK, son of the preceding, was educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship, which he lost in the Rebellion for refusing the Engagement. He was afterwards preferred to the living of Grendon, in Buckinghamshire, from whence he was ejected for non-conformity, at the Restoration. He died in 1701. He is chiefly known for his Annotations on the Bible, 1690, folio. The author of the "Scripture Promises," was of this family, and was teacher of a congregation of Dissenters at St. Alban's.—*Calamy. Granger.*

## CLARKE, SAMUEL.

SAMUEL CLARKE, an Arian heretic of high reputation in the last century. He was born at Norwich, in 1675, and was educated at Caius College, Cambridge. He was

highly distinguished as a scholar and as an early advocate in that university of the Newtonian Philosophy. On his ordination he became chaplain to Dr. Moore, Bishop of Norwich. In 1699 he published his practical essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance: and in his reflections upon a book called Amyntor, he skilfully defended the genuineness of the writings of the apostolical fathers. By Bishop Moore he was collated to the rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and in 1704 he was appointed to the Boyle Lecture. This gave rise to his treatise on the Being and Attributes of God. In this treatise he endeavoured to shew that the Being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments a priori. He was satirized by Pope in the following lines, which he puts in the mouth of one of his dunces, addressing himself to his goddess:

Let others creep by timid steps and slow,  
On plain experience lay foundations low,  
By common sense to common knowledge bred,  
And last to nature's cause through nature led,  
All-seeing in thy mists we want no guide,  
Mother of Arrogance and source of Pride,  
We nobly take the high Priori road,  
And reason downward till we doubt of God.

In 1706 he removed to the rectory of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, London, and about this time he began to entertain heretical notions with respect to the Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity. The liberal divines and low churchmen of the last century, generally had a tendency to Arianism, or something worse. Indeed, this is the legitimate *tendency* of low church views; the question with such persons is, how little may a man believe and yet hold the essentials of religion, so that we may act together. And this question once asked, will, of course, lower the whole tone of theology. We ought, on the contrary, to endeavour to master as many truths as possible, and encourage others to do so, and it is because this is the desire and endeavour of our more holy men, that our schools of theology are all

of them in this age higher than they were in the last, the lowest churchmen among us, and the most popular among our preachers, taking grounds which their predecessors would have thought too high.

He was engaged in 1706 in a controversy with the learned Henry Dodwell; and he translated into Latin Sir Isaac Newton's treatise on optics. His Paraphrases on the four Gospels had been published previously, and before his perversion to the Arian heresy. He was now, before he was suspected of Arianism, appointed chaplain to Queen Anne, and in 1709 he became rector of St. James's, Westminster; he also took his doctor's degree, with high honour to himself. In this year he corrected Mr. Whiston's Translation of the Apostolical Constitutions, and in 1712 he published his beautiful edition of Cæsar's Commentaries.

In 1712 he also published his *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity*. This, as Bishop Van Mildert observes, was a new era in polemics. The subject is concisely stated by that good Bishop in his *Life of Waterland*.

“Dr. Clarke was a man of far too great importance, from the strength of his understanding, the depth of his knowledge, and the extent of his learning, to content himself with retailing trite arguments already advanced and reiterated by the Anti-Trinitarians of the day. Indeed he disclaimed the character of an Anti-Trinitarian; and appears to have been firmly persuaded, that the doctrine of the Trinity was a true Scripture-doctrine. His labours were directed entirely to the proof of this doctrine, in the sense in which he himself embraced it, and which he laboured to prove was the sense both of Scripture and of the Church of England. He stands distinguished, therefore, from such writers as Biddle, Firmin, Clendon, Emlyn, and Whiston, in many prominent features of the doctrine he advanced; and consequently, the controversy with him assumed a very different aspect from that in which Bishop Bull had been engaged.

“The professed design of Dr. Clarke's book was indis-

putably good. A full and digested collection of all the texts relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, with a critical interpretation of them, was a desideratum in theology, and could hardly fail to be of advantage to the biblical student. It served also to call off the attention of those who had hitherto chiefly derived their notions of the subject from teachers who rested more upon metaphysics, than upon the pure word of God; and to bring the whole matter of dispute into a train of more legitimate discussion.

“Dr. Clarke, however, in this undertaking, set out upon a latitudinarian principle, which did not augur very favourably of the purpose which it might be intended to serve. With reference to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and to public formularies of faith in general, he assumed it as a maxim, ‘That every person may reasonably agree to such forms, whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with Scripture.’ He also virtually, if not expressly, disclaimed the authority of the primitive Christian writers, as expositors of the doctrines in question; desiring it to be understood, that he did not cite their works ‘as proofs of any of the propositions, but as illustrations only;’ moreover, that his purpose in citing them was oftentimes to point out their inconsistency with the doctrine they professed to hold, and thus ‘to shew how naturally truth sometimes prevails by its own native clearness and evidence, even against the strongest and most settled prejudices.’ These were suspicious declarations, and would naturally lead to an expectation, that the author might find occasion, in the course of his work, to exemplify his principles in a way not quite conformable either with the sentiments of the primitive defenders of the faith, or with those of the Church in which he was himself an accredited teacher.

“Accordingly, the work was no sooner published and read, than he was accused of applying these principles to the introduction of opinions irreconcilable with the received doctrines of the Church Catholic in general, and with



those of the Church of England in particular; and the work was reprobated as an indirect revival of the Arian heresy. Among the writers who thus arraigned it, were men of high character and respectability in the Church. Dr. Wells, Mr. Nelson, Dr. James Knight, Bishop Gastrell, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Welchman, Mr. Edward Potter, Dr. Bennett, and Mr. Richard Mayo, distinguished themselves, with considerable ability, by their animadversions on this work. On the other side, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Sykes, and Mr. John Jackson, appeared in favour of Dr. Clarke, and upheld his cause with zeal and talent. The weight, however, of public opinion, (so far at least, as related to members of the Church of England,) preponderated greatly against him; and the subsequent proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation proved, that the persuasions of the clergy in general were decidedly adverse to those which he had espoused."

Not content with this publication, Dr. Clarke assumed to himself authority to omit or alter the offices of the Church, which he had sworn to observe, and on Trinity Sunday, 1713, in order to avoid reading the proper preface in the Communion Service, he omitted the administration of the Lord's Supper entirely, by which the pious among his parishioners were greatly shocked, and seriously injured. He was appointed to his rectory, not to indulge in his own caprices, but as the servant of the Church, to administer her offices to her children. This dereliction of duty, together with the work which has been alluded to, awakened the suspicions of Convocation, for at that time the Church of England possessed a convocation, though unfortunately it was a divided body. The more respectable of the clergy were Tories, and, except during the last years of Queen Anne's reign, the government had since the revolution been in the hands of the Whigs. The consequence was that the Bishops were not selected from the best portion of the clergy; they were chosen from their subserviency to a government which in ecclesiastical matters was tyrannical, and without reference to

their conduct as clergymen. Between the Bishops and their clergy there was a want of confidence, and the whole discipline of the Church became relaxed. The lower house, containing many sound divines, applied to the Bishops on the 2nd of June, 1714, and stated that Dr. Clarke's book was at variance with the catholic faith of the Church of England; and further, they requested the upper house to take the matter into their most serious consideration. The Bishops requested them to specify the obnoxious parts in writing: and on the 23rd of June they presented a paper of extracts, declaring their belief that the passages fully supported their representation respecting the erroneous character of the book.

At this stage of the inquiry, Dr. Clarke drew up a qualifying paper concerning his faith, and presented it to the upper house. In this paper a different view was maintained from that which was conveyed by the extracts from the book; he also promised not to preach on the subject, nor yet to publish any other books on the Trinity. In this declaration he stated that the third and fourth petitions in the Litany had never been omitted in his church, and that the Athanasian Creed had not been omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but only at early prayers, for the sake of brevity, by his curate, and not by his own appointment.

Soon after, the doctor sent a second explanation to the Bishop of London, in which he declared that his views, as expressed in the former paper, were not different from those which he had maintained in his books. He desired therefore, that the declaration might be so understood, and not as a retractation of anything which he had written.

The upper house expressed themselves satisfied with these explanations, and informed the lower house that they did not think fit to proceed further with the extracts submitted to their notice. The lower house, on the contrary, resolved that Dr. Clarke had made no retractation, and that his paper was not satisfactory.

Many divines engaged in this controversy, but Dr. Clarke's system was completely demolished by Dr. Waterland.

Dr. Clarke assumed to himself the right of selecting or composing hymns for the use of his congregation; and certainly, if a Calvinist may introduce hymns inculcating the calvinistic heresy, it seems that something may be said in palliation of Dr. Clarke's conduct in this particular. But how he could reconcile it to his conscience to retain his situation as rector of St. James's it is difficult to conceive. The doxology was altered by him thus :

To God *through* Christ, His only Son  
Immortal Glory be :

And

To God *through* Christ, His Son, our Lord  
All Glory be therefore.

From this scandalous attempt to introduce his heresy into the Church by a side wind, the Bishop of London compelled him to desist.

Although he reconciled it to his conscience to retain his rectory, he is said to have more than once refused a bishopric. It is highly probable that, through the influence of Queen Caroline, he would obtain a bishopric, for it is known that over the mind of that unhappy woman he exercised considerable influence, for she died an Arian heretic, refusing to receive the Holy Eucharist.

In 1727 Dr. Clarke refused the office of master of the Mint, and in 1729 he published his *Homer*. On the 11th of May this year he was taken ill, and on the 17th he died, persisting, according to Bishop Hoadley, in his heresy to the last.

He left a widow and five children, having in his lifetime lost two.

According to his express desire, the same year as his death, was published his *Exposition of the Church Cate-*

*chism* : of which the following account is given by Bishop Van Mildert : he studiously inculcated that religious worship should be paid to the Father only, through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit ; implying, that it is not paid to either of these as their own due, but only through or by them, ultimately to the Father. He represented also the work of redemption, and that of sanctification, to be from the Father only, by the Son and the Holy Ghost ; as if these were merely instruments in His hand ; and that, consequently, to Him, and not to them, is the glory exclusively to be ascribed. Other passages of similar tendency occur in this treatise, more or less derogating from the essential divinity of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit ; passages, which Dr. Waterland illustrates by reference to others in Dr. Clarke's Modest Plea, expressing more fully and unreservedly what is covertly advanced in this Exposition.

Dr. Waterland observes farther, that Dr. Clarke, in explaining that answer in the Catechism which states our belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, “ says nothing of God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost : he never asserts the divinity of either, never so much as gives them the title of God : ”—moreover that the titles and attributes ascribed to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as well as to the Father, were so interpreted by Dr. C. as to adapt them to those lower notions of their divinity, which he had elsewhere maintained. Even the form of baptism, in the name of each person in the Trinity, he explained in such a way as to denote that we are dedicated to the service and worship of God the Father only.

These were points which had already been debated between Dr. Clarke and Dr. Waterland, in their former controversy. The subsequent remarks introduced a fresh topic, not indeed unconnected with the others, but which had not before been brought into discussion, though in itself of no inconsiderable importance.

On the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Dr. W. objects that the Exposition is by no means full and satisfactory ; since the account given of the atonement by Christ seems to place all its efficacy in our Lord's pure and spotless character, not in any inherent propitiatory virtue belonging to it ; nor, as Dr. W. observes, is it conceivable, that, "supposing Christ to be a creature only, He could have such a degree of merit, by anything He could do or suffer, as thereby to purchase pardon for a whole world of sinners."

Again ; the Exposition imperfectly stated the sense in which the Eucharist may be called a sacrifice ; ascribing to it that character in no higher acceptation than might be ascribed to any other service of praise and thanksgiving ; not taking into account that it is a solemn commemoration and representation to God of the sacrifice offered on the cross, and an act of covenant also, in which we lay claim to that, as our expiation, and feast upon it, as our peace-offering.

The same inadequate representation is charged upon the Exposition, respecting the benefits of this holy sacrament ; which Dr. Clarke represented to be nothing more than that assurance of blessing and assistance from God which accompany all religious and virtuous habits ; benefits arising naturally from the good dispositions of the recipient, and not from any special gifts of grace, or spiritual advantages, communicated through the medium of the sacrament itself. Dr. Clarke, indeed, expressly says "of the two sacraments, in common with other positive institutions, that they have the nature only of means to an end, and that therefore they are never to be compared with moral virtues." On the contrary, Dr. W. contends, that "moral virtues are rather to be considered as means to an end, because they are previous qualifications for the sacraments, and have no proper efficacy towards procuring salvation, till they are improved and rendered acceptable by these Christian performances."

He asks, "What is the exercise of moral virtue, but the exercise of obedience to some law, suppose of charity or justice? But the worthy receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is at once an exercise of obedience to the law of Christ, and of faith, of worship, and of repentance, and carries in it the strongest incitement, not only to all moral virtues, but to all Christian graces." Neither is there good reason "for slighting positive institutions in general, in comparison with moral virtue." Man's first offence was breaking a positive precept. Abraham's obedience to a positive command obtained for him the special favour of God. Obedience to positive institutions is an exercise, and sometimes the noblest and best exercise, of that love of God, which is the first and great commandment: and there may be, in some cases, greater excellency and more real virtue in obeying positive precepts, than in any moral virtue. Not that these should be opposed to each other; since both are necessary, and perfective of each other. "But," he adds, "if they must be opposed and compared, I say, moral virtue is but the handmaid leading to the door of salvation, which the use of the sacraments at length opens, and lets us in."

Bishop Van Mildert also remarks that there is reason to believe that Dr. Clarke's opinions had taken deep root among several communities of protestant dissenters, and that to this cause may be traced some of the multifarious schisms into which they were subsequently divided. Hence, at least, appear to have arisen the several Unitarian congregations, which succeeded to the Arian, and which are now for the most part, become Socinian. In the West of England these opinions have ever since continued to have abettors. The Arian meeting-house at Exeter retained its appropriate designation long after other congregations of the kind had dispersed, and were forgotten. It has now, however, passed into other hands: and the Unitarians of the present day, who still abound

in that district, would probably be almost as reluctant to subscribe to Dr. Clarke's creed, as to that of Dr. Waterland.—*Bishop Hoadley's Life of Dr. Clarke.* *Bishop Van Mildert's Life of Dr. Waterland.* *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation.* *Whiston's Memoir of Clarke.*

## CLARKE, ALURED.

ALURED CLARKE, a benevolent English divine, was born in 1696. After receiving his early education at St. Paul's School, he was admitted pensioner of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he was made fellow in 1718. In 1723 he was collated to the rectory of Chilbolton, in Hampshire, and was soon after installed prebendary of Winchester. He was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to George I. and George II., and was promoted to a prebend in the church of Westminster in 1731. In 1740 he was advanced by the King to the deanery of Exeter; and died the same year. His printed works are few, consisting only of four occasional sermons, and an Essay towards the Character of Queen Caroline, published in 1738.

As a man, his character stands very high. He is said to have spent the whole surplus of his annual income in works of hospitality and charity; and determined with himself never to have in reserve, how great soever his revenue might be, more than a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral. The most remarkable instance of his active benevolence was in the case of the sick hospital at Winchester. Its institution, which was the first of the kind in England, those of the metropolis only excepted, owes its existence chiefly to the industry and indefatigable zeal of Dr. Alured Clarke, who in 1736 recommended the scheme to the public by every art of persuasion, and was so successful, that the first annual subscription amounted to upwards of £600. And when the great utility of such a foundation became more ap-

parent, its revenue soon increased to upwards of a £1000 per annum, and institutions of a like nature were in a short time established throughout the kingdom. The orders and constitutions of Winchester Infirmary were drawn up by Dr. Clarke, and are a proof of great wisdom in a branch of political economy, at that time very little understood. He began a similar institution upon his removal to Exeter, (where he had, with his usual liberality, expended a large sum of money upon the repair of his deanery house,) but did not live long enough to see his laudable design fully executed.—*Masters. Hist. of Corpus Christi College. History of Winchester.*

## CLARKE, JOHN.

JOHN CLARKE was born at Norwich. He was bred to the business of a weaver, but afterwards went to the university of Cambridge, where he proceeded to the degree of D.D. By the interest of his brother he obtained a prebend in Norwich cathedral, was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the King, and lastly promoted to the deanery of Salisbury. He died in 1759. Dean Clarke preached the Boyle's Lecture, and published the sermons with the title of the Origin of Evil, 2 vols, 8vo. His other works are, a translation of Rohault's System of Physic, 2 vols, 8vo; another of Grotius de Veritate, with Le Clerc's Notes 8vo; and the Notes belonging to Wollaston's Religion of Nature.

## CLARKE, SAMUEL.

SAMUEL CLARKE was born at Brackley, in Northamptonshire, in 1623. He became a student at Merton College, Oxford, and in 1648 took his master's degree. In 1650 he kept a school at Islington, where he assisted in Walton's Polyglott. In 1658 he returned to the univer-



sity, and became superior beadle of law, as also architypographus, being the last person who united the two offices. He died in 1669. His works are—1. *Variæ lectiones et observationes in Chaldaicum paraphrasim*, inserted in the sixth volume of the Polyglott Bible. 2. *Scientia metrica et rhythmica: seu tractatus de prosodia Arabica ex Authoribus probatissimis eruta*, 8vo. 3. *Septimum Bibliorum Polyglottum volumen cum versionibus antiquissimis, non Chaldaica tantum, sed Syriacis, Æthiopicis, Copticis, Arabicis, Persicis contextum*. This last is in MS. There goes under his name a translation out of Hebrew into Latin, of a piece called *Massereth Beracoth*, 8vo. 1667.—*Wood*.

## CLARKSON, DAVID.

DAVID CLARKSON was born at Bradford, in 1622, and was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which college he became a fellow. He was tutor to Tillotson, and obtained the living of Mortlake, in Surrey. On the Restoration he became a non-conformist, and died in 1686. Of his works, which principally consist of occasional sermons, and a volume of sermons, in folio, the most remarkable were, one entitled *No Evidence of Diocesan Episcopacy in the Primitive Times*, 1681, 4to, in answer to Dr. Stillingfleet; and another on the same subject, printed after his death, under the title of *Primitive Episcopacy*, 1688; this was answered by Dr. Henry Maurice in 1691, in his *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*.—*Gen. Dict.*

## CLAUDE, JOHN.

JOHN CLAUDE was born at Sauvetat, near Agen, in 1619. He studied divinity at Montauban, and there entered the protestant ministry in 1645, and ministered in the church of la Treyne, whence he was removed to St. Afric, in Rovergne, and eight years after to Nismes. Here he also

remained eight years, and being prohibited to exercise the functions of a minister in Languedoc, he went to Montauban, and settled in 1616 at Charenton. He was engaged in controversies with Bossuet, Arnauld, Nicole, and other distinguished Romanists. On October 22nd, 1685, the day on which the revocation of the edict of Nantes was registered at Paris, Claude, at ten in the morning, was ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours. On his arrival in Holland, he received a large pension from the Prince of Orange. He used to preach occasionally at the Hague; and his last sermon was on Christmas-day, 1686, at the conclusion of which he was seized with an illness, of which he died on the 13th of January following. His life, written by M. de la Devaize, was translated into English, and published in London, 1688, 4to. It is very eulogistic, but there does not appear to be anything in the volume which would be interesting or edifying to the readers of this work. His *Historical Defence of the Reformation* was published in English by T. B., London, 1683, 4to; and his *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, which he wrote about the year 1676, for the use of his son, was translated and published in English, in 1778, by Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge, 2 vols, 8vo, with a *Life of the Author*, and notes. A new edition was published in 1796, by the Rev. Charles Simeon, of King's College, Cambridge.—*Devaize*.

## CLAUDIUS, CLEMENS.

CLEMENS CLAUDIUS was born in Spain at the close of the 8th century, and was a disciple of Felix, Bishop of Urgel, whom he accompanied into France, Italy, and Germany, but whose errors he afterwards renounced, and obtained access to the court of Louis le Débonaire, Emperor and King of France, who admitted him among his almoners and chaplains, and in 817 promoted him to the see of Turin. He soon after began to exercise the

duties of his function, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the use, as well as the worship of images, but also broached several other opinions, that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon Claudius a multitude of adversaries; the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters; Theodemir Dungallus, Jonas of Orleans, and Walafridus Strabo united to overwhelm him with their voluminous answers. But the learned and venerable prelate maintained his ground, and supported his cause with such dexterity and force, that it remained triumphant, and gained new credit. And hence it happened, that the city of Turin and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of Claudius, much less infected with superstition than the other parts of Europe.

His commentaries on several parts of the Old and New Testaments are still extant in MS. in various French libraries. The only works of his that have been published are, his Prefaces to the Book of Leviticus, and to the Epistle to the Ephesians, and his Commentary on the Galatians, Paris, 1542, in which he everywhere asserts the equality of all the Apostles with St. Peter, owns Jesus Christ as the proper head of the Church, and inveighs against the doctrine of human merits, and against making tradition of co-ordinate authority with the divine word. He maintains salvation by faith alone, admits the

fallibility of the Church, exposes the futility of praying for the dead, and of the idolatrous practices then supported by the Roman see. He died in 839.—*Mosheim. Dupin. Moreri.*

CLAYTON, ROBERT.

This unprincipled man was born in 1695, in Dublin, his father being dean of Kildare. He was educated at Westminster School and at Trinity College, Dublin. He married a daughter of Chief Baron Donellan, and in many ways evinced a benevolent disposition. A benevolent action on his part was the cause of his introduction to Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose life has already been given, and by Dr. Clarke his principles were corrupted: he became an Arian heretic. Through Clarke he was introduced to Queen Caroline, and by her recommended to Lord Carteret when he was at the head of the Irish government. The consequence of this recommendation was that Clayton was offered the bishopric of Killala, and though an Arian heretic, though obliged to subscribe the articles, though compelled to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained in and prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, the wretched man perjured himself and accepted the office, and was afterwards translated first to Cork, and then to Clogher. His first publication was an Introduction to the History of the Jews, afterwards translated into French. His next work was the Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated; the Facts compared with other ancient Histories, and the Difficulties explained, from the Flood to the Death of Moses; together with some Conjectures in Relation to Egypt during that Period of Time; also two Maps, in which are attempted to be settled the Journeyings of the Children of Israel, 1747, 4to. In 1749 he published a Dissertation on Prophecy, which was followed by an Impartial Enquiry into the Time of the Coming of the Messiah, in two letters to an eminent Jew. In the same

year (1751), appeared the *Essay on Spirit*; a performance which excited very general attention, and was productive of a sharp controversy. Its object was to recommend the Arian doctrine of the inferiority of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and to prepare the way for corresponding alterations in the Liturgy. This work, though ascribed to Dr. Clayton, was, in fact, the production of a young clergyman in his diocese, whom he befriended so far as to take the expense and responsibility of the publication upon himself. Clayton fathered the work and had the discredit of it. The *Essay* was demolished by the powerful pen of Jones of Nayland. It is thus spoken of by Bishop Warburton in a letter to Bishop Hurd, "The Bishop of Clogher, or some such heathenish name, in Ireland, has just published a book. It is made up out of the rubbish of the heresies; of a much ranker cast than common Arianism. Jesus Christ is Michael, and the Holy Ghost, Gabriel, &c. This might be heresy in an English bishop, but in an Irish, it is only a blunder. But thank God, our bishops are far from making or vending heresies; though for the good of the Church, they have excellent eyes at spying it out wherever it skulks or lies hid."

He had before this, we may presume, kept his Arianism to himself. He was now the avowed champion of this heresy, and bad as the times were, they were not such as would tolerate the advancement of an Arian, or, we may presume, a Sabellian to an archiepiscopal see. In 1752 he was recommended by the Duke of Dorset, then viceroy of Ireland, to the vacant archbishopric of Tuam; but this was refused, solely on account of his being regarded as the writer of the *Essay*. In 1752 he published *A Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament*; in answer to the *Objections* of the late Lord Bolingbroke; in two letters to a young nobleman, 1752, 8vo; an able work. In 1754 he published the second part of his *Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament*, which was successfully attacked by Alexander Catcott. On the 2nd of February, 1756, he openly avowed his

Arian principles, by proposing in the Irish House of Lords, that the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds should for the future be left out of the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland. In 1757 he published the third part of his *Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament*, in which he renewed his attacks upon the Trinity, and gave up so many doctrines as indefensible, and advanced others so contradictory to the Thirty-nine Articles, that the Bishops of the Church of Ireland determined to proceed against him. Accordingly the King ordered the lord-lieutenant to take the proper steps towards a legal prosecution of the Bishop of Clogher. A day was fixed for a general meeting of the Irish prelates at the house of the primate, to which Dr. Clayton was summoned, that he might receive from them the notification of their intentions. A censure was certain; a deprivation was apprehended. But, before the time appointed, he was seized with a nervous fever, of which he died on the 26th of February, 1758.—*Biog. Brit. Nichols's Bowyer. Warburton's Letters.*

CLEMENS, TITUS FLAVIUS ALEXANDRINUS.

From Eusebius we learn that this eminent father of the Christian Church, who flourished between the years 192 and 217, was a convert from heathenism. According to Epiphanius he was by some called an Athenian, by others an Alexandrian, whence Cave infers that he was born at Athens, and studied at Alexandria; of the Church of Alexandria, according to Jerome, he became a presbyter. He had for his master Pantœnus of Alexandria, and after his decease he himself became master of the catechetical school, where he had for his hearer the celebrated Origen. When Severus began a persecution against the Christians, for which he pleaded a rebellion of the Jews (for the pagans had not as yet learned to distinguish Jews and Christians,) Clemens left Egypt to escape the violence of it; and upon this occasion he drew up a discourse, to

prove the lawfulness of flying in times of persecution. He then went to Jerusalem, and took up his abode for some time with Alexander, who was soon after Bishop of that see. From Antioch he returned to Alexandria. The time of his death is not known, but he is supposed to have lived till about the close of Caracalla's reign.

St. Jerome gives the following list of his works :—

Στοιχειώματα in eight books.

Hypotyposes in eight books.

One book addressed to the Gentiles.

Three books entitled Παιδαγωγός.

One book concerning Easter.

A Discourse concerning Fasting.

A Discourse, entitled, "Who is the Rich man that shall be Saved?"

One book on Slander.

One on the Ecclesiastical Canons, and against those who follow the errors of the Jews, addressed to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem.

This account of the works of Clemens is principally derived from Eusebius, who also mentions an Exhortation to Patience, addressed to the newly Baptized. The address to the Gentiles, the Pædagogus, the Stromata, and the tract entitled "Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?" have come down to us nearly entire. Of the other works we have only fragments.

The works of Clemens Alexandrinus are deeply interesting, as throwing light upon the manners and modes of thought prevalent in his time. This observation is especially applicable to the Stromata. His works are not so important perhaps as some others to the theological student, but he would not omit to read an author so full of interest, assisted as he now is, by the valuable work of Bishop Kaye; and there is much in this father which strengthens the cause of the Church of England against the peculiarities of Rome. Speaking of angels, Bishop Kaye remarks, that we find in Clemens nothing to coun-

tenance the notion that prayers ought to be addressed to them. He represents them, as well as men, as praying for blessings from God. Speaking of the heretics, Clemens says, "that they did not transmit or interpret the Scriptures agreeably to the dignity of God; for the understanding and the cultivation of the pious tradition, agreeably to the teaching of the Lord delivered by the Apostles, is a deposit to be rendered to God.—The Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the canon of the truth. Neither the prophets, nor the Saviour Himself, announced the divine mysteries so as to be easily comprehended by every one, but spoke in parables; which will be understood by those who adhere to the interpretation of the Scriptures according to the ecclesiastical rule; and that rule is, the harmony of the law and the prophets with the covenant delivered by the Lord during His presence on earth."

When we proceed to inquire what were the mysterious truths which had been thus transmitted by unwritten tradition, and were unfitted for the ear of the common believer, we shall find that they consisted chiefly of precepts for the formation of the true Gnostic—the perfect Christian. The use to which the Romish Church applies unwritten tradition and the *Disciplina Arcani*—in order to account for the total silence of the first ages of Christianity respecting certain doctrines which it now requires its followers to believe, as necessary to salvation—receives no sanction from the writings of Clemens. The same Scriptures were placed in the hands of Clemens' Gnostic, and of the common believer; but he interpreted them on different principles; he affixed to them a higher and more spiritual meaning. The same doctrines were proposed as the objects of his faith, but he explained them in a different manner; he discovered in them hidden meanings which are not discernable by the vulgar eye. Clemens' Esoteric system agrees only in one respect with the Romish *Disciplina Arcani*; it is equally destitute of solid foundation.



Far, however, from teaching his Gnostic to rely on unwritten tradition, Clemens says, "that they who are labouring after excellence, will not stop in their search of truth, until they have obtained proof of that which they believe from the Scriptures themselves." He alleges that the heretics perverted the Scriptures according to their lusts; that they did not obey the Divine Scriptures, and kicked off the tradition of the Church. He says that, in cases in which it is not sufficient merely to state a doctrine, but we are also required to prove what we affirm, we then do not look for human testimony, but appeal to the voice of the Lord, which is a greater surety than all demonstration; or rather is the only demonstration. With reference to this knowledge, they who merely taste the Scriptures are believers; they who proceed further are accurate indexes (*γνώμονες*) of the truth; they are Gnostics. Thus we, bringing proof respecting the Scriptures from the Scriptures themselves, rest our belief on demonstration. Clemens says, that the Gnostic follows whithersoever God leads him in the divinely inspired Scriptures; and couples clear demonstration from the testimony of the Scriptures with knowledge (*ἡ γνῶσις*), when he speaks of the remedies of ignorance. He opposes the tradition of the blessed Apostles and teachers, which was in agreement with the divinely-inspired Scriptures, to human doctrines; and repeatedly asserts the unity of the Apostolic tradition.

Clemens, says Bishop Kaye, uniformly connects Regeneration with Baptism. "The Pædagogus," he says, "forms man out of the dust, regenerates him with water, causes him to grow by the Spirit." The effects of baptism are thus described. "Our transgressions are remitted by one sovereign medicine, the baptism according to the Word (*λογικῇ βαπτίσματι*). We are cleansed from all our sins, and cease at once to be wicked. This is one grace of illumination, that we are no longer the same in conversation (*τὸν τρόπον*) as before we were washed; inasmuch as knowledge rises together with illumination, shining

around the understanding; and we who were without learning (*ἀμαθεῖς*) are instantly styled learners (*μαθηταί*), this learning having at some former time been conferred upon us; for we cannot name the precise time; since catechetical instruction leads to faith, and faith is instructed by the Holy Spirit in baptism." Our flesh is said to become precious, being regenerated by water.

There is a very strong passage in the *Pædagogus*, lib. 1. cap 6. which is not that we remember, quoted by Bishop Kaye. "Being baptized we are illuminated, being illuminated we are made sons, being made sons we are perfected, being perfected we are immortalized.—This work is variously denominated; grace, and illumination, and perfection, and laver: laver, by which we wipe off sins; grace, by which the penalties due to sins are remitted; illumination, by which that holy and salutary light is viewed, that is, by which we gaze on the Divine Being." Baptism is here supposed to be the instrument of illumination, remission, adoption, perfection, salvation; under which, jointly considered, must be comprehended all that concerns justification, though the name itself is not used.

Dr. Waterland remarks that he had elevated sentiments of the Christian Eucharist, but such as require close attention to understand. He writes thus:

"The Blood of the Lord is twofold, the carnal by which we are redeemed from corruption, and the spiritual by which we are anointed: to drink the Blood of Jesus is to partake of our Lord's immortality. Moreover, the power of the Word is the Spirit, as blood is of the flesh. And correspondently, as wine is mingled with water, so is the Spirit with the man: and as the mingled cup goes for drink, so the Spirit leads to immortality. Again, the mixture of these two, viz. of the drink and of the Logos together, is called the Eucharist, viz. glorious and excellent grace, whereof those who partake in faith are sanctified, both body and soul. The Father's appointment mystically tempers man, a divine mixture, with the Spirit and the Logos: for, in very deed, the Spirit joins himself

with the soul as sustained by him, and the Logos with the flesh, for which the Logos became flesh." What I have to observe, says Dr. Waterland, of these lines of Clemens, may be comprised in the particulars here following.

1. The first thing to be taken notice of, is the twofold Blood of Christ: by which Clemens understands the natural blood shed upon the cross, and the spiritual blood exhibited in the Eucharist, namely, spiritual graces, the unction of the Holy Spirit, and union with the Logos, together with what is consequent thereupon. As to parallel places of the Fathers, who speak of the anointing in the Eucharist, with the Blood of Christ through the Spirit, the reader may consult Mr. Aubertine; or Bishop Fell in his notes upon Cyprian. St. Jerome seems to have used the like distinction with Clemens between the natural and spiritual Body and Blood of Christ. If we would take in all the several kinds of our Lord's Body, or all the notions that have gone under that name, they amount to these four. 1. His natural body, considered first as mortal, and next as immortal. 2. His typical, or symbolical body, viz. the outward sign in the Eucharist. 3. His spiritual body, in or out of the Eucharist, viz. the thing signified. 4. His mystical body, that is, His Church. But I proceed.

2. The next observation to be made upon Clemens is, that he manifestly excludes the natural body of Christ from being literally or locally present in the Sacrament, admitting only the spiritual; which he interprets of the Logos and of the Holy Spirit, one conceived more particularly to sanctify the body, and the other the soul, and both inhabiting the regenerate man. Which general doctrine, abstracting from the case of the Eucharist, is founded in express Scripture, and may by just and clear consequence be applied to the Eucharist, in virtue of the words of the institution, and of John vi. and other texts, besides the plain nature and reason of the thing.

3. Another thing to be observed of Clemens is, that as

he plainly rejects any corporal and local presence, so does he as plainly reject the low notions of the figurists, or memorialists; for, no man ever expressed himself more strongly in favour of spiritual graces conveyed in the Eucharist.

4. It may be farther noted, which shows our author's care and accuracy, that he brings not the Logos and Holy Spirit so much upon the elements, as upon the persons, viz. the worthy receivers, to sanctify them both in body and soul. He does indeed speak of the mixture of the wine and the Logos; and if he is to be understood of the personal, and not vocal, Word, he then supposes the Eucharist to consist of two things, earthly and heavenly, just as Irenæus before him did: but even upon that supposition, he might really mean no more than that the communicant received both together, both at the same instant. They were only so far mixed, as being both administered at the same time, and to the same person, receiving the one with his mouth, and the other with his mind, strengthened at once in body and in soul. Clemens, in another place, cites part of the institution, by memory perhaps, as follows: "He blessed the wine, saying, Take, drink; this is my Blood. This blood of the grape mystically signifies the Word poured forth for many, for the remission of sins, that holy torrent of gladness." Three things are observable from this passage: one, that the wine of the Eucharist, after consecration, is still the blood of the grape: another, that it is called the Blood of Christ, or Blood of the Logos, (as Origen also styles it,) symbolically signifying and exhibiting the fruits of the passion: lastly, that those fruits are owing to the union of the Logos with the suffering humanity. These principles all naturally fall in with the accounts I have before given."

Clemens' works were published, with a Latin translation, by J. Potter, 2 vols, folio, Oxford, 1715; and also at Wurzburg, 3 vols. 8vo. 1780.—*Works. Eusebius. Kaye. Cave. Waterland. Lardner.*

## CLEMENS, ROMANUS.

It will be unnecessary to state all that is said of this apostolical father in Tillemont and Cave, since the facts they state, as is admitted by the learned writers themselves, are of questionable authority. In truth, very little is known of Clemens or Clement, except that he is the same Clement of whom St. Paul speaks as one of his fellow labourers, (Phil. iv. 3.) whose names are in the book of life. Origen, Eusebius, and others of the ancients assert this as a fact of which there was no doubt. St. Irenæus assures us that at least he saw the Apostles, that he conversed with them, and when he was made Bishop of Rome, the sound of his preaching was still, as it were, ringing in his ears; that he always placed before his eyes the rules which they had given him and the example of their behaviour. It is also certain that he was Bishop of Rome. But there is much difficulty in settling the succession of the first Bishops of that see. Bishop Pearson supposes, that Clemens was Bishop of Rome from the year of our Lord 69, or 70, to the year 83, the second of Domitian: Pagi, that Clemens succeeded Linus in 61, and sat in the see of Rome till 77, when he abdicated, and died long after a martyr in the year 100. Those learned men, who place the bishopric of Clemens so early, or that suppose he might write this epistle before he was Bishop, (as Dodwell,) usually place it before the destruction of Jerusalem. Archbishop Wake concludes, that this epistle was written shortly after the end of the persecution under Nero, between the 64th and 70th year of Christ. Le Clerc places it in the year 69, and Dodwell in 64. Dupin, Tillemont, and others think, he was not Bishop till the year 91 or 93. This is the more common opinion, and is agreeable to the sentiments of Irenæus, Eusebius, and others, the most ancient Christian writers. Of the former of two epistles ascribed to him, Clemens is universally regarded as the author. The epistle is written in the name of the whole Church of Rome to the Church of

Corinth. And therefore it is called at one time the epistle of Clemens, and at another the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians. The main design of it is to compose some dissensions, which there were in the Church of Corinth about their spiritual guides and governors, which dissensions seem to have been raised by a few turbulent and selfish men among them. Upon this occasion Clemens recommends not only concord and harmony, but love in general, humility, and all the virtues of a good life, and divers of the great articles and principles of religion. The style is clear and simple. It is called by the ancients an excellent, an useful, a great and admirable epistle. And the epistle still in our hands deserves all these commendations: though not entire, there being some pages wanting in the manuscript of it: and though we have but one ancient manuscript of it remaining.

Tillemont observes that Photius finds fault with three things in this epistle to the Corinthians; one is, that St. Clemens supposes certain worlds lying beyond the ocean; another, that he tells the story of the Phœnix as real matter of fact; and the third, that he only uses such words as shew the humanity of Jesus Christ, calling Him High Priest and our Head, but saying nothing of Him great and noble, or that expresses His divinity

The first of these remarks should give us no great trouble, since we know assuredly what the ancients advanced only with uncertainty. For that expression cited by St. Jerome, St. Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, signifies, according to the last, nothing but what we call the Antipodes. As to the Phœnix, if it is a fault in St. Clemens to mention it, it is common to him with many very considerable authors, both Christian and Pagan. St. Cyril of Jerusalem cites this passage without having anything to say against it. With regard to the third point, it would be sufficient to justify St. Clemens, to consider that as Photius acknowledges himself, he says nothing but what is agreeable to the faith of the Church upon the divinity of Jesus Christ: to which we may add,

that according to St. Athanasius, it was the custom of the Apostles to speak more commonly of our Saviour's humanity than of His divinity. But even in this epistle there is mention made of the sufferings of God, which Photius probably did not observe, and which is sufficient to condemn at once both Arianism and the heresy of Nestorius.

This primitive Bishop of Rome did not arrogate to himself papal power; if he had pretended to any such power as that which the popes of Rome now assume, he would have issued his commands to the Church of Corinth, whereas he merely ventures to give them advice, and that not in his own name, but in the name of the Church, the address of the epistle being, "The Church of God which is at Rome to the Church of God which is at Corinth, elect, sanctified, by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord; grace and peace from Almighty God by Jesus Christ be multiplied upon you."

"If," says a modern writer, "the claims of authority be well grounded, they will, of course, be highest when nearest to their source: yet upon this supposition how unaccountable is the conduct of Clemens and the Church of Rome. We have here the first instance upon record in which that Church thought proper to interpose in the religious concerns of its brethren. It might, therefore, have been expected, that the Bishop of Rome should have begun with asserting his own sovereign authority over the Corinthian and all other Churches; should have required implicit obedience to his mandates; and, in case of non-compliance, denounced the rebellious assembly cut off from the body of the faithful: yet, as if it were intended by Providence, that the first known interposition of a Roman pontiff in the affairs of another Church should remain as a lesson of humility, or a reproof of arrogance to his successors, the evangelical author of this epistle seems purposely to extenuate his authority even over his own people; merges even his own name in that of his Church; and though he reproves the misconduct of the Corinthians with freedom,

and even with dignity, yet it is only with the freedom of a benevolent equal, and the dignity of a grieved friend. But above all, humility and patience are conspicuous: no ‘holy rage,’ no zeal calling for judgments, no asperity of reproach: but prayers and intreaties, or, at most, expostulations and arguments, constituted, at that time, the spiritual weapons of the Roman Church.”

Dr. Waterland shews that he holds the view of justification by faith as retained in the Church of England, in opposition to the Trentine doctrine. Clemens says: “They (the ancient Patriarchs) were all therefore greatly glorified and magnified; not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness which they themselves wrought, but through His good pleasure. And we also being called through His good pleasure in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done in holiness of heart, but by that faith by which Almighty God justified all from the beginning.” “Here,” remarks Dr. Waterland, “it is observable, that the word faith does not stand for the whole system of Christianity, or for Christian belief at large, but for some particular self-denying principle by which good men, even under the patriarchal and legal dispensations, laid hold on the mercy and promises of God, referring all, not to themselves or their own deservings, but to divine goodness, in and through a Mediator. It is true, Clemens elsewhere, and St. Paul almost every where, insists upon true holiness of heart and obedience of life, as indispensable conditions of salvation, or justification; and of that, one would think there could be no question among men of any judgment or probity: but the question about conditions is very distinct from the other question about instruments; and therefore both parts may be true, viz. that faith and obedience are equally conditions, and equally indispensable where opportunities permit; and yet faith over and above is emphatically the instrument both of receiving and holding justification, or a title to salvation.”



St. Clemens asserts the doctrine of apostolical succession thus, "The Apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent by God; the Apostles by Christ. Both missions were in order, according to the will of God. Having, therefore, received their commission, being thoroughly assured of the resurrection of our Lord, and believing in the Word of God, with the fullness of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad, declaring that the kingdom of God was at hand. Thus they travelled through different countries and cities, and appointed the first-fruits of their ministry, after they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons over those who should afterwards believe.

"The Apostles themselves were informed by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions would arise concerning the ministry. On this account, therefore, they not only themselves ordained ministers, as we have before mentioned; but also gave directions that on their decease, other chosen and approved men should succeed them. We cannot, therefore, but think it unjust to eject such persons from the ministry as were ordained (with the approbation of the whole Church) either by the Apostles or holy men succeeding them; who have ministered to the flock of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested manner, and for a series of years have been well reported of by all. For surely it is a sin of no small magnitude to dismiss from that office such blameless and holy pastors! Happy are those presbyters, who have already finished their course, and died in the fruitful discharge of their labours; they have now no reason to fear that any one should remove them from the place appointed for them. But, alas! we learn that you have ejected some excellent ministers, whose blameless lives were an ornament to their profession. Ye are contentious, brethren, and zealous for things which belong not to salvation. Search the Scriptures, the faithful records of the Holy Spirit. There you find that good men were persecuted indeed, but by the wicked; were imprisoned, but by the unholy; were stoned, but by trans-

gressors ; were murdered, but by the profane, and by such as were unjustly incensed against them. Let us, therefore, unite ourselves to the innocent and righteous, for they are God's elect.

“ Why are there strifes, angers, divisions, schisms, and contentions, among you ? Have you not all one God, and one Christ ? Is not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us all, and one calling of Christ bestowed upon us all ? Why then do we rend and tear the members of Christ, and excite seditions in our own body ? Your schism has perverted many, has discouraged many, has staggered many. It has caused grief to us all ; and, alas ! it continues still.”

As the nature of this epistle is practical, no very regular or precise statement of doctrine is to be expected. Still, however, the essential doctrines of revelation are clearly exhibited. He thus, for instance, plainly states his sentiments respecting redemption by the atonement of Christ. “ Let us look steadily at the Blood of Christ, and see how precious His Blood is in the sight of God ; for on account of its being shed for our salvation, the grace of repentance is provided for all mankind.” In the following passage we have the infinite condescension of Christ stated as a ground for enforcing Christian humility. “ Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sceptre of the majesty of God, came not in the pomp of pride and ostentation, though he could have done so, but in humility. You see, brethren, the example He afforded us. If the Lord thus humbled Himself, how should we too demean ourselves, who are brought by Him under the yoke of His grace.”

There are extant fragments of a second epistle of Clemens, which, however, the best critics consider to be spurious. It breaks off abruptly in the middle of the 12th chapter, and there is no evidence of its having been written to the Corinthians. Both epistles were found at the end of the New Testament in a MS. brought from Alexandria, and were published by Patrick Junius : *Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Epistolæ duæ expressæ ad*

Fidem MS. Cod. Alexandrini, Oxford, 1633 ; and again by H. Wotton, Cambridge, 1718. An edition of all Clemens' works, genuine and spurious, was published with learned commentaries by Cotelierius, in his collection of *Patres Apostol.*, Paris, 1672 : and again by Le Clerc, Amst. 1698.

Archbishop Wake remarks that there is not any less controversy among learned men concerning the death of St. Clemens, than there has been about the order and time of his succession to his bishopric. That he lived in expectation of martyrdom, and was ready to have undergone it, should it have pleased God to have called him to it, the epistle we are now speaking of sufficiently shews us. But that he did glorify God by those particular sufferings which some have pretended, is a matter of some doubt. For, first it must be acknowledged that Ruffinus is one of the first authors we have that speaks of him as a martyr. Neither Eusebius (who is usually very exact in his observation of such things), nor any of the fathers yet nearer his time, as Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, &c. take any notice of it. And for the account which some others have yet more lately given us of the manner of his death, besides that in some parts it is altogether fabulous, it is not improbable but that, as our learned Mr. Dodwell has observed, the first rise of it may have been owing to their confounding Flavius Clemens, the Roman consul, with Clemens Bishop of Rome ; who did indeed suffer martyrdom for the faith about the time of which they speak, and some other parts of whose character, such as his relation to the Emperor and banishment into Pontus, they manifestly ascribe to him.

However, seeing Eusebius refers his death to the third year of Trajan, famous for the persecution of the Church, and may thereby seem to insinuate that Clemens also then suffered among the rest ; and that Simeon Metaphrastes has given a long and particular account of his condem-

nation, to the mines first, and then of his death following thereupon ; as I shall not determine anything against it, so they who are desirous to know what is usually said concerning the passion of this holy man, may abundantly satisfy their curiosity in this particular, from the accurate collection of Dr. Cave, in the life of this Saint, too long to be transcribed into the present discourse.—*SS. Patrum Apostolicorum opera Genuina Cura Richardi Russell. Eusebius. Irenæus. Tillemont. Cave. Cotelierius. Wake. Lardner.*

## CLERC, JOHN LE.

JOHN LE CLERC was born at Geneva in 1657, and early displayed his talents, having read all the best Latin and Greek authors in his sixteenth year, and in 1676 he commenced his theological studies, with the lectures of Mestrezat, Turretin, and Tronchin. In 1678 he went to Grenoble, whence he returned in 1679 to Geneva, and was ordained, but without attaching himself to any particular Church. He now studied the works of Curcellæus and Episcopius, and adopted a system of divinity so different from that publicly received at Geneva, that he resolved to return to Grenoble. He then went to Paris, and thence to London, where he arrived in May 1682. The climate of England not agreeing with him, he left it in 1683, in company with Gregorio Leti, whose daughter he afterwards married, and embarked for Holland ; and in 1684 was chosen professor of philosophy, belles lettres, and Hebrew, in the Remonstrant college at Amsterdam, which post he held as long as he lived. He wrote a vast number of books, of very unequal merit, on all sorts of subjects. Those which made most impression at the time concern Biblical history and theological controversy, such as Latin Commentaries on various Books of the Bible, 5 vols, folio, Amsterdam, 1710—1731 ; *Harmonia Evangelica*, in Greek and Latin, folio, 1700 ; *Traduction du Nouveau Testa-*

ment, avec des Notes, 4to, 1703. These works pleased neither the Roman Catholic nor Protestant divines, from their having a tendency to Socinianism, a leaning which is still more manifest in another work generally attributed to him, entitled *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande touchant l'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, followed by a Defence of the same work, 2 vols, 8vo, 1685. In these the author openly attacks the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the very foundation of Revelation. He published his *Ars Critica*, 3 vols, 8vo, 1712—1730, a work which is much esteemed; he also edited the *Bibliothèque Historique et Universelle*, a periodical begun in 1687, and closed in 1693, making 26 vols, 12mo, the first eight of which he wrote in conjunction with De la Crosse; the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, 1712—1718, 28 vols, 12mo; and the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, 1726—1730, 29 vols, 12mo. He also wrote: 1. *Parrhasiana, ou Pensees diverses sur des Matieres de Critique, d'Histoire, de Morale, et de Politique*, 2 vols, 12mo, 1701. 2. *Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas*, from 1650 to 1728, 2 vols, folio, Amsterdam, 1738. 3. *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*, 2 vols, 12mo, 1714. 4. *Traite de l'Incredulite*, 8vo, 1733; a clever work, in which he examines and discusses the various motives and reasons which occasion many to reject Christianity. He wrote many polemical works and pamphlets, most of which were tinged with bitterness and dogmatism; this is especially apparent in his controversies with Simon, Cave, Bayle, and Burman. He also published a supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, and several editions of ancient classics; among others, Livy, Ausonius, Sulpicius Severus, &c. His edition of Menander's and Philemon's fragments was severely criticised by Dr. Bentley. A Life of Erasmus, extracted from his letters, given in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, has served as a basis for Jortin's Life of that illustrious scholar. He also edited the noble edition of the works of Erasmus, 10 vols, folio, 1703—1707. In 1728, while he was giving his

lecture. Le Clerc suddenly lost the use of his speech through a paralytic stroke. His memory also failed him, and he lingered for some years in a state bordering upon idiocy. He died at Amsterdam, in 1736.—*Moreri*.

## COBDEN, EDWARD.

EDWARD COBDEN was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, from whence he removed to King's College, Cambridge, where he took his master's degree in 1713. He afterwards returned to his former college, and took there his doctor's degree in 1723. He became chaplain to Bishop Gibson, who gave him the rectories of St. Austin and St. Faith, London, Acton in Middlesex, a prebendary at St. Paul's, and the Archdeaconry of London. He is celebrated for a sermon entitled, a Persuasion to Chastity, which he had the virtue and boldness to preach before the profligate court of George II. The sermon gave such offence, that he was deprived of his place of royal chaplain, and was much distressed in circumstances before his death, which happened in 1764, aged 80. He published a volume of poems, and another of sermons.—*Nichols's Bowyer*.

## COCCEIUS, JOHN.

JOHN COCCEIUS was born at Bremen, in 1603, where he received his primary education; he then went to Hamburg, where he became acquainted with a learned Jew, and perfected himself in the Oriental languages, which he had begun to study at Bremen. Thence he went to Frankfort where he became professor of Hebrew in 1636. In 1649 he obtained the chair of theology at Leyden, where he continued till his death, having formed a school of theology which was long distinguished by his name. He was a profound Hebrew scholar, and, as Mosheim observes, he might have passed for a great man, had his

vast erudition, his exuberant fancy, his ardent piety, and his uncommon application to the study of the Scriptures, been under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This singular man introduced into theology a multitude of new tenets and strange notions, which had never before entered into the brain of any other mortal, or at least had never been heard of before his time: for, in the first place, his manner of explaining the holy Scriptures was totally different from that of Calvin and his followers, departing entirely from the admirable simplicity that reigns in the commentaries of Calvin. Cocceius represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, that held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the Church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and unto the end of the world. He even went so far as to maintain, that the miracles, actions, and sufferings of Christ, and of His Apostles, during the course of their ministry, were types and images of future events. He affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the Church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the words used in these predictions. And he completed the extravagance of this chimerical system by turning with wonderful art and dexterity, into holy riddles and typical predictions, even those passages of the Old Testament that seemed designed for no other purpose than to celebrate the praises of the Deity, or to convey some religious truth, or to inculcate some rule of practice. In order to give an air of solidity and plausibility to these odd notions, he first laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, "That the words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in every sense of which they are susceptible; or, in other words, that they signify, in effect, every thing that they can possibly signify;" a rule this, which, when followed by a man who

had more imagination than judgment, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings. After having laid down this singular rule of interpretation, he divided the whole history of the Church into seven periods, conformable to the seven trumpets and seals mentioned in the Revelations.

One of the great designs formed by Cocceius, was that of separating theology from philosophy, and of confining the Christian doctors, in their explications of the former, to the words and phrases of the Holy Scriptures. Hence it was, that, finding in the language of the sacred writers, the Gospel dispensation represented under the image of a covenant made between God and man, he looked upon the use of this image as admirably adapted to exhibit a complete and well connected system of religious truth. But while he was labouring this point, and endeavouring to accommodate the circumstances and characters of human contracts to the dispensations of divine wisdom, which they represent in such an inaccurate and imperfect manner, he fell imprudently into some erroneous notions. Such was his opinion concerning the covenant made between God and the Jewish nation by the ministry and the mediation of Moses, “which he affirmed to be of the same nature with the new covenant obtained by the mediation of Jesus Christ.” In consequence of this general principle, he maintained, “That the Ten Commandments were promulgated by Moses not as a rule of obedience, but as a representation of the covenant of grace—that when the Jews had provoked the Deity, by their various transgressions, particularly by the worship of the golden calf, the severe and servile yoke of the ceremonial law was added to the decalogue, as a punishment inflicted on them by the Supreme Being in his righteous displeasure—that this yoke, which was painful in itself, became doubly so on account of its typical signification; since it admonished the Israelites from day to day, of the imperfection and uncertainty of their state, filled them with anxiety, and



was a standing and perpetual proof that they had merited the displeasure of God, and could not expect, before the coming of the Messiah, the entire remission of their transgressions and iniquities—that, indeed, good men, even under the Mosaic dispensation, were immediately after death made partakers of everlasting happiness and glory; but that they were, nevertheless, during the whole course of their lives, far removed from that firm hope and assurance of salvation, which rejoices the faithful under the dispensation of the Gospel—and that their anxiety flowed naturally from this consideration, that their sins, though they remained unpunished, were not pardoned, because Christ had not, as yet, offered himself up a sacrifice to the Father to make an entire atonement for them.” These are the principal lines that distinguish the Cocceian from other systems of theology; it is attended, indeed, with other peculiarities; but we shall pass them over in silence, as of little moment, and unworthy of notice. These notions were warmly opposed by the same persons that declared war against the Cartesian philosophy; and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. But, in the issue, the doctrines of Cocceius, like those of Des Cartes, stood their ground; and neither the dexterity nor vehemence of his adversaries could exclude his disciples from the public seminaries of learning, or hinder them from propagating, with surprising success and rapidity, the tenets of their master in Germany and Switzerland. Cocceius died in 1669.—*Moreri. Mosheim.*

## COCHLÆUS, JOHN.

JOHN COCHLÆUS was born at Nuremburg in 1479, and was the person who entered the lists most frequently by writing or word of mouth against Luther and Lutherans. With the exception of the fact, that from the year 1521 to the year 1550, his fruitful pen produced annually more than one tract in defence of Romanism, we know little of

his life. He was dean of Frankfort on the Maine when he made his appearance at Worms, in 1521. He had no summons to be present, but was urged on by his zeal, and was introduced to Aleander, the pope's nuncio, who was not slow in discovering in him a devoted servant of Rome, on whom he could calculate as on himself. Not being able to be present at the audience which Luther was to have with the Archbishop of Treves, Aleander appointed Cochläus to attend, enjoining him to hear what Luther had to say, but to enter into no discussion with him. He evidently doubted his discretion. Cochläus found it difficult to obey, but though from time to time he had thrown in a few words, he could not come forward as he wished. He resolved, however, to compensate himself, and had no sooner given an account of his mission to the papal nuncio, than he presented himself at Luther's lodging. He accosted him as a friend, and expressed the grief which he felt at the Emperor's resolution. After dinner, the conversation grew animated. Cochläus pressed Luther to retract. He declined by a nod. Several nobles, who were at table, had difficulty in restraining themselves. They were indignant that the partisans of Rome should wish not to convince the reformer by Scripture, but constrain him by force. Cochläus, impatient under these reproaches, says to Luther, "Very well, I offer to dispute publicly with you, if you renounce the safe-conduct." All that Luther demanded was a public debate. What ought he to do? To renounce the safe-conduct was to be his own destroyer; to refuse the challenge of Cochläus was to appear doubtful of his cause. The guests regarded the offer as a perfidious scheme of Aleander, whom the Dean of Frankfort had just left. Vollrat of Watzdorff, one of the number, freed Luther from the embarrassment of this puzzling alternative. This baron, who was of a boiling temperament, indignant at a snare which aimed at nothing less than to give up Luther into the hands of the executioner, started up, seized the terrified priest, and pushed him to the door. There would even have been bloodshed

had not the other guests risen up from the table, and interposed their mediation between the furious baron and the trembling Cochlæus, who withdrew in confusion from the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes.

The expression had no doubt escaped the dean in the heat of discussion, and was not a premeditated scheme between him and Aleander to make Luther fall into a perfidious snare. Cochlæus denies that it was, and we have pleasure in giving credit to his testimony, though it is true he had come to Luther's from a conference with the nuncio.

His works are said to be of little worth; the protestants represent him to be ignorant as to his facts, and it is asserted that he resorted to declamation rather than argument. The mere titles of his writings would occupy many pages; they may be found in the *Bibliothèque de Boissard*, part ii. In 1539 he received from England a refutation by Richard Morrison, D.D., of the tract he had published against the marriage of Henry VIII., to which he replied in a treatise entitled, *The Broom of John Cochlæus for sweeping down the Cobwebs of Morrison*. He defends what he had written against the divorce of Henry VIII., and boasts that Erasmus had approved his work. His chief works are, 1. *Historiæ Hussitarum*, Libri xii, folio. 2. *De Actis et Scriptis Lutherii*, ab anno 1517, ad 1546, folio. 3. *Speculum antiquæ devotionis circa Missam*, 8vo. 4. *De Vita Theodorici Regis quondam Ostrogothorum*, Stockholm, 1699, 4to. 5. *Consilium Cardinalium anno 1538*, 8vo. 6. *De Emendandâ Ecclesiâ*, 1539, 8vo. He died in 1552. —*Moreri. Fraheri Theatrum. D'Aubigne.*

COLE, HENRY.

HENRY COLE was born at Godshill, in the Isle of Wight, and educated, we are sorry to say, at Winchester, whence he was removed to New College, Oxford, of which he became perpetual fellow in 1523. After study-

ing the civil law, he travelled into Italy, and studied at Padua. In 1540 he resigned his fellowship, and settled in London, and became an advocate in the court of arches, prebendary of Yatminster Secunda, in the church of Sarum, and Archdeacon of Ely. In 1540 he was made rector of Chelmsford, in Essex; and in October following was collated to the prebend of Holborn. In 1542 he was elected warden of New College; and in 1545 made rector of Newton Longville, in Buckinghamshire. Soon after, when King Edward VI. came to the crown, Dr. Cole adhered to the party of the reformers, but altering his mind, he resigned his preferments. After Queen Mary's accession he became again a zealous Roman Catholic, and in 1554 was made provost of Eton College, in the room of Sir Thomas Smith. He was also one of the disputants against Archbishop Cranmer, who was sent down by the lower house of convocation to Oxford; and when the death of Cranmer was resolved upon, Cole received instructions privately from the Queen to preach at his burning. On arriving at Oxford, Cole visited the Archbishop, but did not mention what awaited him on the morrow. He asked, "Have you continued in the Catholic faith, wherein I left you?" Cranmer answered; "By God's grace, I shall be daily more confirmed in the Catholic faith;" an evasive reply, such, indeed, as might have been expected from the Archbishop under his existing circumstances, but certainly not sufficiently explicit for the satisfaction of his interrogator. On the following morning, it being Saturday, the 21st of March, Cole visited the prisoner again, and enquired of him whether he had any money? A negative answer being returned, fifteen crowns were given to him. The provost also exhorted him to constancy in the faith, and he, probably, acquainted him that a public profession of his opinions was about to be required from his lips. When, the next day the unhappy Archbishop was brought to St. Mary's church, Cole began his sermon, he assigned several reasons why, in the present instance, a heretic

who had repented, should, notwithstanding, expiate his offence at the stake. "The prisoner, he said, was the chief cause of recent alterations in religion; he had irregularly divorced King Henry from Queen Catharine, not however of malice undoubtedly, but under the advice of various learned men; he had written, disputed, and, in fine, exerted himself in every way to favour heresy, and, "had continued in it even to the last hour." No heretic, the preacher asserted, having so long maintained his errors, had ever been pardoned in England, unless in the time of the schism. It was besides, the congregation was told, necessary to use severity in this case, for the sake of example; and it was added, "there are other reasons which have moved the Queen and council to order the execution of the individual present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding." After some practical reflections addressed to the hearers, and bearing upon the case before them, the preacher exhorted Cranmer himself. He pressed upon his attention several texts of Scripture suitable for inspiring him with patience under his approaching death; he cited the case of the penitent thief in the Gospel, as an encouragement to him in believing that he should that day be with Christ in Paradise: he reminded him that the three faithful Jews, consigned to the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, suffered not by the fury of the flames; he then made a shew of strengthening this consolation by relating, from legendary lore, the patience of St. Andrew upon the cross, and of St. Laurence upon the gridiron. Finally, he glorified God in his conversion, assuring the people that great pains had long been taken ineffectually for that purpose, and that there appeared no hopes of success, until at last a merciful Diety reclaimed the sinner. Many flattering observations were then applied to Cranmer, the severity with which his acts had been described in a former portion of the sermon was greatly softened down, and he was assured that, after his death, masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. An address was

even directly made to the priests present, charging them thus to assist, during its detention in purgatory, the spirit now about to leave the world.

The sermon being concluded, Cole intreated his hearers to pray for the prisoner. Immediately the whole congregation obeyed the call, and never did a large assembly exhibit more evident marks of earnest devotion. Some individuals, probably, supplicated the Father of mercies from a generous compassion for the sufferer before them; but party-feelings lent fervency to the prayers of the congregation generally. The Romanist and Reformer equally claimed the victim as his own; both, accordingly, felt deeply interested in the mitigation of his sufferings, and each of them clung to the hope that he would leave the world with a full avowal of adherence to his own peculiar creed.

The reader is referred to the Life of Cranmer for the sequel of this tragedy. Dr. Cole was prominent in all the proceedings of the Romanists in those dreadful times, and when he acted as one of the visitors of the University of Cambridge, Whitgift seems to have regarded his appointment with fear. He became dean of St. Paul's in the December of 1556, and was made, August 8, 1557, vicar-general of the spiritualities under Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury; and the first of October following, official of the arches; and dean of the peculiars; and in November ensuing, judge of the court of audience, which office the following year he resigned. In 1558 he was appointed one of the overseers of that cardinal's will. In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign he was one of the eight divines of the Church of England appointed to dispute publicly on the Romanizing side against eight others appointed to maintain the cause of the Reformation. Of this disputation Strype informs us that the Queen ordered it should be managed in writing on both parties, for avoiding of much altercation in words and she ordered likewise, that the papists' bishops should first declare their minds, with their reasons, in writing; and then the others,

if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions. And so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be disproved therein ; and the same to declare in writing at some other convenient day.

All this was fully agreed upon. And hereupon divers of the nobility and estates of the realm, understanding that such a meeting should be, made earnest means to her majesty, that the bishops and divines might put their assertions into English, and read them in that tongue, for their better satisfaction and understanding, and for enabling their own judgments to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend thereupon. And so both parties met at Westminster Abbey : the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility and of the commons. But while all were in expectation to hear these learned men and their arguments, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, said, they were mistaken, that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of a book : adding, that their book was not then ready written ; but that they were ready to argue and dispute : and therefore that they would only at that time repeat in speech what they had to say to the first proposition. This, with some words, was passed off : and then the Bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds : who, partly by speech, and partly by reading authorities written, and at certain times being informed by the colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings, and their reasons to their first proposition.

Which being ended, they were asked by the privy council if any of them had any more to say. They said, No. Then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order ; exhibiting all that they meant to propound in a book written : which, after a prayer and invocation made to Almighty God, and a protestation to stand to the doctrine of the

catholic Church built upon Scripture, was distinctly read by Dr. Horn (who was the penner of the same) upon the first proposition. And so the assembly was quietly dismissed. This was on Friday, the last day of March. The question then disputed was, "That it was against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer and administration of Sacraments."

When Monday, the second day of conference, came, and all the grave assembly were set, White, Bishop of Winchester, and the rest of that side, refused to proceed on the second question, but would by all means insist still upon the first, argued the last day; and, pretending they had more to say of it, were resolved to read upon that argument only: urging much that they and their cause should suffer prejudice if they should not treat of the first. And Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, striving to have his turn of speaking, hotly said, that they were not used indifferently, that they might not be allowed to declare in writing what they had to say of the first question; and added, that what Dr. Cole spake in the last assembly was extempore, and of himself, and with no fore-studied talk, and that it was not prepared to strengthen their cause. These sayings made the nobility and others the auditors frown, knowing that Cole spake out of a paper which he held in his hand, and read in the same: and that according to the instructions of the bishops, who pointed unto several places in his paper with their fingers for his direction. Watson also complained that their adversaries had longer warning than they: and that they themselves had notice of it but two days before, and were fain to sit up the whole last night. But Bacon, the Lord Keeper, told them that at the last conference, when Cole had done, he asked them, the Bishops, whether what he had spoken was what they would have him say, and they granted it: and whether he should say any more in the matter, and they answered, No. But for their satisfaction



the Lord Keeper added, that they should at present, according to the order agreed upon, discourse upon the second question; and at another meeting, when the day came for them both to confirm their first question, they should have liberty to read what they had further to say upon the first. To which all the council there present willingly condescended: but this also the Bishops would not be contented with. At last Hethe, Archbishop of York, told them they were to blame, for that there was a plain decreed order for them to treat at this time of the second question, and bade them leave their contention. Then the Bishops started another matter of quarrel, and said, it was contrary to the order in disputations that they should begin; for that their side had the negative said the Bishop of Chester: and therefore they that were on the affirmative should begin: that they were the defending party: and that it was the school manner, and likewise the manner in Westminster Hall, that the plaintiff should speak first, and then the accused party answer. To which the keeper told them, they began willingly on the first question; and the protestants told them, that they had the negative then. Horn wondered that they should so much stand upon it, who should begin. Then the Bishops charged the protestants to have been the propounders of the questions. But the keeper told them that the questions were of neither of their propounding, but offered from the council indifferently to them both. Then Bayne, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, minding to run from the matter, began to question with the protestants, what church they were of? saying that they must needs try that first: for there were many churches in Germany; and he demanded of Horn, which of those churches he was of? who prudently answered, that he was of Christ's catholic Church. The keeper told them they ought not to run into voluntary talk of their own inventing. The Bishop of Lichfield said that they, on their part, had no doubt, but assuredly stood in the truth. But those other men pretended to be doubtful. There-

fore they should first bring what they had to impugn them, the Bishops, withal. And the Bishop of Chester told the Lords plainly, if themselves began first, and the others spake after, then they speaking last should have the advantage to come off with applause of the people, and the verity on their side not be so well marked. And therein indeed he spake out the true cause of all this jangling. And hereupon Winchester in short said he was resolved, except they began, he would say nothing. When the Lord Keeper could not persuade them he spoke of departing. And Winchester, as though this was the issue he desired, presently cried, *Contented*, and offered to go. But the keeper first asked them man by man, to know their resolution, and they all, save one, Fecknam, Abbot of Westminster, utterly denied to read, without the other party began; and some so very disorderly and irreverently as had not been seen in so honourable an assembly of the two estates of the realm, nobility and commons then assembled, besides the presence of the Queen's council.

And so, without any more dispute, all was dismissed. But the Lord Keeper at parting said these words to them; "For that ye would not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us." And so they did; for, for this contempt, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, including Cole, and with the exception of the Abbot of Westminster, were bound to make their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the cities of London and Westminster till their order.

They were thus bound over until the Lords of the Council assessed them for the contempt committed against the Queen's majesty, as the obligation ran. Dr. Cole was fined in 1000 marks, though only 500 were levied upon him. It seems that he might have received the same gentle treatment which the other deprived dignitaries met with, had he not been of a restless and controversial temper, being, as Strype says, "more earnest than wise."

He remained at liberty till May, 1560, when with some others he was sent to the Tower. How long he remained there we do not know, but in March, 1560, after the memorable challenge of Bishop Jewell, "that if any one of the leading articles of Romanism which he then rehearsed could be proved on the popish side by any sufficient authority, either of the Scripture, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any one allowed example of the primitive Church, and as they had borne the people in hand they could prove them by, he would be contented to yield to them, and to subscribe."

He wrote a letter to him, offering to dispute with him by letter. Some letters passed between him and Jewell, in which, as Strype says, "it is evident how Cole shuffled and shifted off the main business, and nibbled at other bye matters." But at length he privately, among his own party, scattered several copies of an answer, as he called it by way of letter to Jewell, to which Jewell printed a reply.

In the month of June the same year he was summoned before the Queen's visitors at Lambeth. They demanded of him, whether that letter, that went abroad under his name, in answer to Jewell elect of Sarum, was his, and whether he would acknowledge it so, or no: and the rather, because it had gone abroad in all places, even to the Bishop's own diocese, to discredit him in corners at his first coming. Cole answered, that it was his own: but that it was much abridged, and that the original was twice as much. Hereupon the Bishop blamed him afterwards, in his letter to him, "that he would so unadvisedly bestow his writings to others that had curtailed them; and because many honourable and worshipful persons would gladly see what both said in print." The Bishop therefore had desired him, for the bettering of his own cause, to send him his own copy fully and largely, as he said he gave it out at the first; that he might have no cause to think himself injured, if he an-

swered one parcel of his letter, and not the whole. This the Bishop wrote to him from Shirborn, July 22, 1560. Cole never sent his copy, nor made answer one way or other; and so the Bishop was fain to answer that paper that went about.

The visitors at Lambeth, mentioned above, called there before them, besides Cole, many other popish divines, to swear to the supremacy: who refusing it, they took of them bonds for their good behaviour.

Cole died in London, 1579. His writings were, 1. Disputation with Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley at Oxford, in 1554. 2. Funeral Sermon at the Burning of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Both these are in Fox's Acts and Monuments. 3. Letters to John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, upon occasion of a sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's majesty and her honourable council, anno 1560, London, 1560, 8vo; printed afterwards among Bishop Jewell's works. 4. Letters to Bishop Jewell, upon occasion of a sermon of his preached at St. Paul's Cross on the second Sunday before Easter, in 1650. 5. An Answer to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster.—*Strype. Burnet. Fox. Dod.*

#### COLET, JOHN.

JOHN COLET was born in the parish of St. Antholin, London, in the year 1466, and was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, knt. twice Lord Mayor, who had, besides him, one and twenty children. In the year 1483, he was sent to Magdalene College, in Oxford, where he spent seven years in the study of logic and philosophy, and took his degrees in arts. He was perfectly acquainted with Cicero's works, and no stranger to Plato and Plotinus, whom he read together, to the end that they might illustrate each other's meaning. He studied also Dionysius

and Origen. He was forced however to read these authors only in their Latin translations; for at school he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor at the university, when he went thither; that language being then not only not taught, but thought unnecessary and even discouraged, in that seat of learning. Hence the proverb, *Cave a Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus*, that is, “Beware of Greek, lest you become an heretic;” and it is well known, that when Linacer, Grocin, and others, afterwards professed to teach the Greek language in Oxford, they were opposed by a set of men who called themselves Trojans. Colet was also skilled extremely well in mathematics; so that having thus laid a good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for farther improvement; first to France, and then to Italy; and seems to have continued in those two countries from the year 1493 to 1497. But before his departure, and indeed when he was but two years standing in the university, he was instituted to the rectory of Denington, in Suffolk, to which he was presented by a relation of his mother, and which he held to the day of his death.

Being arrived at Paris, he soon became acquainted with the learned there, with the celebrated Budæus in particular; and was afterwards recommended to Erasmus. In Italy, he contracted a friendship with several eminent persons, especially with his own countrymen Grocin, Linacer, Lilly, and Latimer; who were learning the Greek tongue, then but little known in England, under those great masters Demetrius, Angelus Politianus, Hermolus Barborus, and Pomponius Sabinus. He took this opportunity of improving himself in this language; and having devoted himself to divinity, he read, while abroad, the best of the ancient fathers, particularly Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome. He looked sometimes also into Scotus and Aquinas, studied the civil and canon law, made himself acquainted with the history and constitution of Church and State; and for the sake of giving a polish to all this, did not neglect to read the

English poets, and other authors of the belles lettres. During his absence from England he was made a prebendary in the church of York, and installed by proxy upon the 5th of March, 1493—4. Upon his return in the year 1496, or 1497, he was ordained deacon in December, and priest in July following. He had, indeed, before he entered into orders, great temptations from his natural disposition, to lay aside study, and give himself up to gaiety; for he was rather luxuriously inclined; but he curbed his passions, and after staying a few months with his father and mother at London he retired to Oxford.

Here he read public lectures on St. Paul's Epistles without stipend or reward; which being a new thing, drew a vast crowd of hearers, who admired him greatly. And here began his memorable friendship with Erasmus, who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497, which remained unshaken and inviolable to the day of their deaths. He continued these lectures through the years 1497, 1498, 1499; and, in the year 1501, was admitted to proceed in divinity, or to the reading of the sentences. In the year 1504 he commenced doctor in divinity: and in May, 1505, was instituted to a prebend in St. Paul's, London. The same year and month he was made dean of that church, without the least application of his own.

The following account of him in his private character is given by Erasmus:—

“The dean's table,” says he, “which, under the name of hospitality, had before served too much to pomp and luxury, he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertaining. And it having been his custom for many years to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himself. When he dined privately with his own family he had always some strangers for his guests; but the fewer, because his provision was frugal; which yet was neat and genteel. The sittings were short; and the discourses such as pleased only the learned and

the good. As soon as grace before meat was said, some boy with a good voice read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon. When he had done reading, the dean would pitch upon some particular part of it, and thence frame a subject matter of discourse; asking either the learned, or such as were otherwise of good understanding, what was the meaning of this or that expression: and he would so adapt and temper his discourse, that though it was grave and serious, yet it never tired, or gave any distaste. Again, toward the end of dinner, when the company was rather satisfied than satiated, he would throw in another subject of discourse: and thus he dismissed his guests with a double repast, refreshed in their minds as well as bodies; so that they always went away better than they came, and were not oppressed with what they had eat and drunk. He was mightily delighted with the conversation of his friends; which he would some times protract till very late in the evening: but all his discourse was either of learning or religion. If he could not get an agreeable companion, (for it was not every body he did like,) one of his servants read some part of the Holy Scriptures to him. In his journeys he would sometimes make me (says Erasmus) his companion; and he was as easy and pleasant as any man living: yet he always carried a book with him; and all his discourse was seasoned with religion. He was so impatient of whatsoever was foul and sordid, that he could not bear with any indecent or improper way of speaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainment, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; and yet he despised all state and magnificence. His habit was only black; though it was then common for the higher clergy to be clad in purple. His upper garment was always of woollen cloth, and plain; which, if the weather was cold, and required it, he lined with fur. Whatever came in by his ecclesiastical preferments he delivered to his steward, to be laid out on family occasions or hospitality: and all that arose from

his own proper estate, (which was very large,) he gave away for pious and charitable uses."

Erasmus also informs us of his public character, that "this excellent man, as if he had been called to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, restored the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himself upon Sundays and all solemn festivals. In which course of preaching, he did not take a desultory text out of the Gospel or Epistle for the day; but he chose a fixed and larger subject, which he prosecuted in several successive discourses, till he had gone through the whole; as suppose the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer. And he had there always a full auditory; and amongst others, the chief magistrates of the city."

The frequent preaching of Dean Colet, in his own cathedral, set a good example to some other deans, to do the same good office in their respective churches: as particularly at Lichfield, Dr. Collingwood introduced the pious practice of preaching every Sunday: being the first and only preacher of all the deans there.

We hear much in these days of the reverence shewn by the people before the Reformation, but the following quotation from an English book, printed at the latter end of Henry VIIIth's reign will shew how profane and dissolute were the choir of St. Paul's at that period, and how much they needed reformation.

"Certeyne of vycars of Poules dysposed to be merye on a Sondaye at hys masse tyme, sent another madde felowe of theyr acquayntance unto a folyshe dronken preest upon the toppe of the stayres by the chauncell dore, and spake to hym, and sayd thus, Syr, my maistre hath sent you a bottell to putt your drynke in, because ye can kepe none in your brayne. Thys preest beyng therewith very angrie, all sodenly toke the bottell, and with his fote flange it down into the bodye of the churche upon the gentylmennes heddes."

Dean Colet was much disgusted with the state of mon-



asteries and the immoralities of the monks. He saw also the monstrous evils which result from the constrained celibacy of the clergy. He used to say he never found better or purer manners than among married men, whose natural affection for their wives and care of their own children and government of their own families, kept them within the bounds of moderation and chastity. Erasmus often referred to the wisdom of Dean Colet, when at a later period of life he founded his school, in preferring a married man for the master, and married men for the trustees and guardians of it. The constrained celibacy of the clergy had not only caused crimes and scandals of the most gross nature, but had actually lowered the tone of morals in religious men. Sir Thomas More (*Apologia pro Erasmo*) narrates that he heard a divine of his acquaintance maintain *plus eum peccare qui unam domi concubinam quam qui decem foras meretrices haberet*. And although Erasmus bears testimony to the purity of Colet's life, a fact which he speaks of as an exception to the general rule of the clergy; yet he says he had a charitable opinion of those priests and monks who were guilty of incontinence. "Not that he did not heartily abhor the sin, but because he found such men far less mischievous than others (if compared) who were haughty, envious, backbiters, hypocrites, vain, unlearned, wholly given to the getting of money and honour. Yet these had a mighty opinion of themselves; whereas others, by acknowledging their infirmity, were made more humble and modest. He said, that to be covetous and proud was more abominable in a priest than to have an hundred concubines: not that he thought incontinence to be a light sin, but covetousness and pride to be at a greater distance from true piety. And he was not more averse to any sort of men, than such bishops who were wolves instead of shepherds: and commended themselves by external service of God, ceremonies, benedictions and indulgences to the people, while with all their hearts they served the world, that is, glory and gain. He was not much dis-

pleased with them who would not have images (either painted or carved, gold or silver) worshipped in churches; nor with them, who doubted whether a notorious wicked priest could consecrate the Sacrament. Hereby not favouring their error, but expressing his indignation against such clergymen, who by an open bad life gave occasion to this suspicion."

His conduct exposed him to persecution from the Bishop of London, Dr. Fitzjames, who accused him to Archbishop Warham as a dangerous man, preferring at the same time some articles against him. But Warham, knowing the worth and integrity of Colet, dismissed him, without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. The Bishop, however, endeavoured afterwards to stir up the King and the court against him.

Whatever his persecutions were, they did not prevent his making a noble stand against the existing abuses of the Church, and from calling for a reformation of the establishment, as may be seen from his sermon before the convocation at St. Paul's, in 1511. In that sermon, referring to the sins of the world, of which the pride of life is one, he says, "How much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is seen now-a-days in clergymen? How run they (yea almost out of breath) from one benefice to another, from the less to the greater, from the lower to the higher? Who seeth not this? And who seeing, sorroweth not? And most of those who are in these dignities carry their heads so high, and are so stately, that they seem not to be put in the humble bishopric of Christ, but rather in the high lordship and power of the world; not knowing, or not minding, what Christ the master of all meekness said unto His disciples (whom He called to be bishops and priests:) The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and those that be in authority have power; but do ye not so. Whosoever will be chief amongst you (highest in dignity) let him be your servant. The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Mat. xx. 25, &c. By which words

our Saviour doth plainly teach, that a prelacy in the church is nothing else but a ministration, that an high dignity in an ecclesiastical person ought to be nothing but a meek service.

“The second secular evil is carnal concupiscence. And hath not this vice grown and increased in the Church so far, that in this most busy age, the far greater number of priests mind nothing but what doth delight and please their senses? They give themselves to feasts and banqueting, spend their time in vain babbling, are addicted to hunting and hawking; and in a word, drowned in the delights of this world, diligent only in propping for those lusts they set by. Against which sort of men St. Jude exclaims in his epistle, saying, Wo unto them that have gone the way of Cain; they are foul and beastly, feasting in their meats, without fear feeding themselves, clouds of the wild sea, foaming out their own shame; unto whom the storm of darkness is reserved for everlasting.

“Covetousness is the third secular evil, which St. John calls the lust of the eyes, and St. Paul, idolatry. This abominable pestilence hath so entered into the minds of almost all priests, hath so blinded the eyes of their understanding, that we see nothing but that which seems to bring unto us some gain. What other thing seek we now-a-days in the church, except fat benefices and high promotions? And it were well if we minded the duty of those when we have them; but he that hath many great benefices, minds not the office of one small one. And in these high promotions, what other thing do we pass upon, but only our tithes and rents? We care not how vast our charge of souls be, how many or how great benefices we take, so they be of large value.”

In suggesting modes of reformation, he recommends especially the putting in force of existing canons: “Above all things,” he says, “let the canons be rehearsed that appertain to you my reverend fathers and lord bishops, laws concerning your just and canonical election in the chapters of your churches, calling upon the Holy Ghost:

for because those canons are not obeyed now-a-days (but prelates are chosen oftentimes more by the favour of men, than by the grace of God) hence truly it comes to pass, that we have not seldom bishops who have little spirituality in them, men rather worldly than heavenly, favouring more of the spirit of this world than the spirit of Christ.

“ Let the canons be rehearsed of the residence of bishops in their dioceses, which command that they look diligently to the health of souls, that they sow the word of God, that they shew themselves in their churches, at least on great holidays; that they officiate in their own persons, and do sacrifice for their people; that they hear the causes and matters of poor men; that they sustain fatherless children and widows, and exercise themselves in works of virtue.

“ Let the canons be rehearsed concerning the right bestowing of the patrimony of Christ; the canons which command that the goods of the church be spent not in costly building, not in sumptuous apparel and pomps, not in feasting and banqueting, not in excess and wantonness, not in enriching of kinsfolk, not in keeping of hounds; but in things profitable and necessary for the Church.”

The persecutions he endured made him weary of the world, and he began to think of disposing of his effects, and of retiring. Having, therefore, a large estate, without any near relations, he resolved, in the midst of life and health, to consecrate all his property to some permanent benefaction. And this he performed by founding St. Paul's School, in London, of which he appointed William Lilly first master, in 1512. He ordained that there should be in this school a high master, a surmaster, and a chaplain, who should teach gratis 153 children, divided into eight classes; and he endowed it with lands and houses, amounting then to £122. 4s. 7½d. per annum, of which endowment he made the Company of Mercers trustees.

“ The whole fabric,” says Erasmus, “ he divided into four parts: whereof one (at the entrance) is as it were for the catechumeni, (and yet none is admitted till he can

read and write) the second for such as are under the usher. The third part is for those whom the upper master teacheth. These two ends are divided by a curtain, which is drawn to and fro when they please. Above the master's chair stands the holy child Jesus, curiously engraven, in the posture of one reading a lecture, with this motto, Hear Him; which words I advised him to set up. And all the young fry, when they come in and go out of school (besides their appointed prayers) salute Christ with an hymn. At the upper end is a chapel, in which divine service may be said. The whole building hath no corners nor lurking-holes for dunces, having neither chamber nor dining-room in it. Every boy has his proper seat distinguished by spaces of wood, and the forms have three ascents. Every class containeth sixteen boys, (the two lowest much more,) and the best scholar of each sits in a seat somewhat more eminent than the rest, with the word CAPITANEUS engraven in golden letters over his head.

“Our quick-sighted Dr. Colet saw very well, that the main hope and pillar of a commonwealth consists in furnishing youth with good literature, and therefore did he bestow so much care and cost on this school. Though it stood him in an infinite sum of money to build and endow it, yet he would accept of no co-partner. One left indeed a legacy of £100 sterling to the structure of it; but Colet thinking that if he took it, some lay-people would challenge to themselves I know not what authority over the school, did by the permission of his Bishop bestow it upon holy vestments for the choir. Yet though he would suffer no lay-men to have a finger in the building, he entrusted no clergyman (not so much as the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of St. Paul) nor any of the nobility, with the oversight of the revenues; but some married citizens of honest report. When he was asked why he would do so, he answered, that there was nothing certain in human affairs; but he found least corruption in such men.

As all men highly commended him for his school, so many wondered why he would build a stately house for himself within the bounds of the Carthusian monastery, which is not far from the palace at Richmond: but he told them, that he provided that seat for himself in his old age, when he should be unfit for labours, or broken with diseases, and so constrained to retire from the society of men. There he intended to philosophize with two or three eminent friends, among which he was wont, says Erasmus, to reckon me: but death prevented him. For being a few years before his decease, visited thrice with the sweating sickness, (a disease which seized no countrymen but English) though he recovered, yet he thereupon grew consumptive, and so died. One physician thought that the dropsy killed him; but when he was dissected, they saw nothing extraordinary, only the capillary vessels of his liver were beset with pustules. He was buried in the south side of the choir, of his own cathedral, in a low sepulchre, which he to that end had chosen for himself some years before, with this inscription, JOHN COLET.

Besides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was rector of the fraternity or guild of Jesus in St. Paul's cathedral, for which he procured new statutes and was chaplain and preacher in ordinary to Henry VIII.; and, if Erasmus be correct, one of the privy-council. He wrote,—1. *Oratio habita à Doctore Johanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione, anno 1511.* 2. *Rudimenta Grammatices à Joanne Colet, Decano Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londin. in Usus Scholæ ab ipso Institutæ, commonly called Paul's Accidence, 1539, 8vo.* 3. *The construction of the Eight Parts of Speech, entitled Absolutissimus de Octo Orationis Partium Constructione Libellus; which, with some alterations, and great additions, makes up the syntax in Lilly's Grammar, Antwerp, 1530, 8vo.* 4. *Daily Devotions or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice.* 5. *Monition to a godly Life, 1534, 1563, &c.* 6. *Epistolæ ad Erasmus — Erasmus. Knight.*

## COLLIER, JEREMY.

JEREMY COLLIER was born at Stow Qui, in Cambridge-shire, in 1650. He was educated under his father who was master of the free-school at Ipswich, whence, in 1669, he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor scholar of Caius College. In 1676 he was ordained deacon by Gunning, Bishop of Ely; and priest the year after, by Compton, Bishop of London. He officiated for some time at the Countess-dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle, in Kent, whence, in 1679, he removed to the rectory of Ampton, near St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk; but resigned it, and came to London in 1685, and was appointed lecturer of Gray's-Inn, but when the Revolution took place, he not only refused to take the oaths to the new government, but engaged as a zealous and active partisan, in support of the pretensions of the dethroned Monarch, and in defence of the conduct of his non-juring brethren. The first treatise he produced was, *The Desertion discussed, in a Letter to a Country Gentleman*, 1688, designed to counteract the influence of a pamphlet of Dr. Gilbert Burnet, the object of which was to show, that James II. by his desertion of his people, particularly after the series of injustice and violence by which his reign had been distinguished, ought no longer to be considered or treated with as King. For this Collier was confined for some months in Newgate; whence he was afterwards liberated without being brought to a trial. He then published a *Translation of the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Books of Sleidan's Commentaries*, 4to, 1689; *Vindiciæ Juris Regii*, or remarks upon a Paper entitled *An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority*, in 4to, in the same year; *Animadversions upon the modern Explanation of 2 Henry VII. cap. 1. or a King de facto*, in the same year; *A Caution against Inconsistency, or the Connexion between Praying and Swearing, in relation to the Civil Powers*, 4to, 1690; *A Dialogue concerning the Times*,

between Philobelgus and Sempronius, in the same year; a petition, on a half sheet, To the Right Honourable the Lords, and to the Gentlemen convened at Westminster, in the same year, for an Enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales; Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered, with some Remarks upon his Vindication, in 1691; and a Brief Essay concerning the Independency of Church Power, in 1692. By these publications, and by a suspicion that a journey undertaken by the writer to the coast of Kent, in 1692, was with the design of maintaining a correspondence with the exiled King, the jealousy of the government was once more alarmed, and he was brought in the custody of messengers to London, where, after an examination before the Earl of Nottingham, he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house, but was in a short time admitted to bail.

Collier's conscience, however, reproached him, and he feared lest remaining in bail he should acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court in which the bail was taken, and consequently of the power from whence the authority of the court was derived, and therefore surrendered in discharge of his bail before Chief Justice Holt, and was committed to the King's Bench prison. He was released again at the intercession of friends, in a very few days; but still attempted to support his principles and justify his conduct by the following pieces, of which, it is said, there were only five copies printed: "The case of giving bail to a pretended authority examined, dated from the King's Bench, Nov. 23, 1692," with a preface, dated Dec. 1692; and, "a Letter to Sir John Holt," dated Nov. 30, 1692; and also, "A Reply to some Remarks upon the case of giving bail, &c., dated April, 1693." He wrote soon after this, "A Persuasive to consideration, tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England," 1693, 4to. It was afterwards reprinted in 8vo, together with his vindication of it, against a piece entitled "The Layman's Apology." He wrote also, "Remarks upon the



London Gazette, relating to the Streight's Fleet, and the Battle of Landen in Flanders," 1693, 4to.

We come now to an incident in the life of Collier by which he was involved in much trouble, we allude to his absolution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, who were sentenced to death in 1696, for being implicated in a plot against the life of William III. The account of this proceeding is thus given by Collier himself. After his trial, Sir William Perkins, whom he had not seen for four or five years, sent for Collier, who visited him in Newgate. After two days he was not permitted to see the prisoner alone : and at length he was refused altogether, so that he did not see him from Wednesday, April 1, until Friday, at the place of execution. Sir William had spoken freely to Collier on the state of his mind, and desired that the absolution of the Church might be pronounced the last day. On Friday Collier was refused admittance to the prison : and therefore he went to the place of execution and gave the absolution there, since he was not allowed to give it elsewhere, using the *Form* in The Office for *The Visitation of the Sick*.

So great an impression was made upon the public mind by the circumstance, that the two Archbishops and ten Bishops published a declaration against the practice : entitled : " A Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops and Bishops now in and about London upon the occasion of their attendance in parliament, concerning the irregular and scandalous proceedings of certain clergymen, at the execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins." The document is somewhat curious, as expressive of the opinions of the Bishops respecting the schism, which had now occurred. A paper, or papers, had been delivered by the criminals to the sheriffs, which were afterwards printed and circulated, and in which Sir John Friend speaks of the Church of the nonjurors as the Church of England. The Bishops say, that they felt themselves obliged to express their sense of the conduct of the three clergymen. Alluding to Sir John Friend's expression, they remark of

the Church of England, "that venerable name is, by the author of that paper, appropriated to that part of our Church which hath separated itself from the body; and more particularly to a faction of them, who are so furiously bent upon the restoring of the late King, that they seem not to regard by what means it is to be effected." His words are as follows :

"I profess myself, and I thank God I am so, a member of the Church of England, though, God knows, a most unworthy and unprofitable part of it, of that Church which suffers so much at present, for a strict adherence to the laws and Christian principles.

For this I suffer, and for this I die."

The Bishops add, that they conceive, that Sir William Perkins used the term in the same sense, "being assured (as we are by very good information) that both he and Sir John Friend had withdrawn themselves from our public assemblies some time before their death." They then proceed to arraign the conduct of the three clergymen, Collier, Snatt, and Cook: "For those clergymen, who took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying, all three together, their hands upon their heads, and publicly pronouncing a form of absolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent, either in our Church or any other that we know of, so the thing itself was altogether irregular. The rubric in our office of the visitation of the sick, from whence they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon anything in our liturgy, they must ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for absolving these persons." They further state, that the rubric relates to sick persons who have made a confession; while these clergymen absolved notorious criminals, without even moving them to make a special confession of their sins, the parties themselves not desiring absolution. It is alleged, that the clergy, as they knew nothing of the state of mind in which the criminals were, could not

absolve them, without a breach of the order of the Church. The Bishops also add, that the clergy, if they were aware of the sentiments of the criminals declared in their papers, must have viewed them as *hardened impenitents*, or *martyrs*. The Bishops consider the former supposition as quite out of the question : but they remark on the other, “ If they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them in that manner was a justification of those grievous crimes for which these men suffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State.” The Bishops then add, that they were moved by a desire to prevent the Church from being misunderstood ; and that, therefore, “ we disown and detest all such principles and practices ; looking upon them as highly schismatical and seditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and spirit of the Christian religion.”

To this Collier published a reply ; he regards their manifesto as an unsupported censure. In this paper he enters, at some length, on the defence of the practice of the imposition of hands, on the ground of its primitive use. To the charge, that no such ceremony is enjoined by the rubric, he replies : “ true ; neither is there any prohibition. The rubric is perfectly silent both as to posture and gesture, and yet some circumstances of this nature must of necessity be used. Now since our Church allows the priest imposition of hands in another case, and does not forbid it in this, is it any harm if our liberty moves upward, and determines itself by general usage and primitive practice ? ” Some “ *Animadversions* ” on Collier’s Two Papers were speedily published. They were written by Hody, and at the command of the Archbishop, Tennison. Collier, who seldom allowed an opponent to remain unanswered, was soon ready with a reply. The only point which it is necessary to notice, relates to the question of laying on of hands. The animadverter states, that the ceremony is not retained by the Church of England : and that consequently ministers should not

make use of any, which are not positively enjoined. Collier replies as follows. "His affirming that *imposition of hands* is not retained in the Church of *England*, will not hold generally speaking. For this *ceremony* is retained both in *orders* and *confirmation*: which is a sufficient argument of its being approved by the Church. But the Church does not retain it in her absolutions. I grant 'tis not in the rubric for that purpose. And therefore, had it been used at the *Daily Service* or upon any *solemn occasion* regulated by the Church there might have been some pretence for exception: but the *rubric* and *act* of uniformity, mentioned by the *animadverter*, provide only against innovations, in stated and public administrations. 'Tis in *Churches* and *Church appointments* that the rubric condemns *adding* or *diminishing*. But this is none of the present case. For the Church has not prescribed us any *office* for *executions*. Every priest is here left to his liberty, both as to office and gesture, to substance and ceremony. The devotion may be all private composition, if the confessor pleases. And when out of respect to the Church, he selects any part of her liturgy, though the form is public, the choice and occasion are private, which makes it fall under another denomination. The selected office in this case, is like coin melted into bullion. The public impression is gone: and with that the forfeitures for clipping and alloy are gone too: and the honest proprietor may add to the quantity, or alter the figure as he thinks fit. I confess had the Church excepted against the imposition of hands in absolution: had she condemned the ceremony thus applied, and laid a general prohibition upon it: her members ought to govern themselves accordingly, and not to use it, so much as in private: but since the Church prescribes this rite in her rubric, and takes notice of it only by way of practice and approbation: when matters stand thus, I say, her non-prohibition implies allowance in private ministrations, and in cases no way determined by herself. For pray what is liberty, but the absence of command, the silence of authority, and leaving

things in their natural indifferency? Thus the point was understood and practised by the famous Bishop Sanderson, upon one of the most solemn occasions, and in which himself was most nearly concerned. This eminent casuist about a day before his death, desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office he pulled of his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head."

The government of course proceeded on the publication of the episcopal document, to persecute these clergymen, although it is difficult to say of what offence they had been guilty. Cook and Snatt were admitted to bail. Collier, however, refusing to give bail was outlawed; and under this sentence he continued through life, because he refused to submit. But though outlawed and living in retirement, he continued to defend his cause by a variety of papers or pamphlets.

When this affair was over, Collier employed himself in reviewing and finishing several miscellaneous pieces of his, which he published under the title of *Essays upon several moral subjects*. They consist of three volumes in 8vo; the first of which was printed in the year 1697, the second in 1705, and the third in 1709. They are written with such a mixture of learning and wit, and in a style so easy and flowing, that notwithstanding the prejudice of party, which ran, as may easily be imagined, strong against him, they were generally well received, and have gone through many editions since. It was the success of the first volume, which encouraged the author to add the other two. In the year 1698, he made an attempt to reform the stage, by publishing his *Short View of the immorality and profaneness of the English stage*, together with the sense of antiquity upon this argument, 8vo. This engaged him in a controversy with the wits of those times; and Congreve and Vanbrugh, whom, with many others, he had attacked very severely, appeared openly against him. The pieces he wrote in this controversy, besides the first already mentioned, were, his *Defence of the Short View*,

being a reply to Mr. Congreve's Amendments, &c., and to the vindication of the author of the *Relapse*, 1699, 8vo. A second Defence of the *Short View*, being a reply to a book entitled, *The Ancient and Modern stages surveyed*, &c., 1700, 8vo: the book here replied to was written by Dr. Drake. Mr. Collier's *Dissuasive from the play-house*: in a letter to a person of quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the tempest, 1703, 8vo. A farther Vindication of the *Short View*, &c., in which the objections of a late book entitled, *a Defence of Plays* are considered, 1708, 8vo. In this controversy with the stage, Collier exerted himself to the greatest advantage; and shewed, that a clergyman might have wit, as well as learning and reason, on his side. It is remarkable, that his labours here were attended with success, and actually produced repentance and amendment; for it is allowed on all hands, that the decorum, which has been for the most part observed by the modern writers of dramatic poetry, is entirely owing to the animadversions of Collier. What Dryden said upon this occasion, will shew, that this observation is not made without sufficient foundation. "I shall say the less of Mr. Collier, because in many things he has taxed me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly arraigned of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one."

His next publication was a translation of Moreri, of which the first two volumes were printed in 1701, the third, under the title of a "Supplement," in 1705, and the fourth, called an Appendix, in 1721. About 1701 he published a translation of the meditations of Marcus Antoninus. In the year 1708 was published the first volume of that work so often quoted in the present publication, his "*Ecclesiastical History*." The second appeared in 1714.

It is distinguished by its bold impartiality as to facts, and by its determined and thoroughly Anglican character as to principles. He never fears to declare his principles, but in giving his facts, he would rather listen to the assertions of an opponent, than take for granted the declarations of a partizan. The work being a valuable one, was of course attacked. Bishop Nicholson and Bishop Kennet, partisans of the Revolution, were his opponents, but Collier was more than a match for them.

Before the publication of the second volume, in the year 1713, Collier had been consecrated to the episcopal office among the Nonjurors, and after the death of the justly celebrated Hickes, he became the most distinguished of their prelates, until the body separated into two sections in consequence of the controversy relating to the usages; an account of which shall be given from Lathbury, to whom the reader has been already indebted.

The controversy did not spring up till after the death of Hickes: but similar views, with those entertained by the advocates for alterations, had been advanced in his Christian Priesthood, which may have had some influence in the disputes. It is remarkable, that the men, who deprecated any changes in 1689, should have been the first to alter the Communion Service. They actually split upon the very rock, that of alterations, which by the good Providence of God, the Church had avoided—and avoided too by the opposition of the very men, who now advocated the change. Any material alterations at the Revolution might have endangered the Church: and the changes made by some of the Nonjurors weakened them so much, as a party, that they never assumed so compact a form after this period. The divisions, indeed, which now sprang up, may be assigned as the remote cause of their extinction.

The Communion Office, in the First Book of King Edward, A. D. 1549, differed, as is well known, from that of the second, and of all our succeeding books, in several

particulars. Certain practices and several petitions were laid aside, when the book was revised in 1552. In the year 1717, when this dispute commenced, a reprint of the first Communion Book was published by the Nonjurors, who wished to adopt the usages, which were rejected when the book was reviewed.

Collier took the lead in this controversy. Hickes had expressed his preference of the first Communion Book, but during his life no formal proposal was made by Collier to publish a new book. In the year 1717, appeared the "*Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers, &c.*" The work was published by Morphew, who was the printer of the Communion Office: from which circumstance, we may infer the probability, that Collier, or one of the Nonjurors, was the originator of the latter.

This tract was written in a candid and moderate tone. The author enters very abruptly upon his work: for the very first sentence in the tract is the following: "The rubric orders the putting a little *pure water* to the wine in the chalice." He then proceeds to adduce evidence in proof of the antiquity of the practice. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, St. Cyprian, are quoted as authorities for the practice in early times, besides the Apostolical Constitutions. The council of Carthage, A. D. 397, the council in Trullo, and the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are also cited.

The next point is the introduction of the words "*Militant here on Earth*," after the words "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church." The previous words, he says, "seem inserted to exclude Prayer for the Dead." In the first book there was a petition for the dead: and he contends, that such a recommendation of the departed to the mercy of God, "is nothing of the remains of popery, but a constant usage of the primitive Church." Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem. St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and the Apostolical Constitutions, with certain ancient liturgies, are quoted in



support of this statement, besides certain individuals, who actually prayed for deceased friends. Collier argues that the Church of England, though she condemns the Romish doctrine of purgatory, has not condemned prayers for the dead : and he says : “ Where the Church of England has left her meaning doubtful, the greatest honour we can do her is to interpret her to a conformity to primitive practice.” Respecting the custom itself he says : “ This custom, which began in the apostolical age, and was continued through the whole church till the 16th century : this custom, we conceive, is very serviceable to the ends of religion : it supposes our friends but removed to a distant country, and existing in a different condition : and that they only die in one place to live in another. It refreshes the belief of the soul’s immortality, draws back the curtain of the grave, and opens a communication between this world and the other.”

The third passage, which he wished to be restored was the prayer of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the sacramental elements. In the first liturgy was this petition : “ 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.” He then adduces testimonies from antiquity in favour of the petition. He admits that the force of the invocation may be contained in our present office : but he thinks that express terms are desirable.

A fourth thing is specified, namely, the restoration of the Oblatory prayer, which in the first liturgy came after the consecration prayer. In that prayer are the following words : “ We Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts. the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make.” Collier’s view of this prayer is thus stated : “ The Oblatory prayer goes upon this ground, that the Holy Eucharist is a proper sacrifice : and that our Blessed Saviour, at His

last supper, offered the bread and wine to God the Father as the symbols of His body and blood, and commanded His Apostles to do the same." As before, several testimonies from antiquity are produced, besides the authority of Hickes in his Christian Priesthood, and Johnson in his Unbloody Sacrifice. He closes with an allusion to Bucer, Calvin, and Peter Martyr, to whom our reformers are supposed to have yielded in rejecting these four practices. "From hence we infer," says he, "that the explanations, as they are called, in the second book, were not made without compliance with the weakness of some people; not without condescension to those who had more scruples than understanding, more heat than light in them."

In a very short time an answer was published by a Nonjuror. Collier had written with moderation, and the reply evinces a similar spirit. The writer is anxious to prevent divisions among themselves: and he is apprehensive of danger from the proposed changes. He takes up the four points, in the order in which they are ranged by Collier, and refutes them.

Collier, Brett, and Campbell the Scottish Bishop, were the chief of that section, by whom the restoration of the prayers and directions was advocated: while Spinkes, Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford strenuously contended for a strict adherence to the liturgy, as now used in the Church of England.

At the commencement of the year 1718, Collier published an answer to the reply to his former pamphlet, in which he meets the objections alleged by his opponent against the restoration of the prayers. Collier asks, whether Justin Martyr is not early enough, the author of "*No Reason, &c.*" having objected on the ground, that he was too late as an evidence in such a matter. It would occupy too much space to go over Collier's reasoning. It may, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that he enters at great length into all the arguments advanced by his opponent, with a view to the establishment of his former positions. He closes in these words: "The best service we can do

the Church of England, is to recover the main of her first reformation: to retrieve what she has suffered by interested views, by foreign direction, and calvinistic alloy. Thus I humbly conceive she will be remarkably *Decus et tutamen*, and have new strength and lustre upon her. Thus she will better endure the test of antiquity, be more covered from assault, and stand impregnable."

The author of "*No Reason for restoring, &c.*," very soon published another pamphlet in reply to Collier, entitled "*No Sufficient Reason for Restoring some Prayers and Directions of King Edward VI.'s First Liturgy.*" Collier immediately replied, for his answer was published in the same year. This is a work of considerable size; and every page affords evidence of the learning and talents of the author. "*The Vindication*" was replied to by the author of "*No Reason, &c.*," and "*No Sufficient Reason, &c.*" After which Collier published in the year 1720, "*A Farther Defence, &c., being an Answer to a Reply to the Vindication of the Reasons and Defence for Restoring, &c.*"

Collier preferred the first Communion Book, while his opponent was strenuous for adhering to our present form. The latter considered the practices as immaterial: and consequently that no sufficient reason could be pleaded for their restoration. It will be seen that the controversy continued several years: and that the parties became embittered towards each other as it proceeded.

During the progress of this controversy between the two sections of the Nonjurors, the new communion office was actually published.

In the prayer for the King no name is used, but only a petition for the Sovereign: and of course the four points contended for by Collier and Brett are incorporated into the office.

During his latter years, Collier suffered much from attacks of the stone, to which he fell a victim on the 26th of April, 1726. His chief works have been already

mentioned. Various smaller publications were at different periods sent forth by him; but we are not aware of these having been enumerated.—*Biog. Brit. Lathbury. Collier's Tracts.*

#### COLUMBA, SAINT.

SAINT COLUMBA was born at Gartan, in the county of Donegal, about the year of our Lord 522. His baptismal name was Crimthan; but in consequence of the remarkable mildness of his disposition and the gentleness of his manners, he has ever been surnamed Columba, or the Dove. Like other religious youths of his age, it was natural that he should early seek admission into one of the monastic colleges; and accordingly we find him first studying in the monastery of Moville, over which an abbot named Finian then presided. He continued here until his admission to deacon's orders, when he placed himself under the care of Germanus, or Gorman, who was at that period considered a distinguished instructor of the young; and before he completed his studies, he spent some time at the school of Clonard, whose celebrity has been noticed already. The life he passed in these schools was a very strict one. Emulous of evangelic perfection, and inflamed with the love of Christ, he, as well as the other religious youths, used to pass their days in voluntary poverty, in vigils, fastings, and heavenly contemplation. The time that was not occupied in acts of piety or in study, was employed in labouring with their hands for their daily food.

St. Columba commenced his public career in the foundation of the abbey of Derry, in the year 546. This was only the first of a great number of monastic houses and churches, which owed their erection to his instrumentality. Indeed, so numerous are they said to have been, that from this circumstance he received the addition of "cille" to his name, and is now usually known as Columb-cille, or Columb of the Churches.

It was about the year 551 when Columba was admitted to the priesthood; and it requires to be noticed that he never rose to the episcopal order, although few, perhaps, were better qualified for this sacred office. This circumstance, apparently so strange, is thus accounted for in an old legend:—

“Columba,” says the writer, “while still only a deacon, was sent to a certain Bishop Etchen to be raised to the episcopal order. Etchen would appear to have been one of those anchorite bishops about whom something was said in the last chapter. He was ploughing in the field when Columba arrived at his cell; and as soon as he heard the name of his visitor, the bishop left his simple occupation to bid him welcome. Nor, when informed of the object of his visit, did Etchen hesitate for a moment compliance with his request. He immediately proceeded to the solemn ceremony of the ordination; but (continues the legend), owing to some oversight, he fixed on the wrong office, and instead of consecrating him a bishop, only ordained him a priest. On discovering his mistake, Etchen offered to go on regularly; but Columba declined, and attributing the occurrence to some providential interference, expressed his resolution to remain in the order of the priesthood during the rest of his life.”

Whatever difficulties may attend the reception of this story, there is reason to believe it true in all important particulars; and it tends to prove the existence in Ireland of the evil custom censured in the Nicene council, of one bishop consecrating another without the assistance of coadjutors. It also leads us to conjecture, that deacons in the Irish Church were occasionally advanced to the highest degree, without being required to be ordained priests.

Some time after his ordination, St. Columba set forth, with twelve companions, on his eventful expedition to the Highlands of Scotland. He arrived in that country in the year 563, and fixed his abode on the small island of Iona, the grant of which he had received from Conall, King of

the Dal-aradian Scots. Here he erected a monastery, and commenced his labours for the conversion of the Picts. These were attended with so much success, that his fame spread through every part of Britain; and the monastery of Iona became in time, the chief seat of learning and piety in the Western Isles. But after some years of anxious exertion, his attention was diverted from the care of his converts to the social troubles of Ireland. There was a dispute between Aid, the King of Ireland, and his kinsman Aidan, King of the Albanian Scots, respecting the right of possession to the territory of Dal-aradia. Both sovereigns laid a claim to it: the Scottish prince asserting that the land in dispute belonged to him by right of hereditary succession; while the Irish monarch was unwilling that a foreign prince should enjoy any sovereignty in his dominions. And, in addition to the dangers that thus threatened the integrity of the kingdom, the overgrown power of the fileas, or bards, greatly obstructed its internal tranquillity. Their rude rhymes were very acceptable to the Irish populace, who would never grow wearied of listening to their panegyrics on the national valour, or the heroic deed of some favourite warrior. The bards were not slow in marking the effect of their songs upon the people—how the popular attention was riveted, and their enthusiasm excited; but they made use of their acquired influence for the very worst ends. Intent only upon enriching themselves, they did not hesitate to defame those who would not purchase their good-will with costly presents: and, protected as they were, by the favour of the people, they seemed conscious that no harm could happen to their persons. They therefore increased in licentious boldness, and by the virulence of their satirical verses, wounded many of the influential chieftains of the day, who bore with the evil until it appeared no longer endurable.

To find some remedy for this abuse, as well as to settle the affair about the Dal-aradian territory, an assembly of the states of the kingdom was convened at Drum-ceat, in the county of Derry, in the year 590. The council con-

sisted of the Irish Monarch, the nobles, and the clergy, who, since the conversion of the island to the Christian faith, had in a great measure succeeded to the political privileges of the pagan Druids. Columba came over from Iona to attend the council, and by his mediation, succeeded in preserving the order of the bards from the sentence of abolition, contemplated by the King and nobles. He conceived that no good end could result from the extinction of an order so intimately connected with the manners of the people; and therefore proposed that, instead of extirpating them altogether, the assembly should be satisfied with correcting their excesses, and enacting laws for their more effectual control in future. To this proposal there was at first some little opposition, but it was in the end unanimously conceded to. The Dal-aradian dispute was also arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. By the advice of St. Columba, the whole matter was left to the arbitration of a holy person named Colman, who gave it as his decision, that the province—so far as the payment of tribute and similar affairs was concerned—ought to be subject to the Irish Monarch; but that the Scots, as being themselves the descendants of the Dal-aradians, might call upon them for aid and assistance in times of just necessity. And the readiness with which this decision was acquiesced in, is a proof of the estimation in which the integrity of religious men was then held, as well as of the extensive power that was on more than one occasion conceded to them.

Upon the breaking up of the council, Columba proceeded to visit some of his Irish monasteries; and after completing his inspection of them, returned to his favourite residence at Iona. Here he ended his days on the 9th of June, in the year 597. His remains were buried in Iona; but at a subsequent period are said to have been translated to Ireland, and placed in the same tomb with that of Patrick and Bridgit, at Downpatrick.—*The whole of this Account is taken from Todd's Ancient Church in Ireland.*

## COLUMBANUS, SAINT.

SAINT COLUMBANUS was an eminent Christian missionary of the sixth century. He was born in Ireland, in the year 560, in the province of Lagenia, or Leinster. In his youth he learnt the liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric and geometry; but as he had a graceful person, and fearing that he should become subject to the temptations of pleasure, he left his country, notwithstanding his mother's opposition, and going into another province of Ireland, he put himself under the guidance of a venerable person named Silen, who so well instructed in sacred literature, that even in his youth he composed a treatise upon the psalms, and some other works. He afterwards entered into the monastery of Bancor, the most famous of Ireland, at that time under the government of the Abbot Commogel, or Congal, and lived there several years, accustoming himself to works of mortification. To disengage himself yet more from the world, he purposed to travel into a foreign country, after the example of Abraham. He communicated his intention to the abbot, who with great difficulty suffered himself to be deprived of such an assistant; but at last believing that it was God's will, he consented to it. St. Columbanus having received his benediction, departed from Bancor with twelve other monks, being about thirty years of age. They passed into Great Britain, and from thence to Gaul. The faith was there entire, but the discipline much neglected, whether by the incursions of foreigners, or the remissness of the prelates.

Columbanus preached in all places through which he passed, and his virtues added great weight to his instructions. He was so humble, that he always contended with his companions for the lowest place: they were all of one mind; their modesty, sobriety, gentleness, patience and charity, made them universally admired. If any one was guilty of a fault, they all joined in reforming his error. Every thing was in common; nor was ever any contradic-



tion, or hard words heard among them. In whatsoever place they abode, their example inspired an universal piety. Columbanus' reputation reached even to the court of the King of Burgundy: this was Gontran, who, upon hearing his character, desired him to stay in his kingdom, and offered him whatsoever he should desire. The holy man thanked him, saying, that he desired nothing but to carry his cross after Jesus Christ, and chose the vast Desart of Vosge for his retreat, where among the rocks, and in a most barren place, he found the ruins of an old castle named Anagrates, at present Anegray, and there settled with his companions. This was his first monastery.

In 589 he founded the monastery of Luxevil, near Besançon, which he governed for twenty years. In 598 he engaged in a controversy with pope Gregory concerning the proper time of keeping Easter; but he at length submitted to the court of Rome. From France he was banished for censuring the immoralities of Theodoric and his Queen; he then went to Switzerland, where he was kindly received by Theodebert, King of that country, and was successful in converting the pagans; but the Swiss army being defeated by the French, he was obliged to remove to Italy, where, under the protection of the King of the Lombards, he founded in 613, the abbey of Bobio, near Naples. Over this monastery he presided but a short time; he died on the 21st of November, 615.—*Cave Fleury*.

## COMBEFIS, FRANCIS.

FRANCIS COMBEFIS was born in 1605 at Marmaude, and at twenty years of age assumed the habit of a Benedictine, at Bordeaux, where he taught philosophy and theology. He entered a convent of his order at Paris, in 1640. Being learned in the Greek language, he undertook the office of editor to several of the ancient fathers, and dedicated fifty years of his life to this work. He was not by

any means so skilled in Latin, as he was in Greek, and his translations are obscure, and sometimes nearly unintelligible. He died in 1679. His principal works are—

1. S.S. Patrum, Amphilochii, Methodii, et Andreæ Cretensis opera Omnia, Paris, 1644, 2 vols, folio.
2. Græco-Latinæ Patrum Bibliothecæ novum auctuarium, 1648, 2 vols, folio.
3. Bibliotheca Patrum concionatoria, 1662, 8 vols, folio.
4. Originum rerumque Constantinopolitanarum et variis autoribus manipulus, etc., 1664, in 4to.
5. Bibliotheca Græcorum Patrum auctuarium novissimum, Græce et Latine, 1672, 2 vols, in folio.
6. Ecclesiastes Græcus, 1674, in 8vo.
7. S. Maximi opera, 1675, 2 vols, folio.
8. Basilius Magnus ex integro recensitus, etc., 1679, 2 vols, 8vo.
9. Historiæ Byzantinæ Scriptores post Theophanem usque ad Nicephorum Phocam, Græce et Latine, 1685, folio.—*Biographie Universelle*.

## COMBER, THOMAS.

THOMAS COMBER was born at Westerham, in Kent, March 19th, 1644. His father was persecuted for his loyalty, and obliged to take refuge in Flanders, leaving young Comber to be educated by his mother. At the period of her death, in 1672, he gratefully remembered the care she took of his education, describing her as “a person of great understanding, lovely aspect, and admirable piety, and so tender of me, that her whole life was dedicated to my improvement in learning and virtue; and I believe no son and mother did more entirely love each other, nor did I ever know any thing touch my heart so near as her death.” Under her superintendence he received his primary education at the school of his native place, where his progress was so rapid that he could read and write Greek before he was ten years old. Thence he removed, in 1653, to London, and passed some time under a schoolmaster, a distant relation; and in 1656 he returned to his first master at Westerham. In 1659 he was

admitted of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of the Rev. Edmund Matthews, B.D., senior fellow and president of the college, to whom he acknowledges his obligations for the pains he took in instructing him in science and in the languages. In 1662 he was chosen scholar of the house. Having been admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1662, he was obliged, by the narrowness of his circumstances, to leave the university, and retire to his mother's house. In this situation, however, he was befriended by a Mr. John Holney, of Edenbridge, who, discerning his talents, made him a handsome present, and signified to him his wish that he would draw upon him at any time for any sum he might require.

Early in 1663 he accepted an invitation to the house of the Rev. William Holland, rector of Allhallows, Staining, London, whose assistant he became. Soon after he was invited to be curate to the Rev. Gilbert Bennet, who held the living of Stonegrave, in Yorkshire. At Stonegrave, his character having recommended him to the notice of Mr. Thornton, of East Newton, he was invited to reside at that gentleman's house, and he afterwards married one of his daughters. In 1669 Mr. Bennet resigned to him the living of Stonegrave, as he had promised to do when he engaged him as his curate. Having long been an admirer of the church-service, he determined to recommend it to the public, which at that time was frequently interested in disputes respecting set forms and extempore prayer: and with this view he published, about 1672, the first part of his Companion to the Temple; in 1674 the second part; and in 1675 the third part, of which a different arrangement was adopted in the subsequent editions. In 1677 he was installed prebendary of Holme, in the metropolitan church of York; and the same year a third edition of his Companion to the Temple was published, together with his first book on the Right of Tithes, &c., against Elwood the Quaker, and his Friendly and Seasonable Advice to the Roman Catholics of England. This

little book was republished with alterations and notes by the author of these biographies about twenty years ago, and is now reprinting, so valuable does it appear to him, and so profitable for these times. The same year appeared his *Brief Discourse on the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation*, dedicated to Dr. Tillotson. In 1678 he was presented to the living of Thornton by Sir Hugh Cholmeley. In 1680 he published, in answer to Selden's *History of Tithes*, the first part of his *Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tithes*, and in 1681 the second part. Some time in this year he published a tract, entitled *Religion and Loyalty*, intended to convince the Duke of York that no person in succession to the throne of England ought to embrace popery: but to persuade the people of England not to alter the succession.

In 1683 a correspondence took place between him and Dr. Grenville, who wrote to him to tell him of some kind expressions used towards him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft; in the course of this letter Dr. Grenville, speaking of his waiting upon the Archbishop of York, says, "I could not have any private conference with his grace to fling in any item concerning you, or my own great affair about the weekly Sacrament, which above all other matters oppresses my mind." "I am told," adds he, "by Dr. Beveridge that it is intended to have one, when St. Paul's is rebuilt, in that cathedral; and by the Dean of Canterbury, that they are likely soon to set up one in their church, which will have a great influence on all the cathedrals in the kingdom. Dr. Beveridge his devout practice and order in his church, doth exceedingly edify the city, and his congregation increases every week: he hath seldom less than four-score, sometimes six or seven score communicants, and a great many young apprentices, who come there every Lord's day with great devotion. The doctor approves of my honest designs, and hath confirmed me very much in my resolutions, and will be I promise myself a very useful friend to me.

“When your folio edition on the Common Prayer comes forth,” adds the doctor, “I promise myself the honour of presenting it to the King; it will prove a very good application to my sermon, which begins and ends you know with my beloved mistress the Common Prayer Book.”

The object of procuring a weekly Communion in all the cathedrals throughout the kingdom, which Dr. Grenville calls his great affair, seems indeed to have been very near his heart, for amongst the numerous letters he wrote to Dr. Comber, and which are still extant, he presses this point with great zeal, desiring his correspondent to use his utmost exertions to effect this great point.

This good, affectionate, and amiable man, in another letter says, “But to return to my old topic of pushing on the weekly Sacrament, you and I are more particularly concerned in this good work, than any other clergymen that I know of in the whole province, and I am certain that it is the expectation of several clergy and devout people in these parts, that we should do more than others. You are looked on to be the greatest champion for the Common Prayer Book in the whole country, (nay perchance in all England;) and I am considered as one of the more exact observers of the rubric, and sticklers for conformity; and I dare without pride or vanity own that I am a hearty lover of the book, and have in me some innate zeal for order. Really Dr. Comber this is a great and excellent work, and will do God more service than all your past labours, or my past endeavours since our first coming into the ministry. It will have a wonderful influence over all the north, and shame the other cathedrals into the like practice: which accompanied with such a circular letter as my Lord of Canterbury intends to send to the bishops of his own province, would in a powerful manner preach to all the inferior clergy, not only frequent communion, but exact conformity. Without doubt these means that are of Christ’s own institution, and the incomparable established order of our own church, (the most

incomparable and unexceptionable institution in all Christendom,) are the most probable means to revive religion, devotion, conformity, and loyalty, in the land."

The design of establishing weekly Communions, which the doctor seems to have desired so earnestly, was soon afterwards carried into execution in the metropolitan church of Canterbury, as appears from a letter of Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, still extant: the same laudable practice was also established about the same time in the cathedral of York, as appears from divers letters to and from our author.

In 1683 Dr. Dolben was appointed to the metropolitan see of York, and one of his first acts was, to obtain for Comber the precentorship of York Minster. In 1685 the Archbishop of York offered him the Archdeaconry of Cleveland, now void by Dr. Long's death; but he, excusing himself, recommended his old friend Dr. Burton, rector of Sutton, who had been Mr. Thornton's preceptor previous to his going to college. His grace paid so much attention to this recommendation, that he gave the archdeaconry to the doctor.

At his request the Archbishop of York issued his commands to have the holy Communion administered every Lord's day in the cathedral at York, and on the 26th of April this laudable practice first began. There is extant a letter from Dr. Grenville to the precentor on this subject, in which he speaks in very enthusiastic terms on this head.

The precentor began his second residence at York the 11th of May, and on the 14th was elected a procurator for King James's convocation, which was to open on the 20th of the same month.

King James having, very soon after the death of his brother Charles II., published certain papers, said to have been found in his late majesty's box, and which pretended to give an account of the reasons which induced him to turn to the religion of Rome, the precentor wrote short, but severe animadversions upon them; he likewise did

the same thing with those called the Duchess's Papers, which gave a like weak and improbable account of her perversion to the Romish religion.

In 1688 King James sent a silver crosier to York, and a *congé d'elire*, with a recommendation of Dr. Smith, a popish priest, but the chapter of York, under the influence of Comber, though he was not present on the occasion, instead of acceding to the royal mandate, elected Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter. In all the proceedings of the Revolution Comber heartily concurred, and was a most determined Whig, vindicating the loyalty of King William's government, but at the same time attending with devotion to the duties of his holy office. Among his papers was found a memorandum, that "an unknown person sent a noble crimson velvet cloth with rich embroidery, and gold fringe, to adorn the altar of the cathedral," and he prays that God may reward his alms done in secret, very openly, observing that it was a very seasonable and liberal gift.

In 1691 the revolutionary government appointed him to the deanery of Durham, in the place of his old admirer and friend, Dr. Grenville, who became a Nonjuror, and attended the King to France. Dr. Grenville repeatedly wrote to Dean Comber, treating him as an intruder, and desiring him to consider himself only as his steward until he with King James should have his own again. Comber died in 1699, of a consumption, before he had completed his 55th year.

Besides the works already noticed, Dr. Comber wrote, 1. A Scholastical History of the primitive and general Use of Liturgies in the Christian Church; together with an Answer to Mr. David Clarkson's late Discourse concerning Liturgies, London, 1690, dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. 2. A Companion to the Altar; or, an Help to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper, by Discourses and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office. 3. A brief Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism,

Catechism, and Confirmation, printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. 4. A Discourse on the Occasional Offices in the Common Prayer, viz: Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Churching of Women, and the Communion. 5. A Discourse upon the Manner and Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, London, 1699, 8vo, dedicated to Archbishop Tenison. 6. Short Discourses upon the whole Common Prayer, designed to inform the judgment, and excite the devotion of such as daily use the same, chiefly by way of paraphrase, London, 1684, 8vo, dedicated to Anne, Princess of Denmark, to whom the author was chaplain. 7. Roman Forgeries in the Councils during the first four centuries; together with an Appendix, concerning the Forgeries and Errors in the Annals of Baronius, *ibid*, 1689, 4to.—*Comber's Life of Comber*.

## COMPTON, HENRY.

HENRY COMPTON, youngest son of Spencer, second Earl of Northampton, was born at Compton, in 1632. He received his primary education at a grammar school, and was, in 1649, entered a nobleman of Queen's College, Oxford, where he continued till about 1652, and soon after travelled on the continent. At the Restoration he returned to England, and became a cornet in a regiment of horse, raised about that time for the King's guard; but soon quitting that post, he went to Cambridge, where he was created M.A., and entering into orders when about thirty years of age, he was admitted canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in the beginning of 1666. In April of the same year he was incorporated M. A. at Oxford, holding at that time the rectory of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire. In 1667 he was made master of St. Cross, near Winchester. In May 1669 he was installed canon of Christ Church. In December 1674 he was preferred to



the Bishopric of Oxford, and about a year after he was made dean of the Chapel Royal, and was also translated to the see of London. Anthony Wood tells us, that "this translation was much promoted by some of the politic clergy, because they knew him to be a bold man, an enemy to the papists, and one that would act and speak, what they would put him upon, which they themselves would not be seen in, as many prime papists used to say." Bishop Burnet informs us further, that "this translation was effected through the Earl of Danby's interest; to whom the Bishop, he says, was a property, and turned by him as he pleased. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby persuaded both the King and the Duke, that as his heat did no great hurt to any person, so the giving way to it helped to lay the jealousies of the church party. He tells us also, that Archbishop Sheldon dying about a year after that, Compton was persuaded Lord Danby had tried with all his strength to promote him to Canterbury; though that, he says, was never once attempted."

Charles II. caused him to be sworn one of his privy-council, and committed to him the education of his two nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne, whose attachment to the protestant Church was owing in a great measure to their tutor. Compton had early indulged the vain hope of bringing the dissenters to a sense of the necessity of a union among protestants; to promote which, he held several conferences with his own clergy, the substance of which he published in July, 1680. He further hoped that dissenters might be the more easily reconciled to the Church, if the judgment of foreign divines should be produced against their needless separation; and for that purpose he wrote to M. le Moyne, professor of divinity at Leyden, to M. de l'Angle, one of the preachers of the protestant church at Charenton, near Paris, and to M. Claude, another eminent French preacher. Their answers are published at the end of Bishop Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*, 1681, 4to.

The answers are not of much value ; they are evidently written by men overwhelmed with a sense of the honour done them by “ Monseigneur,” the Bishop, and wishing to write what would please him without committing themselves. They all agree in thinking dissent unreasonable, but they evidently were not acquainted with the circumstances of the case. There is nothing *unreasonable* in those who do not hold sacramental religion, who reject the notion of baptismal regeneration, and of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, separating themselves from the Church of England : the difficulty must be with them to reconcile to their consciences conformity to the Church, until these doctrines are received. It is on other grounds that they must be persuaded, not to join the Church, but, preparatory to their union, to accept the Church’s faith.

To popery Bishop Compton was an unflinching enemy. He omitted no opportunity of arresting its progress when it was gaining ground in the reign of Charles II. ; and on the accession of James II. he had the honour of being dismissed from the council-table, and from the deanery of the Chapel Royal. But the event of Bishop Compton’s life, which has rendered his character historical, is that which relates to the proceedings against him in the council chamber at Whitehall, before the Lords commissioners appointed by King James the Second, in 1686. The Lord Chancellor, who appears in these proceedings, is the notorious Judge Jeffries. The following account is taken from the State Trials :—

On Thursday, the 17th of June, Mr. Atterbury the messenger, delivered a letter from his majesty, to my Lord Bishop of London, at Fulham ; which letter was dated Monday, June the 14th, and took notice, “ that notwithstanding the directions his majesty had given concerning preachers, the 15th of March, 1685, Dr. John Sharp had, in some sermons, presumed to make unbecoming reflections ; and used such expressions as tended to beget in the minds of his hearers, an evil opinion of his majesty and his government, and to dispose the people to rebel-

lion. And therefore commanded the Bishop to suspend the said Dr. John Sharp from preaching, till his majesty's pleasure was further known."

In answer to which, my Lord Bishop of London wrote to my Lord Sunderland the next day, being the 18th of June, and sent the letter by Dr. Sharp. Wherein he acquaints my Lord Sunderland, "He was concerned he could not comply with his majesty's commands: that being to act as a judge in this case, he could not condemn the doctor till he had been cited, and he had knowledge of the cause; but that he had sent to the doctor, and acquainted him with his majesty's displeasure, and found him so ready to make all reasonable satisfaction, that he had thought fit to make him the bearer of this answer.

The Sunday following Dr. Sharp carried a petition to Windsor, which was not permitted to be read.

The substance of the petition was, that nothing could be so afflictive as his unhappiness in having incurred his majesty's displeasure, which he was so sensible of, that he had forborne all public exercise of his function ever since.

That he had ever faithfully endeavoured to do the best service he could, as well to the late King as his majesty, both by preaching and otherwise; and that he had been so far from venting any thing that tended to schism or faction, or the disturbance of the government, that he had upon all occasions set himself against such doctrines and principles as looked that way. But if any thing had slipped from him, that was capable of giving any offence to his majesty, he declared he had no ill intentions in those expressions, and was heartily sorry for them; and that he would be so careful in the discharge of his duty for the future, that his majesty should have reason to believe him his most faithful subject; and therefore desired to be restored to the same favour the rest of the clergy enjoyed under his majesty's government.

On Wednesday the 4th of August, 1686, my Lord Bishop of London appeared before the commissioners, according

to their summons, at the council chamber at Whitehall ; present, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer, Lord Bishop of Rochester, Lord President, Lord Chief Justice Herbert.

The Lord Chancellor demanded why my Lord Bishop of London had not suspended Dr. Sharp, according to the King's command ?

The Lord Bishop of London answered, that he was advised he could not legally do it, but by way of citation and hearing him.

Lord Chancellor. You ought to have known the law better : the King is to be obeyed, and if you have any reasons to offer we are ready to hear you.

The Lord Bishop of London desired a copy of their commission, and a copy of his charge ; and if he might not have a copy of their commission, that he might read it, or hear it read. Then he was ordered to withdraw ; and being called again in about a quarter of an hour, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him that the commissioners were of opinion his request could not be granted : that if every one that appeared there should demand a sight of their commission their whole time would be taken up in reading of it. That the proceedings of courts of this kind were not by libel and articles, but by word of mouth ; and it was a short question only they asked, why he did not obey the King ?

My Lord Bishop of London desired the commissioners to consider he was a peer and a bishop, and he desired to behave himself as becomes one in those capacities ; and hoped they would give him time till the next term to make his defence.

The commissioners said, they thought that unreasonable, but they would give his lordship a week's time ; and then adjourned to the 9th of August.

On the 9th of August, the same commissioners being present, my Lord Bishop of London came before them, attended by his nephew, the Earl of Northampton, Sir John Nicholas, and his brother, Sir Francis Compton.

My Lord Bishop of London said, he had not been able to meet with their commission, till the night before, though he was told he might see it in every coffee-house.

The Lord Chancellor answered, they would admit no quarrelling at their commission; they were well assured of the legality of it, or they would not be such fools as to sit there.

My Lord Bishop of London said, he desired a sight of their commission, because, possibly, it might not reach him, being a peer and a bishop; and that he had not had time to advise about it, and therefore desired a fortnight longer, (which was granted.)

On Tuesday the 23rd day of August, my Lord Bishop of London appeared before the same commissioners again.

Lord Bishop. My Lord, I have consulted those that are very learned in the laws, who tell me that your proceedings in this court are directly contrary to the statute law; and they are here to plead it, if your lordship will admit them.

Lord Chancellor. We will neither hear your lordship nor your council in the matter: we are sufficiently satisfied of the legality of our commission.

Lord Bishop. My lord, I am a bishop of the Church of England; and by all the law in the Christian Church, in all ages, and by the particular law of this land, I am, in case of offence, to be tried by my metropolitan and suffragans: I hope your lordship will not deny the rights and privileges of Christian bishops.

Lord Chancellor. My Lord, you know our proceedings are according to what has been done formerly, and that we have an original jurisdiction; this is still questioning our court.

Lord Bishop. My lords, protesting in my own right to the laws of the realm, as a subject, and the rights and privileges of the Church, as a bishop, I shall give in my answer.

The answer was accepted, and the bishop withdrew; and after half an hour, the bishop and his council were

called in, who were Dr. Oldish, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Price, and Dr. Newton; whom the bishop desired might be heard.

They argued, that the words of the King's letter being, that you suspend him from preaching, this could not be done by our laws without a citation, and proceeding to judgment thereupon. But if by that expression only the silencing the doctor was intended, then the bishop had executed the King's commands in such a method as is observed in their courts.

For where an eminent person is accused the judges send him a letter; and if he appears and complies with the judges' order, the law is satisfied. Here the bishop sent for Dr. Sharp, and advised him not to preach till the King had received satisfaction: and he observed his lordship's directions, and had not preached to this very day; so that his majesty's command was in effect fulfilled. That the bishop had done what was his duty; he was bound to return his reason to the King why he did not do that which he commanded, and to expect his farther answer, which was done. That if a prince or pope command any thing unlawful it is the duty of a judge *Rescribere Principi*, and attend his further pleasure, and this is all he can do. That as in nature no man can be obliged to do that which is impossible; so no man can be obliged to do an unlawful act.

Lord Bishop. If through mistake I have erred in any circumstance I am ready to beg his majesty's pardon, and shall be ready to make any reparation I am capable.

The bishop withdrew for half an hour and then was called in and acquainted that the commissioners would be there again on Wednesday next, when his lordship was directed to attend.

*Die Lunæ 6 Septemb. 1686.*

Lord Chancellor. You were desired to appear this day to hear your sentence; which to prevent mistake we have ordered to be put in writing.

Lord Bishop. My lord, may I have leave to speak before sentence is read ?

Lord Chancellor. My lord, we have heard you and your council already.

Then the instrument of suspension was read by Mr. Bridgman, their lordships' register, viz :

*By his Majesty's Commissioners for Ecclesiastical  
Affairs, &c.*

Whereas, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, hath been convened before us, for his disobedience, and other his contempts, mentioned in the proceedings of this cause ; and the said Bishop being fully heard thereupon, we have thought fit, upon mature consideration of the matter, to proceed to this our definitive sentence ; declaring, pronouncing, and decreeing, that the said Henry, Lord Bishop of London, shall, for his said disobedience and contempt, be suspended during his majesty's pleasure. And accordingly we do, by these presents, suspend him, the said Lord Bishop of London ; peremptorily admonishing and requiring him hereby to abstain from the function and execution of his episcopal office, and from all episcopal and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, during the said suspension, upon pain of deprivation and removal from his bishopric.

Sealed with the seal of the court, and dated the 6th of September, 1686.

Some days after, an instrument was delivered by a messenger to the Dean of St. Paul's, requiring him to cause the said sentence to be affixed to the door of the Chapter-house ; and on the place then called the south door of St. Paul's.

The Bishop refusing to recognize the legality of the court or its sentence, thought prudent to refrain from the performance of any episcopal act in his diocese, but this did not prevent his making a stand as one of the governors of the Charter House, against the King, in refusing Andrew

Popham, a papist, into the first pensioner's place in that hospital. He then retired to Fulham, where he remained till the Revolution called him again into action. His suspension was such a flagrant act of tyrannical injustice, that the Prince of Orange in his declaration, could not omit taking notice of it; and, upon the dread of his highness's coming over, the court was willing to make the Bishop reparation, by restoring him, as they did on the 23rd of September, 1688, to his episcopal function. But he made no haste to resume his charge, and to thank the King for his restoration; which made some conjecture, and as was afterwards found rightly enough, that he had no inclination to be restored in that manner, and that he knew well enough what had been doing in Holland. The first part the Bishop took in the Revolution, which immediately ensued, was the conveying, jointly with the Earl of Dorset, the Princess Anne of Denmark from London to Nottingham; lest she, in the present confusion of affairs, might have been sent away into France, or put under restraint, because the prince, her consort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Bishop Burnet has given us a particular account of this transaction in the following words:

“When the news came to London of Prince George of Denmark having joined the Prince of Orange, the Princess Anne was so struck with the apprehensions of the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects it might have, that she said to the Lady Churchill that she could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at a window rather than venture on it. The Bishop of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk Street: so the Lady Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him and concerted with him the method of the Princess's withdrawing from court. The Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary: and about midnight, she went down a back stairs from her closet, attended only by Lady Churchill, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the



Bishop of London, who carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose lady furnished them with every thing: and so they went northward as far as Northampton, where that earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse to serve for a guard to the Princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London; of which, says Bishop Burnet, he too easily accepted."

On his return to London he was as zealous and instrumental as any man in completing the Revolution. He first set his hand to the association begun at Exeter. He waited on the Prince of Orange, on the 21st of December, at the head of his clergy; and in their names and his own, thanked his highness, for his very great and most hazardous undertaking for their deliverance, and the preservation of the Protestant religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation. He gave his royal highness the Holy Communion upon the 30th of December, and, upon the 29th of January following, when the house of lords, in a grand committee, debated the important question, "Whether the throne, being vacant, ought to be filled by a regent or a king?" Dr. Compton was one of the two Bishops, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, being the other, who made the majority for filling up the throne by a king. On the 14th of February, he was again appointed one of the privy council, and made dean of the royal chapel; from both which places King James had removed him: and afterwards pitched upon by King William, to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's coronation, upon the 11th of April, 1689.

Archbishop Sancroft being a nonjuror, Bishop Compton was appointed president of the convocation of 1689. Before, however, the convocation was convened, a preparatory step was taken—namely, the appointment of a commission under the great seal to draw up and prepare matters for the consideration of the synod. On the 24th of May, 1689, the "*Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant*

*Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws,*" called the *Act of Toleration*, received the royal assent. Still many dissenters wished for a comprehension with the Church. A bill on the subject had passed the house of lords; but on its reaching the commons, they considered that the question was more suitable for a convocation. The lords, therefore, concurred in an address to the throne to that effect. To prepare the way, the royal commission was issued, authorizing certain individuals to meet and prepare alterations in the liturgy and canons, and to consider other matters connected with the Church. It was dated in September, 1689.

The commissioners frequently met, but some of the members who were named absented themselves, especially Dr. Jane, the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, on the ground that alterations were not required, and that the present was not the season for such discussions. The majority, however, proceeded in the work. The point of greatest difficulty was that of *re-ordination*; but it was at last settled by the commissioners that the hypothetical *form* should be adopted in the case of the dissenters as in the case of uncertain baptism, in these words: "*If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee.*" This would have satisfied many of the nonconformists. Burnet says, "We had before us all the books and papers that they had at any time offered, setting forth their demands; together with many advices and propositions which had been made at several times by most of the best and most learned of our divines, of which the late most learned Bishop of Worcester had a great collection: so we prepared a scheme to be laid before the convocation, but did not think that we ourselves, much less that any other person, was any way limited or bound to comply with what we resolved to propose."

The commissioners were prepared to go great lengths, and to suggest some unjustifiable alterations in the liturgy,—(*See Life of Tillotson*)—but the government per-

ceived that there was no hope of success with the lower house of convocation, and that any attempt to make alterations would only strengthen the party of those good men who were nonjurors. In 1690 Compton attended William III. to the congress at the Hague, where the grand alliance against France was concluded. But, notwithstanding the zealous part he acted in the revolution, though the metropolitan see of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he still continued Bishop of London. At the accession of Queen Anne he was sworn of the privy-council, and was put in the commission for the union of England and Scotland. He greatly promoted the act for making effectual the Queen's intention for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant the revenues of the first-fruits and tenths. He maintained an amicable correspondence with foreign Protestants, as appears from letters, afterwards printed at Oxford, which passed between him and the university of Geneva in 1706. It was his ultra-protestantism which rendered Bishop Compton unpopular with the clergy, and probably hindered his advancement to Canterbury. Towards the close of his life he was afflicted with the stone and gout; which, turning at length to a complication of distempers, carried him off on the 7th of July, 1713, in the eighty-first year of his age. His remains were interred the fifteenth of the same month in the churchyard of Fulham, according to his particular direction; for he used to say, that "the church is for the living, and the churchyard for the dead." His works are,—1. A Translation from the Italian, of the Life of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who governed the Church during the time of Innocent X., which was from the year 1644 to 1655, London, 1667. 2. A Translation from the French, of the Jesuits' Intrigues, with the private Instructions of that Society to their Emissaries, 1669. 3. A Treatise of the Holy Communion, 1677. 4. A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, concerning Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Catechizing, dated April 25, 1679. 5. A Second Letter con-

cerning the Half-Communion, Prayers in an Unknown Tongue, Prayers to Saints, July 6, 1680. 6. A Third Letter, on Confirmation, and Visitation of the Sick, 1682. 7. A Fourth Letter, upon the 54th Canon, April 6, 1683. 8. A Fifth Letter, upon the 118th Canon, March 19, 1684. 9. A Sixth Letter, upon the 13th Canon, April 18, 1685.—*Anonymous Biography. Birch's Tillotson. Lathbury on Convocation. State Trials.*

## CONANT, JOHN.

JOHN CONANT was born in 1608, at Yeatenton, in Devonshire, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford; where he was chosen fellow, and proceeded to the degree of D.D. He was one of the assembly of divines; in 1649 was chosen rector of his college; and in 1654 professor of divinity. He was vice-chancellor of the university at the period of the Restoration, and as such presented a congratulatory address to Charles II. He was present at the Savoy Conference on the side of the Presbyterians, and afterwards became a nonconformist.

He continued in this state about eight years. A Mr. Edmund Trench, who had been determined for the ministry, and was very willing to have conformed, but had some scruples which he could not remove, sent his scruples to Dr. Conant for his resolution. After half a year's expectation the doctor sent him the following message: "That upon the most serious thoughts he could hardly satisfy himself; and therefore would never persuade any to conform while he lived." But, after eight years' deliberation upon the interesting subject of conformity, Dr. Conant himself complied, and was re-ordained upon the 28th of September, in 1670, by Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich; whose daughter he had married in August, 1651, and by whom he had six sons, and as many daughters.

In 1670 he became minister of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, which he exchanged for that of All Saints, Northampton, to which was added the Archdeaconry of Norwich, and in 1681, a prebend of Worcester. He died in 1693. Six volumes of his sermons have been published.—*Reid. Wood.*

## CONCINA, DANIEL

DANIEL CONCINA was born about 1686, in Friuli. He entered the Dominican order in 1708, and preached with great applause in the principal towns of Italy. He was much consulted by Pope Benedict XIV. He died at Venice on the 21st of February, 1756. His principal works are :

1. *Disciplina Apostolica Monastica*, 1739, p. 4to.
2. *Della Storia del probabilismo e del rigorismo, dissertazioni, con la difesa*, 4 vols. in 4to.
3. *Commentarius in rescriptum Benedicti XIV. de jejunii lege*, in 4to.
4. *Usus contractûs trini dissertationibus hist. theolog. demonstrata adversus mollioris ethices casuistas*, in 4to.
5. *Theologia Christiana dogmatico-moralis*, 12 vols, in 4to.
6. *De spectaculis theatralibus*, in 4to.
7. *De Sacramentali absolutione impertenda*.—*Moreri. Biog. Universelle.*

## COOPER, OR COUPER, THOMAS.

THOMAS COOPER was born about the year 1517, at Oxford, and was educated at Magdalen College, of which he was first-chosen demy, and afterwards probationer, and in the year 1540, perpetual fellow. In 1546 he quitted his fellowship; and on the accession of Mary, as he was inclined to the Reformation, he chose physic for his pro-

fession, and practised for some time in his native city ; but on the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to the study of divinity, and became a distinguished preacher. In the year 1567 he took his doctor's degree, and about that time was appointed to the deanery of Christ Church, and for several years afterwards filled the office of vice-chancellor. In 1569 he was made Dean of Gloucester ; and in 1570 he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. The state of the church of Lincoln, as described by Archbishop Parker, was lamentable. There were, he says, only six prebendaries, and some of them were puritans. In 1584 Cooper was translated to Winchester. While he was Bishop of Winchester he wrote a paper entitled, " Cogitations conceived for answer to those petitions which were offered to my lords of the upper house, by certain honourable and worshipful of the lower house of parliament." The paper is printed in Strype's Whitgift, but is not worth transcribing here. Cooper was married, and was unfortunate in his wife. He died in 1594. He wrote the Epitome of Chronicles from the 17th year after Christ to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560, in 1560, 4to. *Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ et Britannicæ, &c., et Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum*, in 1565, folio ; A Brief Exposition of such chapters of the Old Testament as usually are read in the Church at Common Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year, in 1573, 4to ; Twelve Sermons, on different texts, 1580, 4to ; An Admonition to the People of England ; wherein are answered not only the Slandrous Untruths reproachfully uttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chief of the clergy, &c., 1589, 4to. The last-mentioned work was written in reply to a scurrilous puritanical pamphlet, published under the name of Martin Mar-Prelate ; and provoked answers in two ludicrous pamphlets, entitled *Ha' ye any Work for a Cooper?* and *more Work for a Cooper.*—*Godwin. Wood. Strype.*

## CONYBEARE, JOHN.

JOHN CONYBEARE was born at Pinhoe, in Devonshire, in 1692. He received his education at the grammar school of Exeter, and next at the college of that name in Oxford: where, in 1710, he obtained a fellowship. In 1716 he entered into orders, and the same year took his degree of master of arts. In 1724 he was presented to the rectory of St. Clement's, in Oxford; and in 1727 he obtained great celebrity by a visitation sermon on the case of subscription. Conybeare's position in this sermon is, that "every one who subscribes the articles of religion, does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them; but his subscription amounts to an approbation of, and an assent to, the truth of the doctrines therein contained, in the very sense in which the compilers are supposed to have understood them." Mr. Conybeare's next publication was an assize sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1727, from Ezra vii. 26, and entitled *The Penal sanctions of Laws considered*.

In 1728 he took his degree of B.D.; and the same year that of doctor. In 1730 he was chosen rector of his college; and in 1732 published his *Defence of Revealed Religion against Tindal's Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Law of Nature*. Bishop Warburton styles this "one of the best reasoned books in the world." In this year he was appointed dean of Christ Church, on which occasion he resigned his headship. In 1750 he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, and would probably have been further advanced had he not been cut off at Bath, by a complication of disorders, July 13, 1755. His remains were interred in his cathedral; and afterwards two volumes of his sermons were published by subscription: but these did not include twelve discourses, which he printed in his life time.—*Biog. Brit.*

## CORDARA, JULIUS CÆSAR,

JULIUS CÆSAR CORDARA was born in Alexandria de la Paglia, in 1704. Being taken early to Rome, he was admitted as a Jesuit in his fourteenth year. He was distinguished as a dramatic writer and a satirist, and for his devotion to the exiled Stewart family: but he is mentioned here not as a satirist or play writer, but as the author of a work which he published in 1750, entitled *Historia Societatis Jesu pars sexta complectens res gestas sub Mutio Vitellesco tomus prior*. He had been appointed historiographer of the Jesuits in 1742. This was followed by his *Caroli Odoardi Stuartu, Walliæ principis, Expositio in Scotiam, Libris IV. comprehensa*. On the dissolution of the order of the Jesuits, he retired in 1772 from Rome to Turin, whence, towards the close of his life, he retired to his native place, where he died in 1790.—*Biographie Universelle*.

## COSIN, JOHN.

JOHN COSIN was born at Norwich, November 30, 1594, and having been educated at the free school in that city, was entered at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1610, of which college he became successively scholar and fellow. When about twenty years of age he was appointed first librarian, and afterwards secretary to Dr. Overall, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The title of the bishop of that see was Coventry and Lichfield till the Restoration, when the style was changed to Lichfield and Coventry. In 1619 Cosin lost his friend and patron Bishop Overall, but was soon after appointed domestic chaplain to Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham. In those days Bishops regularly observed all the offices of the Church, and had morning and evening service duly performed in their chapels. A domestic chaplain was therefore necessary to a Bishop, and the office was not a sinecure. In 1624 Mr. Cosin became a pre-



bendary of Durham, and archdeacon of the East Riding in the Church of York. He was a conscientious man. He could not become a prebendary without doing the duties of his office; he would have thought it sinful to attend the services of the cathedral publicly while in private he reviled the cathedral service; to have been regular in his attendance during his strict residence, but never to have entered the church on a week-day when his strict residence was at an end: to have received a full income from his estates, and to have adorned his own house, leaving only the house of God unadorned, and the choir unsupported: he felt that he was appointed to his prebend not only that he might have time for study, but that he might regulate the services of the Church so as to make them a model to other sanctuaries, and to have them conducted with the grandeur and ceremony which was befitting in such a temple. He was what was not so rare in those times as we may be apt to imagine, an honest prebendary or canon, and consequently he was called a papist.

The maids of honour who attended the Queen Henrietta Maria, being many of them piously disposed, wished to employ themselves at their devotions when they saw their royal mistress so occupied. The good King Charles found them often reading Romish books of devotion. Instead of reviling them for their devotional spirit, he more wisely determined to provide them with a more Catholic manual than that which they possessed, and employed Archdeacon Cosin to draw up a collection of devotions. He completed his work admirably, and in it provided for the observance of all the canonical hours. The work has lately been reprinted, and has had for its editor the Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Cosin lived in an age almost as uncharitable as our own, and his book was both ignorantly and maliciously assailed; and with puritanical levity, the notorious William Prynne entitled it, “Cozen’s Cozening Devotions.”

In 1628 Cosins took his degree of D.D., and was

engaged with the other members of the chapter of Durham, in prosecuting one of the prebendaries, a wicked fanatic, Peter Sharp by name, for preaching a seditious sermon in the cathedral. Sharp seems to have been enraged with his brother prebendaries for endeavouring to keep their oaths, while he wilfully neglected his own. The text of his sermon was, Psalm xxxi. 7. *I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities.* From which he took occasion to make a most bitter invective against some of the bishops, charging them with no less than popery and idolatry. Among other virulent expressions he had these, “The Whore of Babylon’s bastardly brood, doting upon their mother’s beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured to restore her all her robes and jewels again, especially her looking glass, the mass, in which she may behold her bravery. The mass coming in, brings with it an inundation of ceremonies, crosses, and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candlesticks, tapers and basons, and a thousand such trinkets, which we have seen in this church, since the Communion table was turned into an altar. I assure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it is used. I say they are whores and whoremongers, they commit spiritual fornication, who bow their bodies before that idol the altar, &c.” For this sermon he was questioned first at Durham, afterwards in the high commission court at London; from whence he was removed, at his own desire, to that at York, where, refusing with great scorn, to recant, he was, for his obstinacy, degraded, and by sentence at common law, soon after dispossessed of his prebend and livings: whereupon he was supplied with £400 a year by subscription from the puritan party, which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr. Cosin, he was so far from being Mr. Smart’s chief prosecutor (as he avers) that after he was questioned in the high commission at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, save that once he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of York and the commissioners in his favour.

We almost seem in this description to have an account of what is passing in our own times. And one cannot but regret to find that the spirit of puritanism is so unchanged, so indevout, so bitter, so regardless of truth.

Dr. Cosin was appointed master of Peter-house in 1631, and dean of Peterborough in 1640. But his troubles were now to begin, for the low church party had nearly succeeded, as far as success in such a case is possible, in ruining the church. On the 10th of November this year, Peter Smart, perceiving the time of revenge to have come, sent a petition against him to the house of commons, and in January following Dr. Cosin, having been previously taken into custody by the sargeant-at-arms, had the honour of being the first clergyman who by a vote of the whole house was sequestered from his ecclesiastical benefices. The low churchmen and dissenters were united in the house, and were as eager to commence the persecution of true Christians as ever Bonner or Gardiner could have been in the reign of Mary. On the 21st of March they sent up to the House of Lords twenty-one articles of impeachment against him.

They were carried up by one Mr. Rouse, who introduced them with the following speech. "My lords, I am commanded by the House of Commons, to present to your lordships a declaration and impeachment against Dr. Cosin, and others, upon the complaint of Mr. Peter Smart; which Mr. Smart was a proto-martyr, or first confessor of note in the late days of persecution. The whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and fruit are manifest in the articles of this declaration." Then follow these articles against Dr. Cosin.

1. That he was the the first man that caused the communion table in the church of Durham to be removed and set altar-ways, in the erection and beautifying whereof, he (being then treasurer) expended two hundred pounds.

2. That he used to officiate at the west side thereof, turning his back to the people.

3. That he used extraordinary bowing to it.

4. That he compelled others to do it, using violence to the persons of them that refused so to do : for instance, once some omitting it, he comes out of his seat, down to the seat where they sat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unseemly words, and rent some of their clothes.

5. That he converted divers prayers in the Book of Common Prayer into hymns, to be sung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient custom of that church.

6. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that church, at the end of every sermon, to sing a psalm ; this custom, when Dr. Cosin came thither, was abrogated, and instead thereof they sung an anthem in the choir, there being no psalm sung either at the minister's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down.

7. That the first Candlemas day at night, that he had been in that church, he caused three hundred wax candles to be set up and lighted in the church at once, in honour of our lady, and placed three-score of them upon and about the altar.

8. That in this church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two seraphims, with the picture of Christ between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of popery ; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, were demolished, by virtue of a commission by her to that intent granted, which so continued demolished from that time, till Dr. Cosin came to that church, who, being treasurer, caused the same to be repaired, and most gloriously painted.

9. That all the time he was unmarried he wore a cope of white satin, never officiating in any other, it being reserved solely for him, no man excepting himself making use thereof, which, after marriage, he cast off, and never after wore.

10. That there was a knife belonging to the church,

kept altogether in the vestry, being put to none but holy uses, as cutting the bread in the sacrament, and the like; Dr. Cosin refusing to cut the same with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconsecrated polluted; but that, which he putting holiness in, never termed but the consecrated knife.

11. That in a sermon preached in that church, he did deliver certain words in disgrace of the reformers of our Church, for instance, the words were these, "The reformers of this Church, when they abolished the mass, took away all good order, and, instead of a reformation, made it a deformation."

12. That he seldom or never, in any of his sermons, stiled the ministers of the word and sacraments by any other name than priests, nor the communion table by any other name than altar.

13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the seller being a convicted Jesuit, and afterwards employed in that church, having upon it the invisible and incomprehensible Trinity.

14. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that church, at five of the clock to have morning prayers read, winter and summer: this custom, when Dr. Cosin came thither, was abandoned; and instead thereof was used singing and playing on the organs, and some few prayers read, and this was called first service; which being ended, the people departed out of the church, returning at nine o'clock, and having then morning prayers read unto them, and this was called second service; which innovation being misliked and complained of by Mr. Justice Hutton, was reformed.

15. That he framed a superstitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for instance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the church, came in at the choir door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted the tapers: having done, they withdrew themselves, bowing so oft as

before, not once turning their back parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going.

16. That he counselled some young students of the university to be imitators and practicers of his superstitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reprov'd for the same by some of their friends, confessed that Dr. Cosin first induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein.

17. That he used upon communion days to make the sign of the cross with his finger, both upon the seats whereon they were to sit, and the cushions to kneel upon, using some words when he so did.

18. That one Sabbath day there was set up an unnecessary company of tapers and lights in the church, which Dr. Hunt, being then dean, fearing they might give offence, since they were then unnecessary, sent his man to pull them down, who did so; but Dr. Cosin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miscalled him in a most uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the public view of the congregation to the great disturbance of the same.

19. That the dean and chapter of that church, whereof Dr. Cosin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr. Cosin then and there spake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were these: "The King hath no more power over the Church than the boy that rubs my horse-heels."

20. That there being many of the canons of the said church present at that time, amongst the rest there was one took more notice of his words than the rest, and acquainted one of his fellow-canons with them when he came home. This canon, being a friend to Dr. Cosin, told the doctor that such a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he should speak at such a time; the doctor presently sends for him, and when he came into the house the doctor desires him to follow him

into an inner room, who did so; but so soon as he came in the doctor shuts the door, and sets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and rascal, and many other names, insomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a mischief, cried out; Mrs. Cosin coming in, endeavoured to appease her husband, and holding his hands, the other ran away.

21. That the doctor did seek many unjust ways to ensnare this man, that so he might take a just occasion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reason why he did so, but because he had no good voice, when he had served the place two years before Dr. Cosin came thither: for instance of which unjust ways to ensnare this man, Dr. Cosin hired a man and a woman to pretend a desire of matrimony, and to offer a sum of money to this petty canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, so thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confessed by the parties to be first laid by Dr. Cosin, and that they were his instruments.

Besides the several particulars mentioned in these articles, Mr. Fuller informs us that Dr. Cosin was accused of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father, in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be sung, of the three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gasper, Balthazar, and Melchior.

To these articles Dr. Cosin put in his answer upon oath before the House of Lords. But seeing afterwards the substance of them published in Mr. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History, he wrote from Paris a letter to Mr. Warren and Dr. Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords,

1. That the communion table in the church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr. Fuller's history

is said to be the marble altar, with cherubims) was not set up by him [Dr. Cosin,] but by the dean and chapter, (whereof Mr. Smart himself was one) many years before Mr. Cosin became prebendary of that church, or ever saw the country.

2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all.

3. That likewise the copes used in that church were brought in thither long before his [Dr. Cosin's] time, and when Mr. Smart the complainant was prebendary there, who also allowed his part (as he [Dr. Cosin] was ready to prove by the Act book) of the money that they cost, for they cost but little.

4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwise to be made or placed any where at all ; so he was well assured that there were none such (nor to his own knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was used there. One there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it all, but the cope that he used to wear, when at any time he attended the communion service, was of plain white satin only without any embroidery upon it at all.

5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Christ, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr. Fuller's history says it was red, and that it was set upon one of the copes) was nothing else but the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb (set up in the church, under a side-arch there, two hundred years before Dr. Cosin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly discernable to the eye what figure it is, for it stands thirty feet from the ground.

6. That by the local statutes of that Church (whereunto Mr. Smart was sworn, as well as Dr. Cosin) the treasurer was to give order, that provision should every year be made of a sufficient number of wax lights for the service of the choir, during all the winter time ; which statute he



[Dr. Cosin] observed when he was chosen into that office, and had order from the dean and chapter, by capitular act, to do it; yet upon the communion table they that used to light the candles, never set more than two fair candles, with a few small sizes near to them, which they put there of purpose, that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the psalms, and reading the lessons out of the Bibles: but two hundred was a greater number than they used all the church over, either upon Candlemas night, or any other.

7. That he never forbade (nor any body else that he knew) the singing of the (metre) psalms in the church, which he used to sing daily there himself, with other company, at morning prayer. But upon Sundays and holy-days, in the choir, before the sermon, the creed was sung, (and that plainly for every one to understand) as is appointed in the communion book; and after the sermon, was sung a part of a psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the Scripture, and first signified to the people where they might find it.

8. That so far was he from making any anthem to be sung of the three Kings of Collen, as that he made it, when he first saw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himself cut it out of the old song books belonging to the choristers' school, with a penknife that lay by, at his very first coming to that college. But he was sure that no such anthem had been sung in the choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldest persons of the church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or three-score years before, or more.

9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the administration of the communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uses in the church vestry. But that it was ever consecrated, or so called, otherwise than as Mr. Smart, and some of his followers had, for their pleasure, put that appellation upon it; he [Dr. Cosin]

never heard, nor believed any body else had, that lived at Durham. The rest of the articles mentioned above, Mr. Smart could not prove, and Dr. Cosin gave a very satisfactory answer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament.

The whole of this statement has been given to confirm what has been said before of the unchanged spirit of puritanism. Dr. Cosin was dismissed by the Lords upon his putting in bail for his appearance, but he was not summoned to appear again. But the evil spirit of puritanism is not easily laid. Upon a motion made in the House of Commons that he had enticed a young scholar to popery he was again committed to the sargeant-at-arms, to attend daily till the house should call him to a hearing. The low churchmen and puritans both in the church and out of it, knew very well that all this was a falsehood, and that in fact he had when vice-chancellor of Cambridge severely punished that very scholar by making him recant, and by expelling him the university. But the end was supposed to justify the means, and Dr. Cosin was compelled to attend the house daily till the house should call him to a hearing, which hearing he did not obtain till after fiftydays' imprisonment, during which time he had to pay twenty shillings a day. He was of course acquitted, but received no reparation for the wrong done to him. It is to be hoped that puritanism may not again obtain the upper hand, and that the House of Commons may never again interfere in the affairs of religion. An attempt is not unfrequently made to do so, but the ignorance displayed by the leading members of the honourable house is not very creditable to the country it represents.

As Cosin had the honour to be the first of the clergy sequestered, so was he the first to be turned out. What the puritans could not do by law they effected by force; he was ejected from his mastership in 1642, having exasperated the puritans and their friends, by sending the plate of the university to the King at York. Being deprived of all his preferments, he left the kingdom

and proceeded to Paris, where he formed a congregation, and had several discussions with the Jesuits and Romish priests.

At the restoration of Charles II., Dr. Cosin returned to England, and took possession of all his preferments; but before the year was out, was raised to the see of Durham, being consecrated upon the 2nd of December, 1660. As soon as he could get down to his diocese, he set about reforming many abuses, that had crept in there during the late anarchy; and distinguished himself greatly by his charity and public spirit. He laid out a great share of his large revenues in repairing or re-building the several edifices belonging to the bishopric of Durham, which had either been demolished, or neglected, during the civil wars. He repaired, for instance, the castle at Bishop's Auckland, the chief country seat of the Bishops of Durham; that at Durham, which he greatly enlarged; and the bishop's house at Darlington, then very ruinous. He also enriched his new chapel at Auckland, and that at Durham, with several pieces of gilt plate, books, and other costly ornaments; the charge of all which buildings, repairs, and ornaments, amounted, according to Dr. Smith, to near sixteen thousand pounds; but as others say, to no less than twenty-six thousand pounds. He likewise built and endowed two hospitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Auckland for four. The annual revenue of the former was seventy pounds, that of the latter thirty pounds: and near his hospital at Durham, he re-built the school-houses, which cost about three hundred pounds. He also built a library near the castle of Durham, the charge whereof, with the pictures with which he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto to the value of two thousand pounds, as also an annual pension of twenty marks for ever to a librarian. But his generosity in this way was not confined within the precincts of his diocese. He re-built the east end of the chapel at Peter-house, in Cambridge, which cost three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave books to the library

of that college to the value of one thousand pounds. He founded eight scholarships in the same university; viz: five in Peter-house of ten pounds a year each, and three in Caius College of twenty nobles a piece per annum: both which, together with a provision of eight pounds yearly, to the common chest of those two colleges respectively, amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds.

It is indeed impossible to recount all the numerous benefactions of this generous Bishop. He gave to the cathedral at Durham a fair carved lectern, and litany-desk, with a large scalloped silver patten, gilt, for the use of the communicants there, which cost forty-five pounds. Upon the new building of the Bishop's court, exchequer, and chancery, and towards the erecting of two session-houses at Durham, he gave a thousand pounds. Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Christian captives, at Algiers, five hundred pounds. Towards the relief of the distressed loyal party in England, eight hundred pounds. For repairing the banks in Howdenshire, a hundred marks. Towards the repair of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, fifty pounds. By his will he bequeathed to the poor of his hospitals at Durham and Auckland, to be distributed at his funeral, six pounds. To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, twenty pounds. To poor prisoners detained for debt, in the gaols of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, fifty pounds. To the poor people within the precincts of the cathedral at Norwich, and within the parish of St. Andrew's there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, twenty pounds. To the poor of Durham, Auckland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateshead, and Branspeth, (all in the bishopric of Durham), thirty pounds. To the poor in the parishes of Chester in the Street, Houghton-le-Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordships belonging to the Bishops of Durham) forty pounds. Towards the re-building of St. Paul's cathedral in London, when it should be raised five yards from the ground, a hundred pounds. To the cathedral of Norwich,

whereof the one half to be bestowed on a marble tablet, with an inscription, in memory of Dr. John Overall, some time Bishop there, (whose chaplain he had been) the rest for providing some useful ornaments for the altar, forty pounds. Towards the re-edifying of the north and south sides of the College chapel at Peter-house, in Cambridge, suitable to the east and west ends, already by him perfected, two hundred pounds. Towards the new building of the chapel at Emanuel College, in Cambridge, fifty pounds. To the children of Mr. John Heyward, late prebendary of Lichfield, as a testimony of his gratitude to their deceased father, who, in his lordship's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Bishop Overall, twenty pounds a piece. To the dean and chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the use of the poor in that town, a hundred pounds. To the poor of Durham, Branspeth, and Bishop's Auckland, to be distributed as his two daughters (the lady Gerard, and the lady Burton) should think best, a hundred pounds.

This great and good man died in 1672. Besides the benefactions alluded to above, his will is remarkable as containing his profession of faith; wherein, after repeating the substance of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds, he condemns and rejects whatsoever heresies or schisms, the ancient catholic and universal Church of Christ with an unanimous consent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the same heresies; sectaries, and fanatics, who, being carried on with an evil spirit, do falsely give out, they are inspired of God. As the anabaptists, new independents, and presbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the spirit of malice, disobedience, and sedition. "Moreover, (adds he) I do profess, with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled, or papistical superstitions and doctrines,—long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture, and the rules and customs of the ancient

Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true catholic faith and religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variance amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them; which I desire to be chiefly understood by protestants, and the best Reformed Churches, &c.” This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part containing his benefactions, in English.

How accurately he understood the points of difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, may be seen from the following paper, published by Dr. Hickes in the Appendix to his “Letters.” “We that profess the catholic faith and religion in the Church of England do not agree with the Roman Catholics in any thing whereunto they now endeavour to convert us. But we totally dissent from them (as they do from the ancient catholic Church) in these points.

1. That the Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all the other churches in the world.

2. That the Pope of Rome is the vicar-general of Christ: or that he hath an universal jurisdiction over all Christians that shall be saved.

3. That either the Synod of Trent was a general council; or that all the canons thereof are to be received as matters of catholic faith, under pain of damnation.

4. That Christ hath instituted seven true and proper Sacraments in the New Testament, neither more nor less, all conferring grace, and all necessary to salvation.

5. That the priests offer up our Saviour in the mass, as a real, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that whosoever believes it not, is eternally damned.

6. That in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the whole substance of bread is converted into the substance of

Christ's Body, and the whole substance of wine into His Blood, so truly and properly, as that after consecration there is neither any bread nor wine remaining there, which they call transubstantiation, and impose upon all persons under pain of damnation to be believed.

7. That the Communion under one kind is sufficient and lawful (notwithstanding the institution of Christ under both), and that whosoever believes or holds otherwise is damned.

8. That there is a purgatory after this life, wherein the souls of the dead are punished, and from whence they are fetched out by the prayers and offerings of the living : and that there is no salvation possibly to be had by any that will not believe as much.

9. That all the old saints departed, and all those dead men and women, whom the pope hath of late canonized for saints, or shall hereafter do so, whosoever they be, are and ought to be invoked by the religious prayers and devotion of all persons, and that they who do not believe this as an article of the catholic faith cannot be saved.

10. That the relics of all these true or reputed saints ought to be religiously worshipped ; and that whosoever holdeth the contrary is damned.

11. That the images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and of the other saints, ought not only to be had and retained, but likewise to be honoured and worshipped, according to the use and practices of the Roman Church ; and that this is to be believed as of necessity to salvation.

12. That the power and use of indulgences, as they are now practised in the Church of Rome, both for the living and the dead, is to be received and held of all, under pain of eternal perdition.

13. That all the ceremonies used by the Roman Church in the administration of the Sacrament (such as are spittle and salt in baptism ; the five crosses upon the altars, and

Sacrament of the Eucharist; the holding of that Sacrament over the priest's head to be adored; the exposing of it in their churches to be worshipped by the people; the circumgestion and carrying of it abroad in procession upon their Corpus Christi day, and to their sick for the same; the oil and chrism in confirmation; the anointing of the ears, the eyes and noses, the hands and reins of those that are ready to die; the giving of an empty chalice and paten to them that are to be ordained priests, and many others of this nature, now in use with them) are of necessity to salvation, to be approved and admitted by all other Churches.

14. That all the ecclesiastical observations and constitutions of the same church (such as are their laws of forbidding all priests to marry; the appointing several orders of monks, friars, and nuns in the church; the service of God in an unknown tongue; the saying of a number of Ave Marias by tale upon their chaplets; the sprinkling of themselves and the dead bodies with holy water, as operative and effectual to the remission of venial sins; the distinctions of meats to be held for true fasting; the religious consecration and incensing of images; the baptizing of bells; the dedicating of divers holidays for the immaculate Conception, and the bodily Assumption of the blessed Virgin; and for Corpus Christi, or transubstantiation of the Sacrament; the making of the apocryphal books to be as canonical as any of the rest of the holy and undoubted Scriptures; the keeping of those Scriptures from the free use and reading of the people; the approving of their own Latin translation only, and divers other matters of the like nature) are to be approved, held, and believed as needful to salvation, and that, whoever approves them not, is out of the catholic Church, and must be damned.

All which in their several respects, we hold some to be pernicious, some unnecessary, many false, and many fond, and none of them to be imposed upon any church, or any



Christian, as the Roman catholics do upon all Christians, and all churches whatsoever, for matters needful to be approved for eternal salvation.

### OUR AGREEMENTS.

If the Roman Catholics would make the essence of their Church (as we do ours) to consist in these following points, we are at accord with them. In the reception and believing of:

1. All the two and twenty canonical books of the Old Testament, and the twenty-seven of the New, as the only foundation and perfect rule of our faith.

2. All the apostolical and ancient creeds, especially those which are commonly called the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of St. Athanasius, all which are clearly deduced out of the Scriptures.

3. All the decrees of faith and doctrines set forth, as well in the first four general councils, as in all other councils, which those first four approved and confirmed, and in the fifth and sixth general councils besides (than which we find no more to be general), and in all the following councils that be thereunto agreeable; and in all the anathemas or condemnations given out by those councils against heretics, for the defence of the Catholic faith.

4. The unanimous and general consent of the ancient catholic Fathers, and the universal Church of Christ, in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and the collection of all necessary matters of faith from them during the first six hundred years, and downwards to our own days.

5. In acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, if he would rule and be ruled by the ancient canons of the Church, to be the patriarch of the West, by right of ecclesiastical and imperial constitution, in such places where the kings and governors of those places had

received him, and found it behooveful for them to make use of his jurisdiction, without any necessary dependence upon him by divine right.

6. In the reception and use of the two blessed Sacraments by our Saviour; in the confirmation of those persons that are to be strengthened in their Christian faith, by prayer and imposition of hands, according to the examples of the holy Apostles and ancient Bishops of the catholic Church; in the public and solemn benediction of persons, that are to be joined together in holy matrimony; in public or private absolution of penitent sinners; in the consecrating of Bishops, and the ordaining of priests and deacons for the service of God in His Church, by a lawful succession; and in visiting the sick, by praying for them, and administering the blessed Sacrament to them, together with a final absolution of them from their repented sins.

7. In commemorating at the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood, once truly offered for us.

8. In acknowledging His sacramental, spiritual, true and Real Presence there to the souls of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him, according to His own institution in that holy Sacrament.

9. In giving thanks to God for them, that are departed out of this life in the true faith of Christ's catholic Church, and in praying to God that they may have a joyful resurrection, and a perfect consummation of bliss, both in their bodies and souls, in His eternal Kingdom of Glory.

10. In the historical and moderate use of painted and true stories, either for memory or ornament, where there is no danger to have them abused or worshipped with religious honour.

11. In the use of indulgences, or abating the rigour of the canons, imposed upon offenders according to their repentance, and their want of ability to undergo them.

12. In the administration of the two Sacraments, and other rites of the Church, with ceremonies of decency and order, according to the precept of the Apostle, and the free practice of the ancient Christians.

13. In observing such holidays and times of fasting, as were in use in the first ages of the Church, or afterwards received upon just grounds, by public and lawful authority.

14. Finally, in the reception of all ecclesiastical constitutions and canons made for the ordering of our Church ; or others, which are not repugnant either to the Word of God ; or the power of kings, or the laws established by right authority in any nation.

Besides the collection of Private Devotions, he published "A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England." London, 1657, 4to, reprinted in 1672. The history is deduced from the time of the Jewish Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient canon of the Holy Scriptures. Consequently it was directed against the papists, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr. M. Wrenn, Bishop of Ely, then a prisoner in the tower. Dr. P. Gunning had the care of the edition. Since the Bishop's decease the following books and tracts of his have been published.

1. "A letter to Dr. Collins, concerning the Sabbath," dated from Peter-house, Jan. 24, 1635. In which, speaking first of the morality of the Sabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by nature binding all men, nor by precept binding any other men but the Jews, nor them further than Christ's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of seven, at least, do not still remain immutably to be kept by us Christians, that have God's will and ex-

ample before, and by virtue of the rules of reason and religion, is the question? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine institution, and apostolical tradition, which he confirms by several instances. Next he shews, that the schoolmen were the first who began to dispute, or deny, this day to be of apostolical institution, on purpose to set up the pope's power, to whom, they said, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down these three positions against the puritans: 1. "The observation of the Sunday in every week is not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 3. Nor bath it the qualities and conditions of the Sabbath annexed to it, as they say it hath." 2. There is published, "A Letter from Cosin to Mr. Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, 1650." It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, entitled, "The Judgment of the Church of England, in the case of lay-baptism, and of dissenters' baptism." 3. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, prisca, casta, defoecata: omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, ostensa. anno 1652., i.e. A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; written at the request of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.* 4. *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Doctrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præsentia Christi in Sacramento Eucharistæ, i.e. The History of Popish Transubstantiation, &c., written by the author at Paris, for the use of some of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papists. It was published by Dr. Durell, at London, 1675, 8vo, and translated into English in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8vo.* There is a second part still in manuscript. 5. "The differences

in the chief points of religion, between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England; together with the agreements which we, for our parts, profess, and are ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready to accord with us in the same. Written to the Countess of Peterborough."

6. "Notes on the Book of Common Prayer." Published by Dr. William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common Prayer, Lond. 1710, folio. 7. "Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, Archbishop of Trapezond, and Dr. John Cosin." Printed in the same book.

The following pieces were also written by Bishop Cosin, but never printed. 1. "An Answer to a Popish Pamphlet, pretending, that St. Cyprian was a Papist." 2. "An Answer to four queries of a Roman Catholic, about the Protestant Religion." 3. "An Answer to a paper delivered by a Popish Bishop to the Lord Inchequin." 4. "Annales Ecclesiastici, imperfect." 5. "An Answer to Father Robinson's Papers, concerning the validity of the Ordinations of the Church of England." 6. "Historia Conciliorum, imperfect." 7. "Against the forsakers of the Church of England, and their seducers in this time of her trial." 8. *Chronologia Sacra*, imperfect. 9. "A Treatise concerning the abuse of Auricular Confession in the Church of Rome."

His whole works have been collected for the first time in the Anglo-Catholic Library.—*Smith. Basire. Hickes. Hutchinson's History of Durham. Fuller. Walker.*

#### COTELERIUS, JOHN BAPTIST.

JOHN BAPTIST COTELERIUS, a learned Frenchman, was born at Nismes, in 1627. He very early displayed great abilities in the knowledge of the learned languages, and at the age of twelve was able to construe the New Testament in Greek, and the Old in Hebrew, with great ease. In 1647 he took his B.D. degree. In 1649 he was elected a fellow of the Sorbonne. The Greek fathers were his chief

study: he read their works both printed and manuscript with great exactness; made notes upon them; and translated some of them into Latin. In the year 1660, he published four Homilies of St. Chrysostom upon the psalms, and his Commentary upon Daniel, with a Latin translation and notes. Then he set about his Collection of those fathers who lived in the apostolic age; which he published in two volumes folio at Paris, in the year 1672, all reviewed and corrected from several manuscripts, with a Latin translation and notes. The editor's notes in this performance are very learned, and very curious: they explain the difficulties in the Greek terms, clear up several historical passages, and set matters of belief and discipline in a better light. He had published this work some years sooner, but he was interrupted by being pitched upon with Monsieur Du Cange to review the manuscripts in the King's library. This task he entered upon by Colbert's order in 1667, and was five years in performing it.

In the year 1676, he was made Greek professor in the Royal Academy at Paris, which post he maintained during his life with the highest reputation. He had the year before published the first volume of a work, entitled *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, which was a collection of Greek tracts out of the King's, and Monsieur Colbert's libraries, and had never been published before. He added a Latin translation and notes; which, though not so large as those upon the *Patres Apostolici*, are said to be very curious. The first volume was printed in the year 1675, the second in 1681, and the third in 1686. He intended to have continued this work if he had lived. Upon the third of August, 1686, he was seized with an inflammatory disorder in his breast, which required him to be let blood: but Cotelarius had such a dislike to this operation, that, sooner than undergo it, he dissembled his illness, when, at last he consented, it was too late, for he died upon the 10th of the same month, when he was not sixty years of age.—*Moreri. Baluzius.*

COURAYER, PETER FRANCIS.

PETER FRANCIS COURAYER was born at Rouen, in Normandy, where his father was president of the Court of Justice, November 17, 1681; received his first scientific instruction at Vernon; came in his 14th year to the College of Beauvais at Paris; and in the same place entered two years later the congregation of St. Geneviève. There he honourably distinguished himself by his talents and scientific efforts, so that in 1706 he was appointed presbyter of his congregation, and also professor of theology. After he had performed the duties of this office up to August, 1711, the oversight of the rich library of the abbey was given into his hands.

While canon and librarian of the Augustinian abbey of St. Geneviève, he projected his great work, *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church*. The origin of this work is as follows: having been engaged in reading Abbé Renaudot's "*Memoire sur la validité des Ordinations des Anglois*," inserted in Abbé Gould's "*La veritable croyance de l'église Catholique*," he was induced to enter into a farther examination of that subject. Accordingly he drew up a memoir upon it, for his own satisfaction only, but which grew insensibly into a treatise: and at the instance of some friends to whom it was communicated, he was at length prevailed with to consent to its publication. He therefore made the usual application for permission to print it; and obtained the approbation of Mons. Arnaudin, the royal licenser of the press. Some persons, however, afterwards found means to prevail on the chancellor to refuse to affix the seal to the approbation of the licenser. Terms were proposed to Father Courayer, to which he could not accede, and he gave up all thoughts of publishing. Some of his friends, however, being in possession of a copy, resolved to print it: and this obliged him to acquiesce in the publication. When he first wrote his treatise, all his materials were taken from printed

authorities, and he had no acquaintance or correspondence in England. But sundry difficulties, which occurred to him in the course of his inquiries, suggested to him the propriety of writing to England, in order to obtain clearer information on some points; and knowing that a correspondence had been carried on between Dr. Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Dupin, on the project of re-uniting the Churches of England and France, he took the liberty, in 1721, although entirely unknown to that prelate, to desire his information respecting some particulars. The Archbishop answered his inquiries with great readiness, candour, and politeness, and many letters passed between them on this occasion. Father Courayer's book was at length published in 1723, in two volumes small 8vo.

The intention of Courayer in this work is thus described by himself in his preface, and what he designed he ably accomplished. "In order," he says, "to treat this subject with some method, I shall first set forth the changes that have happened in the Church of England with regard to the succession of their Bishops, and their ordination. I shall shew afterwards that notwithstanding the changes introduced by Edward the Sixth in the Ordinal, there was nothing essential omitted in the consecration of Parker, who is the origin and source of the English ministry, such as it subsists at this day. In the chapters that follow, I shall prove the truth of Barlow's consecration, upon which that of Parker depends; and I shall endeavour to refute all the arguments which are brought against it. In fine, in discussing some general difficulties which are made use of to attack the validity of the new ordinations, I shall endeavour to lay down principles and maxims which may serve not only to establish the goodness of the English ordinations, but also to the decision of other facts that might happen of the same kind. I shall moreover examine with some care, what authority a national Church may challenge in what concerns the administration of the Sacraments: and I hope to make it



evident, that the Church of England has not exceeded her powers in those alterations she thought it right to make in her rites. By the examination of all these facts, and of these principles, it will be easy to decide what ought to be thought of the practice of many Bishops, who re-ordain the English; and I think men will be easily convinced by the proofs we have produced, that this custom is contrary to all the received maxims of the Church in the matter of re-ordinations, and that it is founded only upon chimerical facts, upon opinions that are abandoned, and and upon doubts that have no foundation."

The value of this work is very great. It is to be remembered that it was written by a Romanist, not with a view of defending the Church of England, but with the design of establishing a position for the practice of his own communion. The question which Courayer discussed professedly, was this, whether clergymen of the Church of England conforming to the Church of Rome should be re-ordained, and whether in the event of the Church of England forming an alliance with the Church of Rome, the validity of her orders should be recognized. This double question Courayer answered in the affirmative. On other points, such as the justifiableness of our reformation, and our keeping ourselves separate from Rome, he takes part against us. The one point to which he addresses himself, however, is so ably argued, that the very fact of his disagreeing with us on the other points makes his arguments of greater weight. And the defence of the Church of England, on points whereupon he ventures to censure her is easy. There is no one point on which Romish controversialists have more frequently resorted to evil speaking, lying and slandering, than upon that which relates to our orders, and it is not wonderful that their conduct should have disgusted an honest mind like that of Courayer.

Courayer's work was translated into English by the Rev. Daniel Williams, and published at London in one volume 8vo, under the title: "A Defence of the validity

of the English Ordinations, and of the Succession of the Bishops in the Church of England: together with proofs justifying the facts advanced in this treatise." Father Courayer's work was immediately attacked by several popish writers, particularly by father le Quien and father Hardouin. But in 1726 he published, in four volumes 12mo, "*Defense de la Dissertation sur la validité des Ordinations des Anglois, contre les différentes réponses qui y ont été faites. Avec les preuves justificatives des faits avancés dans cet ouvrage. Par l'Auteur de la Dissertation.*" An English translation of this also was afterwards published at London, in two volumes 8vo, under the following title: "*A Defence of the Dissertation on the validity of the English Ordinations,*" &c.

But father Courayer was not only attacked by those writers who published books against him: he was likewise censured both by the mandates, and by the assemblies of several bishops, and particularly by Cardinal De Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Marseilles. During this time he retired from Paris into the country, but was recalled by his superior to reside at the priory of Hennemonte, four leagues from Paris. Here he received a diploma for the degree of doctor in divinity from the university of Oxford, dated August 28, 1727: and from hence he returned his thanks to the university in an elegant Latin letter, dated Dec. 1, the same year, both of which he afterwards printed. But though this book had procured this honourable testimonial of his merit from an English university, his enemies in France were not satisfied with publishing censures and issuing episcopal mandates against him, but proceeded to measures for compelling him to recant what he had written, and to sign such submissions as were inconsistent with the dictates of his conscience. In this critical state of things, he resolved to quit his native country, and to seek an asylum in England. He was the more inclined to embrace this resolution, in consequence of the warm and friendly invitations which he had received from Arch-

bishop Wake, who had conceived a great regard for him. After having spent four months very disagreeably at Hennemonte, he obtained leave to remove to Senlis ; but, instead of going thither, he took the road to Calais in the common stage coach, from thence got safely over to Dover, and arrived in London on the 24th of January, 1728.

On his landing at Greenwich Viscount Perceval, afterwards Earl of Egmont, sent his coach with six horses to convey him to his house, which he desired the doctor to consider, and to use, as his own : after dinner his lordship made him a handsome present. Next day Dr. Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had him to dine at his palace at Lambeth, and made him a like present. Bishop Hare, Bishop Sherlock, and several other prelates, treated him with similar generosity ; and soon after his arrival, the Marquis of Blandford made him a present of fifty pounds, through the hands of Nicholas Mann, Esq., afterwards master of the Charter-house.

It is pleasing to be able to say with certainty, to the honour of this nation, that very many of the tables and houses of the great were generously opened for the reception of P. Courayer, from the first moment of his arrival in England. He secured his future constant welcome by his own merits, and an instructive, entertaining, and inoffensive manner of conversation.

He got early into the habit of living, for months together, in one or other of the first families in this kingdom ; and at the different habitations of the Countess of Hertford, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, it was not unusual for him to make visits of six months at a time.

He did not, however, continue very long a precarious pensioner on the bounty of our nobility, prelates, and gentry, who were not deficient in their generosity and attention to him. A national pension of £100 per annum was settled upon him. In 1736 this pension was doubled by Queen Caroline, who, with all her faults, was a munifi-

cent patroness of men of letters, and of indigent merit. To her he dedicated his French translation of "Father Paul's History of the council of Trent," published in that year; and his dedication is penned in a strain of lively and heartfelt gratitude.

By the sale of the translation just mentioned he cleared, it is said, £1500, and was enabled to give £1600 to Lord Feversham for an annuity of £100, which he enjoyed for almost forty years.

P. Courayer, after his coming into this country, was never in want of anything that was necessary for him, or that could contribute to the comfort of his life, which he protracted to the very advanced age of ninety-five years. By degrees, and in no great length of time, he got into very affluent circumstances, and was in the receipt of very much more money yearly than his frugal mode of living required.

He wrote some other books in French, besides those that have been mentioned; and, in particular, he translated into that language Sleidan's "History of the Reformation." He died in Downing-Street, Westminster, after two days illness, on the 17th of October, 1776. According to his own desire, he was buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey, by Dr. Bell, chaplain to the Princess Amelia. In his will, which was dated Feb. 3, 1774, he declared, "That he died a member of the catholic Church, but without approving of many of the opinions and superstitions which have been introduced into the Romish Church, and taught in their schools and seminaries, and which they have insisted on as articles of faith, though to him they appeared to be not only not founded in truth, but also to be highly improbable."

Such was the life, and such, so far as appeared to the public during his life, were the doctrinal views of Courayer: it is melancholy to be obliged to add, that it subsequently came to light, by means of two posthumous works, that towards the close, at least, of the long period of his earthly

existence, he had fallen into unsound views even on the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

As to the former, he acquiesced indeed in the language of the Church, of the Three Persons in one Substance, but attempting to explain this language otherwise than in the received way, he fell apparently into a kind of modified Sabellianism, or, to say the least, into a very near approximation to such a view. As regards the doctrine of the Incarnation, he appears to have adopted a kind of Nestorian idea. It must be observed, however, that he seems to have thought that he agreed in substance with the catholic and orthodox doctrine, and differed only from the "common" or received *way of explaining it*; and that he defended the maintainers of orthodoxy from the charges made by the Socinians against them.

On the doctrine, too, of original sin, his views were very unsound.

With respect, too, to the Atonement, there is in both these treatises a silence which, particularly when taken in connection with the Pelagian views just mentioned, is by no means satisfactory. He defends, however, the doctrine of a commemorative Sacrifice in the Eucharist.

When his posthumous works were published, Socinianism was prevalent in this country, and Socinians laid claim to Courayer, but from the above statement taken from the preface to the Oxford Edition of the Dissertation, and compared with the quotation from his will, the reader will perceive that whatever were Courayer's errors, to the soul-destroying heresy of the Socinians he was decidedly opposed.—*Courayer's Dissertation, Oxford Edition. Allgemeine Encyclopædie. Courayer's Last Sentiments, with Account of Author prefixed.*

#### COVEL, JOHN.

JOHN COVEL was born at Horningsheath, in Suffolk, in 1638, and educated at Edmundsbury, from whence he removed, in 1654, to Christ's College, Cambridge, of

which he became fellow. In 1670 he went to Constantinople as chaplain to the embassy. This appointment occasioned the publication of the work by which his name is now known, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church*, though the publication was delayed till a short time before his death. In the preface he remarks "that many learned men all over Europe have been very inquisitive, especially in these last two centuries, about the constitutions and doctrines of the Eastern Churches, especially that of the Greeks; and we have had several treatises and narratives printed upon that subject. At last arose that famous controversy between those two eminent Frenchmen, Monsieur Arnold, doctor of the Sorbonne, and Monsieur Claud, minister of Charenton, about the Real Presence in the Eucharist. The first positively asserting, that the Greeks and all other Christians in the east did own it in the very sense of the school term, transubstantiation, according to the council of Trent, and that it was handed down to them, by an uninterrupted tradition even from the Apostles themselves; the second, as positively denying it.

"All Greeks who travelled or straggled this way amongst the Europeans were every where nicely catechised and examined about this point; and I remember that about the year 1668, 1669, there was one *Ἰερεμίας Γερμανὸς*, Jeremias Germanus here in England, at Oxford (well known to Dr. Woodroof) and elsewhere, who told every body that the Greeks believed no such thing, but that they owned the elements to remain after consecration, as our Church doth, still mere and true bread and wine.

"In the year 1670 I was appointed and sent as chaplain to his excellency Sir Daniel Harvey, then Ambassador from King Charles the Second at the Ottoman Porte; this caused the Reverend Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson (then our two public professors at Cambridge) Dr. Sancelott, Dr. Womock, and several others to importune me strictly to enquire into this matter after I arrived at Constantinople."

The work is very learned, and is on that account interesting, but it does not throw much light upon the then existing Greek Church, and might have been written for the most part by one who had never been at Constantinople. He complains of the extreme ignorance of the "Easterlings," as he calls them, though he says they were not more ignorant than the generality of Romish priests; the Romanists understanding no Greek, and the Easterlings no Latin. Of the doctrine of transubstantiation, he says that it was not introduced into the Greek Church till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, that is, till after the year 1453. In 1679, he took his degree of D.D., and was chosen Margaret preacher of divinity. The next year he was presented to the living of Littlebury, in Essex, and in 1687 was made chancellor of York, and the next year master of Christ College, Cambridge. He died in 1722.—*Covel's Greek Church. Biog. Brit.*

## COVERDALE, MILES.

MILES COVERDALE was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1488, and was educated in the convent of Augustines in Cambridge, of which order he became a monk. In his time, although our Church was corrupted by the errors of popery, there were some young men at the university, who had begun to suspect that a reformation was necessary, and of this number was Miles Coverdale.

In 1514 he was ordained priest at Norwich, by John, Bishop of Chalcedon. But he appears to have resided still at Cambridge, where the new school of theology continued to gain strength. Between the reforming and the Romish prelates in our Church disputes now became frequent, and the peace of the university was disturbed by preachers coming up from the country to protest against the Reformation; while the advocates of the old doctrines by these university preachers represented as new, took

courage to defend themselves, till at last Dr. Barnes was apprehended, and the Heads of Houses caused a diligent search to be made for the prohibited books,—the books relating to the necessity of a reform in the Church, and especially the Bible.

Coverdale now took a more decided part; he laid aside the habit of a monk, and assuming that of a secular priest, he went about preaching at different places, till at last he thought it prudent to quit the country. In 1528 he joined Tyndal in Germany, who, in 1526, had published the whole of the New Testament in English. It was printed at Antwerp, and from thence imported into England. There were several ancient translations in England, for it is a mistake to suppose that before the Reformation no translations were allowed. Long before Wickliff's translation, some hundred years, as Thomas James conjectures, there was a translation of the whole Bible in English, of which there are three copies at Oxford. And John Thursby, Archbishop of York, who died in 1373, publicly condemned the prelates and clergy who then began to withhold the Scriptures from the people. There was a translation of the Old and New Testament, by John Trevisa, vicar of Berkley, in Cornwall, which was published, according to Archbishop Usher, in 1360, and according to Mr. Wharton, in 1387. In 1347 Richard Fitzralph, commonly called Armachanus, as being Archbishop of Armagh, translated the Bible into Irish. These facts are worthy of note, for they seem to contradict the popular notion, that by our Church before the Reformation, *all* versions of Scripture were prohibited. That about the time of our Reformation the ignorant but more popular party in the church had much fear of a translation of the Bible, and that the majority of the bishops sided with the popular preachers upon this point, is most true. They were afraid lest the traditions by which they made the word of God of none effect, should be by fresh light exposed not only to others, but to themselves. But the law



as it existed, while it acknowledged all the translations which had been made before the time of Wickliff to be lawful, prohibited any fresh translation without authority. Tyndal therefore could not print his New Testament in England.

Coverdale met Tyndal at Hamburgh, and assisted him in the translation of part of the Old Testament, that is, of the whole of the Pentateuch.

What became of Coverdale till the year 1535 is not known, but in that year he published his translation of the whole Bible. It was printed at Zurich.

The reforming party in England had by this time proceeded to very great excesses, especially in their calumnies against the bishops. The bishops, as the controlling authorities, though influenced in the long run by a movement, are called upon by every motive to pause before they act. The bishops of our church at this time seem to have acted with wisdom and caution. They saw that something must be done to meet the general demand for a version of Scripture, and Archbishop Warcham in letters testimonial, declared it to be the intention of the King to have the New Testament translated under the direction of the bishops. He met the popular cry at the same time of the clergy, and prohibited the various tracts of the new school, which they pronounced to be heretical.

The progress of the new opinions may be traced in the fact, that it was decreed by the convocation of the province of Canterbury, in 1533, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue; a decree which was repeated in the convocation of 1534; at the same time all persons having books of suspected doctrine in the vulgar tongue were required to bring them in.

It was under these circumstances that Coverdale was emboldened, in 1535, to publish his translation of the Bible in small folio. It is disgraced by a dedication filled with the most disgusting flattery of the royal sensualist, King Henry the Eighth, and by a violent attack upon the Romish party in the church, which could only have

made the minds of the more bigoted Romanists revolt against the new doctrines of which such was the fruit. One is surprised that a man, fresh from the translation of the Bible, should have evinced in his flattery and in his anathema such a spirit.

It is a matter of dispute whether this Bible was circulated with the King's sanction. It is supposed that for a time the object of Coverdale's flattery approved of it, but that when Ann Bulleyn fell into disgrace, and the royal reformer had transferred his affections to another, all her adherents, and all that she supported, became no longer tolerable to the King.

In 1537 was published what is called Matthew's Bible, though this was a fictitious name. It was set forth by "the King's most gracious leave;" and was taken, as far as it would go, as Mr. Lewis says, from Tyndal's translation and Coverdale's.

The prologue and prefatory pieces attached to this Bible gave offence; and we find Coverdale superintending a new edition undertaken by Grafton at Paris.

The presses being seized by the Inquisition, this edition was finished and published in London, in April, 1539. It is often called Cranmer's Bible, because some copies have Cranmer's prologue in them; but it seems doubtful whether, in such cases, the prologue is not that of the real Cranmer's Bible of 1540, bound up in the edition of 1539.

On the accession of Edward VI., Coverdale, who seems never to have been ambitious of martyrdom, and who had lived in Germany, returned to England, when he was made almoner to the Queen Dowager. In 1548 he preached at St. Paul's Cross, when an anabaptist did penance. He sat on the commission in 1551, under which Van Paris was burnt for Arianism: and in the same year he was appointed coadjutor to Veysey, Bishop of Exeter, or in fact superseded him; Veysey, who had so far entered into the spirit of the courtly reformers, as to have squandered the temporalities of his see, while he did

not embrace the purer doctrines of the more religious reformers, was induced, for fear of exposure probably, to resign. As bishop, Coverdale seems to have conducted himself with great propriety of conduct, to have preached often, and to have neglected none of the duties of his station.

When Queen Mary came to the throne he was deprived of his bishopric, because he was a married man, and unwilling to part from his wife. As a monk he must have taken the vow of celibacy, and therefore his marriage was a scandal. In the new reign the Romish party in our church regained the ascendancy, and the marriage of the clergy was, in their opinion, under any circumstances censurable, though the New Testament is so very clear in asserting that estate to be honourable among them, as well as among other men. Whether Coverdale was placed under constraint does not appear, but he certainly signed the protestation of certain imprisoned divines. By the interference of the King of Denmark, he was permitted to retire to that country. After staying some time in Denmark he proceeded to Wezel, where he officiated to the English refugees. The interest of the King of Denmark was exerted in his favour through his chaplain, Dr. John Machabœus. Machabœus and Coverdale had married sisters. From Wezel he went to Bergzabern, a benefice conferred upon him by Wœlfgang, Duke of Deux Ponts. Thence he went to Geneva, when the Geneva Bible was in the course of printing.

On the death of Mary he returned to England, entirely won over to the ultra-protestant views of the Genevan reformers, a complete calvinist. But he appears to have been a man of gentle spirit notwithstanding the violence of temper he displayed in the dedication of his Bible, and perhaps was easily influenced to a certain point by those with whom he associated. We thus find him officiating at the consecration of Dr. Parker, who was the successor of cardinal Pole in the see of Canterbury, but refusing to wear the episcopal dress.

The ceremonial on this occasion was of a grand description, and is thus described by Strype: "First of all, the chapel on the east part was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was spread with red cloth, and the table used for the celebration of the holy Sacrament, being adorned with a carpet and cushion, was placed at the east. Moreover, four chairs were set to the south of the east part of the chapel for the bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the Archbishop was committed. There was also a bench placed before the chairs, spread with a carpet and cushions, on which the bishops kneeled. And in like manner a chair, and a bench furnished with a carpet and a cushion, was set for the Archbishop on the north side of the east part of the same chapel.

"These things being thus in their order prepared, about five or six in the morning, the Archbishop entereth the chapel by the west door, having on a long scarlet gown and a hood, with four torches carried before him, and accompanied with four bishops, who were to consecrate him; to wit, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgkin, suffragan of Bedford. After each of them in their order had taken their seats prepared for them, morning prayer was said with a loud voice by Andrew Pierson, the Archbishop's chaplain. Which being finished, Scory went up into the pulpit, and taking for his text, *The elders which are among you I beseech, being also a fellow elder, &c.*, made an elegant sermon, admonishing the pastor of his office, care, and faithfulness towards his flock; and the flock, of the love, duty, and reverence they owed to their pastor.

"Sermon being done, the Archbishop, together with the other four bishops, go out of the chapel to prepare themselves for the holy communion: and, without any stay, they come in again at the north door thus clad: the Archbishop had on a linen surplice, the elect of Chichester used a silk cope, being to administer the Sacrament. On whom attended and yielded their service the Archbishop's two chaplains, Nicolas Bullingham and

Edmund Gest, the one Archdeacon of Lincoln, and the other of Canterbury, having on likewise silk copes. The elect of Hereford and the suffragan of Bedford wore linen surplices : but Miles Coverdale had nothing but a long cloth gown. Being in this manner appareled and prepared, they proceed to celebrate the communion, the Archbishop being on his bended knees at the lowest step of the chapel. The Gospel being ended, the elect of Hereford, the suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, brought the Archbishop before the elect of Chichester, sitting in a chair at the table, with these words ; *Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you this godly and learned man to be consecrated Archbishop.* This being spoken, forthwith was produced the royal instrument or mandate for the Archbishop's consecration : which being read through by Thomas Yale, doctor of laws, the oath of the Queen's primacy, or of defending her supreme authority, set forth and promulgated according to the statute in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was required of the said Archbishop. Which when he solemnly had performed *verbis conceptis*, the elect of Chichester having exhorted the people to prayer, betook himself to sing the litany, the choir answering. Which being ended, after some questions propounded to the Archbishop by the elect of Chichester, and the making some prayers and suffrages to God, according to the form of the book put forth by authority of Parliament, the elects of Chichester and Hereford, the suffragan of Bedford, and Coverdale, laying their hand upon the Archbishop, said in English, 'Take the Holy Ghost; and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands. For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.' These words being said, they delivered the holy Bible into his hands, using these words to him ; 'Give heed unto thy reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon these things contained in this book ; be diligent in them, that the increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all

men. Take heed unto thyself, and unto thy teaching, and be diligent in doing them. For in doing this, thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' After they had said these things, the elect of Chichester (delivering no pastoral staff to the Archbishop) proceeded to the other solemnities of the communion; with whom the Archbishop, and the other bishops before named, did communicate, together with some others: when the Archbishop desired the prayers of them all, that the office now laid upon him by the hands of the presbytery might above all tend to the glory of God, and salvation of the Christian flock, and the joyful testimony of his own conscience from his office faithfully performed, when it should happen that he should go to the Lord, to whom he had devoted himself.

“ These things being finished and performed, the Archbishop goeth out through the north door of the east part of the chapel, accompanied with those four that had consecrated him: and presently, being attended with the same bishops, returned by the same door, wearing an episcopal white garment, and a chimere of black silk: and about his neck he had a rich tippet of sable. In like manner the elects of Chichester and Hereford had on their episcopal garments, surplice, and chimere: but Coverdale and the suffragan of Bedford wore only their long gowns. The Archbishop then going forward toward the west door, gave to Thomas Doyle, his steward, John Baker, his treasurer, and John March, his comptroller, to each of them white staves; admitting them after this manner into their places and offices. These things therefore thus performed in their order, as is already said, the Archbishop goeth out of the chapel by the west door, the gentlemen of his family of the better sort in blood going before him, and the rest following behind. All and singular these things were acted and done in the presence of the reverend fathers in Christ, Edmund Grindal, elect Bishop of London; Richard Cocks, elect of Ely; Edwin Sandes, elect of Wigorn; Anthony Huse, Esq., principal

and primary Register of the said Archbishop; Thomas Argal, Esq., Register of the Prerogative of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Willet and John Incent, Public Notaries, and some others."

As Coverdale would not himself conform to the rules of the Church, he could not be restored to his bishopric. He could not be expected to enforce the orders which he neglected himself. The non-conformists were in general so intolerant and violent in their proceedings, that he would naturally be regarded with suspicion for a time, and he had no right to expect preferment in the church. Nevertheless the chief ecclesiastics regarded him with sympathy and affection. Archbishop Grindal, himself a puritan at heart, though he conformed, endeavoured to obtain for him a Welsh bishopric, probably because his irregularities would not be observed in that distant diocese; and when he failed he presented him with the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge. His poverty was such as to induce the Queen to remit the payment of the first fruits, amounting to £60. Here he preached for about two years, but he resigned the living in 1566, probably because a stricter conformity was at that time required than he was willing to concede. He died in February, 1569, at the age of eighty-one, and on the 19th of that month was buried in St. Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange.

The following is given by the Parker Society as the list of his works:—

1. The Old Faith; an evident probation that the Christian Faith hath endured since the beginning of the world. (Translation from H. Bullinger.) 1547.

2. A Spiritual and most Precious Pearl. A translation from Otho Wermullerus. 1550.

3. Treatise on Justification. From the same.

4. The Book of Death. From the same.

5. The Hope of the Faithful. From the same.

6. Fruitful Lessons upon the Passion, Death, Resur-

rection, and Ascension of our Saviour, and the giving of the Holy Ghost. 1540—47.

7. Abridgment of Erasmus's Enchiridion.

8. A Confutation of that Treatise which one John Standish made against the Protestation of Dr. Barnes in the year 1540.

9. Christian State of Matrimony.

10. Faithful and true Prognostication on the years 1536—48—49.

11. Translation of Luther's Exposition of the Twenty-third Psalm. 1537.

12. How and whither a Christian ought to flee the horrible plague of the Pestilence. Translated from Osiander. 1537.

13. Acts of the Disputation in the Council of the Empire holden at Ravenspurg, set forth by Bucer and Melancthon. Translated by M. C.

14. (1) The Christian Rule and state of all the world.  
(2) A Christian Exhortation unto customable Swearers.  
(3) The Manner of saying Grace or giving Thanks to God.

15. Defence of a certain poor Christian man, who else should have been condemned by the Pope's law. Translated from the German.

16. Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs drawn out of the Holy Scripture.

17. (1) Exposition of the Magnificat. (2) The Original and Spring of all Sects.

18. (1) A Christian Catechism. (2) Cantus usuales Witeburgensium. (3) The Apology of the Germans against the Council of Mantua.

19. A faithful and most godly Treatise concerning the most sacred Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, translated from Calvin; whereunto the order that the Church and Congregation of Christ in Denmark doth use at the receiving of Baptism, the Supper of the Lord, and Wedlock, is added.



20. The Supplication that the Nobles and Commons of Osterick made unto King Ferdinand. Translated by M. C.

21. The Testimony and Report, which Eccius gave and sent in to the Council of those Princes, which name themselves Catholic. 1542.

Authorities,—*Strype. Johnson on English Translations of the Bible. Memorials of Coverdale, published by Bagster.*

COURTNEY, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM COURTNEY was the fourth son of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. He was born in the year 1341, and was educated at Oxford, where he applied himself to the study of the civil and the canon law, at that time studied by the clergy, as we learn from Dante, more than the gospels. A man of talent, and of his high birth, was sure to be speedily preferred, and in that age, when the reformation of the Church of England, indeed of the universal church, was so much needed, we are not surprised at finding him possessing prebends at Bath, and at Exeter, and at York. In 1369, during the reign of Edward III., he was consecrated to the see of Hereford, and from thence, in his 34th year, was translated to the see of London. In 1376 the Bishop of London opposed the grant of a subsidy to the King on the ground of his having received some injuries from the great William of Wykeham, for which he desired to have redress before the subsidy was made. The King could only obtain a subsidy by holding out hopes, never realized, of acceding to the Bishop of London's proposal. He was a decided papist, and as such took low views of the episcopate. In his zeal for the papacy he violated the laws of the land by publishing a bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's consent.

His conduct appears to have been very bad ; the affair was this : Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had dispatched his bulls every where, ordering their effects to be seized. The Bishop of London, without consulting the King, published the pope's bull at Paul's Cross, and gave the populace license to plunder the houses of such Florentines as were in the city. The lord-mayor hereupon, restraining the violence of the people, placed a seal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the Bishop of Exeter, lord high chancellor, summoned the Bishop of London into the Court of Chancery, to answer for having dared to publish the pope's bull, without consent of the King and council, and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the pope's authority and command. But the chancellor gave sentence, that he should either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With some difficulty the Bishop of London obtained that he might re-call them by one of his officers ; and accordingly an official mounted Paul's Cross, and addressed the people in these words : My lord said nothing about the interdict ; it is strange that you should misunderstand, who hear so many sermons from this place.

Such was our Church in the middle ages, and as such the moral sense of mankind demanded its reformation. A reforming party appeared at Oxford, under the leading of the celebrated Dr. Wickliff. Although Romanism formed no part of the religion of the Church of England at that time, most of her divines were Romanists, and though contrary to law, the popes exercised great authority and influence in our church ; just as at a later period, our divines became calvinistic, more or less, though calvinism is no part of our church : the vehemence of the great body of the clergy against Wickliff was great.

Wickliff was cited to appear before the Bishop of London's tribunal, in St. Paul's Church, in 1377. He

attended, accompanied by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and by the Lord Marshal Percy, who told him to keep up his spirits, for the bishops were but ignoramuses compared to him; the Duke and Lord Marshal being of course fit judges on such a point. The crowd around the court was great, anxious to obtain a view of the Oxford heretic. Even the proud Percy could with difficulty obtain an entrance. The Bishop of London was justly annoyed at the disturbance occasioned by the sudden appearance of these nobles, and at seeing Dr. Wickliff so attended. Upon this a dispute happened between his lordship and these two peers. Lord Percy, said the bishop, if I had known before hand what masteries you would have kept, I would have stopt you from coming hither: upon which the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, replied, he *shall* keep such masteries, though you say nay. Soon after Lord Percy rudely and impertinently addressed Wickliff desiring him to sit down, saying, you have many things to answer for, and therefore need a soft seat;—the bishop upon this very justly remarked, that it was not reasonable that a person cited before his ordinary should sit down during his answers, when the Duke of Lancaster insolently said in open court, “The Lord Percy’s motion for Wickliff is but reasonable. And as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not of you only, but of all the prelacy of England. Thou bearest thyself so; brag upon thy parents which shall not be able to protect thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.” The bishop with great dignity and composure replied: “My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any other man, but in God only in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.” The insolent duke was abashed, but enraged, he said, not openly in court, but so as to be heard by those around him, “Rather than take these words at a bishop’s hands, I’ll pluck him by the hair of his head out of the church.” Though the words were

uttered so as not to be heard by the bishop, they did not escape some of the Londoners who were near him, who declared aloud, that rather than see their bishop thus insulted they would die. Amid this scandalous interference with an episcopal court little business was done. Wickliff was silenced, and for a time it appears that, grateful for the mild measures adopted towards him, he gave no further annoyance.

Meantime the Duke and the Lord Marshal Percy, enraged against the Londoners, went to the house of parliament, and brought in a bill to put down the office of lord-mayor, and to place the city under military control. The Londoners, enraged, assaulted and plundered the houses of the Duke and Lord Percy, and would have proceeded to extremities against them had it not been for the generous interference of the bishop. We are told that the Bishop of London, hearing of the tumult, left his dinner, and going hastily to the Savoy, desired the people to desist, and to consider that it was the holy time of Lent, assuring them that care should be taken of the rights and privileges of the city. He succeeded; the Duke's palace was spared, and the mob was contented with hanging up the Duke's arms reversed in the principal streets of the city.

Godwin tells us that, in 1378, Courtney was made a cardinal; but he speaks without authority. He certainly was chancellor in the year 1381, and was in the same year translated to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the murder of Dr. Sudbury. He was elected by the chapter of Canterbury, and by a curious coincidence Pope Urban had fixed upon the same person. But before the arrival of the pope's bull, he had done homage for the temporalities, he had repaired to Lambeth, where one of their chapter was sent to him by the prior and convent of Canterbury with the archiepiscopal cross or crosier. As bishop he had a right to the pastoral staff,—the crosier being peculiar to an archbishop. The monk addressed the arch-

bishop seated in his chapel thus: "Reverend Father, I am the messenger of the supreme King, who entreats, commands, and enjoins that you take upon you the government of his church, and that you love and protect it, in token of which message, I deliver into your hand the banner of the supreme King." It would seem that the prior and convent were anxious to exercise their right of election without reference to the see of Rome; but Courtney was unwilling to act thus independently, so completely was he under the Romish influence. Not having received the pall, he was doubtful whether the cross should be carried before him, that is, whether he might assume the archiepiscopal dignity, and in that capacity crown the young Queen, who had lately arrived in England, as consort of King Richard II. The monks of Canterbury could easily prove that this deference to a foreign bishop had not been always paid by his predecessors; but before the archbishop would act he published a protest that he did not do so in any contempt of the court of Rome. We are naturally sorry to find one of the archbishops of the Church of England, thus forgetful of the independent authority of every member of the episcopate; but perhaps at the present time persons in a situation similar to that of Courtney, would bow down before a worse authority, that is, the authority of parliament.

He received the pall on the 6th of May, 1382; and in this year held a synod in London, assisted by seven bishops and several doctors and bachelors in theology, and in canon and civil law. Ten propositions of Wickliff were declared heretical; viz: First, that in the sacrament of the altar, the substances of the bread and wine remain after consecration. Second, that the accidents cannot remain after the consecration without the substance. Third, that Jesus Christ is not actually and really in his proper corporeal presence in the Eucharist. Fourth, that no priest or bishop in mortal sin may ordain, or consecrate, or baptize. Fifth, that outward confession is not necessary to those who duly repent. Sixth, that no pas-

sage can be adduced from the gospels showing that our Lord instituted the mass. Seventh, that God must obey the devil. Eighth, that if the pope be an impostor, or a wicked man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful, except such as he may have received from the Emperor. Ninth, that after the death of the present pope, Urban VI., no pope ought to be recognized, but people should live, like the Greeks, according to their own laws. Tenth, that it is contrary to Holy Scripture for ecclesiastical persons to hold temporal possessions.

The council declared fourteen other propositions erroneous, and the Archbishop obtained of the King authority to arrest and imprison all persons teaching and maintaining their opinions. The King's letter is dated July 12.

The Archbishop issued his mandate in 1383 for the observance of the festival of St. Ann, the supposed mother of the Virgin Mary. Although, as we have seen, he yielded his rights to the pope, he was careful in other respects to maintain the authority of the clergy. In 1387 he summoned his suffragans and lower clergy to London, and at the opening of the convocation preached on the following text, *Supra muros Jerusalem constitui custodes*. A subsidy was granted to the King, or rather to the government which had been consigned by the King to eleven commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury being one. And perceiving that several noblemen would be tried for their lives, and that causes of blood would be brought into the parliament, and that the canons barred those of his order from being present at them, the Archbishop entered his protest for the saving the privilege of the lords spiritual, and left the house.

The purport of the protest is to set forth that the lords spiritual, by virtue of their baronies, and as peers of the realm, had a right to sit, debate, vote and give judgment with the rest of the peers, in all cases and matters transacted in parliament. But since impeachments of high treason, and trials for life were coming on, they were for-

bidden by the canons of the church to concern themselves in matters of that nature; making a protest that for this only reason, they were obliged to withdraw. And thus, having guarded the entireness of their peerage, they concluded with declaring, that nothing done in their absence upon this occasion should be hereafter questioned or opposed by any of their body.

This instrument, at the instance and petition of the Archbishop and his suffragans, was read in full parliament, and entered upon the parliament rolls by the King's command, with the assent of the temporal lords and commons.

The Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, in the province of York, entered the same protest.

In the year 1391 he published his constitutions against *Choppe-Chapels*. The following is the certificatory of Dr. Braybrook, Bishop of London, in answer to the Archbishop, containing a copy of his mandate.

To the most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord William, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of A. E., legate of the apostolical see, Robert by divine permission Bishop of London, obedience and reverence, with the honour due to so great a father. We received your most reverend mandate according to the tenour underwritten.

“William by divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of A. E., legate of the apostolical see, to our venerable brother Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of London, health and brotherly charity in the Lord. We are bitterly grieved, when any of the flock under our trust provokes the Most High by his villanies, and strikes himself with a damnable sentence, and rashly throws himself into destruction. But humane laws and canonical statutes, do among other things abhor covetousness, which is idolatry, and damned simoniacal ambition. But (alas!) some men's minds now a days, are so darkened and smitten with outward things, as never to look inward to themselves, or to Him that is invisible, while they are

puft up with temporal honours, ftill defiring more, flichting the ways of God. Some traffic for the gifts of the Holy Spirit, while they pay or make simoniacal contracts for churches and ecclefiastical benefices, forgetting the words of Peter to Simon, *Thy money perish with thee, because, &c.* Others of thefe tare-sowers, perversers of right, inventors of mischief, commonly called *Choppe-Churches*, defraud fome by an unequal change of benefices through their wicked intriguing and execrable thirft of gain; and fometimes wholly deprive others of the benefices they have through falfe colours; infomuch, that being reduced from an opulent to a poor condition, and not being able to dig, they die of grief, or elfe are compelled to beg through extreme poverty, to the fcandal of the Church and clergy. Others, though they who ferve at the altar fhould live by the altar, &c., according to the Apoftle, procure perfons to be prefented to churches with cure and ecclefiastical benefices, by importunity and money; and to be instituted therein, after having firft wickedly fworn, that fo long as they have thofe benefices they will claim no profits from them, nor any way difpofe of them, but leave them to their direction and profit, [who procured them] under pretence of an exchange, or purely at their request. By which means (whereas one church ought to belong to one prieft, and no one ought to have feveral dignities or parifh churches) one man, infufficient for one cure though a fmall one, fweeps to himfelf by a trick the profits of many benefices, which if equally diftributed, would abundantly fuffice for many learned and very reputable men who very much want it; divine worfhip and hofpitality is neglected; the indevotion of the people toward the Church and them who belong to it is increafed, and the cure of fouls is not minded. Such carnal men defpife fpiritual precepts, and affect temporal riches in contempt of eternal rewards. But it were to be wifhed, that for their own amendment, they would be afraid of punifhment, by confidering how the Redeemer of Mankind caft the chapmen out of the temple, faying, Make not my Father's houfe a



house of merchandize. Our Lord never dealt so severely with any offenders, to demonstrate that other sinners ought to be reprehended, but these to be driven far from the church. Farther, some raptors rather than rectors of churches, shepherds, who know not and take no care of their flocks, provoke the divine indignation, neglecting hospitality without cause, shamefully spending their time at London, devouring Christ's patrimony, living daintily on the bread of the hungry, clothing themselves with the garments of the naked, and with the ransom of captives : they dare not say with the prophet, The Lord is the portion of my inheritance ; but rather, We desire not the knowledge of Thy ways. Whereas, therefore, the cure of souls is our chief concern, of which we are to give a strict account ; and resolving not any longer to connive at so great a scandal of the clergy of the Church of England, and so perilous and pernicious an example, at the importunate request of many we give it in charge, and command you my brother in virtue of obedience, and do will and command that the rest of my suffragans and fellow-bishops of our province of Canterbury, be enjoined by you to take corporal oaths of all whatsoever, that are to be presented to ecclesiastical benefices, now or hereafter to be void within your dioceses, that they have not given or promised directly or indirectly, by themselves, or by any employed by them for the presentation, to the presentor or any other persons whatsoever ; and that neither they nor their friends are obliged by oath or any pecuniary security, to resign or make exchange of the benefices ; and that no unlawful compact hath been made in this respect, nor promise with their will or knowledge : and that in case of exchange no proxies, though signed by notaries, be allowed, without the presence of the principals, and a provident examination of the equality as to the value of the benefices, and an oath given by each party that no fraud private or public is used in the exchange : and that the non-residents in your dioceses be effectually called home to do their duty ; and the simoniacal possessors, or rather usurpers of churches

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be severely censured; and that the accursed partakers with Gehazi and Simon, the *Choppe-Churches*, who chiefly are at London, be in general admonished to desist from such procurings, changings and trickings made in their conventicles and simoniacal assemblies for the future: and let them cassate and cancel all contracts and bargains fraudulently made, though confirmed with oaths, which in this case are null; and let all such frauds and simoniacal contracts, which are not in their power to break, be discovered to the bishop of the dioceses in which such benefices as are concerned in the transaction do lie, that they by whose procurement or consent these contracts were made, may be enjoined penance according to their merits, under pain of the greater excommunication after fifteen days' notice, (five days being allowed after each of the three usual admonitions) which we pass upon them by this writing from this time forward, as well as from that time forward. And do ye strictly enjoin and cause other bishops to be so enjoined, that these wicked merchants of the Lord's inheritance, and such as have several dignities, churches, and *Choppe-Churches*, be struck with the sword of ecclesiastical censure, especially such of them as are in orders, as being universally abhorred by all, lest by the neglect of you and other bishops this clamour be again repeated in our ears. And do ye cause us to be certified of what you have done in the premises before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing, by your letters patents containing a copy of these presents. Dated in our Manor of Slyndon, on the fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1391, and of our translation the eleventh.

“By authority of which reverend mandate we have enjoined it by our letters, as the custom is, to be fully executed as to all and singular its contents, by all and singular your suffragans of your province of Canterbury in their cities and dioceses, according to the full power, form, and effect of the said mandate, and have caused the said mandate, and all and singular the premises, so far as we

are concerned to be put in due execution, and will cause it so to be done to the best of our power, God permitting. And thus we have duly executed your most reverend mandate, according to the demand and effect thereof in and through all particulars. Dated in our Manor of Hadham on the seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord above-written, and of our consecration the eleventh."

In 1392, the Archbishop held a synod in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King under circumstances rather peculiar, as related by Speed.

"The laity, at the parliament now holden at London, had yielded to aid the King with a fifteenth, upon condition that the clergy should succour him with a tenth and a half, against which unjust proportion William de Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, most stiffly opposed, alleging, that the Church ought to be free, nor in anywise to be taxed by the laity, and that himself would rather die than endure that the Church of England (the liberties whereof had by so many free parliaments, in all times, and not only in the reign of this King, been confirmed) should be made a bond maid. This answer so offended the commons, that the knights of the shires, and some peers of the land, with extreme fury, besought, that temporalities might be taken away from ecclesiastical persons, saying, that it was an alms-deed, and an act of charity, so to do, thereby to humble them. Neither did they doubt, but that their petition, which they had exhibited to the King, would take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselves, out of which abbey, which should receive such a certain sum, and out of which, another I myself (saith a monk of St. Alban's) heard one of those knights confidently swear, that he would have a yearly pension of a thousand marks out of the temporalities belonging to that abbey. But the King, having heard both parts, commanded the petitioners to silence, and the petition to be razed out, saying, he would maintain the English Church

in the quality of the same state or better, in which himself had known it to be when he came to the crown. The Archbishop hereupon, having consulted with the clergy, came to the King, and declared, that he and the clergy had with one consent willingly provided to supply his majesty's occasions with a tenth. This grant the King took so contentedly, as he openly affirmed he was better pleased with this free contribution of one tenth for the present, than if he had gotten four by compulsion."

This year he commenced his metropolitical visitation, but was opposed at first by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury. The Bishop of Exeter issued his mandate, forbidding all persons in his diocese, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the Archbishop's jurisdiction. Courtney issued a mandate in opposition thereto, requiring their submission to his authority. The Bishop appealed to the pope, and fixed up his appeal upon the gates of his cathedral. The Archbishop notwithstanding proceeded in his visitation, and cited the Bishop to appear before him, and answer to certain articles exhibited against him. The citation was despatched by one of the Archbishop's officers, named Peter Hill; who being met by some of the Bishop of Exeter's servants in the town of Topsham, they, discovering his business, not only beat him most unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and swallow the instrument, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence, sent an order to the Earl of Devonshire, and others, to apprehend the bishop's servants, and bring them before the Archbishop. Which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in procession before the cross, in their shirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain stipend to a priest for saying daily mass at the tomb of the Earl of Devonshire; and lastly to pay twenty shillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The Bishop in the meantime prosecuted his appeal in the court of Rome; but finding the Arch-

bishop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewise espoused his cause, he thought it the most prudent course to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the Archbishop's jurisdiction. The Bishop of Salisbury, when it came to his turn to be visited, made no less resistance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution than the Bishop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the Archbishop's visitatorial power was founded solely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his successor, an exemption of himself and his diocese from metropolitanical visitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the Archbishop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that prelate, who declared he would visit the diocese of Salisbury, notwithstanding any papal exemption, and commanded the bishop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his cathedral church. The bishop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order; and, the Archbishop beginning his visitation, appealed to the Pope. The Archbishop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a prosecution at law against him, for endeavouring to withdraw himself from the subjection he owed to the see of Canterbury. The Bishop of Salisbury, terrified by this severity, and the recent example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the Archbishop's jurisdiction, and, through the intercession of the Earl of Salisbury and others, obtained absolution and reconciliation.

In this year the King directed his royal mandate to the Archbishop, not to countenance or contribute any thing towards a subsidy for the Pope. The writ sets forth, "That the Archbishop could not be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to maintain the rights and customs of the kingdom, to govern impartially by the laws, to secure the property of the subject, and to prevent impositions being charged or levied upon the people without the common consent of the kingdom." The King suggests

farther, "That the commons, lately assembled in parliament at Westminster, had addressed him for a remedy against the impositions upon the clergy, at that time exhausted by the court of Rome; and had petitioned him, that if any person should bring in any papal bulls for levying such impositions, or should actually collect or levy such impositions, he should be adjudged, and suffer as a traitor to him and his kingdom." His highness adds, "That he had granted, with the consent of the same parliament, that nothing should be levied or paid, that might tend to the burthen or damage of the subject and kingdom; that notwithstanding this legal provision, he was informed of a new papal imposition upon the clergy, which by his (the Archbishop's) authority, or that of his suffragans by his order, was to be levied without the common advice and assent of the kingdom; which he (the King) could not suffer consistently with his oath." And therefore in the close he commands the Archbishop, "upon his allegiance, and under the highest forfeitures, to revoke his orders for the levying this tax, and to return what had been already paid," enjoining him "not to pay, or contribute any thing to this subsidy, under the penalties aforesaid." Witness the King at Westminster, the 10th day of October. Writs of the same purport and date were directed to the Archbishop of York, to all the bishops of both provinces, to the guardians of the spiritualities, and to the several collectors of this tax. A like writ was directed to the Pope's nuncio, commanding him to desist from exacting this subsidy, *sub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This imposition was the payment of a tenth laid upon the clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non solvendis*.

On the octave of Hilary a parliament was held at Winchester; and here, the Archbishop of Canterbury being probably suspected of abetting the pope's encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in his answer to certain articles in the tenor following:—

“ To our dread sovereign Lord the King in this present parliament, his humble chaplain William, Archbishop of Canterbury, gives in his answer to the petition brought into the parliament by the commons of the realm, in which petition are contained certain articles.

“ That is to say, first. Whereas our sovereign Lord the King, and all his liege subjects ought of right, and had been always accustomed to sue in the King's court, to recover their presentations to churches, to maintain their titles to prebendaries and other benefices of holy Church, to which they have a right to present. The cognizance of which plea belongs solely to the court of our sovereign lord the King, by virtue of his ancient prerogative, maintained and practised in the reigns of all his predecessors Kings of England. And when judgment is given in his highnesses said court upon any such plea, the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons, who have the right of giving institution to such benefices within their jurisdiction, are bound to execute such judgments, and used always to make execution of them at the King's command, (since no lay person can make any such execution) and are also bound to make execution of many other commands of our lord the King: of which right, the crown of England has been all along peaceably possessed; but now of late, divers processes have been made by the holy father the pope, and excommunications published against several English bishops for making such executions, and acting in pursuance to the King's commands in the cases above mentioned, and that such censures of his holiness are inflicted in open disherison of the crown and subversive of the prerogative royal, of the King's laws, and his whole realm, unless prevented by proper remedies.”

To this article, the Archbishop premising his protestation, “ that it was none of his intention to affirm our holy father the pope has no authority to excommunicate a bishop, pursuant to the laws of holy Church, declares, and answers, that if any executions of processes are made, or

shall be made by any person : if any censures of excommunication shall be published, and served upon any English bishops, or any other of the King's subjects, for their having made execution of any such commands, he maintains such censures to be prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as it is set forth in the commons' petition : and that so far forth he is resolved to stand with our lord the King, and support his crown in the matters above mentioned, to his power.

“ And likewise whereas it is said in the petition, that complaint has been made, that the said holy father the pope had designed to translate some English prelates to sees out of the realm, and some from one bishopric to another, without the knowledge and consent of our lord the King, and without the assent of the prelates so translated, (which prelates are very serviceable and necessary to our lord the King, and his whole realm) which translations, if they should be suffered, the statutes of the realm would be defeated, and made in a great measure insignificant, and the said lieges of his highnesses council would be removed out of his kingdom, without their assent, and against their inclination, and the treasure of the said realm would be exported : by which means, the country would become destitute both of wealth and council, to the utter destruction of the said realm : and thus, the crown of England, which has always been so free and independent, as not to have any earthly sovereign, but to be immediately subject to God in all things touching the prerogatives and royalty of the said crown, should be made subject to the pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm defeated and set aside by him at pleasure, to the utter destruction of the sovereignty of our lord the King, his crown and royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.

“ The said Archbishop, first protesting that it is not his intention to affirm, that our holy father aforesaid cannot make translations of prelates according to the laws of holy



Church, answers and declares that if any English prelates, who by their capacity and qualification, were very serviceable and necessary to our lord the King, and his realm, if any such prelates were translated to any sees in foreign dominions, or the sage lieges of his council were forced out of the kingdom against their will, and that by this means, the wealth and treasure of the kingdom should be exported; in this case, the Archbishop declares that such translations would be prejudicial to the King and his crown: for which reason, if any thing of this should happen, he resolves to adhere loyally to the King, and endeavour as he is bound by his allegiance, to support his highness in this, and all other instances, in which the rights of his crown are concerned. And lastly, he prayed the King this schedule might be made a record, and entered upon the parliament roll, which the King granted."

From this declaration of the Archbishop, it is evident he was no vassal to the court of Rome: he did not assert the pope's supremacy so far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill subject.

We may observe farther, that this schedule of the Archbishop seems to have led the way to the statute of *præmunire* passed in this parliament. For the preamble and introductive part of the act is but a copy as it were of this declaration. The bill, it is true, was brought in by the commons by way of petition, who prayed the King to examine the opinions of the lords spiritual and temporal upon the contents. The question being put, the lords temporal promise to stand by the King, against the pope's encroachments; neither were the engagements of the lords spiritual less loyal and satisfactory: For they concurred in all points with the commons' petitions, and renounced the pope in all his attempts upon the crown.

After this preambulatory remonstrance, together with the engagement of the three estates to stand by the crown in the cases above mentioned, the enacting part of the statute follows, viz.

“Whereupon our said lord the King by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said commons, hath ordained, and established, that if any purchase, or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any such translations, processes and sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, against him, his crown and his royalty, or his realm, as is aforesaid, and they which bring within the realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same realm, or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abettors, fautors, and counsellors, shall be put out of the King's protection, and their lands, and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeit to our lord the King: and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them by *præmunire facias* in manner as it is ordained in other statutes of provisors: and other which do sue in any other court in derogation of the royalty of our lord the King.”

In 1395 he visited the diocese of Lincoln, where he gave a considerable check to the growth of the Oxford heresy. He obtained most unjustly from the pope, who had no right to grant it, a grant of four-pence in the pound to defray the expenses of his visitation, on all ecclesiastical benefices: he was opposed by the Bishop of Lincoln, who most unwisely appealed to the pope. Thus was it, that by disputes between our own bishops, the Church of England was betrayed into the hands of a foreign prince and prelate. In the midst of this unhappy controversy, Archbishop Courtney died. His death occurred on the 31st of July, 1396.

He founded a college of secular priests at Maidstone, and left a thousand marks for the repairs of Canterbury cathedral.—*Godwin. Collier. Parker. Johnson's Eccles. Laws. Wilkin's Conc. Wharton.*

## COWPER, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM COWPER, prelate, was born at Edinburgh, in 1566. From the school of Dunbar he was removed to St. Andrew's: after which, in 1582, he visited England, and was assisted, for nearly two years, in his theological studies by the famous Hugh Broughton. On entering into orders he became minister of Bothkenner, in the county of Stirling, and next at Perth, where his conduct was so exemplary that James VI. appointed him Bishop of Galloway, and dean of the Chapel Royal. He died in 1619, and in 1629 his works were published in London, in one volume, folio.

## COX, RICHARD.

RICHARD COX was born at Whaddon, in Buckinghamshire, in 1499, and was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge. In 1525 he was appointed by Wolsey a junior canon of Cardinal College, Oxford. He was accounted one of the first scholars of his age. He was attached to the small party of pious and learned men who were at this time anxious to promote a reformation in our Church, but in that Church at this time the Romanists formed the dominant party, and young Cox becoming obnoxious to the heads of houses in the university, was deprived of his preferment and cast into prison on a suspicion of heresy. When at length he was released from prison, he became master of Eton College. He rapidly obtained other preferments, and when it was proposed to convert the collegiate church of Southwell into a bishopric, Cox was designed for that see. But though the King promised to expend a portion of the money taken from the monasteries in founding this and other sees, the money was not forthcoming, and the King and his courtiers spent the revenues of the Church on their selfish luxuries. The sees projected were Dunstable, Colchester, Shrews-

bury, Bodmin, and Southwell. But Cox was not neglected, for he became dean of Christ Church, and was soon after appointed, through the interest of Archbishop Cranmer, tutor to Prince Edward. On that prince's accession to the throne, he became a great favourite at court, and was made a privy-counsellor, and the King's almoner. The 21st of May, 1547, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; installed July 16, 1541, canon of Windsor; and, the next year, made dean of Westminster. About the same time he was appointed one of the commissioners to visit the university of Oxford, in which he is accused of having much abused his commission. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Sussex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of Day, Bishop of Chichester, a violent papist. And when the noble design of reforming the canon law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the commissioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c., to the King, through Dr. Cox's powerful intercession, the colleges in both universities were excepted out of that act.

When the Romish party came into power under Queen Mary, Cox was committed to prison, but being soon after released, he left the country and proceeded to Strasburg. Here he learned with grief that the exiles at Frankfort had laid aside the liturgy of the Church of England, and adopted one on the Geneva model. It was concluded among them, that the answering aloud after the minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted, because in the reformed Churches abroad such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, "that the minister, in the room of the English confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time; and the same ended, the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is accustomed in the French,

Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish Churches: that done, the minister to pray for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and for England, was also devised: at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of the belief; which ended, the people to sing another psalm as before. Then the minister pronouncing this blessing, The peace of God, &c., or some other of like effect, the people to depart. And as touching the ministration of the Sacraments, sundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous." They had indeed submitted the liturgy of the Church to the celebrated John Calvin, who presumptuously spoke of our book of Common Prayer as retaining much of the dregs of popery, and containing some tolerable fooleries, not considering that no foolery is tolerable in the worship of Almighty God.

Dr. Cox, with several other learned men, came to Frankfort in March 1555, to settle the differences existing there among the members of the English Church, who were pushing their reforming principles to a vicious extreme. They were determined to restore the English service. Their first attempt was to introduce the repetition of the responses, and undaunted by the opposition of these fathers of puritanism, Dr. Cox directed one of the clergy who attended him to say the litany, while he and those who came with him from Strasburg responded in a devout and regular manner. This excited the indignation of the notorious John Knox, who in the afternoon, when it was his turn to preach, railed against the Book of Common Prayer, calling it superstitious, impure, imperfect, and popish, and affirming the present persecution to be a judgment upon the Church of England for not having reformed enough. For this he was justly rebuked by Dr. Cox.

These differences being now come to a great height, it was thought proper to fix a day, when both sides might

have an impartial hearing, and those matters be debated at large. The Tuesday following was the day appointed ; and when they were assembled, a motion was made, that Dr. Cox, and his companions, might be allowed the privilege of voting in the congregation. The puritans opposed this with great vehemence ; and insisted, that the present controversy should be first decided, and that they should be obliged to subscribe the discipline, before they were allowed that privilege. They also pretended, that some of Dr. Cox's company, lay under the suspicion of having been at mass in England, and that others had subscribed the doctrines of the Church of Rome : by which malicious slander, they thought, so to incense the congregation against them, that they should not be allowed a farther hearing. But this calumny was soon confuted ; the first part of the charge being wholly false and groundless, and the latter affecting none but Mr. Jewell, whose repentance was as public as his offence : and therefore, though this idle and wicked aspersion had at first made such impression on the congregation, that they withstood the admission of Dr. Cox and his friends ; yet when they had been allowed to speak in their own vindication they cleared themselves, so fully and satisfactory, from that imputation, that Knox himself entreated to have them admitted. And now the majority being on their side, they declared for the immediate restitution of the English liturgy ; and forbad Knox, if he continued obstinate in his opposition to it, to officiate any longer in the congregation.

Upon this Whittingham, a leading man among the puritans, made his complaint to the senator Glauberge, by whose means they had obtained the license for a church ; and he interposing in the dispute, commanded two of the most eminent of each side to be selected to consult and agree upon a decent order for the public service ; and when they had settled it to make a report of their proceedings to him. On the Church side were appointed Dr. Cox and Mr. Lever ; and for the puritans Knox and Whittingham. But when they came to a

conference, before they had gone through the morning service, their differences grew so high (Dr. Cox strenuously insisting on the restitution of the liturgy, and Knox and Whittingham obstinately rejecting it) that the committee was forced to break up without effect. The puritans immediately addressed the senate, making grievous complaints against the Church party, and reflecting severely on the obstinacy and incomppliance of Dr. Cox. By this address they so far prevailed as to obtain an order from the magistrates that the congregation should conform, in doctrine and ceremonies, to the French; and that those who refused to submit should quit the town.

Dr. Cox, who saw it was but lost labour at present to strive against the stream, consented to comply with this injunction of the magistrates, till he could have an opportunity of laying before them a clear and impartial account of things, and convince them of the justice of his cause. It was not long before he had the happiness to effect this: and because Knox, by his fawning and dissembling, had worked himself into their good esteem, and pretended to be more zealously and heartily affected towards them than any on the church side, he thought it expedient to detect his hypocrisy, and give them a true idea of the spirit of the man. This he did by shewing them a book written by Knox, entituled "An Admonition to Christians;" in which he had most bitterly reviled and abused the Emperor, calling him a worse enemy of Christ than Nero; and speaking many obnoxious things bordering on treason. The magistrates, being willing to act impartially in this affair, sent for Whittingham, Knox's intimate friend, and giving him the book with the passages which were complained of marked out, they commanded him to bring them an exact version of those passages into Latin by one in the afternoon. When they had received his version, and considered it, after a short deliberation they sent Knox a command to depart the city; otherwise they let

him know they should be obliged to deliver him up to the Emperor, if upon information concerning this pestilent book he should send to demand him.

The banishment of Knox was a fatal blow to the puritan faction, and they lost ground considerably; for a petition being presented to the magistrates, subscribed by three doctors, and thirteen bachelors of divinity, besides diverse others of inferior degree, for the establishment of the English liturgy, it was received in a most gracious manner; and the liturgy was commanded to be used by all the English exiles; and particular orders were given to Whittingham, and his party, not to presume to oppose, or dispute against it. Whittingham, upon this, replied, that he was willing to let them, who had such a fond esteem for the book, enjoy the full and free use of it; but that he hoped, that himself, and his friends, might have the liberty to join themselves to some other Church. This indulgence, Dr. Cox foresaw, would be of most pernicious consequence; and therefore requested, that it might not be allowed. At this Whittingham took fire, and challenged him to a public disputation; but the magistrates, who knew Whittingham's obstinate temper and ungovernable passion, and had seen by his conduct at the late conference how unlikely it was to bring him to any reasonable accommodation, refused to suffer it. The puritans, extremely mortified at these proceedings, applied again to old Glauberge to interpose in their behalf; but he knew them too well now ever to be misled by their artifices again, and gave them a flat denial.

On the 28th of March, Dr. Cox, who had now gained an entire victory, sent for all the English clergy to his lodgings, and acquainting them with his success, proposed to them to settle the church after the English order, and to appoint and fix church officers. The puritans exclaimed against the reception of the liturgy, and murmured at the persons appointed to be officers in the church; but they were told that the common prayer was



established by the magistrates, under whose protection as long as they continued it was their duty to obey them in all things lawful; and that the church was not to be left unsettled and in disorder, to gratify their peevish and perverse humours. When the affairs of the church were regulated, Dr. Cox proceeded to form a kind of an university; and appointed a Greek and a Hebrew lecturer, a divinity professor, and a treasurer for the contributions remitted from England.

As soon as things were thus settled and composed, he wrote to Calvin to give him an account of his proceedings, and to excuse his not consulting with him in these affairs. The letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief of the congregation. Calvin in his answer railed at the church ceremonies, condemned their strict adherence to the liturgy, and pressed them to comply with the scruples of the dissenting party. And, indeed, what other answer could be expected from a man who always was severe in his censures upon whatever himself had not a principal hand in? But this answer of his taking no effect, the puritan faction began to think of removing and setting up separate congregations in another place; and to vindicate themselves from the guilt of schism, with which they were charged, they wrote to the congregation, desiring to have the cause referred to four arbitrators, to whose decision they would stand. This they were told was a most unreasonable request; and that it would be great folly, when every thing was settled in a regular and decent order, to undo all again, and refer the decision to arbiters. Dr. Cox farther told them that there was more of wilfulness and obstinacy in these pretended scruples of theirs than real conscience; and handsomely exposed their ridiculous proposal of referring controversies in religion to arbiters. He asked what they would think of them who, in the disputes concerning the sacraments, predestination, and free-will, should agree to choose four arbiters, and to believe in those points whatever they should determine? and whether it was not as foolish and absurd to refer the

public worship of God, and the discipline of the Church, to the same method of decision? After this, some warm words passed on both sides; and the puritans departed in a rage, and retired to Basil and Geneva.

Dr. Cox, hoping that all things were now well settled at Frankfort, and that by their departure all future occasion of religious disputes would be removed, withdrew to Strasburgh, for the satisfaction of conversing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation.

After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of those divines who were appointed to review the liturgy: and when a disputation was to be held at Westminster, between the papists and the reformed clergy, he was the chief champion against the Romish bishops. He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and in his sermon at the opening of her first parliament, in most affecting terms exhorted them to restore religion to its primitive purity, and discharge all the popish innovations and corruptions. These excellent discourses, and the great zeal he had shewn in defence of the English liturgy at Frankfort, so effectually recommended him to the Queen, that she rewarded his great services by nominating him to the see of Ely, vacant by the deprivation of Thirlby. Before his consecration he joined with Dr. Parker, the elect Archbishop of Canterbury, and the elect Bishops of London, Chichester, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen against an act lately passed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the bishops; and sent her diverse arguments, from Scripture and reason, against the lawfulness of it, observing withal the many evils and inconveniences both to Church and State, which would be the fatal consequences thereof. He was consecrated at Lambeth, on the 21st of December, 1559.

This see he filled more than one and twenty years; and was all that time one of the chief pillars and ornaments

of our Church. He was very serviceable both to Archbishop Parker and his successor Grindal; and by his prudence and industry contributed to the regular restitution of our reformed Church to that beauty and good order which it had before enjoyed in the reign of King Edward. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous opposition to her retaining the crucifix on the altar of the Royal Chapel, and his strenuous defence of the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, against which the Queen had contracted a most inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men whom he found well affected to the Church; and shewed a singular esteem for Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he made his chaplain, and gave him the rectory of Teversham in Cambridgeshire, and a prebend of Ely. He did his utmost to obtain a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws (which was drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and other learned divines, of whom himself was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) established by the authority of parliament; but through the unreasonable opposition of some of the chief courtiers this noble design miscarried a third time.

As he had, in his exile at Frankfort, been the chief champion against the factious innovations of the puritans, so he now continued, with the same vigour and resolution, to oppose their turbulent and seditious attempts against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church. He laboured by gentle usage and learned arguments to bring back the seduced; and by timely and wholesome severities to quell and suppress the obstinate and incorrigible.

When the schism at Frankfort was settled Dr. Cox retired to Strasburgh, till the death of Mary, when he returned to his native land.

He reviewed and corrected the writings of Whitgift against Cartwright—(*See Life of Cartwright and Whitgift*)—and when Gaulter, the calvinist, wrote against

pressing the catholic ceremonies still retained in our church, he addressed to him a letter from which the following is an extract :

“ I wish indeed you had not lent so ready an ear to a few of our somewhat factious brethren. And it were to be desired that a man of your piety had not so freely given an opinion, before you had fully understood the rise and progress of our restoration of religion in England. There was formerly published by command of King Edward of pious memory, and with the advice and opinion of those excellent men, Master Bucer, and Master Peter Martyr, then residing in England, a book of common prayer and sacraments for the use of the Church of England. But now, as soon as our illustrious Queen Elizabeth had succeeded to the kingdom, she restored this holy little book to the Church of England, with the highest sanction of the whole kingdom. At that time no office or function of religion was committed to us who now preside over the churches; but when we were called to the ministry of the churches, we embraced that book with open arms, and not without thanks to God who had preserved for us such a treasure, and restored it to us in safety. For we know that this book ordains nothing contrary to the word of God.

“ It will not be foreign to the subject to state what Master Peter Martyr of pious memory wrote to us when exiles at Frankfort. ‘ I find nothing,’ he says, speaking of this book, ‘ in that book contrary to godliness. We know that some contentious men have cavilled at and calumniated it. Such persons ought rather to have remembered that our Lord is not a God of contention, but of peace.’ Had you been aware of these circumstances, Master Gaulter, you would not have been so alarmed, as you say you are, lest after the imposition of the habits some greater evil might ensue. The statements indeed, which are whispered in your ears by the contentious, are most absurd : for instance, that besides the habits many

other things are to be obtruded on the Church; and that there are some who make an improper use of the name of the Queen; and moreover, that the ministers who refuse to subscribe to the injunctions of certain individuals, are to be turned out of the churches: just as if there were any persons in England who would dare to frame laws by their private authority, and propound them for the obedience of their brethren. But this is not only false, but injurious both to the Queen and the ministers of the word, to wit, that we may humour her royal highness, and make her more decided in ordering every thing according to her own pleasure. But far be any one from suspecting any thing of the kind in so godly and religious a personage, who has always been so exceedingly scrupulous in deviating even in the slightest degree from the laws prescribed. Moreover, she is in the habit of listening with the greatest patience to bitter and sufficiently cutting discourses. Again, far be it that the ministers of the word should be said to have foully degenerated into base flattery. We indeed do not as yet know of any one who has abused either your authority, Gaultier, or that of any godly fathers, in approval of the popish dress, which we seriously reject and condemn equally with themselves. Nor is it true that we have obtruded any thing upon our brethren out of the pope's kitchen. The surplice was used in the Church of Christ long before the introduction of popery. But these things are proposed by us as having been sanctioned by the laws, not as the papists abused them to superstition, but only for distinction, that order and decency may be preserved in the ministry of the word and sacraments. And neither good pastors nor pious laymen are offended at these things.

“You seem to take it ill that the bishops were appointed to the management of these matters. Nay, you seem to insinuate, from the parable of Christ, (Matt. xxiv. 49,) that we are perfidious, drunken, and smiters of our fellow-servants; as if we approved the figments of the superstitious courtiers, and treated the godly ministers

with severity, and exhibited ourselves as the ministers of intemperate rashness. You thought that we should defend the cause of such ministers.

“These imputations are very hard, and very far from the truth. Has not the management and conservation of ecclesiastical rites, from the very origin of a well-constituted church, been at all times under the especial control of bishops? Have not the despisers and violators of such rites been rebuked and brought into order by the bishops? Let the practice of the holy Church be referred to, and it will be evident that this is the truth. And it would certainly be most unjust to number those who now discharge the episcopal office, among the perfidious or the drunken. You candidly and truly confess, Master Gaulter, that there are some among those brethren who are a little morose; and you might add too, obstreperous, contentious, rending asunder the unity of a well-constituted Church, and everywhere handing up and down among the people a form of divine worship concocted out of their own heads; that book, in the mean time, composed by godly fathers, and set forth by lawful authority, being altogether despised and trodden under foot. In addition to this, they inveigh in their sermons, which are of too popular a character, against the popish filth and the monstrous habits, which, they exclaim, are the ministers of impiety and eternal damnation. Nothing moves them, neither the authority of the state, nor of our Church, nor of her most serene majesty, nor of brotherly warning, nor of pious exhortation. Neither have they any regard to our weaker brethren, who are hitherto smoking like flax, but endeavour dangerously to inflame their minds. These our brethren will not allow us to imitate the prudence of Paul, who became all things to all men, that he might gain some. Your advice, and that especially of the reverend fathers Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Henry Bullinger, can have no weight with these men. We are undeservedly branded with the accusation of not having performed our duty, because we do not defend the cause

of those whom we regard as disturbers of peace and religion ; and who by the vehemence of their harangues have so maddened the wretched multitude, and driven some of them to that pitch of frenzy, that they now obstinately refuse to enter our churches, either to baptize their children, or to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to hear sermons. They are entirely separated both from us and from those good brethren of ours ; they seek bye paths ; they establish a private religion, and assemble in private houses, and there perform their sacred rites, as the Donatists of old, and the Anabaptists now ; and as also our papists, who run up and down the cities, that they may somewhere or other hear mass in private. This indeed is too disgusting, to connect our Queen with the pope."

This zealous Anglican Prelate was the chief supporter of Archbishop Parker, whom he exhorted to go on vigorously in reclaiming and restraining the puritans, and not to sink or be disheartened at the frowns of those court-favourites who protected them ; assuring him that he might expect the blessing of God on his pious labours to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to restore its unity, and establish uniformity. And when the privy council interposed in favour of the puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from punishment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh ; in which he warmly expostulated with the council for meddling in the affairs of the Church, which ought to be left to the determination of the bishops ; admonished them to keep themselves within their own sphere ; and acquainted them with his design of appealing to the Queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them.

This zeal of the good bishop in defence of the Church was, in all probability, the occasion why the Lord North, and some other of the courtiers, endeavoured to rob him of his best manors ; and on his absolute refusal to alienate, or give them away, did their utmost to incense the Queen against him, and get him deprived. They examined his whole conduct from his first accession to that see ; and

drew up a large body of articles against him : but the bishop, in his reply, so fully vindicated himself from all aspersions, and so clearly confuted their groundless and malicious calumnies, that the Queen was forced to confess him innocent. Notwithstanding which, perceiving the malice of his enemies to be implacable, and that there was no possibility of reclaiming them from their sacrilegious designs, he wrote of his own accord to the Queen, begging of her to give him leave to resign. His great age and infirm state of health made him the more earnest in his petition : and his resignation would have been certainly accepted if they could have found any other divine of note who would have taken the see on their terms. The first offer of it was made to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich ; and on his refusal it was proffered to several others : but the conditions were so ignominious and base that they all rejected it : by which means Bishop Cox continued in it till his death, which happened on the 22nd of July, 1581, in the eighty-second year of his age. The see continued vacant near twenty years after his death ; during which time there is no doubt but those sacrilegious designs, which he so resolutely opposed, were executed with a high hand.

His works, chiefly published after his decease, are,

1. "An Oration at the beginning of the Disputation of Dr. Tresham and others with Peter Martyr."

2. "An Oration at the conclusion of the same ;" both in Latin, and printed in 1549, 4to, and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The second is also printed in the Appendix to Strype's Life of Cranmer.

3. He had a great hand in compiling the first Liturgy of the Church of England : and was one of the chief persons employed in the review of it in 1559.

4. He turned into verse the Lord's Prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Psalms, a composition which will not bear modern criticism.

5. When a new Translation of the Bible was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of the Bishop's Bible, the Four Gospels, the



Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, were allotted to him, for his portion.

6. He wrote, "Resolutions of some Questions concerning the Sacraments;" in the collection of records at the end of Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

7. He had a hand in the "Declaration concerning the functions and divine institution of Bishops and Priests," and in the "Answers to the 'Queries concerning some abuses of the Mass.'"

8. Several letters and small pieces of his have been published by Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation, and Lives of the four Archbishops; and he is said to have assisted in Lilly's Grammar. A letter written by him in 1569, directed to the parson of Downham, and found in the parish chest of that place, was some years ago published in the Gentleman's Magazine. It relates chiefly to the state and condition of the poor, before the statutes of the 14th and 43rd of Queen Elizabeth were enacted; and shews that the bishop was animated with a very laudable zeal for engaging persons of wealth and substance to contribute liberally, cheerfully, and charitably, to their indigent neighbours.—Downes. *Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort. Zurich Letters.*

#### CRADOCK, SAMUEL.

SAMUEL CRADOCK was born in 1620, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, of which he became fellow, and was presented to the rectory of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, from whence he was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. After this he settled at Bishop Stortford, in Hertfordshire, where he died in 1706. His works are, 1. Knowledge and Practice, a System of Divinity, folio. 2. The Harmony of the Evangelists, folio. 3. The Apostolical History, folio. 4. The Old Testament Methodized, 3 vols, folio. 5. An Exposition of the Revelations.—*Calamy.*

CRADOCK, ZACHARY.

ZACHARY CRADOCK, brother of the preceding, was born in 1633. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, and in 1672 was appointed provost of Eton, in opposition to Waller, the poet. He died in 1695. Dr. Cradock published two sermons, one on Providence, and the other on the Design of Christianity.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

CRANMER, THOMAS.

THOMAS CRANMER was born July 2nd, 1489, at Aslacton, in the county of Nottingham, and at fourteen years of age was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, by his mother, his father being dead. At the age of twenty-two he married and forfeited the fellowship he had obtained in his college, to which, however, on his wife's death, the year after, he was restored. He was offered promotion in Cardinal Wolsey's College at Oxford, which he, for some unknown reason, declined, but the offer proves the estimation in which he was held in his own university. Proceeding to the degree of D.D. he was, in 1526, appointed one of the public examiners of theology in the university. At this time there were several pious men in the university who, from the study of the Scriptures and the early fathers, as well as from the instructions of Erasmus, were anxious to see the Church of England reformed, but the spirit of Romanism had so thoroughly pervaded the Church, that to this new school, which was prepared to oppose Romish peculiarities, whenever discovered to be such, a great opposition was raised. Dr. Cranmer, though naturally timid and cautious, was on the reforming side, and was ready to adopt any lawful measures for ridding the country of papal usurpation.

About this period Henry the VIIIth felt, or affected to feel, compunction of conscience, for having married his brother's widow, the amiable, the pious, the devoted

Catherine. If his passion for Anne Boleyn did not give rise to his feelings, with respect to the divorce, and the facts of history seem to shew that he had entertained them before he was acquainted with her, there can be no doubt that this circumstance decided his iniquitous course.

It was not likely that Dr. Cranmer would at this time be acquainted with the virtues of the exemplary Catherine, or with the heartless intrigues of the giddy girl, who thought to rise upon her ruin. The question of the King's divorce assumed both a political and a religious aspect, for it involved a question of papal authority. It is not to be wondered at, that those who thought that the whole of that authority, as exercised over the Church of England, was a usurpation, should enter eagerly upon the subject when the King was beginning to dispute that authority on a particular point. Let the authority be shaken on one point, it would soon be shaken on others also. This seems to have been the feeling in Dr. Cranmer's mind, when at the house of Mr. Cressy, Waltham Abbey, Essex, he met Edward Fox, the King's almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, the King's secretary. In the course of conversation he delivered it as his opinion that it would be better "to have the question whether a man may marry his brother's wife or no, decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the Word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourse to the pope; that there was but one truth in it, which the Scriptures would soon declare and manifest, being handled by learned men, and that it might as well be done in England, in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere." This opinion being reported by these official personages to the King, Dr. Cranmer was summoned to the royal presence, and taken into favour. He was directed to write a book on the divorce, which he did, residing at the time with Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire. When he had finished the book, in which he

asserted that the pope could not dispense with the Word of God ; he went to Cambridge, where he brought many persons over to his view of the subject. He was made King's chaplain, and Archdeacon of Taunton. From that time there seems to have existed a personal attachment between Henry and Cranmer. It is difficult to account for the fact, that Cranmer escaped the destruction or disgrace which was destined for most of those who had been at any time favourites with Henry, except on the supposition that Henry perceived that, while others were serving him to promote their selfish ends, Cranmer was really attached to his person. Nor may we wonder that such a person as the gentle-spirited and pure-minded Cranmer should become attached to the King ; for the viler traits of Henry's character were only gradually brought to light ; and much may have been concealed from Cranmer when primate. There was much in Henry's personal address to conciliate esteem, for he was, in spite of his vices, during great part of his reign, a popular sovereign. And we all know how apt the mind is to make allowances for the worst characters, when by frequent intercourse we find something good in them, which is unknown to those who only see the coarser features ; and this kind of weakness, which renders it so dangerous to associate with a wicked person, is only increased when that person is a king, and that king a benefactor. The more vigorous mind of the bluff Henry may have overawed the yielding spirit of Cranmer.

Cranmer was sent as ambassador to Rome, where he presented to the pope the book before alluded to, in which he had proved that the pope had no authority to dispense with the Word of God. He offered to dispute against the validity of Henry's marriage, but he found no opponent. He was, however, civilly treated, and the pope made him grand penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales. He was sent also to Germany on

the same affair; and in 1532 concluded a treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries. During his residence in Germany he married a second time, and had for his wife Anne, niece of Osiander.

In 1532, on the death of Archbishop Warham, Dr. Cranmer was fixed upon by Henry for his successor in the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Much has been written about his unwillingness to accept the appointment, some asserting, and some doubting his sincerity. No one can suppose that Cranmer was not an expectant of preferment; high in favour with the King, and employed in affairs of the first importance, he must have felt secure on that point; and this very circumstance would render him the less willing to undertake so dangerous and difficult a post as that of the primacy. He must have seen that things could not remain as they were; and while he felt it his duty to support the movement party, he was himself a quiet, unambitious, rather self-indulgent person; not by nature qualified to be either a leader or a martyr. Nothing could be more probable than that such a person should linger and delay as much as possible,—in the hope that in the meantime something else might fall vacant better suited to his desire of domestic comfort. Henry, however, was not a person to be disobeyed; it was indeed equally dangerous to accept or to refuse a favour at his hands. And by the command of Henry, Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury. Much has been written on the subject of the protest he uttered previously to his taking an oath of fidelity to the pontiff. It is not a pleasant passage in his life, but it is only one out of the many instances which are on record of his weakness. He stated to the King his opinion that since of the Church of England, he regarded the King, not the pope, as the supreme head,—(an error quite as bad as that which allots the headship to the pope)—the oath of fidelity should be taken only to his majesty. And it was a kind of compromise between Cranmer and the King, suggested

by the lawyers, that he should take the papal oath, but under protest. There is no doubt now that, contrary to the statements of papal writers, the protest was made publicly.

One of the first acts of the new primate was to pronounce sentence of divorce upon the pious and exemplary Catherine. However much we may pity the injured Queen, the subject of the divorce had been fully canvassed, and there can be no doubt that Cranmer acted conscientiously. His next act was to crown her thoughtless, heartless successor, Anne Boleyn; though he expressly declares that he had nothing to do with her hasty, secret, and indecent marriage with Henry.

In this year, 1533, he sat in judgment upon one Frith, who was condemned to the stake for refusing to speak of the corporeal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar as necessary to be believed. Although the penalties of the law were enforced, Cranmer, with his usual benevolence, endeavoured most earnestly to persuade the poor man to recant.

After this he held a visitation of his diocese, where he found the clergy to be a divided body; some maintaining with more zeal than discretion, the new doctrines, as they were called, of the universities; others wishing to keep the Church as it then was, and as strongly attached to the Romish interpretation of our formularies as some persons now are to the calvinistic interpretation of them. When there is a disagreement as to principles, the disagreement is manifested generally by their application to some one subject of general interest; and the subject of discussion among the clergy now related to the royal divorce and marriage. If the reforming party in our church had the best of the argument when contending against the papal supremacy, they must at the same time have found it difficult to defend the King's indecent marriage, which would seem to be the result, not of principle, but of appetite. Such difficulties are frequently experienced, and

men defend what is wrong lest they should injure a good cause, hoping and believing that there is some palliation for the wrong conduct of those who advocate right principles, though at the time unknown. Cranmer's mode of putting an end to the controversy would not be approved in the present day. He restrained both parties from preaching.

The Archbishop this year had the honour to be godfather to the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards the celebrated Queen; and the pope threatening him with excommunication on account of his sentence against Queen Catherine, he appealed to a general council. In 1534 he acted on the same principle, and through his influence acts of parliament were passed, abolishing the papal supremacy. In convocation this year it was declared by both houses, that the pope had no greater authority in this country than any other foreign prelate, and Cranmer, in consequence, altered his title, removing the words *apostolicæ sedis legatus*, and inserting *metropolitanus*. Thus did the clergy declare, that the power exercised over our Church by the pope was a usurpation. It was ordered that the pope's name should be struck out of the offices of the Church, and in the bidding prayer they were directed to teach the people to pray for "our Sovereign Lord Henry VIII., being immediate, next to God, the only and supreme head of this our Catholic Church of England." The complete and easy manner in which this great change was effected is, as Mr. Soames observes, worthy of remark. On the last day of March, Archbishop Cranmer proposed to the convocation of his province the following question: Has the Roman bishop conferred upon him by God any greater jurisdiction in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop? In the upper house this question was unanimously decided in the negative: in the lower house four members only voted in the affirmative, and one doubted. Even this inconsiderable degree of dissent was not manifested by the clergy of the northern province. The con-

vocation assembled at York unanimously, after diligent inquiry and mature deliberation, determined the question in the negative. The same question was submitted to the two universities, and they also came, without a single dissentient voice, to the same determination. These learned bodies did not, however, deny the principles which they had been used to inculcate, with undue haste, or without sufficient investigation. They examined the matter referred to them in public disputations, and the conclusion to which they came was such as they found themselves unable to elude. In their judgment the less distinguished ecclesiastical corporations also concurred, and thus the whole clergy of England renounced, almost without a struggle, the foreign authority to which the Church had been long used to bow: a convincing proof that the arguments upon which this alien interference is founded will not bear the test of diligent and impartial inquiry.

In 1535, the Archbishop submitted to the disgrace of having a layman placed over him in ecclesiastical affairs. Thomas Cromwell, a worldly minded, jobbing advocate of the reforming party, who seems to have exercised considerable influence over the undecided and unsuspecting mind of the Archbishop, was made vicar-general, or vice-gerent, and took precedence of both Archbishops. We must not blame Archbishop Cranmer very severely for this,—his notion was, however mistaken, yet sincere; that the King had succeeded to all the authority which the pope had heretofore exercised, excepting only the power of officiating in church, and he received Cromwell as the Sovereign's representative. Although we, at a distant period, perceive this to have been a mistake, yet the position was anomalous, and we must make due allowance. We may regret that one of firmer principles was not archbishop at the time to establish his rights; but we cannot censure Cranmer, because, when placed in very difficult circumstances, he was too meek and diffident.



In the convocation of this year certain articles of religion were set forth, in which the clergy were required to teach all things contained in the Scriptures, and the three creeds, and to condemn all things contrary thereto, as they had been condemned in the first four general councils. As the pope was about to hold a council at Mantua, in which it was probable the proceedings in England would be censured, a remonstrance was signed by the convocation, in which it was declared that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any one prince, without the consent of others, could assemble a general council.

Cromwell, well knowing that nothing would so tend to preserve his authority as devising means for replenishing the funds of his master, proposed this year to dissolve the lesser monasteries, on the plea of their attachment to Rome. With the exception of Cromwell, Henry, and the dissolute courtiers, the other reformers endeavoured to prevent the suppression from being general, or at least to convert the revenues to ecclesiastical purposes. Cranmer wished them to be devoted to the formation of new bishoprics. A visitation of the monasteries, in the King's name, was appointed; the Archbishop being inhibited from interfering. The visitation was conducted in the most unjust and tyrannical manner, although, without doubt, into many of the religious houses great abuses had crept; only the lesser monasteries were dissolved at this time.

In 1536 the tyrant King, who is the disgrace of the Reformation, having fallen in love with Jane Seymour, determined to rid himself of Anne Boleyn. There is a characteristic letter extant of Cranmer's to the King upon the proceedings against the Queen. It is cautious, courtier-like, and so worded as not to give offence; but there is an attempt to say something in favour of the Queen, though not enough to bring the writer into disgrace. Cranmer, who had not the spirit of St. Ambrose

to resist a tyrant, pronounced a sentence of divorce against the Queen, but on what grounds it does not appear.

In 1537 was published the Institution of a Christian Man. It was called the Bishop's Book, because drawn up chiefly by their authority. Cranmer was at this time much annoyed by slanders and various calumnies, which were heaped upon him by those who were opposed to the movement; and they are merely mentioned here to notice the meekness and gentleness with which the Archbishop remonstrated with the offenders, at a time when he had the power to commit them to prison. To his great joy, what may be called the first version of Scripture authorized by our Church, was published this year. What is called Cranmer's, or the great Bible, was published in 1539, of which the King granted, at Cranmer's intercession, a free and liberal use.

In the year 1538 the shrine of Thomas á Becket in our Archbishop's own cathedral was destroyed, and it was followed by the destruction of other shrines;—the impostures practised by a low and degraded class of the clergy were many and great, and on being exposed must have strengthened the hands of the new school, which was certainly gaining ground in our church. Some envoys from the protestant princes of Germany, expecting from these circumstances to win Henry over to their side, were now in England on Cranmer's invitation; they had discussions with the Archbishop and some of our other divines, both with respect to the Romish impositions and with respect also to the articles of the Confession of Augsburg. But they do not seem to have made any great impression upon the chief persons in our church, and they left the country evidently disappointed. Even Cranmer took part in the trial of Lambert soon after, who was consigned to the flames, for refusing to admit the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Towards the close of Henry's reign the Romish party in our church came into power, and nothing but the

King's personal attachment to Cranmer saved him. Bishop Gardiner was in the royal favour, and the Duke of Norfolk was prime minister. As is too often the case with political parties, they purchased peace by the sacrifice of principle, and by purchasing the King's favour at a disgraceful price. If Cromwell and the reforming party are to blame for destroying the lesser monasteries, they have at least the excuse to urge in their favour, that if they sometimes exaggerated defects, they certainly found in many instances very scandalous abuses. It was by the Romish party that the measure for the destruction of the greater monasteries was carried; the reformers now in opposition, only contending against the appropriation of the revenues to the sole use of the King. They wished them to be bestowed upon hospitals, grammar schools, and cathedrals, under new regulations. They did in part succeed; but the revenues intended for the promotion of piety were for the most part squandered by Henry and his profligate courtiers. The loss to the poor was great; not only because the monks were more charitable than the courtiers, maintaining all the poor in their district, but because the property was public property, i. e. property in which many persons had a share, and to the possession of which the poorest man might rise. If it were an evil that the property became so large; it is admitted. It is an evil, and causes discontent, that one man, whether peer or commoner, should have a fortune of a hundred thousand a year. But it is a greater evil,—an evil which would be attended with worse results, to take his fortune from him: therefore he is permitted to retain it. But the poor have no defenders: their property was seized, and for years the country suffered from the act of injustice. That the system of monasteries had done its work, that the corruptions were great, that a radical reform was necessary, no one acquainted with ecclesiastical history can doubt. We only regret that what had been given to the poor had not been reserved in some

way to be a blessing to the million, instead of being devoted to the support of Henry's courtiers and their descendants.

It is much to be regretted that, by the spoliation of the Church, Cranmer, among other courtiers, sought to enrich his family. King Edward the VIth, in the first year of his reign, granted among other estates all the demesne lands in Horsforth, belonging to the monastery of Kirkstall, the ruins of which are still the ornament of the parish of Leeds, to Archbishop Cranmer. And in the fourth year of the same reign, the same archbishop obtained a license to alienate these lands to one Peter Hammond, and others, to the use of Thomas Craumer his eldest son, and his heirs. This alienation of church property during the royal ministry, and when the archbishop's influence, as one of the regency, must have been great, will ever be a reflection upon his grace's character, while it betrays a worldliness of mind which his piety was unable to overcome.

In 1539, both in convocation and in parliament, the Romish party of the Church of England had so far gained the ascendancy, as to obtain the enactment of the memorable six articles, the first of which asserted the popish view of transubstantiation; the second defended half communion, the third enforced clerical celibacy, the fourth related to vows of chastity, the sixth insisted on auricular confession.

The most honorable and the boldest step ever taken by Cranmer, was his arguing in the negative against most of these propositions, in spite of the King's support of them. His opposition was energetic, and it was made under a sovereign who could ill brook opposition, and therefore at the peril of his life.

But this was succeeded by conduct the most cowardly and disgraceful. Both parties in the Church of England, the Romish under Gardiner, and the reforming under Cranmer, assented to the divorce of Ann of Cleves, on the

ground that the King had not *inwardly* consented to the marriage. It was sanctioned by convocation, and thus the whole Church was involved in the disgrace. The disgrace and execution of Cromwell soon followed. The tenderness of Cranmer's nature induced him to plead for the man who, however unworthy, had been so long his friend; but his was the cautious pleading of a courtier. He did not speak for the man whom he believed to be innocent with the boldness of the ancient fathers, but, courtier-like, he said: "I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your grace singularly above all other. But now if he be traitor I am sorry I ever loved him or trusted him, and am very glad his treason is discovered in time." However cleverly turned this may be, it is nevertheless far from the style in which we should have wished an archbishop to write. And we must add, that on the second and third readings of the bill of attainder against Cromwell, Cranmer offered no dissent.

He was at this time employed in discussing the several articles of the Book, which was published in 1543, "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of Christian Men," it was a revision, but not an improvement of the Institution. The Institution had been sanctioned by convocation, the Erudition had only the authority of the King. Cranmer took the lowest possible view of ecclesiastical offices at this time, and instead of acting with the freedom of a Christian Bishop, he wrote at the end of the first of the answers forwarded to the King, "This is my opinion and sentence at this present; which I do not temerariouſly define, but remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty." We can scarcely conceive any thing more dastardly than such a sentence addressed by an Archbishop to a profligate layman.

In the convocation of 1542, the Romish party made another attempt to stay the progress of Scriptural know-

ledge. Existing English versions of the Bible were again loudly decried as incorrect, and it was represented that, in justice to the people, a new revision of the sacred volume was imperiously required. The propriety of such a measure not being denied by the reforming party, Bishop Gardiner proposed that in the new translation about one hundred terms, which he said the English tongue could not adequately express, should be rendered into Latin. The convocation, however, refrained from compromising its character by mocking the nation with the offer of a translation of the Bible rather tending to embarrass than to inform the popular mind. It was at first proposed that the Bishops should severally undertake to revise portions of the sacred volume; but, as from their obvious leaning towards the Romish policy, there was reason to doubt their zeal in such an employment, Cranmer moved, that the desired revision should be confided to the two universities. This proposal elicited fresh opposition from the Romanizers. All the Bishops, except Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow of St. David's, protested against it. The reputation for learning formerly enjoyed by the universities, it was asserted, had been much impaired of late; and the men who then took the lead at those celebrated seminaries were described as very unequal, both from unripeness of age and from want of judgment, to prepare such an edition of the sacred writers as might justly claim the confidence of Englishmen. By these representations, however, the primate was wholly unmoved. He had obtained the King's concurrence in his plan, and the convocation did not eventually presume to dispute such high authority. But the triumph gained led to no result. Whatever were the cause, nothing is known to have been done by the universities at this time towards perfecting the English Bible; and the whole debate is only deserving of notice, inasmuch as it furnishes not one of the least remarkable of the many instances, which shew the unwillingness of

Romanists to allow a free comparison of their tenets with the declarations of that volume which alone forms the universally recognized, and unquestionably safe standard of a Christian's faith.

Cranmer had also the merit of drawing the attention of this convocation to the absurd honours which images still continued to receive. The clumsy attempts to decorate these objects, in which vulgar superstition yet found a vent, were now formally condemned; and the saints of stone, or wood, were for the future to be deprived of their silken vests, and glimmering tapers. Besides obliging the clergy to clear their churches of these unsightly fopperies, the Archbishop proposed a revision of the ritual. He urged the propriety of expunging from the public service all mention of the pope, and of saints not recorded in Scripture, or in authentic authors; all legendary tales, and every other matter which would not bear to be confronted with the undoubted Word of God. This proposal, however, appears to have been rather coldly received. With omitting all mention of the pope, of Becket, and of some other Romish saints, the clergy generally were disposed to rest satisfied. Another year, therefore, was allowed to pass away, and still the service-book was found to vary but very inconsiderably from its old state. At the expiration of that period, Cranmer acquainted the convocation that he was the bearer of his majesty's commands, enjoining an immediate revision of the liturgy. In consequence of this message it was voted, that the Bishops of Ely and Sarum, together with six assistants, three for each prelate, to be selected from the lower house, should be charged to fulfil the royal pleasure. The inferior clergy, however, declined the nomination of any members from their own body for this purpose; and the projected revisal was either not attempted at all, or very slightly performed. Indeed, to the end of Henry's reign, the liturgical books in use before his rupture with Rome, were allowed, with a few omissions or erasures, to direct the

public devotions. Another motion of the protestant party, offered to the convocation of this year, also failed of success. The Lord Chancellor Audley submitted to the consideration of the upper house a bill, which he proposed to lay before parliament, intended to enable married men to act as chancellors in the diocesan courts, and to exercise in an effective manner the functions of that office. This bill, however, was highly disapproved by the prelates; and, by their instances, the chancellor was induced to abandon the design of introducing it to the house of lords.

Amidst this stiffness in maintaining established usages, the upper house of convocation was not wholly unmindful of a more liberal policy. It was ordered there, that on every Sunday and holiday throughout the year, the officiating minister of every parish should read to his congregation a chapter, in English, out of the Bible, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*. He was not, however, to accompany his reading by any comment; and he was to read in succession all the chapters in the Sacred Volume.

In his visitation, in 1543, the Archbishop found the clergy much divided: some had neglected to proclaim the royal supremacy, while others of the new school, and among them Ridley and the Archbishop's brother, seem to have fallen into some indiscretion in their attempts to reform. The Romish clergy of the Church of England still warned the people against the preachers of the new learning. Several conspiracies were formed against the Archbishop, from which he only escaped through the friendship of the King. The account given of his trials is not quite the same in Strype and Burnet as in Archbishop Parker; and it is not worth while, in such a concise biography as this, to enter into the discussion of details. We proceed therefore to remark that, in 1544, when the King was preparing for an expedition against France, and had ordered a litany to be said for a blessing



on his arms, the Archbishop prevailed with him, to let it be set forth in English; the service in an unknown tongue making the people negligent in coming to Church. This, with the prohibition of some superstitious and unwarrantable customs, touching vigils and the worship of the cross, was all the progress the Reformation made during the reign of King Henry: for the intended reformation of the Canon Law, was, by the craft of Bishop Gardiner, suppressed for reasons of state; and the King, toward the latter end of his life, seemed to have a strong bias toward the popish superstitions, and to frown on all attempts at a Reformation.

On the 28th of January, 1546, King Henry departed this life; and was succeeded by his only son, Edward, who was godson to the Archbishop, and had been instructed by men who favoured the Reformation. Archbishop Cranmer was one of those, whom the late King had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the administration of the government into their hands, till King Edward was eighteen years old: and when the Earl of Hertford was afterwards chosen protector, his power was limited, so as not to be able to do any thing, without the advice and consent of all the other executors.

We have hitherto seen Dr. Cranmer, the advocate of the Reformation, but yielding in his weakness too frequently to King Henry. We now must look upon him as exposed to other influences, and through weakness yielding to the ultra-protestants.

On the 20th of February, the coronation of King Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Cranmer, who made a speech to the King; in which, after a just censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he goes on to

inform the King of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Josias, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, repress violence, and punish the evil-doer. It may not be improper to transcribe what he says concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words, to rectify some prevailing notions amongst us.

“The solemn rites of coronation,” says he, “have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God’s anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained, of the sword which is authorized, of their persons which are elected of God; and endued with the gifts of His Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of His people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the King is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God’s anointed, as well as if he was inoiled.” Then follows his account of the King’s duty; after which he goes on, “Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness, yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances.”

This speech had such an effect on the young King, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the Church, and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was to bring off the people from superstition, and dispose them for the intended alterations. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the Archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed, which should, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundation of true religion,

and correct the prevailing errors and superstitions. On this head he consulted the Bishop of Winchester, and desired his concurrence, but to no purpose; for Gardiner, forgetting his professions of all future obedience to the Archbishop, wrote to the protector to put a stop to the Reformation in its birth. When Cranmer perceived that Gardiner was obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first Book of Homilies, in which himself had the chief hand. Soon afterwards Erasmus' Paraphrase on the New Testament was translated, and placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

Although the Romish party had been in power during the latter part of King Henry's reign, yet Cranmer had prepared the way for a further reformation of our Church with skill and judgment. This became apparent in the convocation, which was holden on the 5th of November, 1547. The Dean of Lincoln was chosen prolocutor of the lower house, in the province of Canterbury, and presented to the Archbishop and Bishops. In his opening address, Cranmer recommended that the reformation should be carried forward, and that the clergy should keep close by the Holy Scriptures. Petitions were presented by the prolocutor to the Archbishop, of which one was that provision should be made for the examination of the ecclesiastical law, according to the act of the late King to that effect. Another was somewhat singular, for it was a prayer that the lower clergy might be united to the house of commons. There was also another, praying that the works of the Bishops and others, who, by order of convocation, had laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing, the Divine Service, might be produced and laid before the lower house. It is evident that the arrangement of the liturgy had already been commenced by the Bishops. In their fifth session, an ordinance was read in the lower house, which had been communicated by the Archbishop, relative to the communion in both kinds. The prolocutor and other members signed the document:

and in the next session the proposal was adopted. In the eighth session the question of the celibacy of the clergy was introduced, and proceeding to a vote, fifty-three voted for the repeal of all the prohibitory enactments, while twenty-two were opposed to any change whatever.

The convocation having declared in favour of the communion in both kinds, an act of parliament was soon passed authorizing the changing of the mass into a communion, and ordering that the cup should be administered to the laity. An Order of Communion was accordingly drawn up by a committee of Bishops and divines. Previous, however, to the publication of the book, a series of questions was proposed relative to this sacrament. Both questions and answers may be seen in Burnet and Collier. The book was published A. D. 1548. This was the first step taken in this reign in the reformation of the public services.

It was a little before this, about the year 1546, that Dr. Ridley, by reading the work of Bertram—(*see his Life*)—concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, had been led to examine closely the prevailing opinion of the Corporeal Presence; where, having found it much opposed in the ninth century, especially by this learned writer, he communicated the result of it to Dr. Cranmer, and henceforward they both pursued the subject with more than ordinary care. How diligently Cranmer studied the subject is apparent from the works he published in controversy with Gardiner in the year 1550. The chief work, indeed, of the Archbishop, designed for publication, is the one then published under the title of “A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same.”

The Archbishop's work had no sooner appeared than it was attacked both by Bishop Gardiner and Dr. Smyth, then residing at Louvain. The treatise first mentioned attracted a considerable degree of notice, and Cranmer

lost no time in preparing an answer to it ; noticing in his way such of Smyth's arguments as appeared of any importance. This rejoinder was published in the autumn of 1551, under the title of "An Answer, by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy Sacrament, of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Jesu Christ. Wherein is also, as Occasion serveth, answered such Places of the Book of Doctor Richard Smyth, as may seem any thing worthy of the answering." Nothing could be more fair or fearless than the course adopted by Cranmer in this controversy, for he printed in his own work the whole of Gardiner's tract, commenting upon it piece by piece. At the end of the volume, he placed an answer to Smyth's preface, and some tables, bringing into a single point of view the inaccuracies, inconsistencies, errors and absurdities into which Gardiner had fallen. That prelate defended his production in a piece published in Latin, at Paris, in 1552, under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Louvain. To this rejoinder Cranmer was anxious to reply, and he had, previously to his death, composed three books in confutation of it. Of these, the two first perished in Oxford ; of the third nothing farther is known, than that it fell into the hands of Foxe.

Of this work, the Archbishop spoke thus, in the solemn appeal he made from the pope to the next general council :

"Touching my doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy Word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy Catholic

Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

“And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err : but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred Word of God, and of the holy Catholic Church, desiring none other thing, than meekly and gently to be taught, if anywhere (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

“And I profess and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things, as the Catholic Church and the most holy fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in, of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrow of the old and pure religion.”

We must now return to the year 1547, when Cranmer, to his disgrace, was mainly instrumental in introducing a bill which withdrew from four deans and chapters the election of bishops, and admitted the prelates to their sees by the letters patent of the crown, and which declared all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, to be derived from the King, in whose name, therefore, all episcopal citations and processes should now run, with whose arms, instead of their own, their official documents should be sealed. This iniquitous act was repealed in the reign of Mary,

when the Bishops of our Church again acted under their own names and seals ; and ever since the reign of Queen Mary our bishops have continued to do so.

He was more honourably employed soon after in resisting the further spoliation of the Church, which some of his brother reformers designed and attempted : one great object of Somerset's administration was to secularize that portion of the monastic and collegiate property which had escaped the rapacity of Cromwell, and in the first session of the parliament he introduced a bill for giving all chantries to the King.

The bill was resisted in the house of lords, both by the reforming and the Romish prelates, and Cranmer opposed it in a speech of great length. After having depicted the impoverished state of the clergy by the sale of the appropriated tithes, which, instead of being divided among the laity, ought in justice to have been restored to the Church, he insisted that the present measure at least ought to be delayed until the King arrived at full age. By this necessary delay the reason assigned for the dissolution of the chantries was more likely to be answered ; their estates would then be applied to the improvement of the royal revenues ; but, during the King's minority, their property would be alienated and wasted ; and if the measure were deferred, he was convinced that the piety of the young prince would lead him to bestow their revenues on the parochial clergy.

These arguments of the primate were seconded by the Romish prelates ; for these chantries contributed to support their favourite doctrines of purgatory and masses for the dead. But the private interests of the protector and his dependants carried the bill through the house, notwithstanding the opposition of the Archbishop and seven other bishops.

In the house of commons, the opposition was equally strong, and, as it proceeded not from religious motives, was in part successful. Some of the burgesses repre-

sented, that the boroughs for which they served could not support their churches and other public institutions, if the revenues of the chantries were given to the King. The burgesses of Lynn and Coventry distinguished themselves on this occasion, and their arguments had due weight on the house. The assent of the commons could not be obtained without a private assurance that the guild lands, and other property of corporate bodies, should be restored, though guild lands as well as chantries were included in the statute. There was also a provision in the statute, that the revenues of the dissolved chantries should be converted to the maintenance of grammar schools and the increase of vicarages.

It is much to be lamented that other burgesses did not contend for their rights as the men of Coventry did. Trinity Church, Coventry, still possesses the property thus secured to it; and, under the able management of the present vestry, it is used not only to supply the place of church-rates, but to render that noble church what it ought to be. The author may be permitted thus to offer in a parenthesis this mark of respect to a body with whom he was for a long period connected, and to a parish which he must always regard with affection.

We have already alluded to the publication of an Office for the Holy Communion. The next work published was a Catechism, by Justus Jonas, translated either by Cranmer himself, or by some one acting under his direction. In this catechism, the two first commandments are consolidated, yet with an acknowledgment that they were anciently divided; but the use of images is strongly censured, as leading to the imputation, if not to the practice, of idolatry. Besides the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, a third is asserted, the power of reconciling sinners to God. The divine institution of bishops and priests is fully recognised, and the necessity of reviving the primitive discipline is strongly enforced.



And now came on the great and blessed work of the reformation of our formularies; a committee of bishops and divines was appointed to revise the entire services of our Church. As a necessary preparation for their intended work, they diligently collected the different liturgies used throughout England, of which there was no small variety. In the south of England, the use of Sarum was generally followed; in the north, the offices were modelled according to the practice of the metropolitan church of the province, York; while the cathedral of Lincoln prescribed the rule for the middle diocesses. In South Wales, the customs of Saint David's were followed, and in North Wales those of Hereford or Bangor. There were few dioceses which had not peculiarities in their ritual; since any prelate, famed for sanctity of life or for miraculous works, was not only canonized, but imitated in his forms of devotion: the collects and hymns which he had composed or used were retained after his death in his own cathedral. Every religious order had also its peculiar rites, and its peculiar holydays. The administration of the public offices was an art not to be learned without long study, and it constituted the chief learning of the priesthood. The superstitious customs prescribed by these offices were of an infinite variety, and they frequently resembled the rites of paganism.

The first business of the reformers was to simplify all these things, to reduce all the uses to one, and to have all the offices translated. The result of their labours was, the Prayer Book, substantially the same as that which we now possess, as finally reformed and established in the reign of Charles II. The differences between the first reformed Prayer Book of Edward and ours, are these: his Prayer Book commenced with the Lord's Prayer. The psalter was appointed to be read through monthly in portions, and the lessons, with a little variation, are in the same order as is still in use. A litany was also composed from the most ancient liturgies, consisting of short peti-

tions, interrupted by responses ; but the invocations of saints and martyrs, used by the church of Rome, were omitted, and supplications were addressed only to the three persons of the Blessed Trinity, first severally, and then jointly.

The communion service, which, in the preceding year, had been set forth separately, was retained with a few alterations. After the consecration all elevation was forbidden, but the people were commanded to kneel when they communicated. The doctrine of the corporal presence was still under consideration, and therefore the scriptural expressions, that the Body and Blood of Christ were received in the Lord's Supper by the faithful, were retained. The prayer of consecration was the same with that now in use, with this addition : " With Thy Holy Spirit 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."

In the occasional offices many ceremonies were observed, which have been since abolished as being of a superstitious tendency. Besides the use of the cross in baptism, there was at the same time an adjuration of the devil to go out of the baptized person, and to come into him no more. A chrysom, or white vestment, was put on the newly baptized person, as a token of innocence, and he was anointed on the head by the priest, who accompanied the ceremony with a prayer for the unction of the Holy Ghost. The catechism was the same as at present, except an addition on the two sacraments, and it was repeated by the catechumens when they were confirmed. The sign of the cross was made on the forehead of each person confirmed, in addition to the imposition of hands ; and, in the office of matrimony, the priest, when he gave the benediction, made the sign of the cross on the forehead of the newly married persons.

In the visitation of the sick, those who desired to be anointed might have the unction on their forehead or

breast only, with a prayer that, as their bodies were outwardly anointed with oil, so they might receive the Holy Ghost with health, and victory over sin and death. At funerals the departed soul was recommended to the mercy of God, with a prayer that its sins might be pardoned, and that the body might be raised and glorified at the last day.

When the liturgy had been completed by the committee, it was revised and approved by the two convocations of Canterbury and York, or rather by a majority of these bodies, and was then submitted to the consideration of parliament. It was first brought under the examination of the house of commons, and received immediate assent; but in the house of lords it continued long under deliberation. The concurrence of the lords was not at last obtained without a protest from the Earl of Derby, the Lords Dacres and Windsor, with the Bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, three of whom had belonged to the committee.

A statute was then passed for the use of the new liturgy book throughout the kingdom, and was entitled "An act for the uniformity of divine service." The variety in the forms of public worship, and the consequent irregularities, were described, but the King had refrained from punishing such disorders, believing that their authors were actuated by an honest zeal. For their more effectual remedy, he had appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and divines, to draw up an office for all the parts of divine service. He had enjoined those whom he had selected for the work to have a regard "to the direction of the Holy Scriptures, and the usages of the primitive Church." This work was now finished by the persons appointed, with one uniform agreement, "by the aid of the Holy Ghost."

The enactments against such of the clergy as officiated "in any manner different from the rubric" prescribed by

the new liturgy were, a fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for life, with forfeiture of goods, for a contumacious refusal. A clause provided that, "for the encouragement of learning," the universities might use a Latin, Greek, or Hebrew translation, of any part of the service-book, the communion office only excepted.

It will be seen that what the Reformers did was simply this.—1. To translate the services. 2. To appoint Scripture to be read instead of legends. 3. To dispose the Creed more properly. 4. To have the Lord's Prayer repeated aloud instead of secretly. 5. To omit the Ave Maria and the Commemoration of the Virgin. 6. To reject unfortunately the metrical Latin hymns without supplying their place. 7. To omit prayers for the dead, and invocation of saints.

Thus, as Bishop Hall remarks, the English Prayer Book was not taken out of the mass, but the mass was thrust out of the Prayer Book.

By the reforming party the service thus translated and re-arranged was received with much joy; but the Romish party in our Church received it of course with regret. Disturbances took place in Cornwall, and these were made a pretext for proceeding against Bonner, Bishop of London, (*See his Life*) who was the leader of the discontented party. That Bonner could not with safety be permitted to remain at large, is clear. Nevertheless the process of his deprivation, and his subsequent imprisonment, were acts of injustice; only one must always remember his own conduct when in power; he not only deprived and imprisoned his opponents, but also burned them, and that too after having subjected them sometimes to personal insults heaped on them by himself, in a manner which betrayed the brutality of his mind.

The Archbishop is justly censured for uncanonically signing the death warrant of the Lord Admiral Seymour, though perhaps something more may be said in his favour in the case of Jane Bocher. He acted *against* the law

which prohibits the interference of bishops in a cause of blood in the case of Seymour, he merely pleaded for the *execution* of the law, though a bloody and cruel one, in that of Jane Bocher. In the first instance he weakly yielded to courtly influence and his desire to please the protector; in the latter he yielded as weakly to public opinion. This unhappy woman was condemned for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary. For this heresy, which she refused to renounce, she was by the law liable to the penalty of death. We know how strongly men argued not many years ago for inflicting this penalty on all who committed forgery,—the general interests of a commercial country would be injured, it was contended, if this law were relaxed. So now we may imagine Cranmer arguing, that the general interests of religion would be relaxed unless such blasphemies were restrained by the severest penalties. And what was the argument of the Romish party? Just as in these days men tell us that if we hold Church principles they will end in popery, and triumph when a convert to popery is made; so, by the Romish party in our Church, at the period under consideration, the Reformers were constantly twitted with the blasphemies to which, as in the case of Anabaptists, reforming doctrines tended. Cranmer, though a pious, merciful, and kind-hearted man, was a very weak one, and might feel that to vindicate the Reformation, a public example ought to be made, and therefore he used all his influence with the young King to sign the death warrant. The unsophisticated mind of the King perceived that the originators of a movement, ought to view with every merciful allowance, those who have fallen into error, merely by pushing to an extreme, a principle which has been generally encouraged. In the next year Van Paies, a Dutchman, suffered for denying the divinity of Christ.

At this time the Archbishop unfortunately surrounded himself with several foreign divines who, though learned men, were prejudiced against all church principles, and by

them the vacillating mind of his grace was unduly inflamed. He had become discontented with his former labours as regarded the service-book, and in 1550, we find the question of a review of the service-book entertained. Subsequently to the publication of the Book of 1549, the same committee drew up a form for the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, and this ordinal was added to the Prayer Book, published in 1552, in a revised form. In this book of Edward the VIth, as it is called, the general confession and absolution were added at the beginnings of both the morning and the evening services. At the opening of the Communion-office were placed the Ten Commandments; a judicious addition to the service which appears to have escaped the compilers of every liturgy but our own. In confirmation, the use of oil, and the sign of the cross were to be laid aside. In visiting the sick, an option was no longer allowed as to the employment of extreme unction. Prayers for the dead were wholly omitted, as were also some passages provided for the consecration of the Eucharist, and the introits, or introductory psalms, in that service. A rubric was added explanatory of the kneeling required of those who receive the Lord's Supper. This posture was said to be enjoined to shew the communicant's humility, not as a mark of adoration to Christ, as if corporally present: "for the sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians,) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body, to be at one time in more places than in one." All appearance of a leaning towards transubstantiation was now avoided also by substituting the latter clauses as they now stand in the officiating minister's address to each communicant, for the former clauses, which alone were enjoined in the first service-book. The use of circular wafers was likewise interdicted, and the

sacramental bread was merely to be the same that is ordinarily seen at table, but it was to be made "of the best and purest wheat that conveniently may be gotten." In baptism, besides the unction, were omitted the sign of a cross upon the child's breast, the exorcism, the chrisom, the two last interrogatories, and the trine immersion. In the matrimonial office, was omitted the delivery of gold or silver, as tokens of spousage; in that for the churching of women, the individual's offering of her chrisom; in those for the sick, all mention of private confessions, and of reserving portions of the sacramental elements for such persons, incapable of attending at church, as might desire to communicate on days in which the Eucharist should be publicly administered.

In 1552, forty-two articles of religion, the basis of the thirty-nine, were submitted by the Archbishop to convocation, and were ratified and confirmed. They were subscribed by both houses. The catechism, usually known as King Edward's, of which Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, was the author, was also set forth by this convocation. A code of ecclesiastical law had long engaged the attention of Cranmer, and he had laboured to accomplish his design at the commencement of his primacy. In that statute, which recited the submission of the clergy, a reform of the whole body of the canon law was provided, and even in the reign of Henry a commission had been appointed, in pursuance of the statute, and some progress had been made in the undertaking. After the statute of the six articles, the work was suspended, but not formally abandoned; for Cranmer often urged its necessity, and made an extract of certain passages from the pontifical code to convince Henry that it ought not to be studied any longer in England.

At the beginning of Edward's reign, a commission was appointed consisting of thirty-two persons, and three years were allowed for the accomplishment of the work. But it was still retarded by various impediments, until at

length, to facilitate its execution, a sub-committee was chosen of eight, who were to prepare the code for the revisal of the thirty-two commissioners. The sub-committee, like the body whence it was elected, was divided into four classes, bishops, divines, canonists, and common lawyers. From the finished state of the "*Reformatio Legum*," it was probable that the labours of the sub-committee had been reviewed and approved of by the commissioners: it was ready to be submitted to the King; but, before it could receive the royal confirmation, the King died, and the project died with him.

Still Cranmer's "*Reformatio Legum*," though not received by our Church, is a work of interest. By it we perceive that King Edward's reformers would have decreed the penalty of death against such as should deny the Christian religion; whether the same punishment was intended against heretics is a subject of dispute. The heretic certainly was to be sent to the civil magistrate to be punished. In cathedrals and colleges daily prayers and weekly communions were enjoined; in parish churches a sermon in the morning, and catechising in the evening.

"On a review of the Reformation," says Mr. Carwithen, "the conclusion must be drawn, that the reformed code had incorporated a large portion of the substance, and had imbibed a larger portion of the spirit, of the pontifical law. Another conclusion must not be suppressed, that the reformers did not entertain those latitudinarian notions of a Christian Church which they have been commonly supposed to entertain. Erastus, a German divine, had about this time promulgated the doctrine that Christ and His Apostles had prescribed no particular form of church government, and that the Christian ministry was not of divine institution. He maintained that the authority of a Christian minister was derived solely from the civil magistrate—that the ministerial office was merely



suasory, and that coercion was not within its province ; in fact, Erastus formally renounced the power of the keys. Cranmer was at one time of his life suspected of inclining to these opinions, but he must have renounced them before this period. The authors of the '*Reformatio Legum*' were not Erastians."

In 1553, the King's health was such that his life was despaired of : and the courtiers of the reforming party, dreading the succession of Mary, attempted to do evil that good might come, and persuaded the royal youth to set aside his sister, and to declare the Lady Jane Grey successor to his throne ; she was grand-daughter to Mary, sister of Henry VIII. The guilt of these statesmen was the greater, as they had all sworn to preserve the order of succession as directed by the will of Henry. Cranmer argued strongly and repeatedly against the proposed measure. But with his usual weakness of character inducing him to act with those who surrounded him, poor Cranmer, although he knew what was right, at length yielded to do what was wrong. Forgetful of his benefactor, Henry, regardless of his oath, he yielded a reluctant assent to the traitorous proposal, and, at the earnest request of the dying boy, he set his hand to his will. The young King died on the 6th of July.

For eleven days Lady Jane Grey was Queen. On the accession of Mary, the rightful heir, Archbishop Cranmer was accounted a traitor ; and while we make every allowance for his weakness, we must not be surprised that Mary only regarded him as a weak man, who feared to act up to his principles, when he made his humble apology for the course he had taken.

The Romish party in the Church of England were now in power, and mercilessly did they use it. Such were, indeed, the cruelties of the Romanists, that since the reign of Mary, they have never acquired the ascendancy in the Catholic Church of this country, but have been obliged to form a dissenting sect.

On Queen Mary's arrival in London, Cranmer was placed under restraint. His resolution was nobly taken, when it was proposed to him to withdraw clandestinely from the country: "Were I likely," he said, "to be called in question for treason, robbery, or any other crime, I should be much more likely to abscond than I am at present. As it is, the post that I hold, and the part that I have taken, require me to make a stand for the truths of Holy Scripture. I shall, therefore, undergo with constancy the loss of life, rather than remove secretly from the realm." This virtuous resolve having been formed, he prepared for the worst by an exact adjustment of his affairs. Every claim against him was fully satisfied; and thus when deprived of his resources, it was found that he had not a single creditor. This final arrangement of his pecuniary concerns was a great relief to his mind, "Thank God," he piously said, "I am now mine own man. I can now conscientiously, with God's help, answer all the world, and face any adversities which may be laid upon me."

Cranmer was abruptly drawn from his temporary seclusion by that spirit of detraction which had industriously pursued him during the whole course of his public life. It had been reported, soon after Mary's triumph over the opposition to her claim, that, anxious to gain favour with the successful party, he had offered to celebrate King Edward's obsequies by officiating in a mass of *Requiem*. The event quickly shewed this to be an impudent fiction; but rumours of a similar kind remained afloat. At length it became notorious, that mass had been restored in the cathedral of Canterbury, and this fact was urged as an irrefragable proof of the primate's time-serving disposition. The truth, however, is, that this illegal act had proceeded from the orders of Dr. Thornden, the perfidious and ungrateful monk, who had abused so shamefully Cranmer's confidence and liberality several years before.

Nothing annoys a public man so much, as the lies by which the envious and malignant do the work of Satan. Personal attacks are bearable, but gratuitous lies could provoke even so meek a man as Cranmer. His declaration, in consequence of the false rumours which were circulated, is as follows :

“ As the devil, Christ’s ancient adversary, is a liar and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and His true word and religion with lying; which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the Prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his life-time, and after our late sovereign Lord, King Edward VI., took the same wholly away for the great and manifold errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ’s Holy Supper, according to Christ’s own institution, and as the Apostles used the same in the primitive Church: the devil goeth about now with lying to overthrow the Lord’s Supper, again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad that I have set up the mass again at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign Lord, King Edward VI., and that I offered to say mass before the Queen’s highness, and at Paul’s church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly, yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God’s truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice

or counsel : *Reddat illi Dominus in die illo.* And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did it as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say to the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince, King Edward VI., in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which His Apostles and the primitive Church used many years. Whereas the mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ, His Apostles, nor the primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the Queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the Church, the ministration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our said sovereign Lord King Edward VI., to be more pure and according to God's Word, than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years : so that God's Word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs on both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And where they boast of the faith that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join them in this point and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the church fifteen hundred years past, and we shall prove that the order of the Church, set out at present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past, and so shall they never be able to prove theirs."

Cranmer's enemies, though determined on his death, found it difficult to deal with him as they wished. If he were tried for high treason, some awkward revelations might be made respecting persons then in favour. He had moreover various claims upon the royal clemency. But this declaration, though not intended for publication, having been freely circulated, offered them a pretext for treating him with severity. It was deemed "convenient" by the Queen's council, to commit him to the Tower, "as well for the treason committed by him against the Queen's majesty, as for the aggravating the same his offence, by spreading about seditious bills, moving tumults and disquieting the present state."

In the middle of November, Archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high-treason, at Guildhall. His see was hereupon declared void; and on the 10th of December, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons, to exercise archi-episcopal jurisdiction, in their name, and by their authority. The archbishop wrote a very submissive letter to the Queen, in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault in consenting to sign the King's will; acquainting her what pressing instances he made to the King against it; and excusing his fault by his being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself. The Queen had pardoned so many already, who were far more deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's usurpation, that Cranmer could not for shame be denied; so he was forgiven the treason; but orders were given to proceed against him for heresy.

The Tower being full of prisoners, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber, which they were so far from thinking an inconvenience, that on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the Scriptures, confirming themselves in the true

faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it.

In April, 1554, the Archbishop, with Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer, were removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities.

In the meantime the convocation had been holden: and partly because it was carefully packed, partly from the reaction in men's minds occasioned by the excesses of the reforming party in the reign of Edward VI., almost all that had been done in the preceding convocations was reversed. But there was a small body of good men and true headed by Philpot, who defended the reformation, and a discussion on the Holy Sacrament ensued which lasted for six days, when the debate ended amidst great confusion in the lower house, Weston the prolocutor exclaiming, "It is not the Queen's pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates, and ye are well enough already, for ye have the word, and we have the sword."

The report of these proceedings did so much damage to the Romish cause from their manifest unfairness, that it was determined to have another discussion at which the Archbishop, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer, might be present. Oxford was the place appointed, to which university the Archbishop and his fellow prisoners, as has been before stated, were already removed. The Queen sent her precept to bring the three prisoners into the schools at the times appointed for disputation.

The articles, or questions of disputation, were three: 1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament or not, after the words of consecration are spoken by the priest? 2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance remains, except the Body and Blood of Christ? 3. Whether in the mass there is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead?

The proceedings were opened with great state and solemnity, and, as a preliminary step, the questions being reduced into the form of articles, were subscribed by all the members of the committee who had not before subscribed them, either at London or Cambridge. The commissioners held their first session in the choir of St. Mary's Church, and were seated before the altar, "to the number of thirty-three persons," Weston, the prolocutor of the convocation, being the president. Cranmer was the first of the prisoners introduced into this assembly, in custody of the mayor, and in the habit of a doctor. He stood before the commissioners with his staff in his hand, and declined to accept the seat which was offered to him. The prolocutor, stationed in the midst of the assembly, began with a short preface or speech in praise of Christian unity, and then directed his discourse to Cranmer. He stated, that the prisoner had been educated in the true Catholic faith, but that of late years he had separated himself from it, by teaching erroneous doctrines, and by setting forth every year a new system. For this reason, the Queen had sent himself and his colleagues, to bring back the heretic to the fold of Christ. Weston then exhibited the three articles which had been already subscribed by the convocation, to which he demanded the assent and subscription of Cranmer.

The Archbishop replied to this address with a gravity and persuasive modesty which drew tears from many in the assembly. He observed, that no man was so desirous of unity as himself; but it must be an unity in Christ, and founded in the truth. Having read the articles three or four times, he desired an explanation of a term in the first article, what was meant by "the true and natural body of Christ," whether an organical or sensible body was intended? He was answered, though not without confusion and disagreement among the different speakers, that it meant the same body which was born of the Virgin. On receiving this answer, he said that he was prepared to

maintain the negative of all the questions, that they were false and against God's holy word, and if agreement in them were the conditions of unity, he must reject communion. The deportment of the Archbishop was conciliatory, and gained general commendation, and he was dismissed, after a day had been assigned to him for disputation.

Ridley and Latimer were next brought in.—(*See their Lives.*)—The disputation took place at the time appointed, and was continued on three successive days. Cranmer had the precedence, and on the first day was conducted to the respondent's seat in the divinity school, but still under the custody of the mayor. The prolocutor opened the disputation with a customary speech, but committed a blunder which raised the mirth of the audience. Having discovered his error, he corrected it, and proceeded to say that it was not lawful to call in question the doctrine of the corporeal presence, since it was taught by the express words of Christ Himself, and to doubt the truth of the Scriptures was the same as to doubt the truth and power of God.

To this exordium Cranmer, having first obtained license, answered, that the purpose of their meeting was to discuss a question which was doubtful, and therefore a fit subject of disputation; but the prolocutor had affirmed it to be a certain truth, and if so, it was an unfit matter of discussion. It was, therefore, contrary to reason to dispute concerning a question which the moderator had predetermined, and if it regarded an incontrovertible truth, to expect its confutation from him was absurd.

The disputation continued from the morning till past noon, but in a disorderly manner, and with many interruptions. It was carried on sometimes in English, and sometimes in Latin. Of Cranmer's opponents, Yonge, the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was esteemed the most able; but three hours had elapsed before



the confusion permitted him to bear a part in the argument.

To dilate on the metaphysical arguments involved in the two first questions would be needless; but on the last, concerning the propitiatory sacrifice in the mass, Cranmer was fully of opinion that to hold its affirmative was derogatory to the sacrifice on the cross. If the passion of Christ were sufficient for all the purposes of redemption, where was the necessity of any other? The necessity of any succeeding supplemental oblations supposed the sacrifice of Christ to be defective; and there could be no sacrifice under the Christian dispensation, except that of praise and thanksgiving, repentance, and works of charity.

The manner in which the disputation was terminated by the prolocutor may readily be anticipated: "Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invincible; you see also the craft and deceit of heretics; the truth may be pressed, but cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, *VINCIT VERITAS, THE TRUTH OVERCOMETH.*"

Two days after the disputation had ended, the three prisoners were once more brought before the delegates at St. Mary's church, and required to subscribe the articles. Weston having taunted Cranmer in particular with his failure in disputation, the Archbishop replied, that he was overborne by numbers and clamour, but that his opinion was unchanged, and that he persisted in his refusal to subscribe. Ridley and Latimer gave a similar reply, and then a sentence of condemnation was read, in which they were denounced as heretics and favourers of heresy. Being asked whether they would return to the bosom of the church, while the sentence was reading, they severally appealed to heaven, not doubting that, though ejected from the Romish church, their names were enrolled in the blessed society above.

A year elapsed during which Cranmer remained a

prisoner at Oxford ; the decision of the judges being that the court, by which he, and his "concaptives," had been condemned as heretics, had no authority to pronounce sentence. At length the papal authority being again established in England, the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, having received a special commission from the pope, and a license from the King and Queen, repaired to Oxford. These prelates had authority to receive Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer into the bosom of the church, in case they recanted their heretical errors ; but in case of contumacy, had authority to degrade them from their spiritual functions, and to deliver them for punishment to the secular power.

The Bishop of Gloucester presided in the process against Cranmer, acting as sub-delegate to the cardinal de Puteo ; but in the process against Ridley and Latimer, the Bishop of Lincoln presided, acting as the representative of Cardinal Pole. Cranmer was first cited to appear before the commissioners, and the place of their session was the choir of St. Mary's church. On the right hand of the president was seated Martin, and on his left hand Storey, two doctors of civil law, and attending as commissioners in behalf of the King and Queen.

The Archbishop having been brought before the commissioners, under the custody of the mayor, was cited to answer certain accusations of blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy. On his first appearance, being habited as a doctor in divinity, and having taken a survey of those who constituted his judges, he acknowledged, by outward marks of reverence, the commissioners of the King and Queen ; but on being admonished to show a similar mark of respect to the delegate of the pope, he answered, that he had taken a solemn oath never to admit the authority of the pope within the realm of England. This oath he intended, by the grace of God to keep, and would never consent, by any sign or token, to acknow-

ledge the papal jurisdiction. By this refusal he disclaimed any personal offence to the bishop, whom he would have honoured as well as the others, if he had the same commission.

The Archbishop defended himself calmly, but firmly, against the charges brought against him by the president and others, disclaiming the authority of the pope, and the process was terminated by a citation of the Archbishop to Rome within fourscore days, to make his personal answers to the articles exhibited against him. The Archbishop said he would willingly go with the permission of the King and Queen; but he was immediately remanded to his prison.

In October, 1555, the Archbishop witnessed the martyrdom of his holy friends Ridley and Latimer from the Tower of his prison, and on his knees prayed that the divine strength might not fail them in their last agonies.

When the eighty days were expired, which the citation had allowed for the appearance of Cranmer at Rome, cardinal Puteo moved in consistory his accusations against the Archbishop of Canterbury; in consequence of which, in a subsequent session of the court, he was sentenced to be excommunicated and deprived; and at a third session, the administration of the see thus vacated was conferred on cardinal Pole.

As soon as the definitive sentence was received in England, Cranmer was cited before certain commissioners, of whom the chief were Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who were invested with full powers to degrade him, and then to deliver him to the secular power. The place chosen for the execution of the definitive sentence was the choir of the cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford. When Cranmer was brought before court, the commission was read, stating that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, had been cited to appear at Rome; that he had wilfully disobeyed the

citation ; that articles had been exhibited ; that evidence had been heard and examined ; that he had wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence ; and that, in consequence of his refusal to appear, he had been pronounced contumacious. On hearing this statement read, Cranmer could not forbear to exclaim, " God must needs punish such open and shameless lying, that I, being in prison, and not suffered even at home to have counsel or advocate, should produce witnesses and appoint my counsel at Rome !"

When the commission had been read, the court proceeded to his degradation. He was clothed in the robes of an Archbishop, with the distinguishing appendage of the pall, but the robes were of canvas : a mitre was placed on his head, and a crosier in his hand. Bonner and Thirlby then performed the ceremony of degradation ; the one with the most bitter invectives and savage exultation, the other with expressions of heartfelt sorrow. When they attempted to take the crosier from his hand, he held it fast, and refused to deliver it ; and he pulled from under his sleeve a paper, which he presented to the commissioners, saying at the same time, " I appeal to the next general council ; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it ; which appeal I desire may be admitted." The appeal being handed to the commissioners, the Bishop of Ely said, that their commission precluded all appeal, and therefore none could be admitted. " Then," replied Cranmer, " you do me the more wrong ; for my case is not a common case : the matter is between the pope and me immediately, and none other, and no man ought to be a judge in his own cause." The Bishop of Ely then received the appeal, and promised that it should be admitted if possible. When they came to take off his pall, he said, " Which of you hath a pall, to take off mine ?" One of them answered that, in respect of their being only bishops, they were his inferiors, and therefore not competent to degrade him : but as they were the dele-

gates of the pope, they had an authority above that of a metropolitan.

After this pageant of degradation, Cranmer was clothed in a squalid garb, and consigned to the common prison, there to remain till the secular power executed the sentence of the ecclesiastical court. Yet, before the tragical catastrophe, he was appointed to sustain a trial more severe than any which he had yet encountered; for it was a trial under which he fell.

To the Romanists, as well as to poor Cranmer himself, the concluding scene of the Archbishop's life was discreditable in the extreme. By the most disgraceful arts, by an appeal to his fears, his self-indulgence, and his weakness, the Romish party cajoled the Archbishop into a recantation. Historians dispute as to the degree of his guilt, and the number of his recantations: it is sufficient to know, that by the meanest of artifices, the Romish party induced the Archbishop to recant, and then, with unparalleled baseness, led him forth to execution. Cranmer, though morally weak, was not deficient in moral courage; and when he found that die he must, he died manfully.

His recantations were published, as soon as signed, by Bonner, with malicious eagerness and joy; and Cole, Provost of Eton, (*see his Life,*) was sent to announce to him his fate, and to preach the sermon.

Cole, having received his instructions, repaired to Oxford, and the day before the execution visited Cranmer in his prison, to interrogate him whether he still continued steadfast in the catholic faith? Cranmer replied, that he trusted by God's grace to be daily more and more confirmed in that faith. On the morning of the execution, Cole again visited him, to inquire whether he had any money? finding that he had none, Cole gave him fifteen crowns to distribute to the poor.

No direct intimation was given to Cranmer that he

was about to suffer; but these circumstances excited his suspicions, and they were confirmed by the visit of John de Garcina. The Spanish friar brought some written articles, which he desired Cranmer to sign, and to repeat before the people. To this request Cranmer acceded, but secretly deposited in his bosom another paper, containing a prayer, an exhortation, and a confession of faith, "such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his fears."

On the 21st of March, 1556, he was led with much ceremony to St. Mary's church. On reaching the church-door the choir sang the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the Archbishop was led to a raised platform. His apparel was of the meanest description, but a long white beard rendered his aspect venerable, and on his countenance was plainly marked an expression of deepest sorrow. Having fallen on his knees, he continued for some time absorbed in mental prayer. The crowd around him wept. Cole ascended the pulpit;—(for an account of his sermon see his *Life*.)—During its delivery the venerable Archbishop expressed the deepest emotion, sometimes lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and sometimes fixing them on the ground. There seems to have existed no doubt on the mind of Cole and his party that the recantations of Cranmer had been made in sincerity. Having in his sermon declared that he must be executed, he called upon the people about to depart, to hear the confession which the dying penitent was about to make.

The Archbishop rose. He took off his cap. He began to address the people. He first read his prayer, being a supplication for mercy and support in his approaching trial. He then admonished the hearers not to set their affections on the things of this world; to obey the King and Queen from conscience towards God; to live in mutual love and charity. He then came, as he said, to the conclusion of his life, on which depended all his past

life, as well as that which was to come, being now either to enter into the joys of heaven or to suffer the pains of hell. The present was no time for dissimulation, and he was therefore now about to make a true declaration of his faith. Having repeated the Apostles' creed, and professed his belief in the holy Scriptures, he came to a point which, he said, pressed on his conscience more than any other action of his whole life, and this was his subscription to a declaration contrary to truth. It was made through fear of death, and with the hope of saving his life; but it was contrary to the thought of his heart. Now, therefore, when he was about to die, he utterly renounced "all such bills and papers" as he had written or signed since his degradation, and because his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, that hand should be signally punished, for when he came to the fire it should be first burned. The pope he rejected as antichrist, with all the false doctrines of popery; and as to the sacrament, he retained the same belief as he had when he wrote his book against the Bishop of Winchester. The true doctrine would stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary to it would be ashamed to show its face.

When the audience heard this unexpected declaration, a general confusion took place: some began to charge him with his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood, and admonishing him to dissemble no longer. He replied, that he had ever loved simplicity, and throughout his life had hated dissimulation. He would have gone on in his discourse, but was prevented by an universal clamour, and Cole exclaimed, "Stop the mouth of the heretic, and take him away!" He was then dragged from the stage on which he was elevated, and was led to the same spot where Ridley and Latimer had not long before resigned their lives. All the way from the church to the place of execution, the friars continued to utter the severest reproaches, and the most dreadful threats of eternal vengeance.

The venerable prelate maintained his fortitude to the last. He looked cheerfully and benignly on all around, shook several persons kindly by the hand, and put off his garments with alacrity. His venerable appearance even attracted the notice of his enemies. Fire being applied to the pile, he stretched his right hand over it, and never moved it, save once, when he passed it over his face, until it was entirely consumed, and before the fire had reached his body it was reduced to ashes. "This hand hath offended, this unworthy right hand," was his frequent ejaculation during his agony. His miseries were soon over; and his last words were, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

Such was the end of Thomas Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 21st of March, 1556, in his 67th year. Whether his death was or was not a martyrdom, like that of Ridley and Latimer, is a disputed point. To save his life he recanted; and it was not till he found his recantation to have been made in vain, that he bore witness to his real opinions. This would not have been considered martyrdom in the primitive Church. Nevertheless his end was heroic: we execrate the cruelty of his persecutors; and who does not sympathize with, while he censures his weakness? He was, indeed, a man much to be honoured; though weak, self-indulgent, and worldly, he was gentle, affectionate, kind, and devout. In many respects the Church of England is indebted to him; and although, when we approach his history, we wish that Edward the Sixth had possessed an ecclesiastical adviser of firmer principles and more decided character, we cannot but bear in mind, that such a character could not have lived through the reign of Henry the Eighth. Among our archbishops, if Cranmer does not rank among the best, or the greatest, he still holds a very high place.—*Collier. Strype. Burnet. Todd. Downes. Soames. Carwithen. Le Bas.*



## CRELLIUS, JOHN.

JOHN CRELLIUS was born in Franconia, in 1590, and studied at Nuremberg, and in other German universities. He was educated a Lutheran, but in the exercise of his private judgment, thought Socinus to be more scriptural than Luther, and contemning all reference to antiquity, with the Bible, and the Bible only in his hand, he became a Socinian. In 1612 he went to Racow, where he was at first a preacher, and then Rector of the University. His works form a considerable part of the works of the *Fratres Poloni*. His conduct to Grotius was very unjustifiable. Grotius having written against Socinus, Crellius endeavoured to vindicate his master, and did so in such terms of civility, that Grotius wrote to him two letters, perhaps too courteous and kind : he had not been accustomed to meet with kindness from his opponents, and his heart melted. These Crellius shewed about, and so caused an impression to be made on the public mind that the illustrious Grotius favoured Socinianism. Even extracts of these letters were printed. He protested against the abuse made of them, and maintained that if people would candidly read his works, they would easily be convinced of the injustice of ranking him with Socinians.

It is certain that, notwithstanding the terms which he makes use of in writing to Crellius, he did not approve of his book : he writes thus in confidence to his brother, “ I have read Crellius’s book : he writes with candour, and doth not want learning ; but I cannot see how he will promote religion by departing from the Scripture manner of speaking authorised by antiquity.

“ If I have not answered Crellius,” he says in another letter, “ it was for prudential reasons, and even by the advice of the protestants of France, who think that the questions being unknown in this country, ought not to be made public by a confutation. It is easy to

refute them with glory, though every one is not capable of it: but it is still better that they should remain unknown." He speaks in the same letter, of Socinus as a man very little versed in the sentiments of antiquity, and whose errors he had confuted in many of his works.

Crellius died in 1632.—*General Dict. Bourigny's Grotius.*

CRESSY, OR CRESSEY, HUGH PAULIN, OR SERENUS.

HUGH PAULIN CRESSY, a popish divine, was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in 1605, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degree in arts, and became fellow. Having entered into orders he became chaplain to Lord Falkland, whom he accompanied to Ireland, and obtained the deanery of Leighlin, to which was added afterwards a canonry of Windsor. But through disturbances of the times he never attained the possession of either of these preferments. This led him to despair of the fortunes of the Church of England, and being at Rome in 1644, in the capacity of tutor to Mr. Bertie, afterwards Earl of Falmouth, he apostatized to the Church of Rome. He next entered among the Benedictines at Douay, on which occasion he took the name of Serenus. At the Restoration he returned to England, and became chaplain to the Queen of Charles II. He died at East Grinstead, in Sussex, in 1674.

The work on which he bestowed his chief attention was the Church History of Brittany, from the beginning of the Norman Conquest, under Roman governors, British kings, the English-Saxon heptarchy, the English-Saxon and Danish monarchy, &c., 1668, folio. Of this work only one volume was published; the second, in which he meant to bring down the history to the dissolution of monasteries, was left incomplete at his death.

## CREWE, NATHANIEL.

NATHANIEL CREWE, the fifth son of John, Lord Crewe, was born at Stean, in Northamptonshire, in 1633, and succeeded to the title of Lord Crewe on the death of his brother, in 1691. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he became fellow and rector. He was chosen proctor of the university in 1663, afterwards clerk of the closet to Charles II., Dean of Chichester, Bishop of Oxford in 1671, and three years after was translated to Durham. On the accession of James II. he was admitted of the privy council, and showed himself very friendly to all the measures of the court, in religion and in politics. He paid particular respect to the pope's nuncio when he came to London, and refused to introduce Dean Patrick to the King, because he was too zealous against popery.

Bishop Crewe was also on the ecclesiastical commission before which Bishop Compton was summoned, against whom he took an active part.—(*See Life of Compton.*)—He seems to have been a weak, rather than a wicked man; grateful to James for the favours he had conferred upon him, and acting as a partizan. But he seems himself to have become alarmed at length at the violence of King James's government. He withdrew from the King's councils, and upon the abdication he expressed a wish to resign his ecclesiastical dignities to Dr. Burnet, with an allowance of £1000 for life. He afterwards left his retirement, and appeared in parliament; but his name was excepted from the act of indemnity of 1690. His pardon, however, was at last procured by the intercession of his friends. He died in 1721. He was princely in his benefactions, particularly to Lincoln College. He bequeathed £200 a year to the university of Oxford for general purposes; and the expense of the Encœnia is partly defrayed by a sum of money originally left by him.—*Life of Lord Crewe*, 1790.

## CREYGHTON, ROBERT.

ROBERT CREYGHTON was born of an ancient family at Dunkeld, in Scotland, in 1593, and was educated at Westminster School, whence, in 1613, he was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was chosen Greek professor, and university orator. In 1632 he was made treasurer of the cathedral of Wells, and was also canon residentiary, prebendary of Taunton, and had a living in Somersetshire. In the beginning of the rebellion he joined the King's troops at Oxford; but he was obliged afterwards to flee into Cornwall, whence he followed Charles II. abroad, who made him his chaplain, and bestowed on him the deanery of Wells. He was accounted a man of much learning, and in the discharge of his duty as a preacher, reproved the vices of the court with great boldness. In 1670 he was promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He died in 1672. His only publication was a translation into Latin of Sylvester Syguropolus's History of the Council of Florence, Hague 1660, folio.—*Salmon's Lives of English Bishops*. Wood. *Barwick's Life*.

## CRISP, TOBIAS.

TOBIAS CRISP was born in London, in 1600, and was educated at Eton, whence he went to Cambridge. In 1627 he was presented to the living of Newington Butts, near Southwark; but as it was proved that he had been guilty of Simony, he was removed from it in the course of a few months. He obtained, however, which he ought not to have done, the rectory of Brinkworth, in Wiltshire, the same year. He became a puritan and a rebel. But among the puritans he caused a division by his furious manner of maintaining the doctrines of Anti-nomianism. He died February 27, 1642, of the small pox. After his death his sermons were published in 3 vols. 4to, and the

Westminster Assembly proposed to have them burnt; the assembly of puritans thus following the example of the pope of Rome. Flavel and other puritans were very vehement in taking the beam out of their brother's eye, and a warm controversy ensued, which was renewed with increased vehemence, when the sermons were republished about the time of the Revolution. It disturbed the harmony of the weekly lecture established at Pinnars Hall, the followers of Crisp establishing a lecture at Salters Hall.—*Wood. Bogue.*

## CROFT, HERBERT.

HERBERT CROFT was born at Great Milton, Oxfordshire, in 1603. He was sent early to Christ Church, Oxford; but upon the perversion of his father to popery, he was removed from the university, and placed at Douay, and afterwards at St. Omer's. A visit to England, on family affairs, introduced him to the acquaintance of Morton, Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop Laud. Croft is another instance out of the many which exist, of Archbishop Laud's zeal in converting men from Romanism: through the instrumentality of these prelates, he was reconciled to the Church of England, and returned to Christ Church. He was preferred to a living in Gloucestershire, and to another in Oxfordshire, and, in 1639, he was made prebendary of Salisbury. He was afterwards prebendary of Worcester, canon of Windsor, and, in 1644, dean of Hereford. At the Restoration he was raised to the see of Hereford, in 1661, which he refused to quit for higher preferment. His small treatise, entitled *The Naked Truth, or the true State of the Primitive Church*, printed at a private press, was published in 1675, when the papists hoped to take advantage of the quarrels of the non-conformists with the Church of England, and from its latitudinarian views it became a popular work, which not only drew the attention of parliament to the subject, but

produced some severe attacks against it. One of these, by Dr Turner, of St. John's College, Cambridge, was answered by Andrew Marvell, who applauded the Bishop's works, and, as might be supposed, defended his principles. Besides this, he published some occasional sermons, religious tracts, a legacy to his diocese, and, in 1685, *Animadversions on Burnet's Theory of the Earth*. In the latter part of his life he wished to resign his bishopric from some scruples of conscience. He died in 1691.—*Wood. Salmon's Lives of the Bishops.*

## CROIUS, OR DE CROI, JOHN.

JOHN CROIUS, a protestant minister, was born at Usez, where he became a minister, and died in 1659. He wrote a defence of the Genevan Confession of Faith, 1645, 8vo, and *Augustin Supposé, &c.*, in which he attempted to prove that the four books on the creed in St. Augustine's works are not the production of that author. He also wrote *Specimen Conjecturarum in quædam Origenis, Irenæi, et Tertulliani Loca*, 1632; and *Observationes Sacræ et Historicæ in Nov. Test.* chiefly against Heinsius, 1644.—*Gen. Dict.*

## CROXALL, SAMUEL.

SAMUEL CROXALL was born at Walton-upon-Thames, in Surrey, and educated at Eton school, from whence he removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he wrote the *Fair Circassian*, a poem, which is a licentious imitation of Solomon's Song. On entering into orders he obtained the living of Hampton, in Middlesex, several preferments in Hereford cathedral, and the united livings of St. Mary, Somerset, and St. Mary Mounthaw, London. He died in 1752. Dr. Croxall was a strenuous whig, and wrote a book called *Scripture Politics*. He also published

a popular edition of Æsop's Fables, and wrote some poems; besides which, his name was affixed to a collection of novels, in 6 vols. 12mo.—*Biog. Brit.*

## CUDWORTH, RALPH.

RALPH CUDWORTH was born at Aller, in Somersetshire, in 1617, of which place his father was rector. Going to Cambridge, he in due course became fellow and tutor of Emanuel College. In 1641 he was presented to the living of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire. He first appeared as an author by the publication (in 1642) of his discourse concerning "The True Notion of the Lord's Supper." His notion is this, that the Eucharist, considered in its spiritual and mystical view, is a Feast upon a Sacrifice. viz: the sacrifice once offered upon the cross, having some analogy to the Jewish sacrificial feasts, which were figures or shadows of this true spiritual feeding; for as those were banquets upon typical sacrifices, so this is a banquet upon the real sacrifice to which they pointed: and as those banquets were federal directly with respect to the legal covenant, so is this banquet federal with respect to the Evangelical Covenant, formerly couched under the legal one.

In the same year he published his treatise, entitled "The Union of Christ and the Church Shadowed."

In the year 1644 he took the degree of bachelor of divinity, upon which occasion he maintained at the commencement the two following theses:

1. Dantur boni et mali rationes æternæ & indispensabiles; that is, the reasons of good and evil are eternal and indispensable.

2. Dantur substantiæ corporæ sua natura immortales. that is, there are incorporeal substances by their own nature immortal.

It appears from these questions, that he was even at

that time examining and revolving in his mind those important subjects, which he so long afterwards cleared up with such uncommon penetration in his Intellectual System, and other works still preserved in manuscript. In the same year (1644) he was appointed master of Clare Hall, in Cambridge, in the room of Dr. Paske, who had been ejected by the parliamentary visitors. In 1645, Dr. Metcalf, having resigned the regius professorship of the Hebrew tongues, Mr. Cudworth was unanimously nominated on the 15th of October, by the seven electors, to succeed him. From this time he abandoned all the functions of a minister, and applied himself only to his academical employments and studies, especially to that of the Jewish antiquities. On the 31st of March, 1647, he preached before the house of commons at Westminster, upon a day of public humiliation, a sermon upon 1 John ii. 3, 4, for which he had the thanks of that house returned him the same day.

In 1654 he was elected master of Christ's College. He was, in 1657, one of those who were consulted by parliament about the English translation of the Bible, and by his learning he gained the friendship of Whitelocke, and of Thurlow. To the latter he wrote an account of his design to publish some Latin discourses in defence of Christianity, against Judaism. Part of this design, a discourse concerning Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, which was read in the public schools of Cambridge, is highly commended by Henry More, in the preface to his *Grand Mystery of Godliness*. "In this work," observes More, "Dr. Cudworth has undeceived the world, misled too long by the over-great opinion they had of Joseph Scaliger, and has demonstrated the manifestation of the Messiah to have fallen out at the end of the sixty-ninth week, and his passion in the midst of the last; which demonstration of his is, in my apprehension, of as much price and worth in theology, as either the circulation of the blood in physic, or the motion of the earth in natural philosophy."



In 1662 he was presented by Sheldon, Bishop of London, to the vicarage of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire. In 1678 he was installed prebendary of Gloucester, and he then published in folio his famous work, "The True Intellectual System of the Universe; wherein the reason and philosophy of Atheism are confuted, and its impossibility demonstrated."

"He lived," says Bishop Chandler, "in an age when the disputes concerning liberty and necessity, mingling with the political scheme of the leaders of opposite parties, helped to cause strong convulsions in the state, and to spread no less fatal an influence upon the principles and manners of the generality of people. For debauchery, scepticism, and infidelity, as he complains, flourished in his time, and grew up, in his opinion, from the doctrine of the fatal necessity of all actions and events, as from its proper root.

"These sentiments disposed him to bend much of his study this way, and to read over all the ancient philosophers and moralists with great accuracy. He then set himself to gather and answer all the ancient and modern arguments for the necessity of all actions, which had been maintained by several persons, upon very different grounds.

"He accordingly distinguished three sorts of fatality. First, natural or material, which, excluding God out of the scheme, and supposing senseless matter, necessarily moved, to be the first principle and cause of all things, is truly and properly the atheistical fate. This he found defended by Epicurus; and to refute him and the other assertors of the atomic material necessity, he published his learned and unanswerable book, which he entitled, *The Intellectual System of the Universe*. Secondly, theologic or Divine fate, which, indeed, allows in words the existence of that perfect intellectual Being, distinct from matter, whom we call God; yet, affirming that God irrespectively decrees and determines all things, evil as well as good, doth in effect make all actions alike necessary to

us. In consequence whereof, God's will is not regulated by His essential and immutable goodness and justice; God is a mere arbitrary will, omnipotent: and, in respect to us, moral good and evil are positive things, and not so in their own nature; that is, things are good or bad because they are commanded or forbidden, and that which is now good might have been bad, and bad good, if the pure will of God, at first, had not determined them to be what they are at present. Thirdly, the Stoical fate, which constrains also the natural and moral actions of the universe, and makes necessity to be so intrinsical to the nature of every thing, as that no being or action could possibly be otherwise than it is. For all things, according to this notion, depend in a chain of causes all in themselves necessary, from the first principle of being, who pre-ordered every event before it fell out, so as to leave no room to liberty or contingency anywhere in the world."

To overthrow this triple fortress of irreligion, was the great design to which Cudworth dedicated his life.

Owing to his having imbibed his philosophy from Platinus, and other disciples of the Platonic school, he incurred the charge, in this great work, of giving too much countenance to the Arian hypothesis. It is most unwarrantable and uncharitable, to accuse of intolerance and bigotry, those who, at the first appearance of the work, pointed out the learned author's error in these respects. Surely they were as much justified in the zeal for the truth as he in his zeal against atheism. But the author was no Arian. His generous and candid mind, when having a particular line of argument in view, made concessions, from which conclusions were drawn, which he himself, by his whole system of divinity, repudiated. This work, from its nature and importance, had many assailants, and a warm dispute was raised in consequence between the author and Le Clerc. The work was translated into Latin, in 1733, by the learned Mosheim, and the original was republished in 1743, in 2 vols. 4to, by Dr. Birch, with large additions, and with an accurate statement of all

the quotations, and a life of the author by the editor. Cudworth died at Cambridge in 1688, and was buried in Christ's College chapel. Of his posthumous works, which were a continuation of his Intellectual System, one was published by Chandler, Bishop of Durham, in 1731, called a Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality, intended chiefly against Hobbes and others. The following are the titles of the remaining MSS. as they were found by Birch, when preparing his edition of the Intellectual System, a hundred years ago :

1. A Discourse of Moral Good and Evil, already mentioned.

2. Another book of Morality, against Hobbes's Philosophy.

3. A Discourse of Liberty and Necessity, in which the grounds of the Atheistical philosophy are confuted, and Morality vindicated and explained.

4. Another work, *De libero arbitrio*.

5. On Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

6. Of the Verity of the Christian Religion, against the Jews.

7. A Discourse of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.

8. Hebrew Learning.

9. An Examination of Hobbes's Notion of God, and of the Extension of Spirits.

For some time longer these writings reposed quietly in the library at Oates ; but about the year 1762 they were sold by Lord Masham, as lumber, to a bookseller ; from whose hands, after suffering many perils and mutilations, they at length found their way to the British Museum. The only public use made of them was by Dr. Dodd, who ransacked them for notes to the Bible published with his name, and inserted some other passages in the Christian Magazine.

The first edition of the Intellectual System, we have seen, was published in folio, in the year 1678.

In 1706 there was published in two volumes 4to, an

abridgment of that work, under the title of a Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism, &c. By Thomas Wise, B.D.—*Birch. Chandler. Cattermole's Literature of the Church of England.*

#### CURCELLEUS, STEPHEN.

STEPHEN CURCELLEUS was born at Geneva, in 1586. After residing for some time in France, he settled at Amsterdam, where he was followed by the Arminians, and where he succeeded Episcopius as divinity professor. He was an able critic and a great linguist, and wrote several theological tracts. He published a new edition of the Greek Testament, with various readings, and with a copious dissertation. Polemburg, the successor of Curcellæus in the professor's chair, has prefixed an account of his life to the folio edition of his works. He died at Amsterdam in 1658.—*Moreri.*

#### CUTHBERT, SAINT.

This holy man of prayer was born in the North of England, in the beginning of the sixth century. His life was written by Bede, and it is a life well worthy of an attentive perusal, though too long to be transplanted into this work. Ordinary facts and providences are narrated with simplicity, and are supposed to be miraculous, though the enlightened reader of the present day will, while he admires the piety which traces every thing to the divine interference, perceive nothing in the facts, but what can be easily accounted for, and he will of course dissent from the conclusions to which Bede sometimes arrives. There is a great difference between the lying legends of certain Romish saints, in which gross falsehoods are told, and the narrative of Bede. Bede states facts, which being received at second hand, are some-

times a little coloured, but never intentionally gives a false account; he mistakes an ordinary circumstance for a miracle, and records as especially miraculous those curious coincidences which occur in every man's life, but are only "set in a note book," when they occur to some one who has rendered himself eminent by his virtue or genius. Bede heads his first chapter thus, "How Cuthbert the child of God was warned by a child of his future bishopric." Cuthbert was a fine high-spirited lad, "fond of jumping, running, wrestling," and boasting that in bodily exercises he could surpass boys older than himself.

Bede observes that, "Divine Providence found from the first a worthy preceptor to curb the sallies of his youthful mind. For, as Trumwine of blessed memory told me on the authority of Cuthbert himself, there were one day some customary games going on in a field, and a large number of boys were got together, amongst whom was Cuthbert, and in the excitement of boyish whims, several of them began to bend their bodies into various unnatural forms. On a sudden, one of them, apparently about three years old, runs up to Cuthbert, and in a firm tone exhorted him not to indulge in idle play and follies, but to cultivate the powers of his mind, as well as those of his body. When Cuthbert made light of his advice, the boy fell to the ground and shed tears bitterly. The rest run up to console him, but he persists in weeping. They ask him why he burst out crying so unexpectedly. At length he made answer, and turning to Cuthbert, who was trying to comfort him, 'Why,' said he, 'do you, holy Cuthbert, priest and prelate! give yourself up to these things which are so opposite to your nature and rank? It does not become you to be playing among children, when the Lord appointed you to be a teacher of virtue even to those who are older than yourself.' Cuthbert, being a boy of a good disposition, heard these words with evident attention, and pacifying the crying child with affectionate caresses, immediately abandoned his vain sports, and returning home, began from that moment to exhibit an unusual decision

both of mind and character, as if the same spirit which had spoken outwardly to him by the mouth of the boy, were now beginning to exert its influence inwardly in his heart. Nor ought we to be surprised that the same God can restrain the levity of a child by the mouth of a child, who made even the dumb beast to speak, when he would check the folly of the prophet : and truly it is said in his honour, ‘ Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast Thou perfected praise ! ’ ”

The reader will be struck with the beauty and the piety of this passage,—he will concur in the general remarks. Here was a curious coincidence ; but Bede and his friends evidently magnified it into a prophecy. It was what a boy might be expected to say, when Bishops were more thought of than now ; and with us the charm of the passage is, not in the child’s prediction, but in the beautiful way in which Cuthbert received the hint. We will take the next chapter. “ How he became lame with a swelling in his knee, and was cured by an angel.” “ Because,” says Bede, “ to every one who hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance ; that is, to every one who hath the determination and the love of virtue, shall be given, by Divine Providence, an abundance of these things ; since Cuthbert, the child of God, carefully retained in his mind what he had received from the admonition of man, he was thought worthy also of being comforted by the company and conversation of angels. For his knee was seized with a sudden pain, and began to swell into a large tumour ; the nerves of his thigh became contracted, and he was obliged to walk lamely, dragging after him his diseased leg, until at length the pain increased and he was unable to walk at all. One day he had been carried out of doors by the attendants, and was reclining in the open air, when he suddenly saw at a distance a man on horseback approaching, clothed in white garments, and honourable to be looked upon, and the horse too on which he sat, was of incomparable beauty. He drew near to Cuthbert, and saluted him mildly, and asked him as in jest, whether he

had no civilities to shew to such a guest. 'Yes,' said the other, 'I should be most ready to jump up and offer you all the attention in my power, were I not, for my sins, held bound by this infirmity: for I have long had this painful swelling in my knee, and no physician, with all his care, has yet been able to heal me.' The man, leaping from his horse, began to look earnestly at the diseased knee. Presently he said, 'Boil some wheaten flour in milk, and apply the poultice warm to the swelling, and you will be well.' Having said this, he again mounted his horse and departed. Cuthbert did as he was told, and after a few days was well. He at once perceived that it was an angel, who had given him the advice, and sent by Him who formerly deigned to send His archangel Raphael to restore the eyesight of Tobit. If any one think it incredible that an angel should appear on horseback, let him read the history of the Maccabees, in which angels are said to have come on horseback to the assistance of Judas Maccabæus, and to defend God's own temple."

A good Samaritan rather than an angel appeared to Cuthbert; and the kind physician who prescribed a poultice was exaggerated by the mind of the youth into an angel. How very easily persons may thus exaggerate details to themselves, those who are acquainted with the uneducated or youthful mind are well aware. The fact was as related; the colouring was from the fancy. The reader will see from this how legends originated. They began in the simple piety of an age not yet corrupted by the fictions of Rome; and were carried on by designing craft to impose upon credulous ignorance. The imagination of Cuthbert was very vivid, and in consequence of a vision which he had the night on which Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, died, he determined to enter a monastery. We have in the sixth chapter of Bede, an account of his first entering into a monastery, in the circumstances attending which the historian again imagines something mysterious.

“This reverend servant of God, abandoning worldly things, hastens to submit to monastic discipline, having been excited by his heavenly vision to covet the joys of everlasting happiness, and invited by the food with which God had supplied him to encounter hunger and thirst in his service. He knew that the church of Lindisfarne contained many holy men, by whose teaching and example he might be instructed, but he was moved by the great reputation of Boisil, a monk and priest of surpassing merit, to choose for himself an abode in the abbey of Melrose. And it happened by chance, that when he was arrived there and had leaped from his horse, that he might enter the church to pray, he gave his horse and travelling-spear to a servant, for he had not yet resigned the dress and habits of a layman. Boisil was standing before the doors of the monastery, and saw him first. Foreseeing in spirit what an illustrious man the stranger would become, he made this single remark to the bystanders: ‘Behold a servant of the Lord!’ herein imitating Him Who said of Nathaniel, when he approached Him, ‘Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.’ I was told this by that veteran priest and servant of God, the pious Sigfrid, for he was standing by when Boisil said these words, and was at that time a youth studying the first rudiments of the monastic life in that same monastery; but now he is a man, perfect in the Lord, living in our monastery at Yarrow, and amid the last sighs of his fainting body thirsting for a happy entrance into another life. Boisil, without saying more, kindly received Cuthbert as he approached; and when he had heard the cause of his coming, namely, that he preferred the monastery to the world, he kept him near himself, for he was the prior of that same monastery.

“After a few days, when Eata, who was at that time priest and abbot of the monastery, but afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, was come, Boisil told him about Cuthbert, how that he was a young man of a promising disposition,



and obtained permission that he should receive the tonsure, and be enrolled among the brethren. When he had thus entered the monastery, he conformed himself to the rules of the place with the same zeal as the others, and, indeed, sought to surpass them by observing stricter discipline: and in reading, working, watching, and praying, he fairly outdid them all. Like the mighty Samson of old, he carefully abstained from every drink which could intoxicate; but was not able to abstain equally from food, lest his body might be thereby rendered less able to work: for he was of a robust frame and of unimpaired strength, and fit for any labour which he might be disposed to take in hand."

Some years after it pleased King Alfred to grant to Abbot Eata a certain tract of country called Inrhypum, in which to build a monastery. The abbot in consequence of this grant erected the intended building, and placed therein certain of his brother monks, among whom was Cuthbert, and appointed for them the same rules and discipline which were observed at Melrose. He seems himself to have imagined that he had angelic visions, and doubtless he had communion with God so fervent as to ravish his mind. Such things occur even now. "Notwithstanding the fervour of his devotion," says Bede, "he was affable and pleasant in his character; and when he was relating to the fathers the acts of their predecessors, as an incentive to piety, he would introduce also, in the meekest way, the spiritual benefits which the love of God had conferred upon himself. And this he took care to do in a covert manner, as if it had happened to another person. His hearers, however, perceived that he was speaking of himself, after the pattern of that master who at one time unfolds his own merits without disguise, and at another time says under the guise of another, 'I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, who was carried up into the third heaven.'"

But, continues Bede, in his usual strain of piety, "as every thing in this world is frail and fluctuating, like the

sea when a storm comes on, the above-named abbot Eata, with Cuthbert and the other brethren, were expelled from their residence, and the monastery given to others. But our worthy champion of Christ did not by reason of his change of place relax his zeal in carrying on the spiritual conflict which he had undertaken; but he attended, as he ever had done, to the precepts and example of the blessed Boisil. About this time, according to his friend Herefrid the priest, who was formerly abbot of the monastery of Lindisfarne, he was seized with a pestilential disease, of which many inhabitants of Britain were at that time sick. The brethren of the monastery passed the whole night in prayer for his life and health; for they thought it essential to them that so pious a man should be present with them in the flesh. They did this without his knowing it; and when they told him of it in the morning, he exclaimed, 'Then why am I lying here? I did not think it possible that God should have neglected your prayers: give me my stick and shoes.' Accordingly, he got out of bed, and tried to walk, leaning on his stick, and finding his strength gradually return, he was speedily restored to health: but because the swelling on his thigh, though it died away to all outward appearances, struck into his inwards, he felt a little pain in his inside all his life afterwards; so that, as we find it expressed in the Apostles, 'his strength was perfected in weakness.'

"When that servant of the Lord, Boisil, saw that Cuthbert was restored, he said, 'You see, my brother, how you have recovered from your disease, and I assure you it will give you no farther trouble, nor are you likely to die at present. I advise you, inasmuch as death is waiting for me, to learn from me all you can whilst I am able to teach you; for I have only seven days longer to enjoy my health of body, or to exercise the powers of my tongue.' Cuthbert implicitly believing what he heard, asked him what he would advise him to begin to read, so as to be able to finish it in seven days. 'John the Evangelist,' said Boisil. 'I have a copy containing seven quarto sheets: we can,

with God's help, read one every day, and meditate thereon as far as we are able.' They did so accordingly, and speedily accomplished the task; for they sought therein only that simple faith which operates by love, and did not trouble themselves with minute and subtle questions. After their seven days' study was completed, Boisil died of the above-named complaint; and after death entered into the joys of eternal life."

After the death of Boisil, Cuthbert took upon himself the duties of the office before mentioned; and for many years discharged them with the most pious zeal, as became a saint: for he not only furnished both precept and example to his brethren of the monastery, but sought to lead the minds of the neighbouring people to the love of heavenly things. Many of them, indeed, disgraced the faith which they professed, by unholy deeds: and some of them, in the time of mortality, neglecting the sacrament of their creed, had recourse to idolatrous remedies, as if by charms or amulets, or any other mysteries of the magical art, they were able to avert a stroke inflicted upon them by the Lord. To correct these errors, he often went out from the monastery, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, and preached the way of truth to the neighbouring villages, as Boisil, his predecessor, had done before him. It was at this time customary for the English people to flock together when a clerk or priest entered a village, and listen to what he said, that so they might learn something from him, and amend their lives. Now Cuthbert was so skilful in teaching, and so zealous in what he undertook, that none dared to conceal from him their thoughts, but all acknowledged what they had done amiss; for they supposed that it was impossible to escape his notice, and they hoped to merit forgiveness by an honest confession. He was mostly accustomed to travel to those villages which lay in out of the way places among the mountains, which by their poverty and natural horrors deterred other visitors. Yet even here did his devoted mind find exercise for his

powers of teaching, insomuch that he often remained a week, sometimes two or three, nay, even a whole month, without returning home; but dwelling among the mountains, taught the poor people, both by the words of his preaching, and also by his own holy conduct.

Whilst this venerable servant of the Lord was thus, during many years, distinguishing himself by such signs of spiritual excellence in the monastery of Melrose, its reverend abbot, Eata, transferred him to the monastery in the Island of Lindisfarne, that there also he might teach the rules of monastic perfection with the authority of its governor, and illustrate it by the example of his virtue: for the same reverend abbot had both monasteries under his jurisdiction. And no one should wonder that, though the island of Lindisfarne is small, we have above made mention of a bishop, and now of an abbot and monks; for the case was really so. For the same island, inhabited by servants of the Lord, contained both, and all were monks. For Aidan, who was the first bishop of that place, was a monk, and with all his followers lived according to the monastic rule. Wherefore all the principals of that place from him to the time of Bede, exercised the episcopal office, so that, whilst the monastery was governed by the abbot, whom they, with the consent of the brethren, elected, all the priests, deacons, singers, readers, and other ecclesiastical officers of different ranks, observed the monastic rule in every respect, as well as the bishop himself.

He was so zealous in watching and praying, that he is believed to have sometimes passed three or four nights together therein, during which time he neither went to his own bed, nor had any accommodation from the brethren for reposing himself. For he either passed the time alone, praying in some retired spot, or singing and making something with his hands, thus beguiling his sleepiness by labour; or perhaps he walked round the island, diligently examining every thing therein, and by this exercise

relieved the tediousness of psalmody and watching. Lastly, he would reprove the faint-heartedness of the brethren, who took it amiss if any one came and unseasonably importuned them to awake at night, or during their afternoon naps. "No one," said he, "can displease me by waking me out of my sleep, but, on the contrary, give me pleasure; for, by rousing me from inactivity, he enables me to do or think of something useful." So devout and zealous was he in his desire after heavenly things, that, whilst officiating in the solemnity of the mass, he never could come to the conclusion thereof without a plentiful shedding of tears. But whilst he duly discharged the mysteries of our Lord's passion, he would, in himself illustrate that in which he was officiating; in contrition of heart he would sacrifice himself to the Lord; and whilst he exhorted the standers by to lift up their hearts and to give thanks unto the Lord, his own heart was lifted up rather than his voice, and it was the spirit which groaned within him rather than the note of singing. In his zeal for righteousness he was fervid to correct sinners, he was gentle in the spirit of mildness to forgive the penitent, so that he would often shed tears over those who confessed their sins, pitying their weaknesses, and would himself point out by his own righteous example what course the sinner should pursue. He used vestments of the ordinary description, neither noticeable for their too great neatness nor yet too slovenly. Wherefore, even to Bede's day, it is not customary in that monastery for any one to wear vestments of a rich or valuable colour, but they were content with that appearance which the natural wool of the sheep presents.

By these and such like spiritual exercises, this venerable man both excited the good to follow his example, and recalled the wicked and perverse from their errors to regularity of life.

In the year 676 he retired to the secrecy of solitude which he had so long coveted. He rejoiced that from the long conversation with the world he was now thought worthy to be promoted to retirement and divine contemplation:

he rejoiced that he now could reach to the condition of those of which it is sung by the Psalmist: "The holy shall walk from virtue to virtue; the God of Gods shall be seen in Zion." At his first entrance upon the solitary life, he sought out the most retired spot in the outskirts of the monastery. But when he had for some time contended with the invisible adversary with prayer and fasting in this solitude, he then, aiming at higher things, sought out a more distant field for conflict, and more remote from the eyes of men. There is a certain island called Farne, in the middle of the sea, not made an island, like Lindisfarne, by the flow of the tide, which the Greeks call *rheuma*, and then restored to the mainland at its ebb, but lying off several miles to the east, and, consequently, surrounded on all sides by the deep and boundless ocean. No one, before God's servant Cuthbert, had ever dared to inhabit this island alone, on account of the evil spirits which reside there: but when the servant of Christ came, armed with the helmet of salvation, the shield of faith, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, all the fiery darts of the wicked were extinguished, and that wicked enemy, with all his followers, were put to flight.

Christ's soldier, therefore, having thus, by the expulsion of the tyrants, become the lawful monarch of the land, built a city fit for his empire, and houses therein suitable to his city. The building is almost of a round form, from wall to wall about four or five poles in extent: the wall on the outside is higher than a man, but within, by excavating the rock, he made it much deeper, to prevent the eyes and the thoughts from wandering, that the mind might be wholly bent on heavenly things, and the pious inhabitant might behold nothing from his residence but the heavens above him. The wall was constructed, not of hewn stones or of brick and mortar, but of rough stones and turf, which had been taken out from the ground within. Some of them were so large that four men could hardly have lifted them, but Cuthbert himself, with angels helping him, had raised them up and placed them on the

wall. There were two chambers in the house, one an oratory, the other for domestic purposes. He finished the walls of them by digging round and cutting away the natural soil within and without, and formed the roof out of rough poles and straw. Moreover, at the landing-place of the island he built a large house, in which the brethren who visited him might be received and rest themselves, and not far from it there was a fountain of water for their use.

Many came to the man of God, not only from the furthest parts of Lindisfarne, but even from the more remote parts of Britain, led thither by the fame of his virtues; to confess the errors which they had committed, or the temptations of the devil which they suffered, or the adversities common to mortals, with which they were afflicted, and all hoping to receive consolation from a man so eminent for holiness. Nor did their hope deceive them. For no one went away from him without consolation, no one returned afflicted with the same grief which had brought him thither. For he knew how to comfort the sorrowful with pious exhortation; he could recal the joys of celestial life to the memory of those who were straitened in circumstances, and show the uncertainty of prosperity and adversity in this life: he had learnt to make known to those who were tempted the numerous wiles of their ancient enemy, by which that mind would be easily captivated which was deprived of brotherly or divine love; whereas, the mind which, strengthened by the true faith, should continue its course, would, by the help of God, break the snares of the adversary like the threads of a spider's web.

While he was in this place, in the year 684, Archbishop Theodore, in a full synod, in the presence of Ecgfrid, appointed Cuthbert to the bishopric of the see of Lindisfarne, which he most reluctantly accepted. He adorned, however, the office of a bishop, which he had undertaken, says Bede, "by the exercise of many virtues, according to the precepts and examples of the Apostles. For he pro-

tected the people committed to his care, with frequent prayers, and invited them to heavenly things by most wholesome admonitions, and followed that system which most facilitates teaching, by first doing himself what he taught to others. He saved the needy man from the hand of the stronger, and the poor and destitute from those who would oppress them. He comforted the weak and sorrowful : but he took care to recal those who were sinfully rejoicing to that sorrow which is according to godliness. Desiring still to exercise his usual frugality, he did not cease to observe the severity of a monastic life, amid the turmoil by which he was surrounded. He gave food to the hungry, raiment to the shivering. And his course was marked by all the other particulars which adorn the life of a pontiff."

His death took place in 687. Bede, who was present, gives a minute and interesting account of the circumstances attending the event, too long, however, for transcription. He had returned to his dwelling on the island to prepare for death, the approach of which he perceived. Having given advice and directions to those around him, when his hour of evening service was come, he received from Bede "the blessed Sacrament, and thus strengthened himself for his departure by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ : and when he had lifted up his eyes to heaven, and stretched out his hands above him, his soul, intent upon heavenly praises, sped his way to the joys of the eternal kingdom." He was buried in the monastery of Lindisfarne ; and after several removals, his body was at length consigned to a tomb in Durham Cathedral.—*Venerable Bede.*

#### CUTHBERT.

Of the life of this Archbishop of Canterbury very few particulars are known, except that he was of a noble English family, and was translated from Hereford to the metropolitan see, according to Wright in 710, and accord-



ing to Godwin in 742. In the last-named year a great council was held at Cloveshoo, Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, presiding, with Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops sitting with them, to examine all necessary points of religion, and of the creed delivered to us by the ancient institutes of the holy fathers. And they diligently enquired how matters were ordered here, in relation to religion, and particularly as to the creed, in the infancy of the Church of England, and in what esteem monasteries then were according to equity.

“While we were making this enquiry, (it is said,) and reciting ancient privileges, there came to hand that privilege of the churches, and ordinance of the glorious King Wihtred, concerning the election and authority of the heads of monasteries, in the kingdom of Kent; how it is ordered to be confirmed by the command and option of the metropolitan of Canterbury. And the said privilege was read, at the direction of King Ethelbald; and all that heard it said, there never was any such noble and wise decree, so agreeable to ecclesiastical discipline; and therefore they enacted, that it should be firmly kept by all.

“Therefore I, Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, for the health of my soul, and the stability of my kingdom, and out of reverence to the venerable Archbishop Cuthbert, confirm it by the subscription of my own munificent hand, that the liberty, honour, authority, and security of the Church of Christ be contradicted by no man; but she, and all the lands belonging to her, be free from all secular services, except military expedition, and building of a bridge, or a castle. And we charge that this be irrefragably and immutably observed by all, as the aforesaid King Wihtred ordained, for him and his.

“If any of the kings my successors, or of the bishops or princes, attempt to infringe this wholesome decree, let him give account of it to Almighty God at the tremendous day.

“If an earl, priest, deacon, clerk, or monk oppose this constitution, let him be deprived of his degree, and sepa-

rated from the participation of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and be far from the kingdom of God, unless he first make amends for his insolence, by agreeable satisfaction ; for it is written, *Whatever ye bind on earth, &c.*"

Cuthbert was the personal friend of St. Boniface, with whom he kept up a friendly intercourse by letters. In 745 Boniface sent to Cuthbert some canons of a synod lately held at Augsburg, with a letter. (*For an account of this see the life of Boniface.*) He, about the same time, addressed a letter to Ethelbald, King of the Mercians. It is a noble letter, in which he addresses the King in a strain of earnest affection, while he rebukes his vices with unsparing severity : it is such a letter as it became an Archbishop to write to a Monarch, who was not without good traits of character, but whose immorality was undeniable. From these communications it would seem, that our Saxon ancestors were addicted to gross impurities, and that the ascetic pretensions of many were too often used as a cloak of lasciviousness. But the great fault of Boniface was devotion to the interests of the see of Rome ; and while he exhorted the King and metropolitan to bestir themselves, in order that the existing evils might be remedied, he evidently desired to obtain, on the part of the Church of England, what he had laboured for in Germany, a synodical submission to the papal see. Cuthbert, who was a wise and prudent prelate, did not imitate his mistaken friend's example, in binding himself to obey in all things the orders of St. Peter, as they called the pope's commands ; but at a synod held at Cloveshoo, in Kent, he, and the other English bishops, engaged to maintain their own laws against encroachment, keeping up a free correspondence with foreign churches, and a union of affection, but patriotically refusing to compromise their dignity by professing submission to a foreign ecclesiastical authority ; still the Romanizing party gained ground in our Church, because in this synod a strict uniformity was enjoined with the Roman offices and usages, though not at that time, of course, corrupted as they have since been.

The synod was held in September, 747, in the presence of Ethelbert, King of the Mercians, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding; eleven bishops and several priests attended. Thirty canons were drawn up. Pope Zachary was not wanting on this occasion, for he sent a letter to the synod, written in a very improper strain, and evidently to establish a precedent for interference in a synod of the Church of England. The assembled prelates naturally regarded this only as an instance of friendship on the part of a foreign prelate, as they had done the previous interference of the Archbishop of Mentz. After the preliminaries were concluded by the assembled prelates, "in the front of their decrees," as we find it stated in the minutes of the synod, "they established it with an authentic sanction, that every Bishop be ready to defend the pastoral charge entrusted with him; and the canonical institutions of the Church of Christ (by God's protection and assistance) with their utmost endeavour, against the various and wicked assaults that are made upon them; nor be more engaged in secular affairs, (which God forbid) than in the service of God, by looseness in living, and tardiness in teaching; but be adorned with good manners, with the abstemious virtues, with works of righteousness, and with learned studies, that so, according to the Apostle, they may be able to reform the people of God by their example, and instruct them by the preaching of sound doctrine."

In the second place, they firmly agreed with a testification, that they would devote themselves to intimate peace, and sincere charity, perpetually, every where amongst them to endure; and that there be a perfect agreement of all, in all the rites of religion belonging to the Church, in word, in work, in judgment, without flattering of any person, as being minister of one Lord, and fellow-servants in one ministry; that though they are far distant in sees, yet they may be joined together in mind by one spirit, serving God in faith, hope, and charity, praying diligently for each other, that every one of them may faithfully finish their race.

Collier justly remarks that these two canons, especially the last, seem to be drawn up especially to protect the Church of England against the pretensions of Rome, and to reject the precedent of submission which Boniface had set them.

The third canon orders annual episcopal visitations, and directs the bishop to call the people of every condition together to convenient places, and to plainly teach them, and forbid them all pagan and superstitious observances, &c.

4. Directs bishops to exhort all abbots and abbesses within their dioceses to exhibit a good example in their lives, and to rule well their houses.

5. Orders bishops to visit those monasteries which, owing to the corruption of the times, were governed by laymen.

6. Directs due inquiry to be made concerning the good life and sound faith of candidates for priest's orders.

7. Directs bishops, abbots, and abbesses to take care that their "families" do incessantly apply their minds to reading.

8. Exhorts priests to the right discharge of their duty ; to desist from secular business ; to serve at the altar with the utmost application ; carefully to preserve the house of prayer and its furniture ; to spend their time in reading, celebrating masses, and psalmody, &c.

9. Exhorts priests, in the places assigned to them, by their bishops, to attend to the duties of the apostolical commission, in baptizing, teaching, and visiting, and carefully to abstain from all wicked and ridiculous conversation.

10. Directs that priests should learn how to perform, according to the lawful rites, every office belonging to their order ; that they shall also learn to construe and explain in their native tongue the Lord's Prayer and creed, and the sacred words used at mass and in holy baptism ; that they shall understand the spiritual signification of the sacraments, &c.

11. Relates to the faith held by priests, orders that it shall be sound and sincere, and that their ministrations shall be uniform; that they shall teach all men that “without faith it is impossible to please God;” that they shall instil the creed into them, and propose it to infants and their sponsors.

12. Forbids priests “to prate in church,” and “to dislocate or confound the composure and distinction of the sacred words” by theatrical pronunciation; directs them to follow the “plain song” according to the custom of the Church; or, if they cannot do that, simply to read the words. Also forbids priests to presume to interfere in episcopal functions.

13. Orders the due observation of the festivals of our Lord and Saviour, and of the nativity of the saints, according to the Roman martyrology.

14. Orders the due observation of the Lord’s day.

15. Orders that the seven canonical hours of prayer be diligently observed.

16. Orders that the Litanies or Rogations be kept by the clergy and people, with great reverence, on St. Mark’s day, and on the three days preceding Ascension day.

17. Orders the observance of the “birth days” of pope Gregory, of S. Augustin of Canterbury, who “first brought the knowledge of faith, the sacrament of baptism, and the notice of the heavenly country,” to the English nation.

18. Orders the observance of the Ember fasts in the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, according to the Roman ritual.

19. Relates to the behaviour and dress of monks and nuns.

20. Charges bishops to take care that monasteries, as their name imports, be honest retreats for the silent and quiet, not receptacles for versifiers, harpers, and buffoons: forbids too much familiarity with laymen, especially to nuns; bids the latter not spend their time in filthy talk, junketting, drunkenness, luxury, nor in making vestments

of divers and vain-glorious colours, but rather in reading books and singing psalms.

21. Enjoins all monks and ecclesiastics to avoid the sin of drunkenness, and forbids them to help themselves to drink before three in the afternoon, except in cases of necessity.

22. Admonishes monks and ecclesiastics to keep themselves always prepared to receive the Holy Communion.

23. Encourages boys among the laity to receive frequently the communion, while they are not yet corrupted ; also bachelors and married men who avoid sin, lest they grow weak for want of the salutary meat and drink.

24. Orders that laymen be well tried before they be admitted into the ecclesiastical state, or into monasteries.

26. Relates to almsgiving.

The twenty-seventh canon throws so much light upon the state of society, and of the Church at that period, that it is given in full.

27. When they were thus discoursing much of those who sing psalms, or spiritual songs profitably, or of those who do it negligently, psalmody (say they) is a divine work, a great cure in many cases, for the souls of them who do it in spirit, and mind. But they that sing with voice, without the inward meaning, may make the sound resemble something ; therefore though a man knows not the Latin words that are sung, yet he may devoutly apply the intentions of his own heart, to the things which are at present to be asked of God, and fix them there to the best of his power. For the psalms, which proceeded of old through the mouth of the prophet, from the Holy Ghost, are to be sung with the inward intention of the heart, and a suitable humiliation of the body, to the end that (by the oracles of divine praise, and the sacraments of our salvation, and the humble confession of sins, or by devoutly imploring the pardon of them, they that touch the ears of divine pity by praying for any valuable thing, may the more deserve to be heard, by their desiring and affecting to draw near to

God, and to appease Him by the means which I before mentioned, especially their most holy and divine service); while they offer variety of prayers and praises to God in that sacred modulation, either for themselves, or for others, quick or dead, while at the end of every psalmody, they bow their knees in prayer, and say in the Latin, or, if they have not learnt that, in the Saxon, *Lord have mercy on him, and forgive him his sins, and convert him to do Thy will*: or, if for the dead, *Lord, according to the greatness of Thy mercy, grant rest to his soul, and for Thine infinite pity vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with Thy saints*. But let them who pray for themselves have a great faith in psalmody, performed with reverence, as very profitable to them, when done in manner afore-said (on condition that they persist in the expiation of their crimes, and not in the allowance of their vices) that is, they may the sooner, and the more easily deserve to arrive at the grace of divine reconciliation, by prayers, and intercessions, while they worthily sing and pray; or that they may improve in what is good; or that they may obtain what they piously ask: not with any intent, that they may for one moment do evil, or omit good, with the greater liberty, or relax fasting, enjoined for sin, or give the less alms, because they believe others sing psalms, or fast for them. For let every one certainly know, that his own self-same flesh, which hath been the causes of unlawful wicked desires, ought to be restrained from what is lawful; and that a man should punish it at present, in proportion to its guilt, if he desire not to be punished hereafter by the Eternal Judge. Let himself first importune the divine clemency, with groanings of heart for the restoration of himself, and then bring as many servants of God as he can, to make their common prayers to God for him. For if they promise, or believe, or act, otherwise than hath been before said, they do not lessen sins, but add sins to sins; because by this means (above all the rest) they provoke the anger of the Supernal Judge;

because they dare set his justice to sale every day by an unmeasurable flattery, and the excessive blandishment of luxurious conversation. We must speak at large of this, because a worldly rich man of late, desiring that speedy reconciliation might be granted him for gross sin, affirmed by letters, that that sin of his, as many assured him, was so fully expiated, that if he could live three hundred years longer, his fasting was already paid, by the new modes of satisfaction, viz. by the psalmody, fasting, and alms of others, abating his own fasting, or however insufficient it were. If then divine justice can be appeased by others, why, O ye foolish ensurers! is it said by the voice of truth itself, that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven, when he can with bribes purchase the innumerable fastings of others for his own crimes? O that ye might perish alone, ye that are deservedly called the gates of hell—before others are ensnared by your misguiding flattery, and led into the plague of God's eternal indignation. Let no man deceive himself, God deceives none, when He says by the Apostle, we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, &c.

28. Forbids to receive greater numbers into monasteries than can be maintained, and forbids clerks and monks to imitate seculars in "the fashionable gartering of their legs, or in having shags round about their heads," nuns were prohibited from going in secular apparel, or in gaudy gay clothes.

29. Forbids clerks, monks, and nuns, to dwell with laypersons.

30. Enjoins, amongst other things, that prayer be made by all monks and ecclesiastics for kings and dukes, and for the safety of all Christian people.

Archbishop Cuthbert died in 758, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.—*Godwin. Malmesbury. Johnson's Eccles. Canons. Wilkin's Conc. Laudon. Churton's Early English Church.*



## CYPRIAN, THASCIUS CÆCILIVS.

THASCIUS CÆCILIVS CYPRIAN was a lawyer at Carthage, where he practised with high reputation, at the beginning of the third century, and where he seems to have realised a considerable property, the reward of his skill and diligence in his profession. We know not the year of his birth, nor of consequence his age at the time of his conversion; for though he had a contemporary biographer in Pontius his deacon, few of the incidents of his former life are recorded. We should only judge from the general habits of his life and of his mind, as displayed in his writings, and in the acts of his episcopate, that he was in the prime of life, or at any rate not far passed the middle age, when he was born again in holy baptism. We may add that some indirect evidence seems to show, that he was not incumbered with the care of a wife and family.

The providence of God which had marked out Cyprian for a high office in the Church, led him to an intimate acquaintance with Cæcilius, an aged presbyter in the church of Carthage: and this friendship was the means of his conversion, which took place early in the year 246. He has himself recorded, in his epistle to Donatus, some of the struggles which it cost him to leave the world, and to embrace the life of a Christian, cut off, as it then was, from the secular employments and honours of the state, and from the pomp and revelries of a too luxurious wealth. We shall not be surprised to find, that some of the temptations which assailed the young convert were directed against his pride of reason. Like Nicodemus, he could not receive the mystery of a spiritual regeneration. "While," says he, "I was lying in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and while I was tossed uncertain upon the waves of this tempestuous world, ignorant of what was my real life, and an alien from truth and light, I thought the method of salvation which was proposed to me

strange and impossible. I could not believe that man should be born again; and being animated with a new life, put off in the laver of regeneration, what he had before been: and though remaining the same in his whole natural and animal frame, become changed in his mind and affections." The favour of God, however, which had directed Cyprian to the good Cæcilius, did not desert him in these difficulties; and coming at last with faith and repentance to the Sacrament of Baptism, Cyprian received that grace of regeneration, at which his natural reason had stumbled.

And as his own words best describe the difficulties of his conversion, so do they best set forth his experience of the spiritual effects of baptism. "So entirely," says he, in the same epistle, "was I immersed in the deadly atmosphere of my former life, so enveloped in the habits and commission of sin, that I despaired of ever freeing myself, and began to look upon these things, and to love them, as a part of myself. But when the sulliage of my past iniquities was washed away by the waters of baptism, the pure and serene light from above infused itself into my whole spirit: when my second birth of the Spirit had formed in me a new man, all at once what had been doubtful before, became certain, what had been shut was opened; into the darkness light shined; that was easy, which before was difficult, and that only difficult, which before was impossible: and now I knew, that that was earthly and mortal, which had formerly included me in the bondage of sin; but that the Holy Spirit of God had animated me with a new and better nature."

Moved by affection for his father in Christ, Cyprian took the name of Cæcilius at his baptism. His first work after he had been numbered among the faithful, was his epistle to Donatus on the Grace of God, from which we have already made extracts. To this soon was added a treatise on the vanity of idols, in which he laboured to destroy that superstition which he had formerly embraced

and defended. While thus employing his energies and talent in the service of the Church, Cyprian was called to the diaconate; and in the December of the year following his conversion, (247), having in the interim lost his friend Cæcilius, he was made a presbyter: a station which he adorned, as he had already done that of deacon, and as he was soon to do that of Bishop, with equal modesty and virtue.

At the death of Donatus, (248), the whole body of the Carthaginian laity, with the greater part of the clergy, demanded Cyprian for their Bishop; overlooking the youth of the Christian, in the singular merit of the man. The modesty of the young presbyter, however, would have given place to his seniors: and he actually withdrew, concealing himself for a while from the eager search of the people. But the providence of God had marked Cyprian as their Bishop; and when the people had for some time surrounded his house, besieging the door, and searching every passage and retirement in their officious zeal, he appeared at last, baffled in his concealment, before the assembled crowd. The people received him with transports of joy, proportioned to the earnestness of their hopes and expectations.

Immediately after his elevation to the episcopal throne, the attention of St. Cyprian was directed to the restoration of discipline, which had been much relaxed during the long peace which the Church had enjoyed. To this end he called in the advice of his clergy, without which his great example of wisdom and firmness, tempered with humility, undertook nothing of importance. To this time is to be referred his tract *de habitu virginum*, and several of his epistles. The first of these was occasioned by the breach of an ecclesiastical law, which forbade clergymen to be incumbered with executorships. One victim, an ecclesiastic at Turin, had nominated Fautinus, a presbyter, his executor. The Bishop, in his letter to the clergy and people at Turin, expresses his regret at this breach of discipline; cites the decision of a former synod, condemning the

practice, of which Victor had been guilty ; and states, in general terms, the principles on which the ecclesiastical canons on that head were founded. “ *No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please Him Who hath chosen him to be a soldier :* and if this rule should regulate the life of every Christian, much more of every ecclesiastic, that he may give himself the more entirely to the service of the altar : on the same principle proceeded the exemption of the Levites, under the Mosaical law, from the cares of this life : and all this was maturely considered by those who made the ecclesiastical rule which Victor has disregarded.” “ Wherefore” continues Cyprian, “ since Victor has dared, contrary to the law lately enacted in council, to nominate Fautinus his executor, no oblation ought to be made for his death, nor any prayer be offered in his name in the church : that so we may maintain the decree of the Bishops which was religiously made, and of necessity ; and that a warning may be given at the same time to the rest of the brethren, not to call off the priests and ministers of the altar and Church of God, by the distracting cares of this world.”

A player, who had left off the exercise of his profession, on embracing the faith of Christ, but still continued to teach it to others ; and a deacon who had insulted the offices and power of an aged bishop, named Rogatian, gave occasion to two other of Cyprian's epistles ; but the most painful delinquency against which he had now to exert his episcopal authority, forms the subject of his fourth epistle. The experience of the Church during two centuries of persecution had fully justified St. Paul's assertion, that for the present distress, celibacy was the better state. A single life was by this time looked on as a state of greater privilege and sanctity, and many of each sex had voluntarily embraced that condition, not binding themselves by any vow, but simply proposing to themselves a religious celibate. From this condition, those who were already married were of course excluded : but for these there was a greater refinement of asceticism

open, by a voluntary continence ; and to this some of them resorted. This discipline seems to have suggested to those who had already professed celibacy, the dangerous expedient of choosing one of the other sex, with whom they might form a kind of spiritual nuptials, still maintaining their chastity, though, in all things else, living as freely together as married persons.

That there were unworthy motives at the bottom of such a course, it would be difficult not to believe : it is however fair to suppose, that the delinquents were self-deceived. They had prevailed on themselves to believe, that they might test and strengthen their religious character, by preserving their celibate, in the midst of such temptations. The world, however, refused to view the matter in this light : and much scandal ensued. Pomponius, a brother bishop, wrote for St. Cyprian's advice, as to the manner in which he should treat those who had been guilty of this scandalous custom in his diocese. Cyprian declares at once, that the professed celibates with their *agadeta* had placed themselves within the snares of the devil ; and laments that many had already fallen a sacrifice to his wiles : he recommends, that those who had offended in this matter, without reference to the truth or falsehood of their assertions of purity, should undergo penance ; that they should then resume their state of professed celibacy, if they still thought it conducive to their Christian character ; but otherwise, that they should marry, since, as St. Paul says, *it is better to marry than to burn*. But if any refused to forego their scandalous custom, they were to be excommunicated, without hope of reconciliation.

This whole matter affords us a most useful general lesson, and an awful example of the deceitfulness of sin. It was under the pretence of a singular sanctity that the *συνείστατοι* voluntarily placed themselves in a position so full of scandal to the Church in general, and of danger to themselves ; and many of them doubtless, when they were on the verge of losing the very purity which they estima-

ted so highly, were priding themselves on the constancy with which they resisted temptation, and maintained their Christian life.

While St. Cyprian was thus engaged in the revival of discipline, which a lay person had relaxed, persecution, with its healing though painful influence was approaching. After various and rapid revolutions, Decius a heathen prince found himself invested with the imperial purple. He was himself a firm adherent to the superstitions of his forefathers, and he was perhaps alarmed at the number of Christians, who must be supposed to cling with some affection to the memory of Philip, whom he had dethroned and murdered. The reign of Decius commenced therefore with an edict against the Christians. The first step which was taken on the publication of this edict, was the appointing of a day on which all who were accused or suspected of being Christians should be required to renounce their faith, and sacrifice to the heathen gods. Meanwhile they were suffered to remain unmolested. There was sufficient leniency here towards the persons of the brethren, but a cruel policy against the faith of the Church ; for there was no more likely method than this to make apostates.

Many in express obedience to the precept of our blessed Lord Himself, Who taught His disciples, when persecuted in one city to flee to another, retired from Carthage, leaving their possessions as the price of their life ; St. Cyprian himself was among those who avoided persecution by an early retreat : not, however, before he had seen ample indications, that against him especially, as the Bishop of the Church, the fury of the heathens would be excited ; not before the circus and the amphitheatre had again and again echoed the voices of the people, calling out that he should be cast to the lions ; and not before (which is far the most important) he had become fully convinced by the best consideration, and, as he himself tells us, by a warning also from Heaven, that he should thus be fulfilling his duty to God and His Church more

perfectly. On this retreat Cæcilius Cyprian was proscribed by name, and his estate confiscated.

We know not the place or the companions of St. Cyprian's first retreat; he tells us, however, incidentally, that he had not retired from Carthage without leaving a great portion of his property for the benefit of the poor of his diocese; committing it, for that purpose, to the presbyter Rogatian. Meanwhile, if absent in body, he was yet in spirit present with his flock; sparing neither exertion, nor prayers, nor eucharistic commemorations, nor frequent directions, encouragements, and reproofs, to preserve them in the true faith of Christ, and within the bonds of apostolical order. He was careful, therefore, through the medium of Tertullus, of whom he speaks with much affection, to receive constant intelligence from Carthage; and he made up for his absence, as much as possible, by his frequent letters to the clergy, and to the people of his church. He exhorts them to a maintenance of discipline, and at the same time to as great prudence and meekness under the Church's affliction as was consistent with fidelity. He encourages those who were suffering under the severest pressure of persecution, and at the same time warns them not to be too much elated by their privilege; and he gives suitable exhortations, alike to those who may receive and those who may miss, the martyr's crown. Nor were his own people the only persons who demanded his attention. In Rome, Cyprian had been represented as a renegade, and the clergy of Rome had written letters to Carthage, in which they boast of their own constancy, and insinuate an unfavourable comparison at Cyprian's expense. At the same time Cyprian himself received an account of the martyrdom of Fabian, Bishop of Rome, so expressed as to convey to him a tacit reproof for his retreat. Cyprian congratulates the clergy of Rome on the glory of their confession, while he questions the authenticity of letters which cast undeserved opprobrium on a Christian Bishop.

In this persecution, which was the fiercest to which Christianity had yet been exposed ; and which found the Church less prepared than it had been at any previous time, to resist its spiritual enemies ; a proportionate number of the brethren, in all parts of the Roman empire, apostatized from the faith.

And now it was that, by the united effort of the sound part of the Church in all Christendom, the ecclesiastical regulations concerning the treatment of the lapsed, were reduced to the most perfect form that they ever assumed.

The discipline which had been previously established by the usage of the Church was as follows : Those who had denied the faith explicitly, or by offering sacrifice or incense, were at once excommunicated : no offerings were received from them, and no mention was made of them at the eucharistic commemorations ; nor were they received with the faithful into any ecclesiastical fellowship. They were not, however, utterly cast off, nor left to become hardened, by escaping observation and rebuke ; nor, if they came to a sense of their miserable condition, were they permitted to remain in despair of the favour of God, by being for ever shut out from the peace of the Church : but they were admitted, at the discretion of the Bishop, to a penance proportionate with their offence ; and were afterwards formally received into communion with the faithful, by episcopal imposition of hands.

Some again, by a subsequent confession, and even a martyr's death, recovered their place in the Church : martyrdom, especially as a second baptism, being accounted as purgation of sins, at least so far as the Church has cognizance of them, even as original sin is washed away in the laver of baptism, sufficiently sealed the reconciliation of the returning Christian. Those, also, who were penitent, and were seized with any mortal illness, were at once restored by the administration of the Holy Eucharist. Another medium of return to the peace of the Church, was the intercession of the martyrs. It was supposed,



that those blessed saints who were awaiting in the faith and hope of martyrs, an immediate crown of glory, and admission to the beatific vision, might especially prevail in their intercessions at the throne of grace ; and the privilege of those whose souls should soon cry from beneath the heavenly altar, against the persecutors, was thought to extend, in some degree, to a prevailing intercession for the persecuted.

But during this persecution, the salutary laws which should have restrained the exercise of the martyr's privilege, were in many instances disregarded : and hence arose miserable divisions in the Church, with all the heart-burnings and lasting evils of party spirit ; some proceeding even to actual violence, and others, taking occasion from this excitement and division to add fury to a previous faction, and strength to a subsequent schism. In a word, the question of the lapsed is more or less connected, henceforth, with almost every incident of importance in which we shall find St. Cyprian involved.

So soon as the end of April, that is, before the extremity of persecution had lasted a month, we find Cyprian lamenting the pride and presumption of some confessors ; and again, soon after, he rebukes some of the clergy for a spirit of insubordination, and contention. And in an epistle written in June to his clergy, he feelingly laments that the beauty and excellence of confession was so often tarnished by these vices ; and having recommended humility and obedience, he enters at once upon the great question which then awaited his decision, touching the reconciliation of those who had received a recommendation from the martyrs, without sufficient proof of penitence on the part of the lapsed ; without sufficient caution on the part of the martyrs ; and without a sufficient care, on the part of the clergy, to maintain due order and discipline. " I regret," says he, " to hear, that some of you, actuated by pride and impudence, employ yourselves in exciting discord . . . and that they cannot be governed by the deacons or the priests, but so demean themselves, that the illustrious

splendour of many and excellent confessors is tarnished by the disreputable manners of a few. Such persons ought to dread, lest they should be expelled from the society of the good, being condemned by their testimony and judgment. For he is the truly illustrious confessor, for whom the Church has not to blush afterwards, but in whom she still glories. As for that which my brother presbyters Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, have written to me, I have been able to answer nothing alone ; since I have determined, from the beginning of my episcopate, to do nothing by my private judgment without consulting you, and without the consent of the people. But when God shall permit my return, we will determine what ought to be done together, as our mutual dignity demands."

The good advice of St. Cyprian would have prevailed, if there had been really a desire of peace, and a disposition to obey in those to whom he wrote, but the martyrs were made the tools of an ambitious and factious party among the presbyters, who actually instigated them to an unworthy use of their license of recommendation, in favour of men to whom they knew that Cyprian could never conscientiously concede the privilege of communion: thus associating with themselves, in their opposition against their Bishop, a body of overweening martyrs and confessors, and a clamorous party of the lapsed; while they flattered the pride of the one, and excited the hopes and passions of the other.

Cyprian had now remained more than a year in his retreat. He lamented his forced absence from his people with deep and unceasing regret. He found consolation, however, in the hope that he should celebrate the approaching Easter among them. But the promised pleasure and privilege was denied to Cyprian and his flock, by the miserable secession and rebellion of certain of his own people, who so disturbed the peace of the Church, and excited so much passion and violence, that Cyprian compares the effects of their machinations to another

persecution : and now he declares it was inexpedient for him to return, lest the authors of schism, though professed Christians, should be excited to some sudden ebullition of violence, by the return of their own Bishop.

In the Church of Carthage, was a presbyter named Novatus. He was doubtless among those who opposed the election of Cyprian, and disturbed the beginning of his episcopate ; for a rancorous and persevering hostility to whatever was right, seems to have been habitual in him. We find him avowedly connected with Donatus, Fortunatus, and Gordius, in proposing a factious question to Cyprian, touching the lapsed. He was a lover of novelty, of insatiable avarice, proud and overbearing, of ill report among the Bishops of his province, and accused by common report of peculation in the temporal, and error in the spiritual deposit of the Church ; he was fawning and treacherous, a firebrand of contention, in the Church a destroying tempest, and a disturber of all peace.

About the end of the year 249 he had been cited to answer before Cyprian : and there is little doubt that he would have been convicted, and canonically deprived. But when the day for his trial was near at hand, the Decian persecution broke out with such fury, as to disturb all the arrangements of the Church, for its internal purity and peace : but he was not content with impunity : he must also have notoriety, influence, and revenge : and gathering about him a sufficient number of clergy and laity to make his party formidable, he separated from the Church ; and not only braved her censures, but even opposed to her body a conventicle of his own, and retorted her condemnations and warnings with insolent and rebellious threats.

His appropriate charge as a presbyter was over a congregation separate from that of the Mother Church, but in the diocese, and under the episcopal jurisdiction of Cyprian. At this Church Novatus collected around him five other presbyters, together with a large body of the

people ; and to assist him in his ministry, to this "secession" he procured the ordination of Felicissimus as his deacon, without the consent of Cyprian his Bishop, and even without his knowledge. This Felicissimus became afterwards his tool and most active partisan ; indeed he was a worthy associate of Novatus ; for he too had been a peculator, and was charged with repeated adulteries, and the most heartless debaucheries.

But Novatus was not unsupported by the clergy of the Church ; of the eight presbyters, of whom alone we have any mention as attached to the Church of Carthage, and who perhaps formed the whole of the Bishop's consistory, five, that is, the majority of the whole number, adhered to the party of Novatus, and to his deacon, surreptitiously obtained. These five were Fortunatus, Jovinus, Maximus, Donatus, and Gordianus, presbyters of long standing, and the same who had been the old oppugners of Cyprian's episcopate. Encouraged by so large and important an array of ecclesiastics, this party presumed so far, as to declare that they would refuse the communion to all who maintained the fellowship, or obeyed the mandates of Cyprian. This was in fact a sentence of excommunication against themselves, which was far better than their continuing members of the Church in name, while they were in fact enemies to the body of Christ ; and was even preferable, on the whole, to the sentence of excommunication proceeding in the first instance from the Church. "Let him," says Cyprian to his before-mentioned deputies, "abide by his own sentence, and hold himself as separated from our communion, his voluntary act being ratified by us." And, writing to his people, he says, "It seems nothing short of an interposition of divine providence, that these men have brought upon themselves, by their own act, without my will, or even knowledge, the punishment which was due to their crimes ; and that they who must otherwise have suffered the sentence of excommunication at our hands, and with your suffrage, have themselves left the pale of the Church."

Novatus, soon after this, went to Rome for a season, where Novatian, a man of like character with himself, was dividing the Church by his contest with Cornelius, just elected as the successor of Fabian to the episcopal throne of that city. Novatus threw himself into all the plans of Novatian, and continued to embroil Carthage still more, by means of this schism in another Church. Letters and messengers were sent from Rome to the different churches favourable to Novatian, and subversive of the authority of Cornelius. The bearers of Novatian's letters to Carthage, and of accusations against Cornelius, played their part most pertinaciously, even after they had been rejected by Cyprian and a synod of bishops. We learn from Eusebius that at Antioch some bishops leaned so much towards the Novatian cause, that a council was necessary to suppress his party; and the schism, which originated with him, was not entirely healed until the sixth century. At present, however, we find it struggling for a bare existence in Rome; where Novatian, his error, and his schism, were formally condemned; his party had been already treated with equal rigour in Africa; for Maximus, Longinus, and Machæus, his emissaries to that province, and the first of them, the Bishop whom he had endeavoured to obtrude upon the Church of Carthage, were expelled from that country. But he was only incited to greater exertions by these severities; for he still maintained himself as the centre of the schism at Rome, and laboured more and more to disturb the peace of the whole Church, sending bishops of his party, with other emissaries, into several cities. Of these, Evaristus, a Bishop, together with Nicostratus, a deacon and confessor, and Priscus and Dionysius, accompanied Novatus, his ever-active and ever-dangerous ally, to Africa, whence his party had been driven with ignominy.

Caldonius and Fortunatus were despatched from Carthage to Rome, to learn the true state of affairs, and in the interim Pompeius and Hephanus, two African prelates who chanced to be at Rome during the election of Cornelius,

arrived most opportunely, to give their testimony in his favour. The synod, who had sent Caldonius and Fortunatus, having separated till their return, Cyprian, though he threw all his influence into the right scale, avoided a public and formal recognition of Cornelius, till he might make it with the addition of the synodical judgment. This for a time occasioned some uneasiness to Cornelius, but the explanation of Cyprian dispelled it, and all was now harmony between them. It was on occasion of this great schism in the Roman Church, that Cyprian wrote his most important and most celebrated work, his tract on the unity of the Church: a work still of vast importance for its testimony, both against the exaggerated claims of the Bishop of Rome in after ages, and against the several sectaries, whoever they may be, who have divided, and continue to divide the Church, through pride and pertinacity in error.

Shortly after the healing of the schism in Rome, another, not unlike it in many of its features, though of less importance, occurred in Carthage. We need not relate the circumstances under which those who had already shown themselves ready to disturb the Church, and to oppose themselves to the authority of Cyprian, procured the consecration of one Fortunatus by five excommunicated bishops, and set him up as the rival of the true apostolic Bishop of Carthage. It is strange, however, that as the claims of Novatian had been the occasion indirectly of a momentary coolness between Cornelius and Cyprian, so now the like effect was occasioned by the pretensions of Fortunatus. Cornelius gave too ready an ear to the accusations against Cyprian, and to the allegations in favour of the leader of the schism. The letters, however, of Cyprian completely opened the eyes of his brother in the episcopate, and perfect peace and confidence were again restored. It is needless to add that the cause of Cyprian, which was indeed the cause of the Church, was triumphant at Rome and elsewhere; indeed he tells us that by the very fact of the ordination of Fortunatus, his faction was diminished almost to nothing; for this shameless act opened the eyes

of all who were hitherto deceived by the pretensions of that party.

The ordination of Maximus by the Novatian party at Carthage was still more obscure; and only gives us an opportunity of mentioning, that there were now three rival bishops in Carthage. The only account which Cyprian deigns to give of this latter pretender, is contained in the following passage of the letter so often lately quoted. "It is scarcely consistent with the majesty of the Catholic Church, to notice the impudent attempts of heretics and schismatics; I hear, however, that a party of the Novatians have lately sent as their bishop into these parts, one Maximus, whom I had already excommunicated." The best use to make of such accounts, is to collect from them the testimony even of heretics to the necessity of that discipline which the Catholic Church has ever maintained. It seems that in those days it was not thought possible to assume even the external figure of a Church, without the presence of a Bishop: and that too, a Bishop of that particular Church, where the schismatics assembled. It would have seemed monstrous then to have assumed the character of a Christian Church, without a Bishop; or of a Christian Church, in London for instance, under a Bishop of Olena. Some in these wiser days seem to think otherwise.

Another terrible persecution was now impending over the Church. Whenever any dreadful calamity befel the empire, the people and the magistrates sought to appease their gods by the slaughter of the Christians; and the plague having now broken out with fearful violence, the Christians were subjected to cruel persecutions. St. Cyprian was one of the first against whom the malice of an excited populace was directed, and he was called for to the lions at the beginning of the troubles that were breaking upon the Church. He was not, however, yet honoured with the crown of martyrdom; nor indeed, although he seems to have anticipated a different result, did this persecution under Gallus and Volusianus fall so heavily upon his

Church, as that of Decius had done. Then he was driven from his Church, now he remained to comfort, to advise, to encourage, those who suffered, or who feared to suffer. Nor did he neglect to plead the cause of the Christians. His epistle to Demetrian is a very fair specimen of the apologetic writings of the early Christians, and of course puts us in possession not only of the defence of the Christians, but also of the arguments which were used against them: on this account we may make some extracts from this epistle. "You say," says Cyprian, "that all the evils with which the world is now harassed, are to be attributed to us, and to our refusal to worship your gods." . . . . . "Know, however, that all these things have been predicted; and know also, that they happen not as you ignorantly assume, because we worship not your gods; but because God is not worshipped by you. For since He is the Lord and Ruler of the universe, and all things obey His will, and nothing ever happens but by His hand, or His permission, when such events occur as demonstrate His indignation, they occur not because of us who worship God, but because of your iniquities, who will not seek the Lord, nor fear Him; who will not desert your vain superstitions, and acknowledge the true religion; so that God, who is the same God over all, may by all be alone worshipped and supplicated." We cannot refrain from observing, with how good a grace the Christians, after they had acquired the superiority in temporal power, retorted upon the heathen their accusation, that they were the cause of evil in the world; since they had not been afraid to make the same accusation, while they were depressed and persecuted.

St. Cyprian proceeds to quote several passages from the Jewish Scriptures, in which the very same judgments are denounced against those who will persist in serving false gods, as the heathens then suffered, and imputed to the vengeance of the gods against the Christians. He applies these threatenings of the prophet to the present time. He tells Demetrian, that the purpose of those judgments in the divine counsel, was to call the heathen to repent-



ance ; yet he adds other prophecies, which intimate that the threatened judgments should fail in this purpose, and that in consequence of the obduracy of the heathen, they should still continue. The conclusion of Cyprian's argument from their fulfilment is as follows. "Lo ! scourges fall upon you from above, yet ye tremble not. If some such note of the Divine vengeance fell not upon men, encouraged by impunity, how much greater would be their boldness and impiety !"

After having at some length exposed the vices of the heathen, as calling for the vengeance of God, and amply justifying the infliction of all those calamities which were attributed to the wrath of Heaven against the Church, St. Cyprian proceeds to the mention of those cruelties with which the Christians were every where overwhelmed. "It is not enough that you yourselves serve not God ; but those who do serve Him you pursue with impious rage. Nor are you satisfied with depriving us of life by a quick and simple process ; you inflict the most cruel and lingering death, and are not content even with torturing us except by some new invention, and with the exercise of a savage ingenuity. How insatiable your cruelty ! How implacable your vengeance !

"Christianity either is or is not a crime. If it be a crime, why do you not at once execute him who confesses his guilt ? If it be not a crime, why do you persecute the innocent ? Again : allowing it to be a crime ; those who are implicated in it, but obstinately withhold a confession of their guilt, would be the proper objects of torture : but we confess, we proclaim our adherence to the Christian cause, and our contempt of your gods. Why then are we tortured, as if we concealed our guilt ? Why this attempt upon the infirmity of our bodies ; upon the weakness of what is but earthly in us ? Rather enter the lists with our minds ; try the strength of our reason ; see if you can subvert our faith with argument ; and if you must conquer, conquer by an appeal to reason."

To the Christians St. Cyprian writes in another strain. His exhortation to martyrdom is a noble display of the motives which should lead a Christian to rejoice in being made more like to Christ by suffering; and the same may be said of his epistle to the Thybaritans: "A more fierce and dreadful conflict," says he, "now awaits us, for which the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves with uncorrupt faith, and a manly virtue; drinking to this end, day by day, the Blood of Christ, that for Christ they may be enabled to shed their own blood. If we would manifest our willingness to be with Christ, we ought also so to walk as He walked; as St. Paul tells us; 'we are sons, and if sons then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, if we so suffer with Him as to be glorified with Him also.' And this we should now bear in mind, that none of us may have his desires fixed upon this world, now ready to perish; but that all may follow Christ, who Himself liveth for ever, and giveth life to those who are established in the faith of His Name."

After having quoted several warnings of our Lord and His Apostles of impending persecutions, with the accompanying promises and blessings, he proceeds, "In the midst of persecution, our Lord would have us exult and be glad; for then the crowns of faith are bestowed, then the soldiers of God are approved, then heaven is thrown open to the martyrs. Nor did we so enroll our names in the army of the saints, as to look for a peaceable service only, and to deprecate and refuse the battle: for our Lord Himself, our example in humility and patience and long-suffering, commenced our course in actual conflict; Himself beginning that warfare which He would have us to wage, and bearing for us in His own person, that which He would have us to bear after Him. Remember that He, to whom all judgment is committed, has declared, that those who confess Him here, He will confess them before His Father; and that He will deny those who deny Him. . . . And let none be discouraged, dearest brethren, at seeing the company of the faithful put to flight by

fear of persecution, and because he sees not the flock assembled in one place, nor hears the voice of the shepherd (Bishop). They cannot be collected together who are appointed not to kill, but to be killed. And whithersoever, in those days a single disciple shall be driven by necessity, being absent from the brethren in body, but present with them in spirit, let him not be cast into despondency by his flight, nor be driven to despair by the solitude of his retreat. He flies not alone, who hath Christ the companion of his flight. He is not alone, who beareth about with him every where the temple of God, and hath God ever within him."

Then having proposed to them the examples of Abel, of Abraham, of the Three Children, and of Daniel; having reminded them of the slaughter of the Innocents; but more especially having set before them the unparalleled sufferings of Jesus Christ; he warns them, that the times of antichrist are approaching: and adapting his exhortation to their necessities, he proceeds: "Men are trained and exercised for victory in the secular games; and they account it no slight accession to their glory, if they receive the prize before a crowded assembly, in the presence of the Emperor. Lo! our great, our illustrious content; glorious with the guerdon of a heavenly crown! lo, how God witnesses our struggle; and looking benignantly on those whom He condescends to call His children, Himself rejoices in our victory! How great the happiness in the sight of God to contend: to be crowned by the judgment of Christ! Let us arm, my beloved brethren, let us arm for the contest with a mind and a faith uncorrupted, and with devoted valour! Let those who have hitherto conquered resume their arms, lest they lose the glory which they have nobly won! Let those who have before fallen gird on their harness, that they may retrieve their former disgrace. Let honour incite the faithful; let remorse impel the fallen to the field."

In marked accordance with this last portion of his exhortation, was his own conduct in preparing his Church

for the coming persecution; for besides these general exhortations to martyrdom, and other such-like obvious measures, he tells Cornelius, in a synodical letter, that he had, with the concurrence of forty-one of his provincial Bishops, re-admitted the penitent lapsed to communion. "For we are warned," said he, "by divers signs, to arm for the battle, and to summon the whole army of Christ to His banners; and at such a time we thought it advisable to place arms in the hands of those who had before deserted their ranks, though not as incorrigible traitors or renegades: and as they had already been admitted to penance, so now to admit them to the peace of the Church. For now the communion of the brethren is as necessary to them in their perilous life, as it was heretofore at the hour of death; at which time it was always proposed to re-admit them into the Church. And how shall we expect those to pour out their blood for Christ, to whom we deny the cup of Christ's Blood in the Supper of the Lord?"

In this persecution died Cornelius, Bishop of Rome. He had been banished to Centursellæ, whither Cyprian addressed to him a congratulatory epistle; and there he died,—February 14th, 252.—After a few days Lucius was chosen in his place, and he too soon perished. This is connected with the history of St. Cyprian by an epistle of the latter, in which he congratulates him on his confession, and anticipates as a matter of joy, the still higher crown of martyrdom which probably awaited him.

The plague, which had excited the people to the persecution of the Church, outlasted the cruelties to which it had given rise;—a more fatal scourge than man could inflict, though, in one sense, a less terrible one, since it is better to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men: we shall only add that Cyprian wrote his tract, *De Mortalitate*, on this occasion, in which he applies himself to the encouragement of his people, and directs them in their duties, both towards their suffering fellow-creatures, and towards their Almighty Lord, Who was thus

calling them to repentance, and a nearer communion with heaven.

Another opportunity of exercising the charity of his people occurred also in the year 253, when certain Numidian Christians were made captives by the barbarians. Nearly £800 was transmitted on this occasion from the Church of Carthage to the distressed brethren of Numidia, accompanied with a letter from Cyprian, breathing the true spirit of Christian charity, and attesting the power of the doctrine of the communion of saints, over the hearts and conduct of the faithful.

To the spring of the same year we may refer a very interesting epistle of Cyprian to Cæcilius, the occasion of which was as follows:—At the time of which we are writing, a very frequent, perhaps a daily, participation in the eucharistic feast was the universal custom among Christians; but there were men, who were induced, from a fear that their religion would be betrayed by the smell of the wine, taken in the morning, to consecrate the cup only with water; and thus avoid an involuntary confession, and the consequent persecution.

St. Cyprian maintains, with arguments only too abundantly conclusive, that wine must at all hazards and at all events be mingled with the cup, and taken by the people, or that the communicants are deprived of the Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. We must refer the reader to the epistle itself for many passages which prove most convincingly that the doctrine of transubstantiation was no part of Cyprian's creed; and that he would most assuredly have resented the depriving the laity of the cup in the Eucharist, as an innovation of the Roman Church, equally presumptuous, tyrannical, and sacrilegious.

Valerius made it one of the earliest acts of his government, to confirm the security of the Christians. In the first dawn of a less troubled day, the chair of Lucius, at Rome, had been filled by the election and consecration of Stephen, on the 13th of May, (253,) after it had been vacant eight days. Cyprian took the earliest opportunity to con-

voke a provincial synod of the African Bishops. At this synod sixty-six bishops were assembled; and from their consistory an answer was returned to an epistle of one Fidus, in which two questions had been submitted to Cyprian.

Victor, a presbyter, had lapsed; and Therapius, Bishop of Bulla, had received him to communion, before he had fulfilled the appointed penitential course. Of this Fidus wrote to acquaint Cyprian; and he, with his associates at the synod, proceeded to reprimand Therapius, but determined that Victor should retain the privilege improperly, though with a Bishop's authority, extended to him. Here we have the important rule recognized, that the act of an ecclesiastical minister may be valid, though it be improper and irregular. For the judgment of the Bishops proceeded upon the principle, that the peace of the Church once given, in whatever manner, by a Bishop, ought not to be recalled.

The second question of Fidus related to the baptism of new-born infants. He had declared his opinion, that they ought not to be baptized within the second or third days from their birth; with a doubt whether they ought not to be kept unbaptized even till the eighth day: arguing for the first delay, that children at their birth were in such a sense unclean, as to present a repulsive appearance, and to make us naturally unwilling to impart to them the kiss of peace, which was in those days a part of the ceremonial of baptism: and grounding his preference for the still longer interval on the analogy of baptism with the Jewish rite of circumcision. The issue of this appeal to Cyprian is conclusive against the doctrine and practice of Anti-pædobaptists: it was simply, that baptism is to be denied to none, on account of their youth or age. As for the strange fancies of Fidus, St. Cyprian reminds him, that to the pure all things are pure; and that since God fashioned us even in the womb, the new-born babe coming more immediately from the hands of God, rather claims our more affectionate and reverential embrace. When Elisha raised the widow's son, he put his own mouth and each of his

limbs on the mouth and corresponding members of the child; a thing not to be understood literally, or, at least, not without a spiritual meaning; for the different dimensions of the man and of the child seem to forbid such a contact: herein then we are taught, that when once fashioned by the hand of God, all men are in a spiritual and divine sense equal. As for circumcision, the type was done away, when the antitype appeared; and Christ rising on the eighth day, procured for us a spiritual circumcision, into which we may be baptized at any time; and, in a word, if there be a difficulty in the admission of any to the laver of regeneration and the sacrament of remission, it should rather seem to affect those old and hardened offenders, who have added to their original corruption, many and long offences; and not infants, who are personally guiltless, and bear the sin and death only of the race from which they spring.

We must pass over the proceedings arising out of the attempt of certain Bishops (Fortunatianus, Basilides, Marthialis, and Marcianus) to return without due penance and reconciliation to the episcopal honour and functions which they had forfeited by apostacy during persecution, and pass on to the controversy concerning the baptism of heretics, which is perhaps the most important of all those in which Cyprian was engaged.

The question agitated was really one of vital importance. Whether or no those who had received baptism from the hands of a heretic, should be admitted into the Church by a second baptism: or rather, (for this is the more correct way of stating the question) whether the sprinkling by a heretic should be accounted any baptism at all; and therefore, whether one who had received such a sprinkling should be baptized. This question had been debated on several occasions, and had received several solutions in different provinces, but had never been determined with authority. In Asia, synods had been held at Synnada and Iconium, in which it had been determined, that heretical baptism was invalid. In Africa, Agrippinus,

of Carthage, had presided in a council, at which the same determination was adopted. In Rome, and in the dioceses in its provinces, the opinion seems always to have been, that they who came over from heresy, and had received baptism in their separation from the Church, should be received, nevertheless, without a second baptism. Meanwhile all agreed, if not in the particular rule or discipline, yet in the much more important matter, that the Bishop was the centre of authority in such matters to his own Church, or the synod of provincial Bishops to each province; and that they did right who followed the determination of their Bishop or the synod respectively, until the paramount authority of the universal Church should determine the question.

The region in which this difference first created dissension with Rome, was in Asia Minor. Perhaps some Asiatic Christians may have expressed their opinion upon the subject at Rome; and if they did this imprudently, still more if they did it intemperately, they were highly culpable. Perhaps some converted heretics, who had been received into the Church at Rome without baptism, may have been rejected on their return to Asia: or some who had been rejected in Asia may have been received at Rome; and in either case, the discipline of a particular Church, which every other Church ought to respect, was dishonoured. But, from whatever causes, Stephen became all at once highly indignant at the error, as he thought it, of the Asiatic Churches, and wrote to Asia concerning Helenus and Firmilian, and the rest of the Bishops of those parts, threatening to withdraw from their communion, because they repeated the baptism of heretics.

While affairs were in this posture between Asia and Rome, a question was put to Cyprian by some Numidian bishops upon the very matter which was then embroiling the Eastern Church with Rome. But Cyprian's answer will put us in possession of his own judgment upon the disputed question, with that of the thirty-two bishops assembled with him in council.



He declares it then to be an undoubted truth that “no one can be baptized out of the Church, since there is but one baptism appointed, and that in the holy Church; and since it is written, They have left me, the fountain of living water, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns, which can hold no water. And again, another Scripture speaks in a voice of warning; Abstain from strange water, and of a fountain of strange water drink not. The water, therefore, should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may avail by its use in baptism to wash away the sins of him who is immersed in it. But how can he cleanse and sanctify the water who is himself unclean, and upon whom the Holy Ghost is not; for the Lord saith, Whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean?”

“Besides, the very interrogation which is made at baptism is a witness of the truth. For when we say, ‘Dost thou believe in eternal life, and in the remission of sins by the Holy Church?’ we mean that remission of sins is not given except in the Church; but that among the heretics, where the Church is not, sins cannot be remitted.

“Moreover, he who is baptized must also be anointed, that when he has received the chrism, that is, the unction, he may be indeed the anointed of God, and have in him the grace of Christ. Now, there is an Eucharistic oblation of oil, from the matter of which the baptized are anointed, after the oil has been consecrated on the altar; but *he* cannot have consecrated the creature of oil, who had neither an altar nor a church. Whence, again, there can be no spiritual unction among heretics, since it is quite clear that oil cannot be consecrated and made an Eucharistic oblation by them. And we ought to bear in mind the Scripture, Let not the oil of a sinner anoint mine head. And this warning the Holy Spirit gave beforehand in the Psalms, lest any leaving his proper course, and wandering from the path of truth, should be anointed by heretics, and the enemies of Christ.

“And, yet again, what sort of prayer can the sacrilegious and sinful priest offer for the baptized, since it is said, God heareth not a sinner ; but if any worshippeth Him, and doeth His will, him He heareth ?

“But who can give that which he hath not ? or how can he, who has himself lost the Holy Spirit, minister spiritual gifts ?

“Finally, to consent to the validity of the baptism of heretics and schismatics is in effect to approve of it. For in this case, either all or none is validly performed. If the heretic could baptize, he could also give the Holy Ghost. But if he who is without the Church cannot give the Holy Ghost, because he is himself without the Holy Ghost, neither can he baptize the convert : for there is one baptism, and one Holy Spirit, and one Church, founded by the Lord Christ upon Peter, [or upon a rock.] so that in its very foundation it may bear the mark of unity. Hence it follows, that since among them every thing is false and empty, nothing of their doing in such matters ought to be acknowledged by us.”

The same question is discussed in one or two other epistles about this time ; and now it had become evident that the Bishop of Rome was proceeding to violent counsels, and Cyprian was the more anxious to obtain the highest authority in vindication of the truth. He assembled, therefore, a second synod of seventy-two bishops. The decision of this synod was the same as that of the preceding, and Cyprian lays it before Stephen, as the synodical determination of the province over which he presided.

Another opponent to the rule of Cyprian and his provincials occurs in the person of one Jubaianus. As he proposes some new arguments, we will give the substance of Cyprian's answer. Some, it seems, argued, that since Novatian affected to baptize those who deserted to him from the Church, therefore the Church ought to receive heretics without baptism, lest Catholics should seem so far to symbolize with Novatian, and to have borrowed his custom.

In answer to this notable argument, St. Cyprian ob-

serves that it would be as reasonable to put off the proper conduct of humanity, because in some things apes have imitated men ; as for the Church to desert her customs, because they had been aped by Novatian. And he argues, *ad hominem*, (and the argument is of very general application, and well worth repeating,) “ Is it really to be held a sufficient reason for not doing this, that Novatian has done it ? What then ? Since Novatian usurps the honour of an episcopate, are we to renounce our episcopacy ? Or, because Novatian endeavours to erect an altar, and against all right to offer sacrifice, are we to desert our altar, and to relinquish our sacrifice ? ”

An argument more worthy of Cyprian's attention occurs next : one, indeed, which hinged on the very principle on which the Church Catholic afterwards determined the present question. I find, says Cyprian, in the letter which you transmitted to me, a notion, that we ought not to enquire who was the minister of baptism in any particular case ; since the baptized may receive remission of sins, according to that which he believed ; as that Marcionites, for instance, need not to be baptized, since they have received a semblance of baptism, in the name of Jesus Christ.

Let us take Cyprian's solution of this difficulty in his own words.

“ We ought therefore to examine the faith of those who believe, out of the Church, to determine whether it be such as that they can on account of it obtain any grace. For if there be but one faith common to us and to heretics, there may be one grace also. If the Patripassians, for instance, the Valentiniani, the Ophitæ, the Marcionites, and other pestilent sects, the very poison and dagger of the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Spirit, the same Church, that we confess, they may share with us in our baptism, since their faith also is one with ours. Let us examine the case of Marcion for instance. Now does Marcion hold the doctrine of the Trinity ? Does he ascribe creation to the

same Father with us? Does he recognize the same Son, Christ born of the Virgin Mary, Who is the word made flesh, Who bare our sins, Who by His death conquered death, Who was the first-fruits and the promise of the resurrection to us, in His flesh, so as to assure His disciples that they also should rise in the same flesh? Far different is the faith of Marcion, and of the rest of the heretics! How, therefore, can it be made to appear, that they who are baptized among them can receive remission of sins, and the grace of God, on account of their faith, when their very faith itself is a lie? For if, as some imagine, one who is without the Church, can receive any thing according to his faith; surely he must receive that which he believes: he then who believes a lie cannot receive the truth; but rather, according to his faith, he receives impurity and profanation.

“Again, if one could be baptized among heretics, he might also receive remission of sins: and with remission of sins, sanctification; and he is made the temple of God. But, I ask, of what God? Not of the Creator; for in Him he believes not. Not of Christ; for he denies that Christ is God. Not of the Holy Ghost; for since the Three are one God, how can the Holy Ghost be propitiated by him, who is the enemy either of the Father or of the Son?”

Such expressions were of course open to the imputation of bigotry, from those who could not understand, that the most energetic maintenance of the truth, the utmost hatred of error, is not inconsistent with true love, and personal forbearance. Against the pseudo-charity, therefore, or liberalism of some, he presents the following admirable exposition of a passage from the epistle to the Philippians, which had been claimed then, as it is continually now, as favouring such principles.

“As for the fancy of some, that the words of St. Paul, Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or truth, let Christ be preached, afford any sanction to the proceedings of heretics, we are convinced that they give no support either to heretics or to their abettors. For, in truth,

St. Paul was not speaking of heretics, or of any thing concerning them. The two classes of persons whose preaching he mentions, were both of the brethren ; though some were disorderly in their conduct, and regardless of the laws of the Church, while the rest preserved the truth of the Gospel with a due reverence and fear. Now while some of these constantly and boldly preached the word of the Lord, and some of envy and ill will ; while some maintained a sincere love for his person, but others were filled with hatred and malevolence ; he patiently endured all, since, whether in pretence or in truth, the name of Christ, which he also preached, came to the knowledge of many ; and the preaching of all, though perhaps some were novices and imperfectly taught, yet prevailed to the spread of truth. Now surely it is one thing for those who are within the Church to speak of Christ ; and another for those who are without the Church, and its enemies, to baptize in the name of Christ. Let not those then who would vindicate the proceedings of heretics, adduce the expressions of St. Paul concerning brethren : but let them point out some place in which he grants that any thing is to be conceded to heretics, in which he approves their faith and baptism, in which he has taught that they who are in schism, and are blasphemers, can obtain remission of their sins, without the pale of the Church." He then proceeds to note what St. Paul *does* say of heretics, and of the zeal with which we should oppose their errors ; and the fear with which we should renounce their fellowship.

The argument of expediency was also pressed against St. Cyprian's rule ; it was objected, that the necessity of being baptized would repel heretics from the Church, and that it would bring on the Church unnecessary odium. These objections St. Cyprian answers with characteristic courage and decision, plainly declaring, that in such cases the boldest way, that of the highest principle is the best. As for the heretics, if their baptism be admitted, it will tend to make them think, from the very testimony of the Church, that they in their separation are not cut off from

the privilege of true Christians ; but if they find that their baptism is disallowed, they will perhaps, be alarmed into a more serious view of their position, and make the greater haste to regain the privileges which they have lost. As for the dreaded odium of rebaptizing : if we dare not incur this, shall we not involve ourselves in a greater difficulty ? for if we grant a true baptism to heretics, we grant that not right and prescription, but mere and usurped possession, is the only title to this privilege : and thus one of the noblest parts of the appanage of the Church is not only seized by others, but yielded by ourselves. But how perilous it may be to surrender our rights in spiritual matters, we are divinely taught by the example of Esau ; who found no place for repentance, having sold his birth-right.

Stephen from the first interfered in the question with extreme arrogance, and with an intemperance which we are at a loss to reconcile with the charity of a Christian Bishop. Cyprian and the Church of Carthage laboured for peace, but in vain, and the last effort which the Africans made to retain peace with Rome, seems to have been after Stephen had so scandalously abused Cyprian, as to call him a false Christ, a false Apostle, a deceitful worker ; and after he had fulminated his excommunications against the whole Church of Carthage. Even after this the Africans sent messengers to Rome to bring things to a better state if possible ; but their message was rejected, and their envoys treated with disrespect and contumely.

Things being now in such a deplorable condition, Cyprian, seeking countenance in the consent of good and great men in the Church, communicated the whole affair to Firmilian, one of those Asiatic Bishops who were already in the same condemnation with himself, and for the same cause. Firmilian had been a pupil of Origen ; he was Bishop of Cesaræa, in Cappadocia, and was a prelate of great note in his day : and his long reply to Cyprian's communication amply sustains his character with posterity.

It is enough to add, that his judgment is wholly the same as that of Cyprian.

But the most important step which Cyprian took was the calling a council of eighty-five bishops, at which also the priests and deacons with much people were present, and at which, without a single dissentient voice, the judgment of Cyprian was affirmed. Thus the eighty-five bishops assembled at this council, with two others who voted therein by proxy, unanimously agreed, that heretics ought to be baptized on their conversion to the Church : and thus, by their synodical act, they deliberately chose the condemnation of Stephen and his Church, before a submission to that authority, when their consciences were opposed to its dictates. They were already, indeed, excommunicated by Stephen ; unless we rather hold with Firmilian, that Stephen, by his excommunication of the African churches, had cut himself off from the Church of Christ. But in thus voluntarily binding the burden of his anathema upon themselves, rather than bending beneath the weight of a new custom imposed by his Church, surely the African bishops in the council spoke volumes, as to their judgment of Rome as an infallible Church, and of her bishop as the centre of unity.

The external peace of the Church, which left opportunity for these internal discords, was disturbed, before they were well hushed. Valerian had been hitherto most friendly to the Christians, but now, at the instigation of his minister, Macrianus, he became a persecutor, and issued decrees to the several parts of his empire, for the suppression of Christianity.

In September, 257, the imperial edict reached Carthage, where Paternus was pro-consul ; and Cyprian, as the most prominent in character and office among the Christians, was the first to be summoned before the heathen tribunal. Of what passed on that occasion, we have a circumstantial record in the acts of St. Cyprian, bishop and martyr.

“ The most sacred Emperors, Valerianus and Gallienus, have honoured me with their commands,” said Paternus,

“to exact of those, who worship not the gods of Rome, a due recognition of the Roman rites. I would examine you therefore concerning your name and profession : what is your answer ?” I am a Christian”, said Cyprian, “and a Bishop. I know no other gods but that One only and true God, who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is. Him do we Christians serve : Him night and day do we supplicate for ourselves, for all men, and for the preservation of the Emperors themselves.” Paternus asked ; “Do you persist in this determination ?” Cyprian replied : “A good determination, taken up in the knowledge of God, is unchangeable.” “Are you ready, then,” said the pro-consul, “according to the edict of Valerian and Gallienus, to be exiled to the city of Curubis ?” “I am ready,” said Cyprian.

Then the pro-consul, having thus received the profession of Cyprian, and appointed the place of his banishment, endeavoured to extort from him the name of others who were obnoxious to the same sentence. “My commission extends,” said he, “not only to the bishops, but also to the presbyters of your party : I ask you, then, who are the presbyters in the city ?” The bishop replied, “your laws have well provided against the abuse of informers ; in obedience to them I refuse to betray my brethren : they may be found, however, in their own places.” “But I will know who they are now, and in this place,” said Paternus. Cyprian said, “It is equally contrary to the discipline of their order, and to the spirit of your laws, that they should expose themselves unforced : yet they may be found by you, if you do but seek them out.” Paternus said, “They shall be found out : for I have commanded that none shall hold assemblies any where, nor enter your cemeteries ; and if any venture to disobey this wholesome provision they shall suffer death.” Cyprian replied : “Obey the orders which you have received.”

Cyprian had been eleven months in his exile, and in the interval Galerius Maximus had succeeded Aspasius



Paternus in the proconsulate. The new proconsul recalled Cyprian, though not for any purposes of mercy; but rather, in all probability, that he might be more entirely within his power.

At length the glorious day of his martyrdom dawned, and he was conveyed to the residence of the proconsul, still accompanied by his affectionate children in the faith. When he arrived at the Prætorium, the proconsul had not yet taken his seat on the tribunal; he was permitted therefore to retire to a less public place, and there, hot and tired with his journey, he reclined on a seat which had been accidentally left covered with a linen cloth: so that in the very article of his passion, he was not without some insignia of his sacred function. One of the guard, who had formerly been a Christian, offered him a change of vestments, proposing to keep the garments of the martyr as a valuable relic; but Cyprian rejected the proffered luxury, observing on the folly of too solicitous a use of remedies for those evils, which can last but for a day.

At length Galerius Maximus assumed his place in the judgment-hall, and Cyprian being brought before him, he said, "Art thou Thascius Cyprian?" Cyprian answered, "I am." "Art thou he," said Maximus, "who hath borne the highest offices of their religion, among the Christians?" "Yes," answered the bishop. "The most sacred Emperors have commanded that you offer sacrifice," said the proconsul. "I will not offer sacrifice," replied Cyprian. "Be persuaded," said the proconsul, "for your own sake." Cyprian replied, "Do thou as thou hast received orders: for me, in so just a cause, no persuasion can move me." After these words he pronounced from his tablet, "Let Thascius Cyprian be beheaded."

"Thanks be to God!" said Cyprian: and the crowd of Christians who surrounded him exclaimed, "Let us die with him!"

The holy martyr was then led away, followed by a great concourse of people, to an open field near the place where

he had received his sentence ; and having put off the rest of his garments, and committed them to the deacons, he first prostrated himself in prayer to God, and then stood in his inner vestments, prepared for the fatal stroke. He tied the bandage over his eyes with his own hands ; and that he might owe that office to friends which he could not himself perform, Julian, a presbyter, and a sub-deacon of the same name, bound his hands. To the executioner he appropriated a gift of twenty-five pieces of gold : the Christians, whose avarice was not mercenary, sought no other memorials than handkerchiefs dyed with the blood of their bishop. The body was for a while exposed to the gaze of the heathen ; but having been removed by night, by the brethren, it was buried in the Mappalian way. Two churches afterwards marked the spots which had been consecrated by his death and by his burial.

Thus died Thascius Cæcilius Cyprian, with a courage too common in those days to excite our surprise, but of such intrinsic merit as to demand our admiration. He was the first Bishop of Carthage who had attained to the crown of martyrdom ; and he was truly worthy of this high distinction. Few men have more forcibly arrested the affections of their associates ; few have more powerfully influenced the opinions of others ; none have been more honoured by posterity. The wish which broke from the tumultuous assembly at his condemnation, to die with him, was uttered afterwards coolly and solemnly by his deacon Pontius : but his widowed Church rather lamented her own misfortune than his ; and soon learned to glory in his crown more than she lamented her own loss. His name was long a household word with the Church which he had governed, and even the heathen paid to his memory the tribute of respect.—*The Life, or rather Panegyric, of St. Cyprian by Pontius his Deacon. The Life of Cyprian in the Benedictine Edition of his Works, and in that of Bishops Pearson and Fell : and Poole's Life and Times of St. Cyprian.*

## CYRIL.

SAINT CYRIL, of Jerusalem, was born probably about the year 315, and though the place of his birth is unknown, he was certainly educated at Jerusalem. He was ordained deacon probably by Macarius, and priest by Maximus, Bishops of Jerusalem, the latter of whom he succeeded in 349 or 350. Shortly before this, in 347 or 348, before he was bishop, he delivered the Catechetical Lectures which have come down to us. The circumstances of his consecration were unfortunate, it being certain that Acacius of Cæsarea, was one of his consecrators, and Acacius was one of the leaders of Arianism in the East, who, in 347, had been deposed by the council of Sardica. It ought to be remembered, however, that the council of Sardica was at first as little acknowledged by the Orthodox as by the Arians, and Cyril was a moderate man, avoiding as much as possible party spirit; when, therefore, he was canonically consecrated by the Bishops of the province, and among them Acacius appeared, he did not object to him. But St. Cyril did not remain long on good terms with Acacius. Acacius, notwithstanding his deposition by the council of Sardica, continued to occupy the see of Cæsarea, and he soon entered into a controversy on the subject of his metropolitan rights with St. Cyril, who, possessing an apostolical see, alleged, that he was independent of his jurisdiction; the difference between them was augmented by the opposition of their opinions: for Acacius preached up Arianism, and St. Cyril followed the Catholic faith, maintaining the consubstantiality of the Son, and accusing the other of error in his faith. Acacius, who had a piercing wit, and was very active, was before-hand with St. Cyril, and cited him frequently; but St. Cyril, not acknowledging him as his superior, took care not to appear. During this time Acacius made use of the pretence of his not appearing to get him deposed in a council, for having refused for two successive years to answer the accusations

alleged against him: the chief heads of the accusation against St. Cyril were, that he had sold the treasures of the Church. True it is, that the territories of Jerusalem being afflicted with famine, the people chiefly applied to St. Cyril for relief; but as he had no money, he sold certain vessels and rich stuffs which were reserved for the service of the Church. It was alleged, that after this, a certain person met an actress dressed in a rich stuff which himself had given to the Church; upon which, he with great exactness informed himself where she had got it, and found that she had bought it of a shop-keeper who had bought it of the Bishop. These are the pretences which Acacius made use of to depose St. Cyril.

Not believing himself justly condemned, he appealed to a higher tribunal, and sent the appeal to those who had opposed him; the Emperor Constantius authorized this appeal, yet was it esteemed irregular, and St. Cyril accused for being the first that ever appealed from an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as if it had been a secular tribunal. Acacius not only deposed St. Cyril, but also drove him out of Jerusalem: Cyril went to Antioch, which he found without a Bishop, for Leontius was dead, and had not yet a successor. He therefore went to Tarsus, and lived with Sylvanus the Bishop. Acacius being informed of it, wrote to Sylvanus, and gave him an account of St. Cyril's being deposed; but notwithstanding this, Sylvanus did not hinder him from officiating in the Church, as well on account of the respect which he had for him, as in consideration of the people who received his instructions with a great deal of satisfaction.

Although, during his exile, he certainly associated occasionally with Semi-Arians, yet his orthodoxy is, from his works, unquestionable. In 359, two years after his deposition, he appealed with success against Acacius to the council of Seleucia, but the next year, through the influence of Acacius with the Emperor Constantius, he was again deposed, and banished from Palestine.

On the accession of Julian the Apostate, who desired to sow the seeds of confusion in all the Churches, the banished Bishops were permitted to return to their sees ; and in 365 Cyril returned to Jerusalem. And here he witnessed Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, and from the prophecies predicted its failure.

To rebuild the temple was thought by the apostate Emperor to be the surest method of refuting Christianity, and of proving our prophecies to be unworthy of credit. He encouraged the Jews, therefore, to set about the work. Never was any miracle more fully confirmed by evidence than this. Bishop Warburton has ably answered all that can be advanced by the sceptics, and even the sceptical Jortin is obliged to confess, "after all, it is an ugly circumstance, I wish we could get fairly rid of it." The ugliness of the circumstance being, that Archdeacon Jortin was determined not to believe, and yet could give no sound reason for his infidelity ; for, as Bishop Warburton remarks : "No *believer*, but must conclude that God would indeed interpose to vindicate the character of His Son : no *man*, but must confess that to support a religion like this, was an occasion worthy the interposition of the Lord of all things."

The account of the failure of this attempt to rebuild the temple, shall be given in the words of Arminianus Marcellinus, a heathen, and an admirer of Julian. "Julian committed the conduct of this affair to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been lieutenant in Britain. When, therefore, this Alypius had set himself to the vigorous execution of his charge, in which he had all the assistance that the governor of the province could afford him, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen, and the victorious element continuing in this manner, obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, Alypius thought best to give over the enterprise."

St. Cyril was again driven into banishment under the Arian Emperor Valens, and remained in exile from 367 to 378.

Valens was the last of the Arian Emperors, and with him the Arian party fell in the East. A union between all Christian Churches then took place, as they had been kept asunder rather by party prejudices than by principles, the differences having been fostered by the ambition of eloquent Arian preachers. In the second general council, held at Constantinople, in 381, to appease the troubles of the East, and to condemn the heresy of Macedonius, who blasphemously taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature, we find Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Meletius of Antioch, sitting with Cyril, and all of them united in sentiment. By this council he was restored to his see; and, as if to refute the calumny of his being an Arian, he is described as “the Reverend and religious Cyril, in many ways and places a withstander of the Arians.” He died about 386.

“I know of no writer,” says Dr. Waterland, “who has given a fuller, or clearer, or in the main, juster account of the holy Eucharist, than this the elder Cyril has done; though he has often been strangely misconstrued by contending parties. The true and ancient notions of the Eucharist came now to be digested into somewhat of a more regular and accurate form, and the manner of speaking of it became, as it were, fixed and settled upon rules of art. Cyril expresses himself thus, ‘receive we [the Eucharist] with all fulness of faith, as the Body and Blood of Christ: for, under the type [or symbol] of bread, you have His body given you, and under the type [symbol] of wine, you receive His Blood; that so partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, you may become flesh of His Flesh, and blood of His Blood. For, by this means, we carry Christ about us, in as much as His Body and Blood are distributed into our members: thus do we become, according to St. Peter, partakers of the Divine nature.’ The doctrine here taught is, that in the Eucharist we

receive (not literally, but symbolically) the natural Body and Blood of Christ; just as the priests of old, in eating the sacrifices, symbolically, but effectually, ate up the sins of the people, or as the faithful Israelites, in eating manna and drinking of the rock, effectually fed upon Christ. The symbolical Body and Blood are here supposed by our author to supply the place of the natural, and to be in construction and beneficial effect (not substantially) the same thing with it; and so he speaks of our becoming by that means one flesh and one blood with Christ, meaning it in as high a sense, as all the members of Christ are one body, or as man and wife are one flesh. We carry Christ about us, as we are mystically united to Him. His Body and Blood are considered as intermingled with ours, when the symbols of them really and strictly are so: for the benefit is completely the same; and God accepts of such symbolical union, making it, to all saving purposes and intents, as effectual, as any the most real could be. Cyril never thought of any presence of Christ's natural Body and Blood in the Sacrament, excepting in mystery and figure, (which he expresses by the word type) and in real benefits and privileges.

“ He goes on to observe, that our Lord once told the Jews (John vi. 54.) of eating His flesh, &c. And they not understanding that it was spoken spiritually, [but taking the thing literally.] were offended at it, as if He had been persuading them to devour His flesh. Hence it appears farther, that our author was no friend to the gross, literal construction. He proceeds as follows; ‘ Under the New Testament we have that heavenly bread, and a cup of salvation, sanctifying both body and soul; for as bread answers to body, so the logos suits with the soul.’ This thought may be compared with another of Clemens above, somewhat like, and somewhat different. But both agree in two main points, that the Eucharist sanctifies the worthy receiver both in body and soul, and that Christ is properly present in His divine nature. Wherefore Cyril

had the more reason for pressing his exhortation afterwards in high and lofty terms: 'consider them [the elements] not as mere bread and wine; for by our Lord's express declaration, they are the Body and Blood of Christ. And though your taste may suggest that to you, [viz. that they are mere bread and wine,] yet let your faith keep you firm. Judge not of the thing by your taste, but under a full persuasion of faith, be ye undoubtedly assured, that you are vouchsafed the Body and Blood of Christ.' This he said to draw off the minds of his audience from low and carnal apprehensions, that so they might view those mysteries with the eye of faith, and not merely with the eye of sense; might look through the outward sign to the inward thing signified, and regale their spiritual taste more than the sensual. This is what Cyril really meant: though some moderns, coming to read him either with transubstantiation or consubstantiation in their heads, have amused themselves with odd constructions of very innocent words.

"As to his exhorting his audience not to take the elements for mere bread and wine, it is just such another kind of address as he had before made to them, first in relation to the waters of Baptism, and next with regard to the Chrism. 'Look not to this laver, as to ordinary water, but (attend) to the grace conferred with the water.' Would any sensible man conclude from hence, that the water was transubstantiated, according to our author, into some other substance; Let us go on to what he says of the chrism. 'Have a care of suspecting that this is ordinary ointment, [or mere ointment;] for, like as the sacramental bread, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more bare bread, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy unguent is no more bare ointment, nor to be called common, after the invocation; but it is the grace of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, endowed with special energy by the presence of His Godhead; and it is symbolically spread over the forehead and other parts of the body. So



then the body is anointed with the visible unguent, but the soul is sanctioned by the enlivening Spirit.'

"I cite not this, as approving all that Cyril has here said of the chrism, (not standing upon Scripture authority,) but to give light to what he has said of the Eucharist, which he compares with the other, while he supposes the cases parallel. He conceived the elements in one case, and the unguent in the other, to be exhibitive symbols of spiritual graces, instrumentally conveying what they represent. The bread and wine, according to his doctrine, are symbolically the Body and Blood: and by symbolically he means the very same thing which I have otherwise expressed by saying, that they are the Body and Blood in just construction and beneficial effect. What Cyril feared with respect to Baptism, and the Eucharist, and the Unction, was, that many in low life (coming perhaps from the plough, the spade, or the pale) might be dull of apprehension, and look no higher than to what they saw, felt, or tasted. Upon the like suspicion was grounded the ancient solemn preface to the Communion Service, called *Sursum Corda* by the Latins: wherein the officiating minister admonished the communicants to lift up their hearts, and they made answer, We lift them up unto the Lord.

"To make the point we have been upon still plainer, let Cyril be heard again, as he expresses the thing in a succeeding lecture. 'You hear the Psalmist with divine melody inviting you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and saying, Taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Leave it not to the bodily palate to judge: no, but to faith clear of all doubting. For the tasters are not commanded to taste bread and wine, but the antitype [symbol] of the Body and Blood of Christ.' Here our author plainly owns the elements to be types, or symbols, (as he had done also before,) and therefore not the very things whereof they are symbols; not literally and strictly, but interpretatively, mystically, and to all saving purposes and

intents; which suffices. It is no marvel if Mr. Toutée and other Romanists interpret Cyril to quite another purpose : but one may justly wonder how the learned and impartial Dr. Grabe should construe Cyril in that gross sense, which he mentions under the name of augmentation. I presume, he read Cyril with an eye to modern controversy, and did not consider him as speaking to mechanics and day-labourers : or, he was not aware of the difference there is, between telling men what they are to believe, and what they ought to attend to, which was Cyril's chief aim. As to believing, he very well knew that every one would believe his senses, and take bread to be bread, and wine to be wine, as himself believed also : but he was afraid of their attending so entirely to the report of their senses, as to forget the reports of sacred Writ, which ought to be considered at the same time, and with closer attention than the other, as being of everlasting concernment. In short, he intended no lecture of faith against eyesight : but he endeavoured, as much as possible, to draw off their attention from the objects of sense to the object of faith, and from the signs to the things signified.

“It has been urged, as of moment, that Cyril compared the change made in the Eucharist to the miraculous change of water into wine wrought by our Lord in Cana of Galilee. It is true that he did so : but similitudes commonly are no arguments of any thing more than of some general resemblance. There was power from above in that case, and so is there in this : and it may be justly called a supernatural power ; not upon the elements to change their nature, but upon the communicants to add spiritual strength to their souls. The operation in the Eucharist is no natural work of any creature, but the supernatural grace of God's Holy Spirit. Therefore Cyril's thought was not much amiss, in resembling one supernatural operation to another, agreeing in the general thing, differing in specialities. In a large sense of the

word miracle, there are miracles of grace, as well as miracles of nature ; and the same Divine power operates in both, but in a different way, as the ends and objects are different."

*Socrates. Sozomen. Theodoret. Cave. Warburton. Waterland. Ammianus Marcellinus.*

## CYRIL.

This Father was raised up by the Providence of God to defend the faith of the Incarnation of His only Begotten Son, of which mystery he is styled the doctor, as St. Augustine is the doctor of the mystery of grace. He was brought up under Serapion, on Mount Nitria. He displayed great diligence in study, and is said to have known the New Testament by heart. After five years' abode on Mount Nitria, his uncle Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, summoned him to that town, and ordained him. He expounded and preached with great reputation. The works of Origen he held in abhorrence, and would neither read them himself nor have communication with those who did ; but he was well read in the works of the Fathers who preceded him. In the year 412 he succeeded his uncle in the see of Alexandria. His election, however, was not carried without difficulty, as many wished to elect the Archdeacon Timotheus. Abundantius, who commanded the forces, took part with the latter, and a tumult actually occurred : however, Cyril prevailed, and was enthroned three days after the death of Theophilus. The victory which he had gained over the opposite party, gave him more authority than Theophilus himself had enjoyed ; and from that time the bishops of Alexandria exceeded a little the limits of the spiritual power, and assumed some share in the temporal government. The first thing Cyril did was to shut up the churches of the Novatians, and to seize on all their treasures.

The early days of his episcopate were days of trouble ; and several circumstances occurred in which it is impossible to justify the conduct of Cyril. The impetuosity of his temper hurried him into some excesses. He was thus active in driving the Jews from Alexandria, under the following circumstances. One day, as Orestes, governor of the city, was making proclamations in the theatre, several Christians, who were attached to the bishop, drew near to hear the ordinances of the governor ; and among others, a certain man named Hierax, who was master of a grammar school, a zealous auditor of the bishop, and a most active man in exciting plaudits in his sermons. The Jews, always hostile to the Christians, and at that time particularly provoked on the subject of certain dancers, seeing Hierax in the theatre, immediately cried out that he only came to excite a tumult. Orestes had been long offended at the power of the bishops, which lessened that of the governors, and therefore believing that St. Cyril meant to control his ordinances, he caused Hierax to be seized, and scourged publicly in the theatre. When St. Cyril heard this, he sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with severe punishments, unless they gave over raising tumults against the Christians ; but this only exasperated the multitude the more. They resolved to attack the Christians by night, and having taken for a sign of recognition among themselves rings made of the bark of young palm-branches, they cried through the city that the church of Alexandria was on fire. The Christians repaired thither from all parts, and the Jews fell upon them, and killed a great number of them. On the next day the authors of this massacre were discovered, and St. Cyril went with a great body of people to the Jews' synagogues, and having taken possession of them, he expelled the Jews from the city, and delivered up their property to be plundered. Thus were the Jews expelled from Alexandria, where they lived ever since the time of Alexander the Great, its founder. Orestes took this proceeding very ill, and looked upon it as a great

misfortune, that such a city should lose at once so great a number of inhabitants. He made his report of the matter to the Emperor, to whom St. Cyril likewise wrote an account of the crimes of the Jews.

However, being solicited by the people, he sent to Orestes to propose a reconciliation, and conjured him to agree to it, even by the books of the Gospels ; but Orestes would not hear of it. Then the monks of Mount Nitria, who had zealously espoused the interest of the Bishop Theophilus against Dioscorus, and the Four Brothers, left their monasteries and came to Alexandria, to the number of five hundred. They kept watch for the governor Orestes as he was going abroad in his chariot ; and coming up to him, they called him pagan and idolater, with other injurious names. Orestes suspecting that Cyril had laid a snare for him, cried out that he was a Christian, and that he had been baptized by the Bishop Atticus at Constantinople : but the monks would not hear him, and one of them, whose name was Ammonius, struck him on the head with a stone, which covered him with blood. His officers, terrified at the shower of stones, dispersed ; but the people came to his assistance, and put the monks to flight. Ammonius was taken, and carried before the governor, who brought him to trial, and tortured him to death. St. Cyril took up his body and laid it in a church, changing his name into that of Thaumasius, or “ Admirable,” and would have had him acknowledged for a martyr, but the wisest among the Christians did not approve of this proceeding, for they saw that Ammonius had undergone the punishment of his rashness, and soon after St. Cyril himself suffered the affair to drop into silence and oblivion.

The people did not stop there. They pretended that an illustrious lady, named Hypatia, prevented the præfect Orestes from being reconciled to the bishop. She was daughter to the philosopher Theon, and so learned that she excelled all the philosophers of her time. She had succeeded to the Platonic school, and taught in public, so

that people came to her from all parts: and we have several letters from Synesius to her, in which he acknowledges himself her disciple. Her learning was attended with great modesty, which gained her much respect and influence with the magistrates. She used often to see Orestes, which gave occasion to the suspicion that she incensed him against St. Cyril. On this a set of violent men, headed by a reader named Peter, watched for her one day, as she was going home to her house, pulled her out of her carriage, and dragged her to the church called Cæsareum; they stripped off her clothes, killed her with the blows of broken pots, tore her to pieces, and burned her limbs at a place called Cinaro. "This action," says the historian Socrates, "brought great reproach upon Cyril, and on the Church of Alexandria; for such acts of violence are very far removed from Christianity." Then he adds, "This happened in the fourth year of the episcopate of Cyril, under the tenth consulate of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius, in the month of March, during the Fasts," that is, in the Lent of the year 415.

After this we hear little of St. Cyril until the commencement of the Nestorian controversy in 529. We may therefore presume that he was growing in that grace by which his natural impetuosity of character ripened into real Christian zeal. He shewed himself indeed during this time open to conviction; for, having inherited from his uncle, the late bishop, certain prejudices against St. Chrysostom, he listened to the persuasions of Isidore of Pelusium, and set down his name in the Ecclesiastical Register, thereby declaring that his deposition had been unjust. The churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, had, before this, taken the opposite side in this question. The Pope of Rome had no more authority in those days than any other patriarch; for, from the time of the deposition of St. Chrysostom until this year 419, the churches of Alexandria and of Rome, differing on this subject, were not in communion; the communion between the two

churches was now restored. From this it will be seen that communion with the see of Rome was not regarded by the Alexandrians, any more than now by Anglicans. as indispensable.

The origin of the Nestorian controversy was this : Nestorius, being appointed Bishop of Constantinople, brought with him from Antioch the priest Anastasius, his syn-cellus and confidant. He preaching one day in the church of Constantinople said, "Let no one call Mary mother of God ; for she was a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a human creature." These words gave great offence to many both of the clergy and laity : "for they had always been taught," says the historian Socrates, "to acknowledge Jesus Christ as God, and not to sever Him in any way from the Divinity." Nestorius, however, declared his assent to what the priest Anastasius had thus advanced, and several sermons which he delivered on the subject are still extant.

Immense excitement was occasioned, not only at Constantinople, but throughout the provinces of the east and west, especially when certain sermons were published by Nestorius, asserting the heresy more distinctly. These sermons were circulated among the monasteries of Egypt, and were discussed among the monks.

St. Cyril, apprehensive that the error might take root, wrote an encyclical letter to the monks of Egypt, wherein he says that they would have done better wholly to have refrained from questions of so great difficulty, and that what he writes to them is intended, not to keep up the dispute, but to arm them in defence of the truth. "I wonder," says he, "how a question can be raised as to whether the Holy Virgin should be called Mother of God ; for if our Lord Jesus Christ is God, how is not the Holy Virgin, His mother, Mother of God ? This is the faith we have been taught by the Apostles, although they did not make use of this expression ; it is the doctrine of our fathers, among the rest of Athanasius, of blessed memory,"

and he quotes two passages in support of his statement. He next proves that He Who was born of the Holy Virgin is God in His own nature, since the Nicene Creed says that the only begotten son of God, of the same substance with the Father, Himself came down from heaven, and was incarnate. He proceeds: "You will say, perhaps, Is the Virgin, then, mother of the Divinity? We answer, It is certain that the Word is eternal, and of the substance of the Father. Now in the order of nature, mothers, who have no part in the creation of the soul, are still called mothers of the whole man, and not of the body only;—for surely it would be a hypercritical refinement to say Elizabeth is mother of the body of John and not of his soul. In the same way, then, we express ourselves in regard to the birth of Emmanuel; since the Word having taken flesh upon Him, is called the Son of Man."

Nestorius was extremely irritated by this letter, and endeavoured to injure St. Cyril by suborning men to calumniate and accuse him to himself and the Emperor. St. Cyril wrote in vain to expostulate with Nestorius, whose violence against his opponents exceeded all bounds, and caused a petition to be presented to the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian to assemble a general council. St. Cyril, hearing of these things, wrote a second letter to Nestorius, in the year 430.

In this letter St. Cyril first observes that he is aware of the calumnies with which he has been aspersed, and that the authors of them are known to him; but unwilling to dwell on this ungrateful topic, he turns to Nestorius himself and exhorts him, as his brother, to reform his doctrine, and by giving in his adhesion to the doctrine of the Fathers, to put an end to the offence he had caused. He then enters upon an exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation, and says, "We must admit in the name of Christ two generations; first, the eternal, by which He proceeds from His Father; second, the tem-



poral, whereby He is born of His mother. When we say that He suffered, and rose again, we do not say that God the Word suffered in His own nature, for the Divinity is impassible; but because the body which was appropriated to Him suffered, we also say that He suffered Himself. So too we say that He died. The Divine Word is in His own nature immortal, He is life itself; but because His own true body suffered death, we say that He Himself died for us. In the same way, when His flesh is raised from the dead, we attribute resurrection to Him. We do not say that we adore the man along with the Word, lest the phrase *along with* should suggest the idea of their non-identity; but we adore Him as one and the same person, because the body assumed by the Word is in no degree external to or separated from the Word," And afterwards; "It is in this sense that the Fathers have ventured to call the Holy Virgin 'Mother of God;' not that the nature of the Word, or His Divinity, did receive beginning of His existence from the Holy Virgin, because in her was formed and animated with a reasonable soul that sacred Body to which the Word united Himself in hypostasis, which is the reason of its being said that He was born according to the flesh." In the course of this letter he frequently repeats the words (καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσις) 'union in hypostasis;' feeling the inadequacy of the Greek word πρόσωπον, which we ordinarily render 'person,' and which does not express the idea of unity with sufficient strength. The first time that we meet with the expression, 'hypostatical union,' is in this letter, by far the most celebrated of all that St. Cyril wrote to Nestorius.

It was probably about the same time and on the same occasion that St. Cyril wrote to those of his clergy who resided at Constantinople, commenting on the propositions of peace that were offered on the part of Nestorius. "I have read the memorial you sent me," he says, "and see from it that the priest Anastasius has been conversing with you and pretending he seeks for peace, and that

he said to you, 'Our belief agrees with what he has written to the monks;' and then proceeding to what he really had in view, he says of me, 'He has himself admitted that the Nicene council nowhere makes mention of the word *Theotocos*.' I wrote to say, that the council did well not to mention it, because this matter was not at that time a subject of controversy; but in effect, it does say that Mary is Mother of God; since it says that the same who was begotten of the Father, was incarnate, and suffered." Afterwards, speaking of a writing of Nestorius, he says, "He takes pains to prove that the body alone suffered, and not God the Word; as if in refutation of some who say that the impassible Word is passible. No one has ever said anything so absurd. His body having suffered, He is said to have suffered Himself; as we may say that the soul of man suffers when his body suffers, even when, in strictness, the soul is in its own nature free from suffering. But what they wish to insinuate is, that there are two Christs, and two sons, one properly man, the other properly God, and to make a union only of persons, (*Prosopon*); this is the object of their chicanery."

There are several other letters of St. Cyril, in which he expresses his readiness to defend himself in a general council, but declares that instead of accepting Nestorius as a judge, it was his intention to impeach him as a heretic. He wrote also to the royal family, and to the Bishop of Rome; addressing the latter as his equal and brother bishop, and seeking only from him that friendly advice which he sought from other bishops of the larger sees. Celestine, who was at that time Bishop of Rome, agreed with St. Cyril in opinion, and gave him full authority to refer to the Roman Church as agreeing with the orthodox Churches of the East. Very different was the treatment which St. Cyril received from another celebrated prelate, John of Antioch, who was the friend and ally of Nestorius.

St. Cyril in this same year, 430, assembled a council

at Alexandria, and in the name of the council wrote a synodical letter to Nestorius, calling upon him to declare in writing that he anathematized his impious tenets, and that he would believe and teach "what we all of us believe; and when I say *we*," he exclaimed, "I include all the bishops of the East and West, and all who guide the people. The holy council of Rome, and we, are all agreed that the letters which have been written to you by the Church of Alexandria are orthodox and free from error." The reader will here observe, that he mentions the Eastern before the Western church; and that he refers not to the authority of the see of Rome, but to the decisions of a council of that church, quoted simply to shew that the Western church agreeing with the churches of the East, there was universal consent as to the orthodoxy of the Alexandrian canons.

This letter concludes with twelve anathemas.

I. If any man confess not that Emmanuel is very God, and consequently the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, (since by her, according to the flesh, was conceived the Word of God Who became flesh,) let him be anathema.

II. If any man confess not that the Word Which proceeds from God the Father is united to the flesh hypostatically, and that with His flesh He makes but one only Christ, Who is both God and man, let him be anathema.

III. If any one, after confessing the union, divide the hypostases of the only Christ, joining them indeed together, but only by a connection of dignity, authority, or power, and not by a real union, let him be anathema.

IV. If any attribute to two persons, or to two hypostases, the things which the Apostles and Evangelists relate, as spoken concerning Christ by the saints or by Himself, and apply some to a man conceived of separately as external to the Divine Word, and others (such as he deems worthy of God) solely to the Word proceeding from the Father; let him be anathema.

V. If any dare to say that Christ is a man who bears God with Him, instead of saying that He is God indeed, as only Son, and Son by nature,—inasmuch as the Word was made flesh, and partook of flesh and blood, even as we ;—let him be anathema.

VI. If any dare to say that the Word proceeding from God the Father is the God or Lord of Jesus Christ, instead of confessing that the same is entirely both God and man,—since, according to the Scriptures, the Word was made flesh ;—let him be anathema.

VII. If any man say that Jesus as man was possessed by God the Word, and clothed with the glory of the only Son, as if He were not identical with Him ; let him be anathema.

VIII. If any dare to say that the man assumed by the Word ought, along with the Word, to be glorified and adored and called God, as if the one existed within the other, (for this is the notion suggested by the perpetual repetition of the phrase *along with*.) instead of honouring Emmanuel with one entire adoration, and rendering to Him one entire glorification,—forasmuch as the Word was made flesh ;—let him be anathema.

IX. If any say that our Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by the Holy Ghost, as having received from Him a power of acting against unclean spirits and working miracles upon men, which was alien from Himself, instead of saying that the Spirit by which he worked them belonged to Him essentially ; let him be anathema.

X. Holy Scripture says that Jesus Christ was made the High-Priest and Apostle of our faith, and that He offered Himself for us to God the Father as a sweet smelling sacrifice ; if any man therefore say that since the time when our High-Priest and Apostle was made flesh and man like us, He is not the Word of God but a man born of a woman, as if this man were a different person from the Word : or if any say that Christ offered the sacrifice for Himself, instead of saying, that it was solely for our

sakes, (for He Who knew no sin stood in no need of any sacrifice ;) let him be anathema.

XI. If any man confess not that the flesh of the Lord gives life, and belongs essentially to the Word Himself Who proceeds from the Father, and attribute it to another who is only joined to Him in respect of dignity, or by virtue of a divine indwelling, instead of saying that it gives life because it belongs essentially to the Word, Who has the power of quickening all things ; let him be anathema.

XII. If any man confess not that the Word of God suffered according to the flesh, was crucified according to the flesh, and was the first born among the dead,—forasmuch as He is life, and giveth life, as God ;—let him be anathema.

These are the twelve famous anathemas of St. Cyril against all the heretical propositions advanced by Nestorius.

Before this letter reached Constantinople, the Emperor (not the pope) had convened a general council. At the same time John of Antioch, a personal friend of Nestorius, who had nevertheless entreated him to use the word *Theotokos*, took offence at the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril, thinking that they savoured of Apollinarianism, and he employed Theodoret of Cyrus, and Andrew of Samosata to write against Cyril, who replied to both.

Immediately after the feast of Easter, St. Cyril set out for Ephesus, the place at which the council was directed to meet, accompanied by fifty bishops, nearly half of the episcopate of his province, the other bishops remaining behind to take care of the churches. At the same time Nestorius repaired to Ephesus, with a great number of troops and with some of the nobility. But John of Antioch with his bishops obliged the council, under various pretences, to wait for them for a considerable time.

St. Cyril, while the assembled prelates were waiting for John, preached, with his usual vehemence, and not always

with discretion or good judgment, against Nestorius. Acacius of Melitene preached on the same occasion and in the same strain, to whose sermon allusion is here made because he refers to "the cross which shines in front of the churches." It seems evident from the silence of all the writers of the three first centuries that crosses were not then erected in churches. Eusebius, who frequently describes the churches of Constantine, and others, never once alludes to it, though he often mentions crosses set up in other public places. From the fourth century downward, it became more common; partly, no doubt, in consequence of Constantine's victory over Maxentius, and the invention of the cross by Helena (A. D. 326). Sozomen speaks of the cross as laid on the altar in his day, and Evagrius speaks of silver crosses given by Chosroes to one of the churches in Constantinople to be fixed upon the altar.

John of Antioch sent to Cyril stating that if his arrival should be delayed, the council need not on that account be deferred, but should proceed with the necessary business: and fifteen days having now elapsed beyond the period fixed by the Emperor's letter for the assembling of the council, St. Cyril and the rest of the bishops resolved to hold the council on the 22d of June, 421, notwithstanding a protest from Nestorius and sixty-eight bishops of his party, who declared it to be incumbent upon them to wait for John of Antioch, who, though he held the catholic faith, was, as we have before observed, friendly to Nestorius; Nestorius had indeed come from Antioch, and sentence of condemnation could hardly be passed upon him without reflecting disgrace in some degree upon his instructors. Candidian, also, Count of the Domestics, interfered to prevent the opening of the council at the time proposed, and went so far as to publish a protest against their proceedings when assembled.

Nevertheless, on the day appointed, June 22, 431, the third general council, the council of Ephesus, was opened. St. Cyril presided in the right of the dignity of his see.

There was, indeed, no one present to question his right ; the patriarch of Antioch had not yet arrived, the patriarch of Rome was not present, and the patriarch of Constantinople was the party arraigned. According to Balsamon, Cyril, as "Pope of Alexandria," wore on this occasion a golden diadem, such as Constantine had assigned to the "Pope of Rome." Upon the episcopal throne of the presiding bishop, which was in the centre of the apse, was placed the New Testament to denote Christ's presence among them : the other bishops were ranged in thrones along the apse on each side of the president.

Nestorius, though summoned three times, refused to attend, and being surrounded by troops supplied to him by Candidian, he treated with contumely the bishops who were sent from the council to summon him. The council then proceeded to declare that the letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius was conformable to the Nicene doctrine and to the doctrine they had received from their fathers. The letter of Nestorius was read, the second which he wrote to St. Cyril ; and after several bishops had spoken declaring it to be contrary to the Nicene doctrine, and accusing Nestorius of introducing novelties, the other bishops all cried out together, "Whosoever does not anathematize Nestorius, let him be anathema. The orthodox faith anathematizes him, the holy council anathematizes him. Whoso communicates with Nestorius, let him be anathema. We all anathematize the letter and doctrines of Nestorius. We all anathematize the heretic Nestorius. Those who communicate with Nestorius we all anathematize. We anathematize the impious faith of Nestorius. All the earth anathematizes his impious religion. Whosoever does not anathematize him, let him be anathema."

Then, but not till then, the letter of Celestine, "Archbishop of Rome" was read, and as his sentiments accorded with those which had just been expressed by the council, it was, with another of St. Cyril's, entered upon the minutes, the name of Cyril appearing before that of Cele-

time. A letter was also entered upon the acts of the council from "another most revered metropolitan," Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, as it clearly asserted that the ancient opinions concerning the faith ought to be maintained, and the new to be rejected.

The depositions against Nestorius having been received and his works having been examined, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him in these terms : "Nestorius having, among other things, refused to obey our citation, and to receive the bishops who were sent on our part, we have been obliged to proceed to an examination of his impieties ; and having convicted him, as well by his letters as by his other writings, and by discourses which he lately held in this city, [duly attested,] of holding and teaching impious doctrines ; being reduced to this necessity by the canons, and by the letter of our most holy father and colleague Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church ; after having shed many tears, we are agreed upon this unhappy sentence. Our Lord Jesus Christ, Whom he hath blasphemed, has declared by this holy council that he is deprived of the episcopal dignity, and excluded from all ecclesiastical assemblies. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria ; I have subscribed to the judgment of the council. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, I have subscribed to the judgment of the council." All the other bishops present subscribed in the same way, to the number of one hundred and ninety-eight. Some called themselves bishops by the grace and mercy of God ; others, bishops of the Catholic Church of such and such a place. Some subscribed by the hand of a priest, one having his hand disabled, others being sick. Some bishops also subscribed who were not present till after the first session ; so that Nestorius was deposed by more than two hundred bishops, for some of them had a delegated authority as well as their own, since they represented others who were unable to get to Ephesus. This was the first session of the council, and it lasted from morning till night, although the days were then at



the longest, for it was the 22nd of June, and at Ephesus the sun does not set on that day till eleven minutes after seven o'clock. The people of the city waited from morning till night in expectation of their decision; and when they heard that Nestorius was deposed, they began with one voice to bless and applaud the council, and to praise God that the enemy of the faith was fallen. The bishops, on coming out of the church, were conducted to their hotels with torches, the women carried perfumes before them, the city was illuminated with lamps, and every thing expressed universal exultation.

On the next day, (June the twenty-third,) they acquainted Nestorius with his sentence of deposition, in these terms; "The holy council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God, and in pursuance of the decree of our most pious Emperors, to Nestorius the new Judas: know, that for thy impious doctrines, and disobedience to the canons, thou wast deposed by the holy council agreeably to the laws of the Church, and declared to be excluded from all ecclesiastical dignities, on the 22nd day of this present month of June." This sentence was fixed up in the public places, and published by criers. The council wrote on the same day to Eucharis, defender of the Church of Constantinople, to the priests, the stewards, and the rest of the clergy, acquainting them that Nestorius had been deposed on the previous day, and desiring them to take care of the goods of the church, as they would give an account of them to the future Bishop of Constantinople, "who will be ordained," says the letter, "according to the will of God, and the permission of our most pious Emperors."

In the meantime Candidian, the Imperial Commissioner, joined with Nestorius in sending a report to the Emperor misrepresenting the acts of the council, and annoyed the bishops by soldiers, preventing even the necessaries of life from being brought to them, and permitting the people whom Nestorius entertained, particu-

larly a large body of the peasants belonging to the church lands, to load them with insult.

When a fair copy had been made of the Acts of Nestorius's deposition, they were sent to the Emperor together with a synodical letter, giving a history of all that had passed, their reasons for not waiting for the eastern bishops, the contumacy of Nestorius, and so forth. The pope is spoken of in these terms: "We approved of what the most holy Bishop of Rome, Celestine, had done in having already condemned the heretical dogmas of Nestorius, and in anticipating us in passing sentence against him." It concluded thus: "We beg, therefore, of your majesty to command that Nestorius's doctrine be banished from all our holy churches; that his books, wherever they are found, be burnt; and if any one fail in due observance of these commands, that he incur your imperial displeasure." The council likewise wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, to acquaint them with the fact of Nestorius's deposition, as a piece of agreeable news.

On the fifth day after the sentence of deposition, June 27th, John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus. Deputies from the council waited upon him to shew him every mark of respect, but these, though bishops, he suffered to be maltreated by his soldiers; their very lives were in danger. The moment that he alighted from his chariot and got into his room, covered with dust and not waiting even to pull off his cloak, he commenced proceedings with Candidian against St. Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus, and the whole council. He afterwards, with the bishops who attended him, held a synod and pronounced sentence of deposition against Cyril and Memnon, excommunicating the bishops who adhered to them. This sentence, however, they did not venture to publish at Ephesus, but sent it to Constantinople with letters to the Emperor and royal family replete with calumnies against Cyril.

The Emperor who was all along prejudiced against Cyril, the world being always opposed to the truth, sent a rescript declaring the sentence of deposition against Nestorius to

be null and void, and directing the bishops not to leave Ephesus until he had sent some one to be associated with Candidian, who might ascertain the true character of the proceedings. This was on the 29th of June.

The council sent a respectful remonstrance to the Emperor. And their hands were strengthened by the arrival at Ephesus of three persons sent to represent the western churches by Celestine, Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome had already authorized "the Pope of Alexandria" to state the concurrence of the western church in the view taken by St. Cyril, and this was now done more officially. These persons arrived on the 10th of July. Celestine did not assume the airs of the modern papacy: his letter begins thus: "The assembly of priests is the visible display of the presence of the Holy Ghost; [He who cannot lie has said, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, I am in the midst of them;'] much more will He be present in so large a crowd of holy men;] for the council is indeed holy in a peculiar sense,—it claims veneration as the representative of that most noble synod of Apostles [which we read of.] Their Master, Whom they were commanded to preach, never forsakes them; it was He Who taught them, it was He Who instructed them what they should teach others; and He has assured the world, that in the person of His Apostles, they hear Him. This charge of teaching has descended equally upon all bishops. We are all engaged to it by an hereditary right; all we who, having come in their stead, preach the name of our Lord to all the countries of the world, according to what was said to them, 'Go ye and teach all nations.' You are to observe, my brethren, that the order we have received is a general order, and that He intended that we should all execute it. when He charged them with it as a duty, devolving equally upon all. We ought all to enter into the labours of those whom we have all succeeded in dignity."

Thus Celestine acknowledged that it was Christ Him-

self who established bishops, in the persons of the Apostles, as the teachers of His Church: he places himself in their rank, and declares that they ought all to concur for the preservation of the sacred deposit of apostolical doctrine. This is, in fact, the tendency of all the remainder of the letter.

The delegates of Celestine by having signed the decree in his name, made it the decree of the west as it had been already of the east, and so it became the decree of the whole Church. The council apprized the Emperor once more of their proceedings, and desired to be liberated from their labours. In their synodical letter they inform him that the bishops of the west, as they could not all assemble at Ephesus, had assembled in a synod of their own, Celestine, Bishop of Rome, presiding, when they arrived at the same decision with respect to the faith as the fathers of Ephesus had done, being equally desirous to avenge the injury done to Jesus Christ, and cutting off from the priesthood those who differed from them. His representatives on their arrival, they continue "have made known to us the opinion of the whole council of the west, and have also witnessed, in writing, that they perfectly agree with us in regard to the faith. We therefore inform your majesty of this, that you may be assured that the sentence we have now pronounced is the common judgment of the whole world. Thus, since the business for which we assembled is happily concluded, we beg your permission to depart; for some among us are oppressed with poverty, others with diseases, and others sunk under the weight of years, so that we are unable to endure the inconvenience of staying longer in a foreign country, to which some of the bishops and clergy have already fallen victims. The whole world is unanimous, except the interested few who prefer Nestorius's friendship to religion. It is but just, therefore, that some one should be appointed to fill up his place, and that we should be left in peace, to enjoy the confirmation of the faith, and offer up our sincere prayers on behalf of your majesty."

This letter was subscribed by St. Cyril and all the other bishops.

The council then having summoned John of Antioch, who refused to obey, declared his acts against Cyril and Memnon to be void, and pronounced sentence against him and his associates. The council adds: "They shall not be permitted to use the sacerdotal authority, to do good or ill to any one till such time as they recollect themselves, and confess their error: and they are to know, that unless they do this speedily, they draw upon themselves the extreme sentence [of the canons:] let them understand too, that their uncanonical proceedings against Cyril and Memnon are (as was yesterday declared) of no force whatever, and that all that has passed shall be reported to our most pious Emperors."

Juvenal of Jerusalem, the three deputies of Rome, and all the other bishops, subscribed to this sentence: and thus the fifth session ended.

The council wrote a letter to the Emperors, giving an account of their acts. It says, that thirty bishops of Nestorius's party, fearing the punishment due to their crimes, had had the audacity to assemble apart, and assume the title of council, being presided over by John of Antioch, who was himself afraid of being called to account for his delay. "They have pronounced," says the letter, "a sentence of deposition against Cyril the president of the council, and against Memnon; no canonical order being observed, no accusation, citation, or examination of evidence being made. Such temerity would have only met with our contempt, had they not gone so far as to report it to your majesty. We have now proceeded, in accordance with the canons, to receive the complaints of Cyril and Memnon. We have summoned John of Antioch three several times, but as his house was surrounded with soldiers and other people in arms, he would neither admit those who were sent by the council, nor deign to give them an answer. We have therefore annulled all the proceedings against Cyril

and Memnon, and excommunicated these rebels, till such time as they appear before the council to defend their acts.

“ We have thought it our duty to write thus much, that you might not misconceive what is in reality only a party of criminals to be a council. At the great council of Nice, some bishops separated themselves in a similar way from fear of being punished, but the great and holy Emperor Constantine, so far from taking them to be the council, punished them for their schism. In fact, what can be more absurd than for thirty bishops to oppose themselves to a council of two hundred and ten, with whom all the bishops of the West, and through them the bishops of the whole world, are consentient? Besides, of these thirty, some have been long ago deposed, some have embraced the errors of Celestius, and others are anathematized for maintaining those of Nestorius. Ordain, therefore, that the decree which the œcumenical council has passed against Nestorius’s impiety remain in full force, receiving from your approval still further sanction.”

The Emperor sent John, Count of the Largesses, or Grand Treasurer, to Ephesus, armed with a discretionary power of making such arrangements as the state of the case might demand.

Count John thought proper to consider Cyril and Memnon, as well as Nestorius, deposed, and placed Cyril, as well as the others, under arrest. The council, of course, remonstrated in a letter to the Emperor, praying him to confirm their decision with respect to the deposition of Nestorius, who had been convicted of heresy, and to restore Cyril and Memnon, who had only been condemned by an heretical assembly.

So great was the persecution to which the council was at this time exposed, that they could only send their letter to the Emperor, and communicate with their friends, through the instrumentality of a beggar, who concealed their letters in a cane. When the state of affairs at Ephe-

sus was known, especially the arrest of the presidents of the council, Cyril and Memnon, the excitement was so great, and public opinion in favour of orthodoxy so strong, that the Emperor thought it expedient to banish Nestorius to the monastery of St. Euprepus, where he had been educated in his youth; and at the same time he summoned deputations from the council, and from the party of John of Antioch, to meet him at Chalcedon. The result of the five conferences which the Emperor Theodosius held with these parties, is given in the following letter addressed by the Emperor to the fathers of the council of Ephesus: "As we have nothing so near our heart as the peace of the Churches, we have endeavoured to restore harmony between you, not only by means of our officers, but in our own person. But since it is impossible to effect a re-union, and since you have refused to hold any discussion on the controverted points, we have ordered that the bishops of the east return home to their churches, and that the council of Ephesus be dissolved. Moreover, St. Cyril shall go to Alexandria, and Memnon shall continue at Ephesus. We declare to you, however, that so long as we live, we cannot condemn the easterns, for in no respect have they been convicted of error before us, no one being willing to enter into debate with them. If, therefore, you sincerely aim at peace, acquaint us with such your intention; if not, think of retiring without delay. We are not responsible for this result; with whom the responsibility rests God knows." It is evident from this letter of the Emperor as well as from that of the schismatics, that the Catholic deputies had not been willing to dispute with them before the Emperor, as if the doctrine were in any degree doubtful, but contented themselves with defending the acts of the council, and shewing that the deposition of Nestorius was just and canonical, as that of Cyril and Memnon was untenable and unwarranted.

Such was the termination of the council of Ephesus. St. Cyril arrived in triumph at Alexandria, and was

received there with great rejoicings, on the 30th of October.

The attention of the Emperor and his government was now directed to effect a reconciliation between the two patriarchs, St. Cyril, and John of Antioch. The latter had a meeting with his friends whom he summoned to Antioch; and through Acacius of Berrhæa, proposed to St. Cyril that he should condemn all that he had written previous to the council of Ephesus. The answer of St. Cyril set forth that the easterns, when they proposed that he should condemn all that he had written previously to the council of Ephesus, demanded what was plainly impossible. "That the Nicene Creed is sufficient," he says, "I admit, but what I have written is only in opposition to the new errors of Nestorius; if I should now retract this, it would follow that he has been in the right, and that we were therefore wrong in condemning and deposing him. You see, then, that far from desiring peace they throw us back upon the original cause of division. Why did they not rather join with us on their arrival at Ephesus in condemning Nestorius? Suppose they did come a little too late, yet what hindered them from looking over the acts, and approving what had been decided by the rest? If peradventure we erred on some point, was it therefore necessary that they should disdain even to speak to us? We had suffered the blasphemies of Nestorius three years long, and during all this time used our endeavours (as you also did) to bring him back to the truth. At length the council, seeing that he persisted at Ephesus in the same course, and that he was past remedy obstinate and impenitent, deprived him of the priesthood. But the council at the same time confirmed the Nicene Creed; [for this was the very ground of their sentence against him, that he would not teach according to this creed, but sought to obliterate its doctrines by familiarizing men's ears with statements foreign to the teaching of the Church.] For my part, whatever outrages I have suffered, I am ready for the love of God, and from respect to the Emperor who



desires it, and for the good of the Church, to forget all and forgive all as to brethren. But it is also the will of God and of the Emperor to sanction the sentence passed upon Nestorius, and to anathematize his blasphemies. Nothing beyond this is required to restore peace among the Churches.

“As some inconsiderate men accuse me of holding the errors of Apollinarius, Arius, or Eunomius; I declare, that by the grace of our Saviour, I have been always orthodox; I anathematize Apollinarius, and all other heretics; I confess that the body of Jesus Christ is animated by a reasonable soul, and this without commixture: and that the Divine Word is in His own nature immutable, and impassible. But I affirm that one and the same Christ and Lord, the only begotten Son of God Himself suffered for us in the flesh, as saith St Peter. As to the twelve articles, they relate only to the dogmas of Nestorius, and when peace shall have been restored to the Churches, and we can write freely, and with brotherly confidence to each other, it will be easy to satisfy every body as to these articles; for our doctrine and conduct is approved by all the bishops throughout the Roman empire, and we ought to take care to maintain peace with them. I may add that the Tribune Aristolaus has so far soothed the minds of the clergy at Alexandria, and of all the Egyptian bishops, who were sorely grieved at what the easterns have done against me, that I find the way towards an accommodation very much smoothed.” Such was St. Cyril’s answer to Acacius of Berrhæa.

St. Cyril’s letter was variously received by the easterns. Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch were satisfied with it. They found it in no way contradictory to the Catholic doctrine; they thought that the two natures of Christ were acknowledged with sufficient distinctness; and they believed it their duty to receive the rest with a favourable construction.

But John of Antioch did not find all his partizans willing to acquiesce in his proposal, though he succeeded in

persuading all but Alexander of Hierapolis to agree that Paul, Bishop of Emesa, should be requested to go to Egypt, and to confer with Cyril, as affairs of such a nature are more easily discussed in the conversation than by writing. Paul of Emesa was obliged to wait some time after his arrival at Alexandria, as he found St. Cyril confined by a violent attack of sickness. St. Cyril afterwards had many long conversations with him on the subject of the proceedings against him at Ephesus; but willing to forget the past, and proceed to matters of greater importance, he asked him whether he brought any letter from John of Antioch. Paul delivered one to him, in which John said, "I had always previously maintained a special affection for you, and that even without having seen you, but those articles were the cause of our estrangement. I could not at first believe them to be yours, so widely discrepant were they from the doctrine of the Church. These you have already, in a great measure, corrected; and you have raised in us great hopes for the future by your letter to Acacius, which gladdened the hearts of all who love the peace of the Church. [We shall look forward to the fulfilment of the promise you made that] as soon as peace is restored, we shall come to a better understanding. What most rejoices us, is that you received favourably the letter of our common father, the blessed Athanasius, which is of itself sufficient to terminate all our differences." He then exhorts St. Cyril to join him in labouring for peace, that a stop might be put to the mutual anathematizing and persecution of the bishops, the division of the people, and the insulting scoffs of the Jews and pagans. In conclusion, he commends to him Paul of Emesa, desiring that he would speak to him with no less confidence than he would to himself.

St. Cyril was not satisfied with this letter of John of Antioch; the reproaches it contained were more adapted, he thought, to exasperate than to appease him; so that although it was a letter of communion, he would not receive it, and said, "What? Will they who ought to ask

pardon for the past, give us fresh offence? I rather expected some consolation." Paul of Emesa assured him on his oath, that they had not intended to give him any offence, but that John had thus written to him out of pure simplicity and zeal for the true doctrine. St. Cyril was willing to make use of a charitable dissimulation and to receive this excuse; but before he would suffer Paul to attend prayers in the church, he obliged him to give his declaration in writing that he renounced the schism. It was drawn up in the form of a letter to St. Cyril, though it addresses him as present. It states that in pursuance of the Emperor's order, John of Antioch, and Acacius of Berrhæa, had sent him to St. Cyril; that he had found him disposed to peace, and had received from him a writing, in which the Catholic faith was set down in all its purity; "This," he says, "was the point of greatest importance. And because it is necessary that what relates to Nestorius should also be settled, I declare that we receive the ordination of the most holy Bishop Maximian; that we look upon Nestorius, late Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; that we anathematize the impieties he has taught, and that we sincerely embrace your communion, according to the exposition which we have given you of our views respecting the Incarnation of the Word, which exposition you have received as embodying your own faith, and a copy of which is inserted in this paper. By this act of communion we put an end to the troubles which may have originated with either party, and restore the Churches to their former tranquillity." The exposition of faith is not found inserted in this declaration, but it must be the same with that which was afterwards inserted in the letter of John of Antioch.

Having made this declaration, Paul was admitted to the Church-prayers, and took his place as bishop in the great church of Alexandria, where he preached a sermon to the people, in the presence of St. Cyril, on Christmas-day, December the twenty-fifth (in the Egyptian calendar, the

twenty-ninth of Choiak) of the same year, 432. He began by proclaiming "peace on earth," with the angels; and then, entering upon the mystery which we commemorate on that day, he said plainly, "Mary, Mother of God, brought forth Emmanuel." The people, when they heard it, cried out, "Behold this is the faith: it is God's gift, O orthodox Cyril! this is what we wished to hear. He that speaks not thus, let him be anathema." Paul of Emesa proceeded; "Whosoever says not or thinks not thus, let him be anathema, and cut off from the Church:" then resuming the thread of his discourse, and proceeding to explain the mystery of the incarnation, he says; "Forasmuch as the concurrence of the two perfect natures, I mean the Divinity and the humanity, has formed the one only Son, the one only Christ, the one only Lord." At these words, the people again interrupted him with shouts of, "You are welcome, O orthodox bishop, worthy of Cyril, gift of God!" Paul concluded his sermon in a few words, expressly anathematizing those who spoke of two Sons, or said that Emmanuel was a mere man; and extolling the confession made by St. Peter, when he acknowledged one only Son of the living God. He then broke off, to allow St. Cyril to deliver the address usual in such cases.

Paul of Emesa, not having had time enough to explain himself fully on that day, preached a second time in the great church of Alexandria, eight days afterwards; that is, on the sixth of Tibi, or first of January, A. D. 433. In this sermon, which is longer than the former, he carefully unfolds the mystery of the incarnation in opposition to the errors of Nestorius and Apollinarius. The people twice interrupted him (as before) with applause and acclamation; and St. Cyril added a few words on the same subject.

It was Paul's wish that in making the declaration in writing as he had done, he should be considered to represent in his own person both John of Antioch and all

the eastern bishops ; and that nothing further therefore should be required of them. In this he was overruled by St. Cyril, who maintained that the declaration could serve only for himself, and peremptorily insisted that John of Antioch should likewise give his declaration in writing. St. Cyril remained inflexible also on the subject of the four deposed bishops, whose restoration Paul had at first stated to be indispensable. (They were Helladius of Tarsus, Euthérius of Tyana, Himerius of Nicomedia, and Dorotheus of Marcianopolis.) St. Cyril declared that he could never give his assent to any such act, nor were they eventually included in the peace.

St. Cyril and Paul of Emesa drew up in concert the declaration that John of Antioch was to sign. Two of St. Cyril's clergy were appointed to carry it, along with a letter of communion for him ; but he was not to receive the latter until he had signed the declaration. The two clerks accompanied the Tribune Aristolaus, who returned to Antioch murmuring at the tedious character of the negotiation. He promised St. Cyril on oath, that the purpose which the declaration was intended to serve, should not be frustrated ; " And if Bishop John," he added, " refuses to subscribe it, I will proceed immediately to Constantinople, and tell the Emperor that it is no fault of the Church of Alexandria if peace be not made, but of the Bishop of Antioch only." The declaration contained an approval of Nestorius's deposition, and a condemnation of his tenets.

John of Antioch at length submitted. He wrote a letter to St. Cyril, in which he says that for the good of the Church, and in obedience to the Emperor's orders, he has commissioned Paul of Emesa to conclude a peace, and to deliver in his name the exposition of faith which they had agreed upon, in these terms : " As to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and the mode of the incarnation, we are obliged to say what we think of them,—not as if we would add any thing whatsoever to the Nicene Creed, or pretend to explain mysteries which are ineffable, but to

stop the mouths of those who wish to attack us. We declare, then, that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only Son of God; perfect God and perfect man, composed of a reasonable soul and a body; in respect of His Godhead, 'begotten of the Father before all worlds,' and the same, according to the humanity, born in these latter days, for our salvation, of the Virgin Mary; in respect of His Godhead, consubstantial with the Father, and the same consubstantial with us, according to the humanity; for the two natures have been united: and therefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In consistence with the notion of this union without confusion, we confess that the holy Virgin is Mother of God, because God the Word was incarnate and made man, and, from the very act of conception, united to Himself the temple which He took from her. As to the expressions concerning our Lord in the Evangelists and Apostles, we know that divines apply some of them in common, as to one person, and others separately, as to two natures; teaching that such as are worthy of God relate to the Divinity of Christ, and those of a meaner kind to His humanity.

"Having received this confession of faith, we have agreed, in order to procure universal peace and remove all grounds of offence from the Church, to look upon Nestorius, late Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; and we anathematize the evil and profane novelties of words introduced by him; for our Churches preserve the sound and right faith no less than your holiness does. We also approve the ordination of the most holy Bishop Maximian to the Church of Constantinople, and we are in communion with all the bishops in the world, who hold and preach the pure and orthodox faith."

Peace having been thus made, St. Cyril declared the joyful news to his people, in a short sermon preached on the twenty-eighth of Pharmouthi in the first indiction, that is, April the twenty-third, A. D. 433. He then ordered the letter of John of Antioch to be read in the church, along with his own answer, which he sent by Paul of

Emesa. This, in addition to various expressions of joy and avowals of friendship, contained the declaration of John of Antioch, and some doctrinal explanations, which St. Cyril made in order to remove the scruples of the easterns. "I am accused," he says, "of affirming that Christ's sacred body was not taken from the Holy Virgin, but brought from heaven. How can they have brought themselves to imagine this, when almost the whole of our dispute turned on my maintaining that she is Mother of God? How could she be this, or whom could she have brought forth, if the body had come from heaven? But when we say that Christ came down from heaven, we follow St. Paul, who says, 'The first man was of the earth, earthy; the second Man was from heaven:' and our Saviour Himself says, 'No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He Who came down from heaven, even the Son of Man.' For although it be properly the Word Who came down from heaven, yet by virtue of the unity of person we may attribute the same to the man."

As to the other reproach that he admitted a commixture or confusion of the Word with the flesh, he says, "So far am I from holding any such opinion, that I believe a man must have lost his senses before he can suppose the Divine Word subject to even the least semblance of change. He ever abides what He is, incapable of alteration. We all acknowledge, too, that He is impassible, although He ascribes to Himself the sufferings incidental to the flesh, even as St. Peter so wisely said, 'Christ having suffered in the flesh,' not in His Divinity." He further declares, that he in all things follows the doctrine of the fathers, especially of St. Athanasius, and embraces the creed of Nicæa, not allowing a syllable of it to be altered, knowing that it was not the fathers who spake it, but the very Spirit of God, He concludes thus: "Having learnt that some have corrupted the letter of our father Athanasius to Epictetus, to the hurt of many souls, we deem it our duty to send you a copy of it taken from the manuscripts preserved in our archives."

The fact was, that Paul of Emesa, when conversing with St. Cyril on the faith, asked him very seriously, if he agreed with what St. Athanasius had written to Epictetus. "Have you the letter," answered St. Cyril, "in its genuine form?—for many things in it have been altered by the enemies of the truth:—if you have, then I entirely agree with it in every respect." "I have the letter," said Paul, "and I should be glad to ascertain fully, from the copies you possess, whether it has been falsified or not." The old copies were therefore put into his hand. After collating them with his own copy, he was satisfied that the latter was corrupt; and urged St. Cyril to get a transcript of the Alexandrine copies made and sent to Antioch, which was accordingly done.

Some of St. Cyril's friends feared that he had made concessions as to the faith, but he vindicated himself in a letter he wrote to Successus, Bishop of Diocæsarea, in Isauria. Successus had inquired of him whether it was proper to say there are two natures in Christ. He first of all lays it down in opposition to Nestorius, that Christ is one and the same, before and after His incarnation; he then adds, that this union proceeds from the concurrence of the two natures; that after this union we never divide them, but say with the fathers, 'the one incarnate nature of God the Word,' which he explains presently after, by saying, that there are two natures united, but that Christ is one. By way of example he mentions our human nature, each particular man being personally one, though compounded of soul and body, so different in their natures. He then replies to another question,—how Christ's body became Divine after His resurrection,—"not," he says, "by changing its nature, but by being freed from human infirmities." Successus having sent him some objections to this explanation, he replied in a second, still larger letter, the object of which is to prove that when he says 'one nature,' he does not admit of any confusion or mixture, since the Divine nature is immutable, and the human nature remains entire in Christ;



for it is not one nature simply, but one incarnate nature. He remarks that there are three sorts of expression employed by Scripture in reference to our Lord; some apply to the divine nature only, others to the human only, and others to both taken together. The object of these two letters, as well as of the preceding, was to justify St. Cyril on the subject of his re-union with the Easterns.

Although the edict against Nestorius was received by all the Bishops of the East, yet St. Cyril was informed that some of them pretended that they were under no obligation to do more than what was expressly contained in the Emperor's letter, and so condemned Nestorius only in words. He therefore wrote to Aristolaus, saying that if it was their object to produce a *bonâ fide* conformity, it would be necessary that the bishops, besides anathematizing Nestorius and his doctrine, should also declare that "there is but one only Jesus Christ, Son of God, the same begotten of God before all time and conceived by a woman in these last times according to the flesh; in such sort that He is one single person," as he further explains in his letter. He sent the same formula to John of Antioch, as necessary to provide against all chicane. "I have learnt," he says, "that there are some bishops in your parts of the world who, while they anathematize Nestorius and his tenets, constantly set themselves to support them on other grounds. They affirm that he was only condemned because he refused to admit that one expression, 'Mother of God.'" He complains in especial of Theodoret. "I did believe," he says to John of Antioch, "that having written to me, and received letters from me, he had sincerely embraced the peace; meanwhile, I am told by priest Daniel that he has neither anathematized the blasphemies of Nestorius, nor subscribed to his sentence." John of Antioch wrote to Proclus, informing him of the results of the second mission of Aristolaus, who probably conveyed his letter. "All the Bishops of the East," he writes, "and indeed those of all the rest of the world, have given in their verdict, and passed sentence upon the

error of Nestorius, and have consented to his deposition. We are all unanimous in thinking that nothing should be either added to, or taken away from, the Nicene Creed. We understand it in the same way as the holy bishops our predecessors; in the West, Damasus, Innocent, and Ambrose; in Greece and Illyricum, Methodius; in Africa, Cyprian; at Alexandria, Alexander, Athanasius, and Theophilus; at Constantinople, Nectarius, John, and Atticus; in Pontus, Basil and Gregory; in Asia, Amphilo- chius and Optimus; in the East, Eustathius, Meletius, and Flavian." Then, after inserting the Nicene Creed, he adds: "We send you this to satisfy those who yet require to be satisfied; as for us we said and did all that was necessary four years ago, on the return of the blessed Paul;" i. e. Paul of Emesa; whence, by the way, it appears that this letter was written in 437; "but I know not whence it comes that these vexations seem still to return upon us and all our churches. All the bishops of the sea-coast have consented and subscribed; they of the second Phœnicia, and both the Cicilias a year ago; the Arabians by Antiochus their metropolitan; Mesopotamia, Osroene, Euphratesia, and the second Syria, have approved all we have done; you have long since received the answer of the Isaurians, and all in the first Syria subscribed with us. The Tribune Aristolaus will inform you in what manner our clergy received this, and how they applauded your care. Henceforth, then, let all this tumult cease, that we may take breath after the evils we have suffered on account of the accursed Nestorius, and be at length able to make head against the pagans of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Arabia; the Jews, particularly those of Laodicea; and the insubordinate Nestorians of Cilicia."

The remainder of Cyril's life was passed in an honest endeavour to preserve the peace without compromising the truth.

He wrote with his usual power upon other subjects, although we have directed our attention to that great controversy with which his name is for ever associated. He

did not any more than any among his contemporaries, hold the Romish error of transubstantiation; and, in the Homily of the Mystical Supper he brings the true doctrine to bear against the Nestorians thus: "Let them tell us what body it is which is food to the flocks of the Church, and what the streams by which they are refreshed? If it is the body of a God, then is Christ truly God, and not a mere man. If it is the blood of a God, then is the Son of God not only God, but the Word incarnate. If it is the flesh of Christ which is meat, and His blood which is drink—that is, according to them, the flesh and blood of a mere man—how is it we teach that it avails to eternal life? Whence comes it that though distributed here and every where it suffers no dimunition? A mere body is not the source of life to those who receive it." And in his commentary on St. John he says; "by receiving the Eucharist our flesh is united to that of Christ, as two pieces of wax melted together, to the end that by this union we might become one with the Divine Person of Him Who took flesh, and that the Person of the Word might unite us to the Father, with Whom He is consubstantial;" so that by these three mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist, we are raised to an intimate union with God.

Cyril died in the year 444, having governed the Church of Alexandria thirty-two years. Of his numerous works, which have been often printed, either entire or in detached treatises, the best collection is that published at Paris, in Greek and Latin, 1638, 7 vols, folio, under the superintendence of John Aubert, canon of Laon. Spanheim's edition contains Cyprian's work against Julian.—*Cyril's Works. Fleury. Cave.* 11

CYRIL LUCAR.—*See Lucar.*

DAILLÉ, JOHN.

JOHN DAILLÉ was born at Chattelerant in 1594. He studied protestant theology at Saumur in 1612, and

was admitted into the family of Monsieur de Plessis Mornay, as tutor to his grandsons. He was appointed minister of a congregation in Saumur in the year 1625, and here he spent the rest of his life. In 1628 he wrote his work *D l'usage des Peres*, on the use of the fathers, which was not published, however, till 1631. In the last century, when, according to Bishop Warburton, "a sovereign contempt for the authority of the fathers, and no great reverence for any other, is what now-a-days constitutes a protestant in fashion," this work was in high esteem. It has now, in a better age, fallen into disrepute.

In 1633 Daillé published *An Apology for the Reformed Churches*, vindicating them from the charge of schism. Such a work by a person of Mr. Daillé's principles must have strengthened the cause of Romanism.

He took part in the controversy which raged among the foreign protestants concerning universal grace ; his opinion was decidedly declared in favour of that doctrine. After a long life chiefly engaged in controversy, he died at Paris in 1670.—*General Biog. Dict.* Warburton.

#### DAMASCENE, JOHN.

JOHN DAMASCENE was born at Damascus, when, in the eighth century, that place was under the power of the Mahometans. Born of a noble family, he was made by the Caliph, Governor of Damascus, and loaded with honours, but sensible of the spiritual dangers by which he was surrounded, he disposed of his estates and gave the money to the Church, retiring to the great Laura of St. Sebas, near Jerusalem. The discipline to which he was subjected by the superior of the Laura was very severe, and one would be inclined to say capricious. He felt that he had in Damascene to subdue a spirit prone to vanity and pride ; and he gave him the following short lessons : that he should never do his own will, but study in all things to die to himself in order to divest himself

of all inordinate self-love or attachment to creatures. Secondly, that he should frequently offer to God all his actions, difficulties and prayers. Thirdly, that he should take no pride in his learning or any other advantage, but ground himself in a sincere and thorough conviction that he had nothing of his own stock but ignorance and weakness. Fourthly, that he should renounce all vanity, should always mistrust himself and his own lights, and never desire visions, or the like extraordinary favours. Fifthly, that he should banish from his mind all thoughts of the world, nor ever disclose to strangers the instructions given him in the monastery; that he should keep strict silence, and remember that there may be harm even in saying good things without necessity. By the punctual observance of these rules, the fervent novice made great progress in an interior life and Christian perfection. His director, to promote his spiritual advancement, often put his virtue to severe trials. He once sent him to Damascus to sell some baskets, and having set an exorbitant price on them, forbade him to take less. The saint obeyed his director without the least demur, and appeared poor and ill clad in that great city, in which he had formerly lived in splendour. On being asked the price of his ware, he was abused and insulted for the unreasonableness of his demands. At length one that had been formerly his servant, out of compassion purchased his whole stock at the price he asked; and he returned to his superior victorious over vanity and pride. It happened that a certain monk being inconsolable for the death of his brother, Damascene, by way of comforting him, recited to him a Greek verse, importing, that all is vanity which time destroyeth. His director, for his greater security against the temptation of vanity, or ostentation on account of learning, called this a disobedience in speaking without necessity, and by way of chastisement turned him out of his cell. The humble saint wept bitterly to heal this wound of disobedience in his soul, as he confessed it to be; and without endeavouring to extenuate the fault,

though in itself so excusable, begged the monks to intercede for him to his director for pardon. This was at length obtained, but only on condition that with his own hands he should cleanse and carry away all the filth that lay about the monastery: which condition he, to whom humiliations were always welcome, most cheerfully complied with.

When he was considered sufficiently humbled, he was ordained priest, and became one of the first writers of the age. That age was disturbed by the Iconoclast controversy.

Leo the Third, Emperor of the East, commanded images to be removed out of the churches in 730, having been for some time opposed to the use of them. For this conduct he was condemned by the Popes of Rome. But he persevered, and was followed in the course he had adopted by his successor, Constantine Copronymus, who assembled the synod of Constantinople, in 754, to suppress the use of images.

In this controversy Damascene wrote in favour of the images, and was by the council condemned.

In the synod of Constantinople the bread of the Eucharist is called the image of Christ, being the true and sole image of Himself which He left by the sanctification of the substance of bread. On the other hand the fathers of the second Nicene Council, together with John Damascene, denied this position, and asserted that the bread was the proper Body of Christ, *not* by transubstantiation, but in some undefined and unknown manner. This doctrine of transubstantiation was not in fact developed till the middle of the next century, when Paschasius Radbert first reduced the fluctuating expressions concerning this great mystery to a regular theory of transubstantiation: a theory which was rejected by some of the first divines of the day.

Though the philosophy of Plato had been chiefly in vogue, Damascene adopted that of Aristotle; and thus he is regarded as the precursor in the East of that theological

system called the scholastic. On this principle he wrote his "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith;" which forms a Body of Divinity. He perceived that he could only hope to combat with success the learned Saracens by enlisting philosophy on the side of God. Of the schoolmen we ought to say, not so much that they philosophized Christianity, as that they baptized philosophy.

He chiefly continued to reside at the Laura of St. Sebas, in Palestine,—and was one of those holy men, who, though devoted to learning, would never permit his studies to encroach upon his hours of prayer and contemplation. "Without assiduous prayer," says Fenelon, "reasoning is a great dissipation of the mind; and learning often extinguishes the humble interior spirit of prayer, as wind does a candle."

He died, according to some, in 754; according to others, in 780. His numerous philosophical and theological works place him among the most distinguished writers of the Eastern Church in the eighth century. His principal work is an Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, or Christian Doctrines, in four books. This work attained great reputation in the Greek Church, and the author was styled Chrysorrhœas, or Golden-flowing, on account of his eloquence. He wrote also treatises against the Manichæans and Nestorians. His principal works have been published by Lequien, Opera J. Damasceni, Paris and Venice, 1748, 2 vols, folio.—*Dupin. Butler. Palmer on the Church. Spanheim. Guisler.*

## DANDINI, JEROME.

JEROME DANDINI was born at Cesena, in 1554. Becoming a Jesuit he taught philosophy at Paris, and divinity at Padua; he was rector of the colleges of Ferrara, Forlì, Bologna, Parma, and Milan; visitor in the provinces of Venice, Toulouse, and Guienne; and provincial in Poland

and in the Milanese. In the year 1596 Clement VIII. appointed him his nuncio to the Maronites, inhabiting Libanus and Antilibanus. An account of his travels was published at Cesena, entitled *Missione Apostolica al Patriarca è Maroniti del Monte Libano*; of which Simon published a French translation at Paris, in 1675. Dandini died in 1634. He was the author of *Commentaries on the Three Books of Aristotle de Anima*, Paris, 1611, folio; and of a treatise on morals, entitled *Ethica Sacra, hoc est de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Cesena, 1651, folio.—*Moreri*.

#### DANEAU, OR DANCEUS.

DANEAU was born in 1530, at Orleans. He was a law pupil of Aune du Bourg, who, in 1559, was strangled, or burnt at Paris, as a Huguenot. The persecution of a good man, and the constancy with which he suffered, had the usual effect on Daneau; he adopted the religious principles of his master, and retired, in 1560, to Geneva, where he became minister, and professor of theology; which office he afterwards sustained with much reputation at Leyden, whence he went to Ghent, and then to Bern. In 1594 he was invited to Castres, in Languedoc, where he died about two years after. He published *Commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark*; *Loci Communes*; *Harmonia, sive Tabulæ in Salomonis Proverbia et Ecclesiasten*; *Geographiæ Poeticæ*, Lib. IV.; *Vetustissimarum Mundi Antiquitatum*, Lib. IV.; *Elenchus Hereticorum*; *Methodus sacræ Scripturæ*: and *Aphorismi Politici et Militares*. *Primi Mundi antiquitatum Sectiones quatuor*, was published in English, by Thomas Twine, under the title of *The Wonderful Workmanship of the World*, 1578, 4to. His *Les Sorciers* was also published here in 1564, under the title, *A Dialogue of Witches*.—*Moreri*. *Biog. Universelle*.



DANTZ, OR DANS, JOHN ANDREW.

JOHN ANDREW DANTZ was born February 1, 1654, at Sandhusen, a village near Gotha. He became a celebrated theologian among the Lutherans. After studying Hebrew at Hamburgh, under Esdras Edzardi and other learned Jews, he went to Leipsic, and thence to Jena; where he was appointed professor of the oriental languages on the death of the learned Frischmuth. Some time after he was appointed professor of divinity. He died in 1727. He wrote, among many other works, *Sinceritas Sacræ Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti triumphans, cujus prodromus Sinceritas Scripturæ Vet. Test. prevalente Keri vacillans*, Jena, 1713, 4to; and *Divina Elohim inter coæquales de primo Homine condendo Deliberatio*, 1712: *Inauguratio Christi haud obscurior Mosaicâ, decem Dissert. asserta*, Jena, 1717, 4to; and *Davidas in Ammonitas devictos mitigata Crudelitas*, 1713.—*Moreri*.

DAUBENTON, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM DAUBENTON was born at Auxerre, in 1648, and after performing his noviciate he became a member of the society of Jesuits at Nancy, in 1683. He was at first distinguished as a preacher. The state of his health, however, obliging him to relinquish pulpit exercises, he was appointed to the rectory of the college of Strasburg. By Louis XIV. he was made confessor to his grandson, Philip V., King of Spain, whom he accompanied when he went to take possession of his throne, and over whom he appears to have exercised considerable influence. His intriguing spirit caused his dismissal; upon which he retired to France, in 1706, whence he was sent to Rome. In 1716 he was recalled to Madrid, and reinstated in his office of confessor to Philip V. Some years afterwards, when Philip had formed, but not divulged, his resolution to abdicate his crown, Daubenton conceived that measure to be so unfavourable to the interests of his native country,

that he opposed it with all his weight, and betrayed the secret to the Duke of Orleans, which terminated in his disgrace a second time. He died in 1723. His works consist chiefly of funeral sermons, and a *Life of St. Francis Regis*, Paris, 1716, 4to.—*Moreri*.

DAUBUZ, CHARLES.

Of this learned writer little is known. He was born about 1670, in France, and came to England on the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He is said to have become vicar of Brotherton, in Cheshire. He wrote, *Pro Testimonio Josephi de Jesu Christo, contra Tan. Fabrum et alios*, London, 1700, 8vo; and a *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 1712, folio. This was, in 1730, published by Peter Lancaster, vicar of Bowden, in Cheshire, under the title of *A Perpetual Commentary, &c.*, newly modelled, abridged, and rendered plain to the meanest capacities. Daubuz is supposed to have died in 1740.—*General Biog. Dict.*

DAVENANT, JOHN.

JOHN DAVENANT was born in 1576, in Watling street, London. His father was a merchant and a man of wealth. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, of which he became fellow in 1597. He took his degree of D.D. 1609, and the same year was elected lady Margaret's divinity professor, which he held till 1621, and in 1614 he was chosen master of his college. His learning recommended him to James I., who sent him with other eminent divines to the synod of Dort in 1618, (*See Life of Carlton and of Hall*,) and he was in 1621 raised to the see of Salisbury. He continued in favour to the end of the reign of King James; but in 1631 he incurred the

displeasure of Charles I., by maintaining the doctrines of predestination in a sermon he preached before his majesty at Whitehall. While he was at the synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of universal redemption, and was for a middle way between the two extremes; maintaining the certainty of the salvation of a certain portion of the elect, and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all that should believe and repent, but to all that heard the Gospel; that grace sufficient to convince and persuade the impenitent (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers; that the redemption of Christ and His merits were applicable to these; and consequently there was a possibility of their salvation. He died in 1641, having published,—1. *Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses*, folio. It is the substance of lectures read by Davenant as lady Margaret professor. 2. *Prælectiones de duobus in Theologia Controversiis Capitibus; de Judice Controversiarum*, primo; *de Justitia habituali et actuali*, altero, Cantab. 1631, folio. 3. *Determinationes Quæstionum quarundam Theologicarum*, &c., folio, 1634. 4. *Animadversions upon a Treatise lately published by S. Hoard, and entitled, God's Love to Mankind, manifested by disproving His absolute decree for their damnation*, Cambridge 1641, 8vo.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DAVENPORT, JOHN.

JOHN DAVENPORT was born at Coventry in 1597, and entered at Merton College in 1613. He became a violent Puritan. After being minister of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, London, he went to Amsterdam. At the breaking out of the Rebellion he returned to England, but soon after embarked for America, where he became minister of Newhaven. He died at Boston in 1669. He wrote a Catechism containing the chief Heads of the Christian Religion, and other theological tracts.

## DAVENPORT, CHRISTOPHER.

CHRISTOPHER DAVENPORT, brother of the preceding, as violent a Papist as his brother was a Puritan, the extremes meeting in this unfortunate family, was born at Coventry in 1598, and, like his brother, was entered at Merton College, Oxford. After remaining there two years he apostatized, and went to Douay, and in 1617 became a Franciscan. Under the name of Franciscus a Sancta Clara, he came as a missionary priest to England, and was one of the chaplains to Queen Henrietta Maria. There was a desire and attempt at that time, more charitable than judicious, to unite the Churches of England and Rome. Davenport was zealous in this cause, and was evidently desirous of making more concessions on the part of Rome than the rulers of his church were prepared to sanction: they, indeed, wished to concede nothing, but merely to receive concessions from the Church of England. His book, "*Deus, Natura, Gratia*," was highly valued by Charles I., as being full of complaisance to the protestant system of the Church of England, and as discovering an inclination of approaching nearer to them by concessions, where the Roman Catholic cause would permit it to be done. But the work was far from being liked at the Roman court, where it was considered as a very dangerous production, far too condescending to (so called) schismatics and heretics. The generality also of the English Roman Catholics were displeased with it. At Rome they proceeded to censure it, though the decree was not made public, the author himself being first summoned to make his appearance, which he declined on account of infirmity, promising to give satisfaction any other way.

This, indeed, was but a private concern, yet it had a public influence, as things then stood. It was the opinion of many that the King was inclined to hearken to terms of a union between the two churches; and that he looked on this book of Davenport as a remote disposition towards

it. It was, therefore, deemed an impolitic step in Rome to let their censure loose against it at this juncture. Father Philip (the Queen's Confessor) was very industrious in acquainting the Roman court with the inconveniences of rigorous proceedings. He advised them to go on slowly ; to wink at the author for a time, alleging that he had submitted himself, and that it would be soon enough to take notice of him when he persisted, or affairs would permit a censure. Soon after care was taken to inform Mr. Secretary Windebank that the condemnation was suppressed. But it happening that the author, or some one for him, set forth another edition, in which no submission was expressed ; Panzani (the Pope's agent in England) told the secretary, he was afraid the court of Rome would proceed to a censure, and declare the author contumacious, that the faithful might not be scandalized. The account gave Windebank great concern ; and being acquainted with the author, he conferred with him on the subject. They agreed in opinion, that a censure would irritate the King, and divert him from any thoughts of a union. However, to soften the matter, it was given out, and confidently reported, that Mr. Davenport was still prepared to submit himself, and that he had no hand in the second edition, it being the bookseller's contrivance solely for the sake of gain. Windebank also pressed Panzani to take care that they were very cautious at Rome, for that it would certainly ruin all their projects, if a work of that pacific tendency were condemned. But notwithstanding all the care which the author and his friends could take to stifle the censure, (which as yet was only privately whispered at Rome,) the Jesuits were very busy in publishing it among their acquaintance in England. Davenport then published an Apology, wherein he amply declares himself as to the work itself, and submits himself both in that, and all other matters, to the Roman see. He was not, however, willing to leave England ; but rather strove to shelter himself under the King's protection, which to some persons appeared to be a very

odd proceeding, and looked as if he designed to go on further.

He attempted, but in vain, to win Archbishop Laud to a favourable view of his cause. When the Archbishop was brought to trial before the rebels, in the seventh article of his impeachment it is said, that "the said Archbishop, for the advancement of popery and superstition within this realm, hath wittingly and willingly received, harboured, and relieved divers popish priests and Jesuits, namely, one called Sancta Clara, alias Davenport, a dangerous person and Franciscan friar, who hath written a popish and seditious book, entitled, 'Deus, Natura, Gratia,' &c., wherein the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, established by act of parliament, are much traduced and scandalized: that the said Archbishop had divers conferences with him, while he was writing the said book," &c. To which article the Archbishop made this answer: "I never saw that Franciscan friar, Sancta Clara, in my life, to the utmost of my memory, above four times or five at most. He was first brought to me by Dr. Lindsell: but I did fear, that he would never expound the articles so, that the Church of England might have cause to thank him for it. He never came to me after, till he was almost ready to print another book, to prove that episcopacy was authorized in the Church by Divine right; and this was after these unhappy stirs began. His desire was, to have this book printed here; but at his several addresses to me for this, I still gave him this answer: That I did not like the way which the Church of Rome went concerning episcopacy; that I would never consent that any such book from the pen of a Romanist should be printed here; that the Bishops of England are very well able to defend their own cause and calling, without any help from Rome, and would do so when they saw cause: and this is all the conference I ever had with him."

Davenport at this time absconded, and spent most of those years of trouble in obscurity, sometimes beyond the

seas, sometimes at London, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at Oxford. After the restoration of Charles II., when the marriage was celebrated between him and Catherine of Portugal, Sancta Clara became one of her chaplains; and was for the third time chosen provincial of his order for England, where he died May 31, 1680, and was buried in the church-yard belonging to the Savoy. It was his desire, many years before his death, to retire to Oxford to die, purposely that his bones might be laid in St. Ebb's church, to which the mansion of the Franciscans or Grey friars sometime joined, and in which several of the brethren were anciently interred, particularly those of his old friend John Day, a learned friar of his order, who was there buried in 1658.

He was the author of several works: 1. "*Paraphrastica expositio articulorum confessionis Anglicæ*:" this book was, we know not why, much censured by the Jesuits, who would fain have had it burnt; but being soon after licensed at Rome, all farther rumour about it stopped. 2. "*Deus, Natura, Gratia: sive, tractatus de prædestinatione, de meritis,*" &c.—*Wood. Dodd. Berington.*

## DAVID, SAINT.

SAINT DAVID was the son of Xantus, Prince of Ceretica, now Cardiganshire, and was born about the close of the fifth century, and on being ordained priest retired into the Isle of Wight, the garden of England. From the solitude of this lovely island he at length emerged, having embraced an ascetic life, and went into Wales, where he preached the Gospel to the Britons. He built a chapel at Glastonbury, and founded twelve monasteries, the principal of which was in the vale of Ross, near Menevia. Of this monastery frequent mention is made in the acts of the Irish saints. The rules he established for his monasteries were, as usual, rigid, but not so injudicious or

absurd as some of the early monastic statutes. One of his penances was manual labour in agriculture, and, for some time at least, there was no accumulation of worldly goods, for whoever was admitted as a member was enjoined to leave every thing of that kind behind him. When the synod of Brevy in Cardiganshire was held in the year 519 St. David was invited to it, and was one of the chief champions against Pelagianism. At the close of this synod Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon upon Usk, resigned his see to St. David, who translated it to Menevia, now called St. David's. Here he died about the year 544 in a very advanced age.

DAVIS, ROWLAND.

ROWLAND DAVIS was born near Cork, in 1649, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was accounted an eminent civilian. He was made Dean of Cork, and afterward vicar-general of the diocese. He wrote, *A Letter to a Friend concerning his changing his Religion*, London, 1694, 4to; and *The truly Catholic and Old Religion*, shewing that the Established Church in Ireland is more truly a member of the Catholic Church, than the church of Rome, and that all the ancient Christians, especially in Great Britain and Ireland, were of her communion; Dublin, 1716, 4to. This was answered the same year by Timothy O'Brien, D.D., of Toulouse, in a pamphlet printed at Cork, anonymously, to which Davis replied in *A Letter to the pretended Answer, &c.* O'Brien returned to the charge with *Goliath beheaded with his own Sword*, 4to; to which Davis replied in *Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled Goliath, &c.* He also published two occasional Sermons, *Christian Loyalty*, and a *Charity Sermon* preached at Dublin.—*Moreri. Ware.*



## DAWES, SIR WILLIAM.

SIR WILLIAM DAWES, of York, was born in 1671, at Lyons, (a seat belonging to his father, Sir John Dawes, Bart.) near Braintree, in Essex. He was placed at Merchant Taylors' School, in London, and distinguished himself, before he was fifteen years of age, by his proficiency in the classics, and his acquaintance with the Hebrew language. In 1687 he was elected a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, of which he became fellow. Soon after this, having succeeded to his father's title and estate, he left Oxford, and entered himself a nobleman in Catherine Hall, Cambridge. It had been his intention to devote himself to the clerical profession; and with the design to qualify himself for it, he had made the works of some of the most eminent English divines a considerable branch of his study, even before he was eighteen years of age. As soon as he had arrived at the proper age he was ordained; and before he had completed his twenty-fifth year he was created doctor in divinity by royal mandate, in order to be qualified for the mastership of Catherine Hall, to which he was elected in 1696. He succeeded Dr. John Echard; and finding the chapel of the college commenced by him, he contributed very liberally to its completion; and afterwards, through his interest with Queen Anne, obtained an act of parliament, by which a prebend of Norwich is permanently attached to the mastership of Catherine Hall. He was always distinguished for his munificence. Soon afterwards he was appointed Vice-chancellor of the University, and chaplain in ordinary to William III., who also presented him to a prebendary of Worcester. In 1698 he was collated by Archbishop Tenison to the rectory and deanery of Bocking, in Essex. After the accession of Queen Anne he was appointed one of her chaplains. In 1705 he would have been nominated to the bishopric of Lincoln, had he not

incurred the displeasure of certain persons in power, in consequence of some unpalatable observations in a sermon preached by him before the Queen, on the 30th of January, whence they were led to persuade her, contrary to her inclination, to give the vacant see to Dr. Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. This however made no impression upon Sir William, and therefore when he was told by a certain nobleman that he lost a bishopric by his preaching, his reply was, "That as to that he had no manner of concern, because his intention was never to gain one by preaching." In 1707, however, a vacancy taking place in the see of Chester, the Queen, of her own accord, appointed Sir William to that bishopric; whence, in 1714, he was translated to the archiepiscopal see of York. As a preacher he was the most popular of his day. He wrote a poem called *The Anatomy of Atheism*, 1693, 4to; *The Duties of the Closet*, &c.; *The Duties of Communicating explained and enforced*, &c.; *Sermons preached upon several occasions before King William and Queen Anne*, 1707, 8vo; *The Preface to the Works of Offspring Blackall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter*, 1723, folio. He died in 1724.—*Preface to his Works*.

#### DECKER, OR DECKHER, JOHN.

JOHN DECKER was born at Hazebruck, in Flanders, in 1559. He was a Jesuit, and became professor of theology at Douay and Louvain. He was sent on an embassy into Stiria, and was made Chancellor of Gratz University, where he died in 1619. He wrote *Velification*, sue *Theoremata de Anno Ortus ac Mortis Domini*, 4to.; *Tabula Chronographica a captâ per Pompeium Hierosolymâ ad deletam a Tito Urbem*, 4to, in which he displayed great erudition and an extensive knowledge of chronology.—*Moreri*.

## DELANY, PATRICK.

PATRICK DELANY was born in Ireland, in 1686. He received his education in Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained a fellowship, and the degree of doctor in divinity. He was very intimate with Swift, by whose interest he procured the chancellorship of Christ-church, and a prebend in the cathedral of St. Patrick. In 1744, he was made Dean of Down. He died at Bath in 1768. He was twice married. His second wife was distinguished as an artist, and honoured by the friendship of George the Third. The Dean published—1. *Revelation examined with Candour*, 3 vols, 8vo. 2. *Reflections on Polygamy*, 8vo. 3. *The Life of David*, 3 vols, 8vo. 4. *Sermons on the Relative Duties*, 8vo. 5. *Remarks on Orrery's Life of Swift*, 8vo. 6. *The Humourist*, a periodical paper.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DELRIO, MARTIN ANTONY.

MARTIN ANTONY DELRIO was born at Antwerp, in 1551. At the age of nineteen he published notes on the tragedies of Seneca; and was admitted doctor of laws at Salamanca in 1574. He afterwards became a counsellor of the parliament of Brabant; but in 1580 he entered into the society of Jesuits. He died at Louvain in 1608. He published an edition of Solinus, and a few years afterwards, notes on Claudian, and on the tragedies of Seneca, together with some treatises on law; also *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, in 3 vols, 4to, 1599 and 1691: *Commentaries on Genesis, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah*, 3 vols, 4to, 1604 and 1608; *Sacred Adages of the Old and New Testaments*, in Latin, in two vols, 4to, 1612; three volumes of *Explications of some of the most difficult and important Passages of Scripture*; *Vindiciæ Areopagitæ*, 1607; *Peniculus Foriarum Elenchi Scaligeriani pro Societate Jesu*.—*Biog. Universelle. Moreri.*

DENNE, JOHN.

JOHN DENNE was born at Littlebourne in Kent, in 1693. He was educated first at Sandwich, next at Canterbury, and lastly at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took his degree and obtained a fellowship. On receiving holy orders he was presented to the perpetual curacy of St. Benedict's, Cambridge, and in 1721 to the rectory of Green Norton, Northamptonshire. This last he exchanged in 1723 for the vicarage of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. In 1725 he preached the Boyle's Lecture; and in 1728, being then doctor in divinity, he was installed Archdeacon of Rochester, to which was added in the following year the vicarage of St. Margaret's in that city; but this he resigned on being presented to the rectory of Lambeth in 1731. He died in 1767. Dr. Denne published—1. *Some Sermons.* 2. *Articles of Inquiry for a Parochial Visitation.* 3. *The state of Bromley College in Kent.* 4. *A Register of Benefactions to the parish of Shoreditch*, 4to. He assisted Mr. Lewis in his *Life of Wickliffe*, collated Hearne's *Textus Roffensis*, and intended to have written a *History of the Church of Rochester*.—*Masters's Hist. of C.C.C.C. Nichols's Bowyer.*

DERHAM, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM DERHAM was born at Stoughton, near Worcester, in 1657, and having received his primary education at Blockley in his native county, was sent to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1675. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Compton in 1681, and priest by Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1682. Being presented in the same year to the living of Wargrave, in Berkshire, and in 1689 to the rectory of Upminster, in Essex, he devoted the best part of the time he could spare from his parochial duties to mathematics and experimental philosophy, making these

studies subservient to the claims of religion, and the duties of his sacred calling. In 1702 he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society, and enriched the Philosophical Transactions with many valuable communications. In 1716 he was made canon of Windsor; and the university of Oxford, in 1730, granted him the degree of D.D. for his meritorious services in the cause of science and religion, "Ob libros ab ipso editos, quibus physicam et mathesin auctiorem reddidit, et ad religionem veramque fidem revocavit." His publications are very numerous, and are mostly on philosophical subjects. The best known of his works are his Physico-Theology, sixteen discourses preached at the Boyle Lecture, in 1711 and 1712, and in 1714 his Astro-Theology, and in 1730 his Christo-Theology, a sermon to prove the Divine origin of Christianity; besides The Artificial Clock-maker, an ingenious book written in his younger years, the fourth edition of which was published in 1734. He also revised the Miscellanea Curiosa, prepared notes and observations for Eleazar Albin's Natural History, 4 vols, 4to, and published some pieces of Mr. Ray, of which he had procured the MSS., and also the philosophical experiments of Dr. Robert Hook. The last published work of his own was entitled, A Defence of the Church's Right in Leasehold Estates, written in answer to a work entitled, An Inquiry into the Customary Estates and Tenant-rights of those who hold Lands of the Church and other foundations, published in the name of Everard Fleetwood. He died, deservedly lamented, at his rectory at Upminster, on the 5th of April, 1735.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DERING, EDWARD.

EDWARD DERING was a native of Kent, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow in 1568. In 1567 he was admitted Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. He was also one of the preachers at St. Paul's, and in 1569 obtained the rectory of Pluckley,

in the diocese of Canterbury, and became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571 he was presented by the Queen to the prebend of Chardstoke, in the cathedral of Salisbury. He was a bitter puritan, and violently opposed to the principles of the English Reformation. The following account is given of him by Strype. He was one of the head puritans in his days, and a person of some authority, being chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and of a good family in Kent. He was also esteemed a great preacher and a great scholar in London and in Cambridge. He did conform, indeed, to the use of the cap and surplice, and bore with the calling of Bishops and Archbishops, though he liked neither, and was earnest to have them abolished. As he was a man of great confidence and assurance, so he was of as great zeal and heat; and would take the freedom to speak his mind to the highest, as he did often to the Lord Treasurer Burghley; who having sent down, not long before, some new statutes to Cambridge, as their chancellor, upon the complaints of the heads of that university against the tumults and disorders, occasioned by such who spake against and disobeyed the ecclesiastical orders, and against the jurisdiction and superiority of Bishops; Mr. Dering presumed to write a long letter to him, dated November 18, 1570, charging him highly for so doing; saying, that he had sent *unrighteous statutes* to Cambridge. He believed, he said, he was moved to do this by the information of the heads, that there were great troubles there; but on the other hand, Dering informed him, that there was good quietness, in respect of the tumults that his statutes brought; telling him, if he did not believe him, he did him wrong, being a minister of Christ. That the doctors and heads had procured him to enjoin new statutes, to the utter undoing of them that feared God; and to the burdening of their consciences, that dared not yield unto sin. And he then proceeded to shew what kind of men these doctors and heads were, to whom he had given such credit: namely, Dr. Pern, of Peter-house; Dr. Harvey, of Trinity-hall; Dr. Caius, founder and master of Caius

College; Dr. Hawford, master of Christ's; Dr. Ithel, master of Jesus. He said, they were all either enemies of God's Gospel, or so faint professors, that they did little good in the Church. That he would not tell their private faults; but he knew so many, as, if his lordship feared God, it would grieve him to see such masters of colleges. That Dr. Harvey had scarce chosen one protestant to be fellow these twelve years. [That is, from the time he was put in master, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to that time.] That Dr. Pern kept such curates as fled away beyond the seas: [meaning that turned Roman Catholics, and went thither for the profession and exercise of their religion.] That Dr. Hawford could not be brought to take away neither popish books nor garments without great importunity; and, in the end, all the best and richest he conveyed, none of the fellows knew whither. Of Dr. May, of Katherine-hall, and Dr. Chaderton, of Queen's, he said, there was small constancy, either in their lives or in their religion. That Dr. Whitgift, of Trinity College, was a man whom he had loved; but yet he was a man, and God had suffered him to fall into great infirmities; so froward a mind against Mr. Cartwright, and other such, bewrayed a conscience full of sickness. That his affections ruled him, and not his learning, when he framed his cogitations to get new statutes. I observe here, by the way, of what masters he is silent: namely, of Pembroke-hall, who was Dr. Fulk; of Magdalen, Dr. Kelk; of St. John's, Longworth, or Shepherd; of Bene't, Aldrich; of King's, Dr. Goad. And these were puritans, or favourers of them.

After Dering had charged Sir William Cecil home with these statutes, he advised him to make some reparations. "That he, that had been brought so easily to hurt God's people, to do pleasure to the pope, and with so fearful statutes (I repeat his words) had proceeded to the punishment of so small offences, should make some good statutes that might punish sin." And particularly to send down

a new statute, that no master of a house should have a benefice, except he served it himself.

This Dering was disliked by the Bishops, and some other great personages, and men of countenance, and charged by them to be a vain man, and full of fancies. The reason whereof was, as he gave it himself, that he would boldly tell them of their common swearing by the name of God, and of their covetousness. He would complain much of papists; which in twelve years, during which space the Queen had reigned, had never received the Sacrament. He spoke against their courtly apparel; that it was not meet for such as should be more sober. He would not accompany and consort with such as were open persecutors of the Church of God. It grieved him to see a benefice of a great parish given from a spiritual pastor to a temporal man: and that, for a hundred pound in gold, the Bishop should give his good-will to grant a lease of a benefice for a hundred years to come. These, and such like things, when he observed, he would freely speak his mind of; and perhaps was too apt to believe and spread slanderous reports, especially of Bishops. The letter of this man to Sir William Cecil, out of which I have collected for the most part, what is mentioned before, I have repositied in the appendix.

He read lectures in St. Paul's. But he had vented such doctrines there, that he was convented before the lords, and forbid to read any more in that place. In his readings there, he condemned the quoting of fathers in pulpits; styling it, filling the pulpits with doctors and councils, and many vanities, where they should only speak the word of God. "Did I speak," said he, "out of the fathers, and knew it not to be the word of God, be it never so true in the doctors' mouth, in mine it is sin, because I speak not as I am taught of God." He in these lectures was a zealous assertor of the sufferings of Christ's soul in his passion: saying "He suffered, for our sakes, not only the torments of His body, but the anguish of His soul, and



the wrath of His Father. Fy upon those blasphemous speeches, and cursed words, which say, He suffered nothing but bodily pain." He taught such doctrines as seemed to derogate from the civil power, and to free good Christians from earthly magistrates: saying, "that God had made a Christian lord of all; and in heaven and earth we have no lord but the Lord Jesus. By faith we are one with Him; His power is ours: we reign with Him, we are risen with Him, and the world hath no power over us." What shall we think of such servile men, who will lead us into bondage of every trifle, whom Christ hath made rulers over all the world? As though he held the doctrine of *dominion founded in grace*. These, and such like unwary expressions, not to say worse, were vented by him in his readings upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were printed. And which, I suppose, might be the occasion that his readings were restrained by authority.

It is not surprising that such a man should be forbidden by the privy council to preach, which was the case in 1573. It was reported of Dering when brought before the council, that he said in his lecture at Paul's upon Tuesday was seven-night, the 3rd of April, that Christ did descend into hell only, by suffering the great burden of our sins, hanging on the cross. And that that descending that the old fathers do speak upon, that he should afterwards descend into hell, is but a mere superstitious error of the fathers, and papistry.

In his lecture, the fifth of this month, he likewise affirmed the same; and also did say that it was unlawful, and against the law of nature, that any man should be suffered to hang on any gallows after that he is dead.

In the next lecture, the seventh of this month, he did say, that nowadays it was thought well enough for a good minister, if he have a gown, and a cap and tippet, though he do not preach. If he have a gown and tippet, he is an honest man: if he have a gown and tippet, he is well learned, and hath no fault, and that though he do never come at his benefice.

*Item*, At his lecture he openly protested, that of right the election of ministers to benefices or cures belongeth to the people, and of ancient writers is justified that it ought to be so.

*Item*, The 11th day of December, 1572, he said, putting off his cap, Now I will prophesy, that Matthew Parker shall be the last Archbishop of Canterbury: or (as it is related in another MS.) that he shall be the last Archbishop that shall sit in that seat. *Accipio omen*, quoth Cartwright. The third man said, that *they should first rue it*, with other opprobrious words spoke at that time.

The issue of the appearance and examination of these men was this. The council took order, that Dering should not read his lectures at St. Paul's.

But, says Strype, during his suspension, the Bishop of London out of his good nature interceded with the Lord Treasurer for his liberty to read again, and that his lordship would procure the consent of the lords to release him, and to suffer him to proceed with his lecture as before; so that he taught sound doctrine, exhorted to virtue, dehorted from vice; and touching matter of order and policy, meddled not with them, but left them to the magistrate. And he believed, he said, Dering would be brought unto it. He thought these general dealings best for the present time, and would quiet many minds. He thought a soft plaster better than a corrosive to be applied in this sort. That this man would be spared, but well schooled. But this council towards this man, and at this time, the Lord Treasurer disliked, and sharply reprov'd the Bishop of London, who gave it. But however the bishop got off Dering's suspension, and had him restored. And this without the advice of the bishops, commissioners, and notwithstanding Dering's favourable thoughts of Cartwright's book. For there had been several dangerous articles taken out of that book, propounded unto Dering for his answer, to try his judgment before they thought fit to restore him. And his answers proved to be such as

looked very kindly towards the opinions therein: yet he found favour, and was allowed again to read and preach.

But behold the issue and the reward! He and his party hereat triumphed unmeasureably in London; giving out, that her majesty, and the whole council, liked well of Dering, and of his assertions before set down; and that it was only the malicious proud bishop that sought his trouble.

When the lords had thus set Dering at liberty to read again, and that notwithstanding his open favouring of Cartwright's principles, the archbishop, and several other bishops were much troubled. The Bishop of Ely wrote hereupon to the Lord Treasurer, disapproving of the council's act in restoring him by their own authority, as a man sound in judgment, without consulting and advising with spiritual men; whose proper function and business it had been. And that they ought not to have determined of religion without the assistance of such as were professors of the same. For this favourable proceeding with Dering was upon an answer he gave to some articles that were offered him concerning Cartwright's book, as was said before. Which answers the Bishop of Ely said were fond and untrue; but the council, on the other hand, seemed satisfied with those answers. And the bishop affirmed, that they ought in these matters to have taken the judgment of divines. And for proof hereof, he put the Lord Treasurer in mind of two authorities; the one of Arcadius and Honorius, the other of Bullinger, whom he styled, *Columna una in ecclesia Christi*; i. e. "one of the pillars in Christ's Church." That of Arcadius and Honorius was this, *Quoties de religione agitur, Episcopos convenit agitare*: that is, "As often as the matter is concerning religion, it is convenient to call upon the bishops." That of Bullinger, *Sacerdotum proprium est officium, de religione ex verbo Dei constituere. Principum autem est, juvare Sacerdotes et provehere tuerique veram religionem*: that is, "It is the proper office of priests to determine concerning religion out of God's Word; and of princes to assist the priests,

and to promote and defend true religion." And for this cause, added he, in all godly assemblies priests have usually been called, as in parliaments, in privy councils, especially when matters of religion have been treated of. And the said godly bishop seemed inclinable in his zeal to move the Queen's majesty in this matter. But he trusted the Lord Treasurer in his wisdom and godly zeal would do it.

The Bishop of London was silent when Dering and three others were cited into the Star-chamber, and had favour. For this silence the Queen bitterly rebuked him afterward, when it was heard how Dering and his party had carried themselves upon his liberty.

Between Dering and the Bishop of London, after he had procured him permission to read his lecture again, Strype observes, there happened some contest. For when Dering came to the Bishop to tell him that the council had by their letters restored him; adding, that he never thought he should be kept long from it; for that the whole council favoured him, except the Lord Treasurer; the Bishop desired to see his letters. He answered they were at home. [Indeed the council gave him no letters.] The Bishop said, he would see them, or he should not read; and added, that except he read more soberly and discreetly than he had done, he would forbid him reading in Paul's. Dering replied, If you do forbid me, I think that I shall obey, lest some disordered fellows bid you come off your horse when you shall ride down Cheapside, [boasting of his popularity.] But the Bishop in some heat answered, your threatenings shall not terrify me. For I will forthwith ride down Cheapside to try what your disordered scholars will do.

Dering being, as you see, of an hot spirit, was not long after silenced a second time. Which was done upon the Bishop's complaint to the Lord Treasurer and council against him, and upon his desire expressed to the said Treasurer, that Dering still standing against the established Church, he would get an order to be sent from the

Queen, to forbid him to read his lectures any more. The Bishop had told the said lord, how he had in his church opposed and spoken against the orders of the Church. Whereupon the Treasurer declared, that if any Bishop of any church shall understand, that any public reader in his church doth oppugn the common order of the ministry in the Church established by law, it is his duty, upon good knowledge thereof, to remove him. The Bishop also writ both to the Lord Treasurer and Earl of Leicester, concerning his dislike of Dering's continuance. And they at length acquainted the Queen therewith : who thereupon commanded the Treasurer to charge the Bishop to remove him. And so she commanded him to notify to her council. A warrant for this purpose was sent to the Bishop to disallow Dering from reading. Which was accordingly done by the Bishop : and he desired to know, whether he should place another in his room.

Dering about this time carried a falsehood to the Lord Treasurer concerning the Bishop. Which created the poor Bishop some trouble before he could be well reconciled to that lord again. For Dering brought a report to the Lord Treasurer's ears, that he and the Bishop being together, and arguing concerning his being outed of his lectureship, the Bishop, to draw the *odium* from himself, and to lay it somewhere else, charged the matter wholly upon the Lord Treasurer. This the Treasurer took in ill part from the Bishop, as though he should in an open presence tell Mr. Dering, that he knew no other cause to displace him, but that my Lord Treasurer willed him so to do : and that otherwise he had no matter to charge him withal. Upon this the Treasurer wrote an expostulatory letter to the Bishop. To which the Bishop made answer, denying it utterly, that he had said any such word of his Lordship. And "that, upon the faith of a Christian, there never passed such word privately or publicly between Dering and him, neither yet any others. But that it was Dering's custom to lie." It was his common fault, and commonly noted of him :

and these are some of the transactions between the Bishop and Dering, and of the unhappy Church contentions in London.

When Sampson was obliged to retire from the lecture at Whittington College, London, he endeavoured to obtain the appointment for Dering, but was unsuccessful. Dering died in 1573. His principal works are:—1. A Lecture or Exposition upon a part of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as it was read in St. Paul's, December 6, 1572, London, 1581, 16mo. This work was extended to twenty-seven Lectures or Readings upon part of that Epistle, 1576. 2. A Sermon preached before the Queen's majesty, February 25, 1569, London 1584. 3. A Sermon preached at the Tower of London, December 11, 1569, *ib.* 1584. 4. Certain godly and comfortable Letters, full of Christian consolation, &c. 4to; all of which, with some other tracts of Dering's, were collected and printed in one vol. 8vo, by Field, in 1595.—*Strype's Parker and Annals. Tanner. Fuller.*

#### DEUDEDIT.

DEUDEDIT was the sixth Archbishop of Canterbury, and succeeded Honorius after the see had been vacant eighteen months. His original name was Frithona, and he took the name of Deusdedit on his consecration. He died in 664. He was a man famous for his learning and other virtues, was the first Englishman or Saxon who was archbishop, and was the last archbishop who was buried in the church porch of St. Augustines.—*Godwin.*

#### DICKSON, DAVID.

DAVID DICKSON was born at Glasgow in 1583. After taking his degree of Master of Arts, he became professor of philosophy in the College of Glasgow. He was in the Presbyterian ministry, and was chiefly distinguished for his bitter and incessant hatred of the Church. In 1614

became professor of divinity at Glasgow ; from whence he removed to Edinburgh, but was ejected for nonconformity in 1662 ; and died the same year. He wrote—1. A Commentary on the Hebrews, 8vo. 2. On Matthew, 4to. 3. On the Psalms, 3 vols. 12mo. 4. On the Epistles, Latin and English, folio. 5. Therapeutica Sacra, 4to. 6. A Treatise on the Promises, 12mo. He had a share in drawing up the Confession of Faith, on which he delivered Prælectiones, which were published in folio.—*Scot's Worthies*.

## DIECMAN, JOHN.

JOHN DIECMAN, a Lutheran theologian, was born at Stade in 1647. He became superintendant of the duchies of Bremen and Verduin, and rector of the university of Stade, where he died in 1724. He wrote—1. De naturalismo cum aliorum, tum maxime Joannis Bodini, ex Opere ejus manuscripto Anecdoto, de abditis Rerum sublimium Arcanis, Schediasma, Ieipsic, 1684, 12mo. 2. Specimen Glossarii Latino-theotisci. 3. Dissertationes de sparsione Florum. 4. De Dissensu Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Latinæ circa Purgatorium. 5. Enneades Animadversionum in diversa Loca Annalium Cardinalis Baronii, &c. He wrote also various tracts in the German language, published at Ham-burgh, 1709, 4to. But he is, perhaps, better known as the publisher of an edition of the Stade Bible, which is a revision of Luther's German Bible.—*Moreri*.

## DIETERIC, JOHN CONRAD.

JOHN CONRAD DIETERIC, a Lutheran theologian, was born at Butzbach, in Germany, in 1612. He became professor of Greek and History at Giessen, where he died in 1669. He wrote,—De Peregrinatione Studiorum ; Græcia exulans, seu de Infelicitate superioris Sæculi, in Græcarum

Literarum Ignoracione ; Antiquitates Romanæ ; Iatreum Hippocraticum ; Breviarium Hæreticorum et Conciliorum ; Lexicon Etymologico-Græcum ; Antiquitates Biblicæ, in quibus Decreta, Prophetæ, Sermones, Consuetudines, Ritusque ac Dicta Veteris Testamenti de Rebus Judæorum et Gentilium quâ sacris, quâ profanis, expenduntur, ex Editione Jo. Just. Pistorii, 1671, folio ; and Antiquitates Novi Testamenti, seu Illustramentum Novi Testamenti ; sive Lexicon Philologico-theologicum Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum, 1680, folio.—*Moreri. Biog. Universelle.*

## DIEU, LEWIS DE.

LEWIS DE DIEU, a Protestant theologian, was born at Flushing in 1590. He became professor in the Walloon College, at Leyden ; and died there in 1642. He published, or wrote, *Compendium Grammaticæ Hebraicæ*, Leyden, 1626, 4to ; *Apocalypsis S. Joannæ Syriace ex Manuscripto exemplari Bibliothecæ Jos. Scaligeri edita*, &c. Leyden, 1627, 4to ; *Grammatica Trilinguis, Hebraica, Syriaca, et Chaldaica*, *ibid.* 1628, 4to ; *Animadversiones in quatuor Evangelia*, *ibid.* 1631, 4to ; *Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum*, *ibid.* 1634, 4to ; *Historia Christi et S. Petri Persice conscripta*, *ibid.* 1639, 4to ; *Rudimenta Linguae Persicæ*, *ibid.* 1639, 4to ; *Animadversiones in Epistolam ad Romanos et reliquas Epistolas*, *ibid.* 1646, 4to ; *Animadversiones in omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti*, *ibid.* 1648 ; *Critica Sacra, sive Animadversiones in Loca quædam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Amst. 1693, folio ; *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium ex Recensione Davidis Clodii*, Francfort, 1683, 4to ; *Aphorismi Theologi*, Utrecht, 1693 ; *Traité contre l'Avarice* ; Deventer, 1693, 8vo ; *Rhetorica Sacra*.—*Gen. Dict. Moreri.*



## DINANTO, DAVID DE.

DAVID DE DINANTO, a heretic of the thirteenth century, was a disciple of Amauri, or Almaric, who imbibed many errors from the study of Aristotle, and fell under the ecclesiastical censure of the second council of Paris. The writings both of Amauri and Dinanto were condemned to be burnt; which sentence was followed by a general prohibition of the use of the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle in the schools by the synod of Paris, and afterwards under pope Innocent III. by the council of the Lateran. Dinanto composed a work entitled Quaternarii, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude, in which he partly succeeded, until he was obliged to save himself by flight.—*Moreri. Biog. Universelle.*

## DINORART, ANTHONY JOSEPH TOUSSAINT.

ANTHONY DINORART, a French theologian, was born at Amiens in 1715, and died at Paris in 1786. He was canon to the chapter of St. Benedict at Paris, and member of the society of Arcadi at Rome. He wrote an Ecclesiastical Journal; also Embryologia Sacra, 12mo; the Manual for Pastors, 3 vols. 12mo; the Rhetoric of Preachers, &c.; Anecdotes Ecclesiastiques, &c.—*Dict. Hist.*

## DIONYSIUS.

DIONYSIUS the Areopagite, was originally of Thrace, according to the dialogues ascribed, though incorrectly, to Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen. St. Chrysostom asserts that he was a citizen of Athens. He was a member of the council of Areopagus, which was, properly speaking, the court for criminal causes in that city. When

St. Paul preached at Athens, Dionysius was one of his converts. A woman named Damaris partook of the same happiness, and by some of the fathers she is spoken of as the wife of Dionysius. He was the first Bishop of Athens, as we learn from his namesake of Corinth. He crowned his life with a glorious martyrdom, after having given an illustrious testimony of his faith, and suffered most horrible torments. The works attributed to him are spurious, and could hardly have been composed before the sixth century. They were printed at Cologne in 1536; at Antwerp in 1634, and at Paris in 1644.—*Tillemont. Cave.*

## DIONYSIUS.

DIONYSIUS, of Corinth, flourished according to Eusebius in his Chronicon about the year 171. At the eleventh year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, he speaks of Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, as “a sacred man,” then in reputation.

St. Jerome says of him, that he had a great deal of eloquence and zeal; and that he shewed in his writings from what philosophers each heresy had taken its poison. He has been spoken of as a martyr, but without any foundation in antiquity. The following is the account of his writings given by Eusebius :

Dionysius was appointed over the church at Corinth, and imparted freely, not only to his own people, but to others abroad also, the blessings of his divine labours. But he was most useful to all in the catholic epistles that he addressed to the churches; one of which is addressed to the Lacedæmonians, and contains instructions in the true religion, and inculcates peace and unity. One also to the Athenians, exciting them to the faith, and the life prescribed by the gospel, from which he shows that they had swerved, so that they had nearly fallen from the truth, since the martyrdom of Publius, then bishop, which happened in the persecutions

of those times. He also makes mention of Quadratus, who was bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, bearing witness also that the church was again collected, and the faith of the people revived by his exertions. He states, moreover, that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted to the faith by Paul the Apostle, according to the statement in the Acts of the Apostles, first obtained the episcopate of the church at Athens. There is also another epistle of his extant, addressed to the Nicomedians, in which he refutes the heresy of Marcion, and adheres closely to the rule of faith. In an epistle to the church of Gortyna, and to the other churches in Crete, he commends their bishop Philip, for the numerous instances of fortitude that the church evinced under him, according to the testimony of all, whilst he cautions them against the perversions of the heretics. He also wrote to the Church at Amastris, together with those at Pontus, in which he makes mention of Bacchylides and Elpistus, as those who urged him to write. He also adds some expositions of the sacred writings, where he intimates that Palmas was then bishop. He also recommends many things in regard to marriage, and the purity to be observed by those who enter this state, and enjoins upon the Church to receive kindly all that return again from their backslidings, whether heresy or delinquency. Among them is also inserted an epistle to the Gnostians, in which he admonishes Pinytus, the bishop of the church, not to impose upon the brethren without necessity, a burden in regard to purity too great to be borne, but to pay regard to the infirmity of the great mass. To which Pinytus, writing in reply, admires and applauds Dionysius, but exhorts him at the same time to impart some time or other stronger food, and to feed the people under him with writings abounding in more perfect doctrine when he wrote again, so that they might not remain constantly nurtured with milk, and imperceptibly grow old, under a discipline calculated only for children. In which epistle,

also, the correct views which Pinytus cherished, his solicitude respecting the welfare of those that were committed to his care, and his learning and intelligence in divine matters, are exhibited as in a most perfect image. There is yet another epistle, to the Romans, ascribed to Dionysius, and addressed to Soter the bishop of that city, from which we may also subjoin some extracts, from that part where he commends a practice of the Romans retained even to the persecution in our day. He writes as follows: "For this practice has prevailed with you from the very beginning, to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send contributions to many churches in every city. Thus refreshing the needy in their want, and furnishing to the brethren condemned to the mines, what was necessary; by these contributions which ye have been accustomed to send from the beginning, you preserve, as Romans, the practices of your ancestors. Which was not only observed by your bishop Soter, but also increased, as he not only furnished great supplies to the saints, but also encouraged the brethren that came from abroad, as a loving father his children, with consolatory words." In this same letter he mentions that of Clement to the Corinthians, showing that it was the practice to read in the churches, even from the earliest times. "To-day," says he, "we have passed the Lord's holy-day, in which we have read your epistle; in reading which we shall always have our minds stored with admonition, as we shall, also, from that written to us before by Clement." Besides this, the same author writes respecting his own epistles as having been corrupted: "As the brethren," says he, "desired me to write epistles, I wrote them, and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, exchanging some things, and adding others, for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not, therefore, matter of wonder, if some have also attempted to adulterate the sacred writings of the Lord, since they have attempted the same in other works that are not to be compared with

these." There is also another epistle attributed to this Dionysius, addressed to his most faithful sister Chrysophora, in which he writes what was suitable to her, and imparts also to her the proper spiritual food.—*Eusebius*.

## DIONYSIUS.

DIONYSIUS, of Alexandria, was a Sabaite by birth, that is, as appears probable, an Arabian: he was of an honourable and wealthy family, but a pagan. It happened that the Epistles of St. Paul were one day lent to him by a poor woman who had embraced the true faith; and a perusal of them induced him not only to purchase the volume, but to make inquiry whether the Christians were in possession of other works that bore a similar character. The woman advised him to apply to the priests of the Church; and, on his complying with her advice, the books which they lent, and the instructions which they gave him, were made the means of his conversion.

He had Origen for his master, and was one of the most grateful pupils of that eminent man. Upon the promotion of Heraclas to the bishopric of Alexandria, in 321, or 322, Dionysius succeeded him in the catechetical school of that city, and was very successful in bringing many pagans to the knowledge of the truth. In his third epistle concerning baptism, written to Philemon, a presbyter of Rome, he relates the following circumstances: "I perused," says he, "the works and traditions of the heretics, defiling my mind for a little with their execrable sentiments; but I have also derived this benefit from them, viz., to refute them in my own mind, and to feel the greater disgust at them. And when a certain brother of the presbyters attempted to restrain me, and was much in dread lest I should be carried away by this sink of iniquity, saying that my mind would be corrupted, in which he spoke the truth, as I thought, I was confirmed in my purpose by a vision sent me from heaven, when a voice came to me and commanded

me in words as follows: 'Read all that thou takest in hand, for thou art qualified to correct and prove all, and this very thing has been the cause of thy faith in Christ from the beginning.' I received the vision as coinciding with the apostolic declaration, which says to the more competent, 'Be ye skilful money-changers.'"

In the year 247, or 248, Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in the episcopate, being a married man. He was the thirteenth Archbishop of Alexandria. His episcopate was full of trouble. Even before the Decian persecution, which commenced in 249, or 250; the Christians of Alexandria had suffered persecution under Philip. The following is the account of the conduct of Dionysius on the occasion, as given by Mr. Neale, who follows the hypothesis of Byæus.

On the first tidings of the persecution, the consternation in Alexandria was dreadful. Some of those who had previously made a high profession, ran voluntarily to the altars, exclaiming that they had never been Christians, and sacrificing with alacrity; others, urged on by their neighbours, came with pale countenances and trembling limbs, amidst the jeers and mockery of the heathen, who evidently perceived them to be almost equally afraid of living by sin, or dying in torments. Others confessed the name of Christ before the magistrate, were thrown into prison, and after a few days' endurance, apostatized; others, after resisting the torture for some time, yielded to it, and offered sacrifice.

Dionysius gives us an account of what befel himself, prefacing his statement with an appeal to God that his story is exactly true. The edict for persecution had no sooner reached Alexandria, than Sabinus, Augustal præfect, dispatched a sergeant of police in search of the prelate. The Bishop remained quietly in his house; while the party of soldiers sought him for four days, in every unlikely place, roads, rivers, and fields; but by a divine infatuation, never thought of searching the Bishop's own habitation. On the fifth day, Dionysius received a supernatural inti-

mation to fly ; he was accompanied by his children and several of his priests. During his journey, he was made useful to some of his flock ; probably in confirming their minds, and alleviating their fears.

At sunset, however, the Bishop fell into the hands of his persecutors ; and, it being then not more than five or six o'clock, was examined before the magistrates, and sentenced to exile at Taposiris. This was a little city in Mareotis, about a day's journey from Alexandria. A priest named Timothy, who is by some believed to be the bishop's son, was absent when Dionysius left his house ; on returning there towards evening, he found the place occupied by soldiers, and learnt that the prelate had been sent to Taposiris. After hearing these tidings, he took the road to Mareotis, and the anguish that he felt was sufficiently displayed in his countenance. A countryman, whom he met, inquired the cause of his agitation. On learning the misfortune that had befallen Dionysius, the man, then going to a nuptial feast, at that time carried on through the whole night, hastened to the house where the banquet was prepared, and stated the circumstance to the assembled guests. They arose as one man, laid hands on what they could find as instruments of defence, and assaulted the house where the bishop was confined. The guard took them for banditti, and dispersed. Dionysius, who had retired to rest, was at first under the same mistake, and pointing to his clothes, bade them take all he had, and begone. When he discovered their real design, and perceived that they were bent on his liberation, he refused to stir ; and besought them if they were really willing to do him a service, to rid his guards of any further trouble, by cutting off his head. It was in vain that they prayed and conjured him to have pity, if not on his own life, at least on the state of his Church ; he remained inflexible. They at length had recourse to actual violence ; and raising him forcibly from his bed, carried him off. All those who had been with him followed ; he made choice of two only, Peter and Caius, to be his companions.

and with them retired into the desert till the violence of the persecution should have exhausted itself.

It was while he was in the desert of Libya that Dionysius addressed his exhortation on martyrdom to Origen, of which work some considerable fragments remain. Dionysius appears to have returned to Alexandria on the termination of the Decian persecution, some time in 251. But in 257 another persecution was raised under Valerian : we have an account of the occurrences of this persecution given us by Dionysius himself, whose letter is preserved in Eusebius : as soon as the edict of persecution reached Alexandria, Dionysius was summoned before Æmilianus, Augustal præfect ; “ I came,” he says, “ to Æmilianus not alone, but in company with my fellow presbyter Maximus, and the deacons Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon, together with a certain one of the brethren who had come from Rome. Æmilianus, however, did not at first say to me, Hold no assemblies, as this was superfluous, and was the last thing to one who was aiming at what was the first in importance ; for he was not concerned about my collecting others, but that we should not be Christians, and from this he commanded me to desist, thinking, no doubt, that if I changed, others would follow my example. But I answered him not without good reason, and without many words, ‘ We must obey God rather than man.’ I directly bore witness, that I could neither renounce the exclusive worship of the only true God, nor ever cease to be a Christian. Upon this he commanded us to go away to a neighbouring village of the desert, called Cephro.

“ But hear the words that were uttered by both of us, as they were recorded. Dionysius and Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chæremon, being arraigned, Æmilianus, the prefect, said : ‘ I have even personally reasoned with you on the clemency of our sovereigns, which you have also experienced. For they have given you the chance of saving yourselves, if you are disposed to turn to the course of nature, and worship the gods that have preserved them in their government, and to forget those practices which



are so unnatural (*των παρα φύσιν*). What, then, say ye to these things? For neither do I expect that you will be ungrateful for their kindness, since they would dispose you to a better cause.' Dionysius answered, 'All the gods are not worshipped by all, but each worships whom he thinks to be gods. We, therefore, worship the one God and Creator of all things, and the very same that has committed the government to their most excellent and sacred majesties, Valerian and Gallienus. Him we worship and adore, and to Him we incessantly pray that their reign may continue firm and unshaken.' Æmilianus, the prefect, again replied: 'But who prevents you from worshipping this one God, if he be a god, together with those that are the natural gods? For you are commanded to worship the gods, and those gods which all know to be such.' Dionysius answered: 'We worship no other one.' Æmilianus, the prefect, said, 'I perceive that you are at the same time ungrateful, and insensible to the clemency of our Cæsars. Therefore you shall not remain in this city, but you shall be sent to the parts of Lybia, to a place called Cephro. For this place I have selected according to the orders of our Cæsars. But neither you, nor any others, shall in any wise be permitted, either to hold conventions, or to enter what you call your cemeteries. But if any one appear not to have gone to the place which I have commanded, or if he shall be found in any assembly, he will do it at his peril. For the necessary punishment will not fail. Remove, therefore, whither ye are commanded.' Thus he compelled me, sick as I was, nor did he grant me a day's respite."

Cephro, the place to which Dionysius was banished, lay in the wilds of Libya. A large body of Christians accompanied him thither; some from Alexandria, others from various other parts of Egypt. The Gospel had not hitherto been preached in this place; and there, to use the patriarch's own words, the Lord opened a great door for the Word. For though the little band of believers were reviled and exposed to personal violence, before long

a large number of the heathen left the worship of idols, and gave their names to Christ. God had evidently led His servants to that place, to be the founders of a flourishing Church; and when that ministry was fulfilled, He conducted them to another spot.

Æmilianus, hearing of the progress that the faith was making at Cephro, gave orders that Dionysius should be removed to Coluthion, a city of Mareotis. The bishop confesses that he was much annoyed on receiving this intimation: the place was infested by robbers, and tenanted by a wild race. His friends, however, represented that it was nearer to Alexandria; that if at Cephro the resort of Christians had been great, the inhabitants of the metropolis would flock to Coluthion as a suburb; that the change was evidently designed, by the Head of the Church, for its good. And so it fell out.

While Dionysius was thus enacting the part of a brave and vigilant pastor, and towards the end of the persecution, he was exposed to considerable annoyance by Germanus, an Egyptian bishop, though it is uncertain in what see. Germanus accused the patriarch of general carelessness and remissness in his pastoral duties, but more especially of neglecting, during the time of his exile, to assemble for worship the Christians who were with him. Dionysius replied by the letter, to which we are indebted for the particulars which have reached us of his behaviour, during both the persecution of Decius and that of Valerian.

At the same time, he was engaged in writing other letters, both regarding his own Church, and that of other countries. He was in correspondence with Sixtus on the baptismal question: we find him also addressing the presbytery of the Alexandrian Church, during the greatest violence of the persecution. Two other letters, respectively addressed to Flavian, and to Didymus and Domitius, require a few observations.

They were paschal letters, and, as it is supposed by some, the first of their kind.

How long this banishment lasted, is not absolutely certain. Tillemont says, it is evident that Dionysius continued in this exile about two years at least, because in that time he wrote two festal epistles, concerning the observation of Easter, as Eusebius relates. One of those epistles was directed to Flavius, the other to Domitius and Didymus. We would just observe, that in the same place Eusebius adds: "Besides these, Dionysius wrote another letter to his fellow-presbyters of Alexandria, and other letters to divers other persons, the persecution still raging." Pagi has taken notice of several of the letters written at that time. Basnage computes Dionysius's exile to have lasted four years, supposing him to have been banished in 257; as does Pagi: but Lardner does not see any proof of so long a continuance of that exile; though it might be full three years, or somewhat more.

In the year 261, if not before, Dionysius returned to his people at Alexandria, and officiated again among them, to their great satisfaction and profit. But, as Eusebius observes, the peace was of short duration at Alexandria; for that city was again afflicted with sedition and war, and then with pestilence.

In the various controversies of the time, Dionysius of necessity took a prominent part. He sided against Novatus in the schism which the latter excited in the Church of Rome, and his letter to the schismatic, as preserved by Eusebius, is as follows: "Dionysius sends greeting to his brother Novatus. If, as you say, you were forced against your will, you will show it by retiring voluntarily. For it was a duty to suffer any thing rather than to afflict the Church of God; and, indeed, it would not be more inglorious to suffer even martyrdom for its sake, than to sacrifice; and in my opinion it would have been a greater glory. For there, in the one case, the individual gives a testimony for his own soul, but in the other he bears witness for the whole Church. And now, if thou persuade or constrain the brethren to return to

unanimity, thy uprightness will be greater than thy delusion, and the latter will not be laid to thy charge, but the other will be applauded; but if thou art unable to prevail with thy friends, save thy own soul. With the hope that thou art desirous of peace in the Lord, I bid thee farewell." Such was the epistle of Dionysius to Novatus.

According to St. Jerome, and, as it appears from Eusebius, Dionysius coincided in opinion with St. Cyprian and the African synod against the Bishop of Rome on the controversy with respect to the baptism of heretics. But he was a moderate man, and did not express himself strongly on the subject. His moderation was also shewn in a controversy on the subject of the Millenium, which gave rise to his two works on the promises; the occasion of his writing these, says Eusebius, arose from Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, having taught, that the promises given to holy men in the Scriptures, should be understood more as the Jews understood them, and supposed that there would be a certain millenium of sensual luxury on this earth. Thinking, therefore, that he could establish his own opinion by the Revelation of John, he composed a book on this subject, with the title, *Refutation of the Allegorists*. This, therefore, was warmly opposed by Dionysius, in his work on the promises.

He speaks with kindness and respect of Nepos, and remarks further, "When I was at Arsinoe, where, as you know, long since, this doctrine was afloat, so that schisms and apostacies of whole Churches followed, after I had called the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages, when those brethren had come who wished to be present, I exhorted them to examine the doctrine publicly. When they had produced this book as a kind of armour and impregnable fortress, I sat with them for three days, from morning till evening, attempting to refute what it contained. Then also I was greatly pleased to observe the constancy, the sincerity, the docility, and intelligence of the brethren, so moderately and methodically did we

propose our questions and doubts and concessions, for we carefully and studiously avoided, in every possible way, insisting upon those opinions [which might be offensive] though they might once be maintained by us and seem correct. Nor did we attempt to evade objections, but endeavoured as far as possible to keep to our subject, and to confirm these. Nor ashamed if reason prevailed, to change opinions, and to acknowledge the truth; but rather received with a good conscience and sincerity, and with single hearts, before God, whatever was established by the proofs and doctrines of the holy Scriptures. At length Coracio, who was the founder and leader of this doctrine, in the hearing of all the brethren present, confessed and avowed to us, that he would no longer adhere to it, nor discuss it, that he would neither mention nor teach it, as he had been fully convinced by the opposite arguments. The other brethren present rejoiced also at this conference, and at the conciliatory spirit and unanimity exhibited by all.

In opposing Sabellianism, Dionysius exposed himself to the charge of a want of caution. Sabellius having started the heresy which bears his name, and being bishop or presbyter in Pentapolis, Dionysius, as primate, gave his judgment against him in writing. He was led, of course, by his argument, to defend the distinction of Persons in the Father and the Son. Among several irreprehensible similitudes, he employed these, that were not suitable,—that the Son is different from the Father, as the vine is from the husbandman, or as the ship is from its architect. As he also adopted an equivocal expression, calling the Son a *creature* (ποίημα) of the Father, this expression, together with the above similitudes, seemed to contain a sense which placed the Son in the class of beings created, and which destroyed His consubstantiality with the Father.

Dionysius being attacked for these expressions, which, unguarded, are certainly objectionable, a council was held

at Rome about A. D. 260, to examine into the state of the case. Dionysius of Rome presided, and Dionysius of Alexandria lost no time in defending himself. He wrote immediately to his namesake of Rome, and in his letter, and in an apology in four books published soon after, he fully made known his faith in the Holy Trinity, and proved it to be in perfect accordance with the faith of the Catholic Church. He said, that he had now cast away the similitudes of the vine and the ship, which, indeed, might have been explained by the context, and had in their place substituted others, of the plant springing from the root, and of the stream flowing from the fountain. His explanation of the Divine economy, or of the relation between the Father and the Son, is in substance the following :—The Son has His being from the Father, but is eternal with Him, as the splendour of eternal light, as the brilliancy of the sun, is inseparable from it, and simultaneous with it. There never was a period in which God was not Father. The Son is, therefore, not a creature, except in His human nature ; He is the Son of God, not by adoption, but by nature, and as the Father and the Son are indivisible from each other, so the Holy Ghost is inseparable from the Father and the Son. “Thus do we extend the unity into the Trinity, and confine the Trinity undiminished within the unity.” Dionysius remarks that he had not used the word consubstantial, (*ὁμοουσιος*) as it was nowhere found in the Scripture, but that he had always professed the doctrine contained in that word, and had by many arguments, as by the example of human generation, proved that the Son was one substance with the Father.

However, in spite of his explanations, some later writers, and even Basil himself, do not scruple to complain of Dionysius, as having sown the first seeds of Arianism ; confessing at the same time, that his error was accidental, occasioned by his vehement opposition to the Sabellian heresy ; not so however our own Bishop Bull, who, speaking of Dionysius says, “ This was one of those heads of

doctrines, which his adversaries objected against him before Dionysius Romanus: 'God was not always a Father, the Son was not always, but God was sometime without a Logos. The Son Himself was not before He was born, or made, but there was a time when He was not. For He was not eternal, but was made afterwards.' Athanasius expressly saith, that Dionysius defended himself from these accusations. Now it appears from this accusation, that the proposition, there was a time when the Son was not, was by the Catholics held to be heterodox and absurd in the times of Dionysius. But how does Dionysius defend himself? By owning the charge? No. He professes that he did from his heart acknowledge, and always had acknowledged the co-eternity of the Son. For in the first book of his refutation and apology, he says, There was not a time when God was not a Father. And some time after he writes thus concerning the Son of God: 'Since He is the effulgence of the eternal light, He Himself is altogether eternal; for since the light is always, the effulgence it is manifest must also be always.' Again: 'God is an eternal light, without beginning or end; therefore an eternal effulgence is projected by Him, co-exists with Him without beginning, and always born.' And again: 'The Son alone is always co-existent with the Father, and is filled with the existent Being, and is Himself existent from the Father.' There are places parallel to these in the epistle of Dionysius, which is now extant, to Paulus Samosatenus, and in his answer to Paul's questions set after the epistle. In the epistle he writes thus of Christ; 'There is one Christ, Who is in the Father, the co-eternal Word.' In his answers he thus introduces Christ speaking from the prophet Jeremy: 'I who alway am the Christ subsisting personally, equal to the Father, in that I differ nothing from Him in substance, co-eternal also with the Almighty Spirit.' Here he confesses the entire, co-eval, co-eternal Trinity of Persons. The same Dionysius blames Paul, because he

would not call Christ the co-eternal character of God the Father's Person. And in the same place he thus declares the eternity of the Son : ' As then we perceive, when one takes from one of our material fires, and neither affects, nor divides it in the kindling one light from another, but the fire remains ; so incomprehensibly is the eternal generation of Christ from the Father.' Lastly, that this was his constant opinion, which he always held, every where preached and professed, he affirms in these words : ' I have written, do write, confess, believe and preach, that Christ is co-eternal with the Father, the only-begotten Son, and Word of the Father.' Let Sandius brazen his forehead, and boast still that the great Dionysius Alexandrinus was of Arius's mind."

It was at the close of Dionysius's life, that the council was convoked at Antioch to condemn the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and to the fathers of the council Dionysius sent an epistle, in which he asserts, according to Bishop Bull, the true Divinity of the Son of God. Dionysius died in February, 265.

The loss of the writings of Dionysius, as Mr Neale justly remarks, is one of the greatest that has been suffered by Ecclesiastical history. Besides those that we have noticed, fragments of a commentary on Ecclesiastes, and of a treatise against the Epicureans, on Nature, remain to us ; besides an Epistle to Basileides, which is received by the Oriental Church into its body of canons. Basileides, a bishop in Pentapolis, had asked Dionysius at what hour the Lent fast ended. At Rome, it appears, it did not conclude till cock-crow on Easter morning ; in Egypt it finished on the evening of Saturday. The patriarch observes, that to fix the time exactly was impossible ; that those are to be commended who keep vigil till the fourth watch, while they are not to be blamed who are compelled, by the weakness of their bodies, to repose themselves earlier ; that the fast, however, was not at an end till Saturday midnight. He observes that some



passed six days of Holy Week without eating, some four, some three, some two, some not one; and while he lays down no specific rule, that he disapproves the conduct of those who make good cheer on the first four days, and think to compensate it by a strict fast on the Friday and Saturday. This canon exemplifies the wonderful rigour of these earlier ages, both in making mention of some who abstained from food during the whole week, and in simply not imputing it as a fault, if any, compelled by weakness, ate daily. The second and fourth canons concern physical reasons for abstaining from the Holy Communion, and the third is on nuptial continence.

The great humility of Dionysius is conspicuous in the end of this epistle. You have not consulted me, says he, through ignorance, but to do me honour, and maintain peace; you will judge my observations for yourself, and let me know your decision. We may remark, as an instance of the extraordinary power of the see of Alexandria, that Dionysius, though writing to a bishop, addresses him by the title of son,—an appellation not used in the like sense, even by Rome.—*Eusebius. Cave. Bull. Dollinger. Tillemont. Lardner. Neale.*

## DIONYSIUS.

DIONYSIUS of Rome was, first, presbyter, and afterwards Bishop of Rome. His predecessor Xystus, or Sixtus the Second, suffered martyrdom on the 6th of August, 258, when it is generally supposed that the see remained vacant for one year, and that Dionysius was not consecrated till the 22nd of July, 259.

While he was a presbyter he wrote to his namesake of Alexandria upon the question of the baptism of heretics. When the synod of Rome gave their opinion upon the merits of the controversy between Dionysius of Alexandria, (*See his Life*) and the Sabellians, Dionysius of Rome presided, at which, says Bower, Baronius exults.

“Behold, says he, one of the most eminent prelates of the Church, upon suspicion of heresy, arraigned at Rome, judged at Rome. Who does not see a supreme tribunal erected there, to which all causes must be brought; a sovereign judge residing there, by whom all persons must be absolved or condemned; is either blind and cannot see, or shuts his eyes and will not see. And does not the sharp-sighted annalist himself see what every one the least conversant in ecclesiastical history must see, if he is not either blind and cannot, or shuts his eyes and will not see, viz., bishops, when guilty, or only suspected of heresy, accused to some of their colleagues, who neither had, nor claimed, any jurisdiction over them? Thus was the famous Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, at this very time accused by his whole Church, first to Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, and soon after to Firmilian Bishop of Cæsarea. That such an accusation argued any jurisdiction in those bishops over the Bishop of Antioch, is what Baronius himself dares not affirm; and yet a like accusation brought to Rome is enough for him to transform that see into a supreme tribunal; that bishop, though far from such ambitious thoughts, into a sovereign judge. But the Bishop of Rome, says Baronius, required of Dionysius a confession or declaration of his faith: and does not that argue superiority and jurisdiction? Baronius himself knew it does not: for it is impossible he should not know, that when a bishop was suspected of heresy, all his colleagues had a right to require of him a confession of his faith, and not to communicate with him till they had received it.” He died December, 26th, 269.—*Eusebius. Cave. Lardner. Bower.*

## DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS.

DIONYSIUS, surnamed EXIGUUS, was born in Scythia, and flourished, a monk by profession, till the year 540. His acquaintance with Scripture was accurate, and his learning in the Greek and Latin languages profound.

Cassiodorus, who was intimate with him, wrote his panegyric in the 23rd chapter of his book on divine learning. He was a vehement and unscrupulous upholder of the see of Rome; he is suspected to have been guilty even of forgery in its support; he first published, and very probably *wrote* the Canons of the Council of Sardica, and collected the Papal Decretals from Siricius to Anastasius II. These were published with his Collection of Canons, made at the request of Stephen Bishop of Salome.

Dionysius was the first who introduced the way of counting the years from the birth of Jesus Christ, and who fixed it according to the epocha of the vulgar æra. He wrote also two letters upon Easter in the years 525 and 526, which were published by Petavius and Bucherius; and made a cycle of 95 years. Father Mabillon published a letter of his written to Eugippius, about the translation which he made of a work of Gregory Nyssen, concerning the creation of man.—*Dupin. Geddes.*

## DISNEY.

JOHN DISNEY was born in 1677 at Lincoln. He entered at the Middle Temple, where he studied the law, but did not follow it as a profession. At the age of forty-two he was ordained, and presented to the vicarage of Croft, and the rectory of Kirkby-super-Baine, both in Lincolnshire. He was a zealous advocate for religious societies, then in their infancy, particularly for the Society for the Reformation of manners. In 1722 he obtained the living of St. Mary, Nottingham, where he died in 1730. He wrote,—1. *Primitiæ Sacræ*, the reflections of a devout solitude, 8vo. 2. *Flora*, prefixed to a translation of Rapin's poem on Gardens, 8vo. 3. *Two Essays upon the Execution of the Laws against Immorality and Profaneness*, 8vo. 4. *Remarks upon a Sermon preached by Dr. Sacheverell*. 5. *The Genealogy of the House of Brunswick Lunenburg*. 6. *A View of ancient Laws against Immorality and Profaneness*, folio. 7. *Sermons on particular Occasions*.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DITHMAR, DITMAR, OR DIETHUMAR.

DITHMAR was the son of Sigefroy Count of Saxony, and was born in the year 976. In his eighteenth or twentieth year he embraced the monastic life; and in 1018 was made Bishop of Mersburg by the Emperor Henry II. He wrote a Latin Chronicle, in seven books, containing the history of the Emperors Henry I., Otho, I., II., III., and Henry II. It is accounted a very faithful narrative, and has been often reprinted. The best edition is that of Leibnitz. He died in 1028.—*Moreri. Dupin.*

## DITHMAR, JUSTUS CHRISTOPHER.

JUSTUS CHRISTOPHER DITHMER was born in 1677, at Rottenburg in Hesse. After studying at the university of Marburg, to which he was sent in his 17th year, where he applied himself to theology, and studied the Oriental languages under the celebrated Otho, he removed to Leyden, where he was supported by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and afterwards settled at Frankfort on the Oder, first as professor of history, then of the law of nature, and finally of statistics and finance. He was made a member of the Royal Society of Berlin, and a counsellor of the Order of St. John. He died at Frankfort in 1737. His works are,—Maimonidis Constit. de Jurejurando, with notes and additions, Leyden, 4to; Gregorii VII. Pont. Romani Vita, Frankfort, 8vo; Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium, *ibid*, 8vo; Teschenmacheri Annales Cliviæ, &c. Notis, Tabulis genealogicis et Codice diplomatico illustrati, *ibid*, folio; Summa Capita Antiq. Judaicarum et Romanarum in usum Prælectionum privatarum, *ibid*, 4to; Chytræi Marchia Brandenburgensis ad nostra Tempora continuata, *ibid*, 8vo; Delineatio historiæ Brandenburgensis in privatis Prælectionibus prolixius illustranda, *ibid*, 8vo; Delineatio historiæ præcipuorum Juris, aut prætensium Statibus Europæ competentium in Col-

legio privato magis illustranda, *ibid*; C. Corn. Taciti Germania, cum perpetuo et pragmatico Commentario, *ibid*, 8vo; Dissertatio de Abdicatione Regnorum, aliarumque Dignitatum illustrium tam Secularium quam Ecclesiasticarum, *ibid*, 1724, 4to; Commentatio de honoratissimo Ordine Militari de Balneo, *ibid*, 1729, folio; an edition of the History of the Order of St. John, by Becman, in German, 4to; Introduction to the Knowledge of Finance, Police, &c., also in German, 8vo.—*Moreri. Chauffepie.*

## DOD, JOHN.

JOHN DOD was born in 1547, and educated at Westchester. In 1561 he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, of which college he became a fellow in 1585. He was a pious, but not a strong minded person, and was hurried by the movement of the Reformation into an extreme. A movement in the Church, such as that to which allusion is made, unsettles men's minds for the time; and we are not to expect every one calmly to subside at once into the *via media*. On Dod's mind the horrors of the Marian Persecution, as we may gather from several expressions in his works, made a fearful impression, and he felt that the Church could not be too far removed from Rome. To many of the ceremonies and to the discipline of the Church he had a great repugnance, and attached himself to the older and better class of religious Puritans. On taking orders he officiated, probably as curate, at Hanwell in Oxfordshire, where he was a popular preacher, and on Sundays and Wednesdays, when he lectured, entertained generally eight or ten persons at dinner. He remained here twenty years; but for his non-conformity he was at last suspended by Dr. Bridges, Lord Bishop of Oxford. He afterwards preached at Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, and at Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire. Here he was silenced again; and since sentence was pronounced upon him by Archbishop

Abbot, whose principles would accord with his own, though he could not afford to maintain them at the risk of losing his preferments, the non-conformity of Dod must have been very marked. Archbishop Abbot was compelled by King James to interfere. During his suspension he published also his Commentary on the Decalogue. In conjunction with one Robert Cleaver he published also an Exposition of some chapters of the Book of Proverbs. Who this Cleaver was is not known to the writer of this article, but the same two authors published also ten sermons on the Worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper. The following extracts will shew how differently an ancient Puritan would speak on this subject, from a modern dissenter, or even than some modern churchmen.

1. "The commandment is contained in those words, Take, eat, take the bread, and take My Body: eat the bread, and eat My Body: take and eat the bread corporally and by sense; take and eat Christ spiritually, and by faith. And the like commandment is here implied, and elsewhere expressed concerning the cup, that is, the wine in the cup, (drink ye all of this) which they are said here to obey.

2. "The promise is implied in these words: This is My Body, this is My Blood; that is, lively signs to signify, and effectual instruments to convey Myself, and all the benefits of My death and passion unto you.

"Christ Jesus in the Lord's Supper, by corporal food doth give us a most sure possession of Himself, and near union with Himself. The bread and wine are not only pledges of what shall be bestowed upon us, but effectual means to exhibit the things promised unto us: and therefore Christ useth these words: Take, eat, this is My Body, which is given for you, which is broken for you: and so of the wine: Drink ye all of it, this is My Blood which is shed for you. Now what can be nearer unto us than our meat and drink? We have greater interest in nothing than in our food; for that is made a part of ourselves. If we eat meat in another man's house, after we have received it, it

is more our's than his that prepared it; no one joint is so near another, nor the soul so near the body, as our food is near us when once it is digested and turned into nourishment unto us: which doth plainly represent unto us the near conjunction that is between Christ and every worthy receiver. Hence proceedeth that speech of the Apostle: The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ? that is, do not these cause us to have an effectual communion with Him in all His gracious merits?"

He seems to have overcome his scruples so far as to have been able to accept the living of Fawesley, in Northamptonshire, to which he was presented in 1624. Although a Puritan he still believed his Bible, and was therefore opposed to the proceedings of the Republicans; and it ought to be recorded to his honour, that when the Republicans and Independents vainly attempted to abolish God's ordinance of Episcopacy, and Dr. Brownrig sent to Mr. Dod for his opinion; his answer was, that "he had been scandalized by the proud and tyrannical practices of the Marian Bishops; but now, after sixty years' experience of many protestant Bishops that had been worthy preachers, learned and orthodox writers, great champions for the protestant cause, he wished all his friends not to be an impediment to them, and exhorted all men not to take up arms against the King; which his doctrine, he said, was founded upon the Fifth Commandment, and he would never depart from it." He died in 1645.

Fuller says, "with him the Old Puritan seemed to expire, and in his grave to be interred. Humble, meek, patient, charitable as in his censures of, so in his alms to others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next generation!"—*Clark's Lives of Eminent Divines. Fuller's Worthies. Dod and Cleaver's Sermons.*

DODD, CHARLES.

All that is known of this distinguished writer is the fact that he was a clergyman of the Romish communion in England, and resided at Harvington, in Worcestershire, an old seat of the Throgmorton family, where he died about the year 1745. This account is given us by the Rev. Joseph Berington, an eminent Romish divine, in the last century. It occurs in the Preface to Berington's *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*. Both to Berington and Dodd frequent reference has been made in these volumes, when treating of biographies involving points of history relating to the Romanists in England. Dodd's principal work is his *Church History of England*, from 1500 to 1688, principally with reference to the Roman Catholics. It has lately been republished by Dr. Tierney. It is an ill arranged book, but useful for the documents it supplies. It caused much controversy among the Romanists when it was first published. Berington's character of the work will be interesting to the reader; and, as his *Memoirs of Panzani* are not of easy access, it is here given. It contains much curious matter, collected with great assiduity, and many original records. His style, when the subject admits expression, is pure and unincumbered, his narration easy, his reflections just and liberal. I have seldom known a writer, and that writer a churchman, so free from prejudice and the degrading impressions of party-zeal. But I am not sure that his materials are well arranged. Indeed he was himself, for a long time, so dissatisfied, as, with his own hand, to copy a work so voluminous into two or three different forms. I think I have seen three. There are many repetitions which might have been avoided; but its main defect is the want of a copious index. Of this I have had a painful experience.

The history, of which I am speaking, for many years was little known; but it has at length found its way into the libraries of the curious, and no copies have remained



unsold. The reader will see what use I have made of it in the following pages; and I readily acknowledge my obligations.

Not long after the appearance of the two first volumes, a petulant and captious critique, under the title of *A Specimen of Amendments*, was published by Clerophilus Alethes, that is, ——— Constable, a Jesuit, in 1740. It is extremely peevish, and malevolent as peevish, and weak as malevolent. He rebukes the clergyman principally for his commissions and omissions in regard to the fathers of the society. Them, he more than intimates, he should have never blamed; he should have loaded his page from the pleasant histories of fathers More, Bartoli, and Juvency, with the edifying and wonderful, sometimes miraculous, events of their births, lives, and burials. With such materials as these, he observes, he might have compiled a history truly worthy of the notice of a Christian reader!

Dodd, whose mind it appears was irritable, was not pleased, as I think he might have been, with this ludicrous attack. He was aware that the cant of piety, and certain insinuations breathed with unction, might at once, in the estimation of a misjudging public, blast his character and all the fruits of his thirty years' labour. He, therefore, in 1741, replied to Constable, in a work entitled *An Apology for the Church History of England*. It is written with uncommon acuteness, keen discrimination, a brevity that impresses, and a ridicule that cuts. I only lament that his conscious superiority should have sometimes descended to asperities of language, and recriminating taunts, which prove that he did not sufficiently despise his adversary. The generous mastiff indignantly passes on, heedless of the curs that aim to annoy and tease him.

Other works have been ascribed to Mr. Dodd, of which I believe he was the author, written too acrimoniously against the insidious conduct, as he deemed it, of the Jesuits in their transactions with the secular clergy. He

has also left behind him a variety of papers, some complete, some imperfect, on different subjects, all written with his own hand. Few men have been more indefatigable in research, and patient of that toil that wearies most in the walks of literature.—*Berington's Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani.*

DODD, WILLIAM.

It is necessary to notice this man, because he was the author of several works above contempt, and was for some time one of the most popular preachers in London, having adopted the methodistical style, and being regarded by many as a man of decided piety. He was born in 1729, at Bourne in Lincolnshire, and was admitted as a sizer at Clare-Hall in Cambridge in 1745, where he distinguished himself by his talents. In 1747 he distinguished himself by the publication of little pieces of poetry: and this was followed by other publications evincing talent and taste; among others, *The Beauties of Shakspeare*. In 1753 he was ordained, and settled in London, where his eloquence, as we have before stated, made him the most popular preacher of the day. The following is an extract from Jones of Nayland's *Life of Bishop Horne*.

I am now to conclude with a character, which I introduce with some reluctance; but it is too remarkable to be omitted in an account of Mr. Horne's literary connections; and some useful moral attends it in every circumstance: the character I mean is that of the late Mr. Dodd. Humanity should speak as tenderly of him as truth will permit, in consideration of his severe and lamentable fate.

A similitude in their studies and their principles produced an acquaintance between Mr. Horne and Mr. Dodd: for when Mr. Dodd began the world, he was a zealous favourer of Hebrew learning, and distinguished himself as

a preacher ; in which capacity he undoubtedly excelled to a certain degree, and in his time did much good. After Mr. Dodd had been noticed in the university of Cambridge for some of his exercises, he made himself known to the public by an English poetical translation of Callimachus, in which he discovered a poetical genius. Of the Preface to the translation of Callimachus, which gives the best general account, that was ever given in so short a compass, of the Heathen Mythology, the greater part was written for him by Mr. Horne. It is supposed, with good reason, that Mr. Dodd was obliged to others of his friends for several useful notes on the text of Callimachus. He makes a particular acknowledgment to the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst, "from whose sound judgment, enlarged understanding, unwearied application, and generous openness of heart, the world has great and valuable fruits to expect." Archbishop Secker conceived a favourable opinion of Mr. Dodd, from his performances in the pulpit; and it was probably owing to the influence of the Archbishop that he was appointed to preach the sermons at Lady Moyer's Lectures. But this unhappy gentleman, having a strong desire, like many other young men of parts, to make a figure in the world, with a turn to an expensive way of living; and finding that his friends, who unhappily were suffering under the damnatory title of Hutchinsonians, would never be permitted (as the report then was) to rise to any eminence in the church; Mr. Dodd thought it more prudent to leave them to their fate, with the hope of succeeding better in some other way: and to purge himself in the eye of the world, he wrote expressly against them; laying many grievous things to their charge: some of which were true, when applied to particular persons; some greatly exaggerated; and some utterly false; as it may well be imagined, when it is considered that the author was writing to serve an interest.

There could be no better judge than Mr. Dodd himself of the motives on which he had assumed a new character.

He certainly did himself some good, in the opinion of those who thought he was grown wiser: but being sensible how far he had carried some things, and how much he had lost himself, in the esteem of his old friends, he was anxious to know what some of them said about him. He therefore applied himself one day to a lady of great understanding and piety, who knew him well, and who also knew most of them; desiring her to tell him what Mr. such an one said of him? He says of you, answered she—*Demas hath forsaken us, having loved this present world:* with which he appeared to be much affected. Not that the thing had actually been said, so far as I know, by the person in question; but she, knowing the propriety with which it might have been said, gave him the credit of it. There was a general appearance of vanity about Mr. Dodd, which was particularly disgusting to Mr. Horne, who had none of it himself; and the levity, with which he had totally cast off his former studies, being added to it, both together determined him to drop the acquaintance with little hesitation. He not only avoided his company, but conceiving a dislike as well to his moral as to his literary character, is supposed to have given such an account of him in one of the public papers as made him very ridiculous, under the name of *Tom Dingle*. Not long afterwards Mr. Foote brought him upon the stage for a transaction which reflected great dishonour upon a clergyman, and for which the King ordered him to be struck off the list of his chaplains.

The revolt of Mr. Dodd, if he meant to raise himself in the world by it, did by no means answer his purpose. It brought him into favour with Lord Chesterfield; but that did much more hurt to his mind than good to his fortune. The farther he advanced in life, the more he became embarrassed: and his moral conduct was commonly known to be so far depraved, that a late celebrated gentleman of Clapham, who was privy to it, is said to have predicted some years before, that he would come to an

untimely end. How unsearchable are the wisdom and justice of Divine Providence ! The worldly policy of Dr. Dodd lost him the friendship of some wise and good men, particularly of Mr. Horne, but procured for him the favour of Lord Chesterfield ; and that favour tempted him to another step of policy, which brought him to his death. The memory of Dr. Johnson is much to be honoured for the tender part he took in behalf of Dr. Dodd during the time of his affliction. And let it be remembered, in justice to his former friends, that few persons were more deeply affected by his lamentable end than some of those who had been under the necessity of dropping his acquaintance. I have it on the best authority, that one of them kept a solemn fast till night on the day of his execution, and afterwards moralized very seriously upon his fate in one of the newspapers of the time.

Having disgusted his patrons by his ill disguised and overdone flattery, and having still more disgusted all seriously disposed persons by his extravagance and luxury, he nevertheless still remained a popular preacher, until having offered a bribe of three thousand pounds to Lord Chancellor Apsley's lady if she would obtain for him the living of St. George's, Hanover Square, he was exposed and disgraced, and compelled to live abroad. In the summer of 1776 he went to France ; and, with incredible folly, appeared in a phaeton at the races at Sablons, near Paris, tricked out in all the foppery of French attire. He returned at the beginning of winter, and proceeded to exercise his clerical functions with the same formality and affected earnestness, and with the same popularity as before, particularly at the Magdalen chapel, where he preached his last sermon, February 2nd, 1777. Two days after this he signed a bond, which he had forged as from his pupil Lord Chesterfield, for the sum of £4200, and, upon the credit of it, obtained a considerable sum of money ; but detection instantly followed, he was committed to prison, tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, on the

24th of February, and was executed at Tyburn, on the 27th of June. Besides the works already mentioned, he published an *Elegy on the Death of the Prince of Wales*, 4to, 1751; *Thoughts on the Glorious Epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ*, a poetical Essay, 4to, 1758; *Sermons on the Parables and Miracles*, 4 vols, 8vo, in the same year; *Account of the Rise, Progress, &c., of the Magdalen Charity*, 8vo, 1759; *A Familiar Explanation of the Poetical Works of Milton*, 12mo, 1762; *Reflections on Death*, 12mo, 1763; *Comfort for the Afflicted*, 8vo, 1764; *The Visitor*, 2 vols, 12mo in the same year; A new edition of *Mr. Locke's Commonplace Book to the Bible*, 4to, 1766; a volume of *Poems*, 8vo, 1767; *Sermons on the Duties of the Great*, translated from the French of Masillon, 8vo, 1769; *A Commentary on the Bible*, 3 vols, folio, published in weekly and monthly numbers, commenced in 1765, and completed in 1770. In order to give greater éclat to this undertaking, it was announced that Lord Masham had presented him with the MSS. of Mr. Locke, and that he had helps also from the MSS. of Lord Clarendon, Dr. Waterland, and other celebrated men. The ability and sound judgment with which, in the compilation of this work, Dodd availed himself of the labours of preceding commentators, foreign as well as British, have rendered this a very valuable work; but what is extraordinary with respect to it is, that it was republished as an original work by Dr. Coke, the Methodist, with several retrenchments, but with few, and those unimportant, additions. Dodd's other publications were *Sermons to Young Men*, 3 vols, 12mo, 1771; *The Frequency of Capital Punishments inconsistent with justice, Sound Policy, and Religion*, 8vo, 1772; and *An Oration at the Dedication of Freemason's Hall*, 4to, 1776. He also left behind him *Thoughts in Prison, &c.*, which were published after his death, in 12mo, with *Memoirs of his Life* prefixed. This wretched man was married so early as April 1751, even before he was in orders, or had any certain means of supporting himself;

but his wife, by whom he left no child, was, though largely endowed with personal attractions, deficient in those of birth and fortune, and was little qualified by habits of prudence and economy to arrest her husband's ruinous career. She died in 1784.—*Memoirs prefixed to Thoughts in Prison. Reed's Memoirs. Jones of Nayland. Boswell's Johnson.*

## DODDRIDGE, PHILIP.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE was born in London, June 26, 1702. He was educated under Mr. Jennings, at Kibworth, in Leicestershire; and in 1722 became minister at that place, from whence, in 1725, he removed to Market-Harborough, where he opened an academy in 1729. Shortly after this he settled at Northampton as minister and tutor, and acquired there great reputation, for his learning and candour. He published several works, popular among dissenters, though of course deficient in many essential points of Christian doctrine; the principal were his *Family Expositor*, 6 vols, 4to.; the *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, the *Life of Colonel Gardiner*; and sermons on the *Evidences of Christianity*. Intense application to study brought on a pulmonary complaint for which, after trying the Bristol waters without effect, he went to Lisbon, where he died Oct. 26, 1751, and was buried in the cemetery belonging to the British factory. He seems to have been an amiable, learned, and pious man. As a preacher, he was much esteemed and very popular; but his biographers have had some difficulty in vindicating him from the charge of accommodating his discourses to congregations of different sentiments. One of his descendants published, in 1829-31, a collection of his correspondence and private papers, 5 vols, 8vo.—*Orton's Life of Doddridge.*

DOLBEN, JOHN.

JOHN DOLBEN was born at Stanwick, in Northamptonshire, of which parish his father was rector, in 1625. He was educated at Westminster School, and next at Christ-Church, Oxford; but in the civil wars he served as an officer in the royal army and rose to the rank of major. On the decline of the King's affairs he returned to college, and took his degrees. In 1656 he was ordained, and, in conjunction with Dr. Fell and Dr. Allestree, constantly performed Divine service and administered the Sacraments, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the great comfort of the Royalists then resident in Oxford, particularly the students ejected in 1648, who formed a regular and pretty numerous congregation. The house appropriated to this purpose was the residence of Dr. Thomas Willis, the celebrated Physician. At the Restoration he obtained a canonry of Christ-Church, and the deanery of Westminster. In 1666 he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and from thence in 1683 removed to York. He diligently contributed to the good administration of the service in his cathedral, and in 1685 made a new regulation of Archbishop Grindal's order of preachers, and appointed a weekly celebration of the holy Sacrament; and was, in all respects, as his epitaph expresses it, "an example both to the flock and to the pastors under him." He died of the small-pox in April 1686, in the sixty-second year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral at York. He was a man of distinguished eloquence; but he left only some single sermons preached, on public occasions, before the King. He was a munificent prelate, contributing largely to the rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral, and to the repairs of Christ-Church, Oxford. He rebuilt part of the Episcopal Palace at Bromley, and when dean of Westminster, influenced the chapter to assign an equal share with their own, in the dividends of fines, to the repairs and support of that church. At York he gave one



hundred and ninety-five ounces of plate for the use of the cathedral.—*Le Neve. Wood.*

## DOMINIC, DE GUZMAN.

GUZMAN DE DOMINIC, the patriarch or founder of the order of Dominican Friars, was born in 1170, of a noble family in Old Castile. At fourteen years of age he was sent to the Premonstratensian monastery of Santa Maria de la Vid, on the banks of the Douro, near Aranda; whence he is supposed to have been for a time transferred to study at the public schools of Palencia, which were afterwards transferred to Salamanca. By his learning, his asceticism, and his charity, he soon attracted the attention of the university; and, when his education was finished, he was appointed to preach the Gospel at Palencia. He appears to have taken holy orders, first as a canon of the convent of La Vid: but in 1198 Diego de Azeves, Bishop of Osma, a prelate of high character, having reformed his chapter, and in so doing having abolished the office of dean, constituted himself the prior, and made Dominic sub-prior. He was again respected by all who saw him, for his wonderful austerities and his enthusiastic zeal.

In A.D. 1206, the Bishop was sent by Alfonso IX., King of Castile, on an embassy to La Marche, and he was accompanied by Dominic.

On their return they passed through Languedoc, where they fell in with three Cistercian monks, legates of Pope Innocent III., much discouraged with their ill success in preaching against the heretics called Albigenses. They informed the Bishop and his companions that these heretics deceived the simple people, by an outward show of modesty and holiness, which made their doctrine acceptable. On the contrary, as the missionaries of the pope came with great equipages, fine clothes, horses, and servants, this pride and state caused the people to regard them with aversion. "You have then mistaken the way

of recovering these people to a sounder faith," said the Bishop. "We must combat their show of virtue by a true piety; we must journey on foot, take no money, and imitate the Apostles." He sent back all his own attendants and horses to Osma, and taking Dominic alone for his fellow-labourer, began the task of a preacher about the towns of Languedoc, and invited the rival teachers to conferences, at which he could openly refute them.

This is not the place to enter into a lengthened examination of the doctrines of the Albigenses. Their cause was vigorously attacked and defended in the age of Dominic, by a great number of writers; and it is still a disputed question among writers of the Church of Rome, as well as many of the Church of England. Certain protestant authors, as Sharon Turner and Dr. Gilly, have tried to vindicate the memory of these unfortunate people, as if they had maintained no serious errors; but the contrary appears proved beyond dispute by Mr. Hallam in his *History of the Middle Ages*, and by Mr. Maitland in a work specially devoted to this enquiry.

After some sojourn thus employed in the infected district, Dominic was left alone by his bishop, who returned to his diocese. He continued his labours; and the writers of the age relate many wonderful stories of his preaching, and the miracles by which it was accompanied. What seems to be more certain is, that by a diploma, or brief issued by Honorius III., about A.D. 1217, Dominic and two of his companions, canons of the same Church in Spain, first received the title of "Inquisitors of the Faith." The appointment of the Cistercian monks by Innocent III. was in its nature and object similar; but this appears to have been the first formal institution of that extraordinary machine of terror and exorbitant ecclesiastical power, known by the name of the Inquisition.

To devote one self to the office of proselytizing is always a dangerous employment; for constant discussion is apt to excite too powerfully the malignant passions; and the malignant passions are often mistaken for the excitement

of a holy zeal. This happens to Puritans as well as to Inquisitors, and to this deception Dominic fell a prey.

Innocent III. had already determined to adopt stronger measures, and sent missionaries among the French Puritans to preach a crusade against the Albigenses, offering the same indulgences as had been awarded to the warriors in the Holy Land. The barbarous murder of the pope's legate, Peter of Castelneau, one of the Cistercian monks before mentioned, who was assassinated by a servant of the Count of Toulouse and another ruffian, the count being a favourer of the heretics, together with other outrages committed, aided the eloquence of these missionaries, and an army was raised against the authors of these violences. It does not appear that Dominic was ever thus employed. The duty as yet devolved upon the Bernardines. And the army was headed by a man, afterwards noted for his fanatic ferocity, Simon de Montfort. Dominic was better employed in organizing an order of preaching monks, which, when fully established, was called by his name, and who were to go, two and two, to preach the faith in the districts disturbed by the heretics. Foulques, or Fonquet, Bishop of Toulouse, a man of talent, but of doubtful character, appears to have drawn up the principal rules of the order, which existed in his diocese seven years before. Honorius III. approved it by his confirmation, December 22nd, 1216.

There can be no doubt that the Bernardines, with the fierce and ambitious Arnold Amaline, Abbot of Citeau, at their head, urged on the crusaders to acts of violence and bloodshed, and that in so doing they acted under the sanction of the pope and his advisers, to the eternal disgrace of the Church of Rome; although there were some even among the cardinals who protested against the proceedings. Simon de Montfort and Arnold Amaline were the greater monsters, because religion with them was merely a pretext.

Alban Butler informs us that Dominic had no share in

these transactions, and that the original authors of his Life never speak of his having employed other arms against the heretics than those of instruction and prayer. He quotes also several authorities to shew that Dominic was not the author of the Inquisition, of which he gives the following account from Fontenai: "The Cistercian monks were first charged with a commission by the pope to denounce the Albigenses from the civil magistrate, when it could be done; which was a prelude to the Inquisition: the project of which court was first formed in the council of Toulouse in 1229, and Pope Gregory IX., in 1233, nominated two Dominican friars in Languedoc the first Inquisitors. This tribunal has since been established under different regulations in some parts of Italy, in Malta, Spain and Portugal, while other kingdoms have jealously excluded it."

This statement, however, is contradicted by a Spanish writer, Joseph de Noriega, who asserts, as before mentioned, that Honorius III. first gave the title of Inquisitors to Dominic and his associates; adding, that the Brief conveying this distinction was preserved in the year 1723 at the Black Friars' Convent in Toulouse.

Dean Waddington speaks of Dominic as "that falsely-reputed inventor of inquisitorial torture." It is but just to remove the weight of so bad a reputation from Dominic, if there is no proof of his having participated in these proceedings. But Luis de Paramo, the Spanish authority on the question, has preserved some early documents, which prove that Dominic both acted in concert with the Cistercians, and was probably himself the inventor of the *Sanbenito*, and directed the process to be taken with heretics reconciled to the Church. Is it then probable that he did not assist or consent to the burning of those who perished by hundreds at a time in those bitter days of cruelty? Even if he and his followers did not constitute any independent tribunal, such as the Inquisition afterwards was, and were not clothed with judicial power; still they were

empowered by the pope to discover, to convert, or to arraign before the existing Ecclesiastical courts persons suspected of heresy. They were exhorted to be accusers, but not constituted, as the Inquisitors afterwards became, judges.

Dominic found some difficulty at first in obtaining the papal sanction for his order, that of the Preaching Friars, Innocent III. objecting to a new system. In fact, as Fleury observes, it was at last sanctioned by Honorius III., rather as a reformed Order of Austin Canons, than as a new Religion of Friars Mendicant, Dominic closely following the rules of the Premonstrants, among whom he had been brought up, with the addition of a vow of poverty. The first convent was founded at Toulouse; and in 1221 he sent twelve of his brethren to establish a monastery at Oxford, and another in London. In 1276 the corporation of London gave them two whole streets by the river Thames, where they erected a monastery. The place is still called Blackfriars.

It is not to be supposed, that this new Order rose to such distinction and popularity as it shortly attained without some claims to public respect. It was soon filled with men of the best learning which the age produced; and the name of Thomas Aquinas will for ever rescue it from the charge of having owed its advancement to ignorant zeal only, and the awe which was then inspired in the nations subject to the papal power. But as far as concerns Dominic, it only remains to say that, after the establishment of his order, he remained for some time at Rome; and there, in 1218, having heard of the death of Simon de Montfort before Toulouse, he returned to watch over the labours of his associates who were aiding the crusade. He then visited his native country, founded monasteries in Spain and France, and died at Bologna, in 1221.

It is unnecessary to particularise the strange miracles, which Dominic is said to have performed. From their number and magnitude we should regard them, under any

circumstances, with suspicion; and they are asserted on such questionable authority, that we may be pardoned for at once rejecting them.—*Sismondi. Hist. of Crusades against the Albigenses. Hallam's Middle Ages. Alban Butler. Limborch's Hist. of the Inquisition. Paramo, De Orig. Inquisitionis. Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne. Noriega, Dissertat. de St. Domingo.*

DOMINIS, MARC ANTONIO DE.

MARC ANTONIO DE DOMINIS was born in 1566, in the island of Arbe, on the Dalmatian coast, of the same family with Pope Gregory X. He was educated by Jesuits at Loreto and Padua, and showed talents which caused him to be regarded as a person likely to shed lustre on the order. He soon quitted it, however, was secularized, and promoted to the bishopric of Segni, and, two years later, to the archbishopric of Spalatro. The measures of reform which he introduced in the latter station, the nature of his discourses, and his espousing the cause of the Venetians in the disputes between them and Paul V., brought him under suspicion of Protestantism. Fearing the consequences, he left Spalatro in 1615, and repaired to Venice, where, with the help of Bishop Bedell, he revised a work which he had written against the pope's jurisdiction over other bishops. In 1616 finding himself insecure at Venice, he took refuge, first at Chur, in the Grisons, afterwards at Heidelberg, and finally in England. He was extremely honoured, says Heylin, at his first coming by all sorts of people; entertained in both universities with solemn speeches; presented, complimented, feasted, by the great lords about the court, the bishops, and some principal persons about the city: happy was he that could be honoured with his company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his discourses. He was commended by King James for a constant sojourner and guest

to Archbishop Abbot, in whose chapel, at Lambeth, he assisted at the consecration of some English bishops. He was made afterwards by the King the Master of the Savoy, and Dean of Windsor, and by himself made rector of West-Illesby in the county of Berks; a revenue not so great as to bring him under the suspicion of coming hither out of covetousness, for the sake of filthy lucre; nor so contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his stay here, he published his learned and elaborate book entitled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, never yet answered by the Papists, and perhaps unanswerable. He had given great trouble to the pope by his defection from that Church, and no small countenance to the doctrine of the Protestant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The foundring of so great a pillar, seemed to prognosticate, that the fabric of that church was not like to stand.

In these respects, those of that Church bestirred themselves to disgrace his person, devising many other causes, by which he might be moved or forced to forsake those parts, wherein he durst no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more secret practices, insinuating, that he had neither that respect nor those advancements which might encourage him to stay; that the new Pope Gregory the Fifteenth was his special friend; that he might chuse his own preferments, and make his own conditions, if he would return. And on the other side they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King James, by the arts of Gundamore, ambassador at that time from the King of Spain; and lessened his esteem amongst the clergy, by some other artifices: so that the poor man, being in a manner lost on both sides, was forced to a necessity of swallowing that accursed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own destruction. For having solicited King James by several letters (the last of them bearing date on the third of February) to license his departure home, he

was by the King disdainfully turned over to the high commission, or rather to a special commission directed to Archbishop Abbot, the Lord Keeper, Lincoln, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, with certain of the lords of the privy council. These lords assembling at Lambeth on the 30th of March, and having first heard all his excuses and defences, commanded him to depart the realm within twenty days, or otherwise expect such punishment as by the laws of the land might be laid upon him for holding intelligence by letters, messages, &c., with the popes of Rome. To this sentence he sorrowfully submitted, protesting openly, that he would never speak reproachfully of the Church of England, the articles whereof he acknowledged to be sound and profitable, and none of them to be heretical, as appears by a book entitled, Spalatro's Shiftings in Religion, published (as it was conceived) by Laud's especial friend, the Lord Bishop of Durham.

But he failed to keep his word, for on his arrival at Brussels, he recanted the English Reformation, and used foul language towards our communion. He remained six months at Brussels for the pope's brief, which was at last refused. Thus he was forced to venture to Rome without any safe conduct in writing. He missed the expectation of a bishopric, and lived only on a pension from his holiness. This maintenance, though continued during the life of Pope Gregory the Fifteenth, was stopped by his successor Urban the Eighth. This disappointment being resented by Spalatro, made him venture on some dangerous freedoms, and talk pretended heresy: particularly being at supper with one Cardinal Clesel, an old acquaintance, he happened to drop this expression, that no Catholic had answered his books, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*; adding however, that himself was able to deal with them. It is thought this Clesel was disgusted by Spalatro's declining to apply to him for recovering his interest at the court of Rome: and that he invited this prelate to an



entertainment on purpose to lay a train of discourse, and draw him into a snare. But let this be as it will, he was immediately imprisoned, his study searched, and several papers found amounting to what they called heresy. He died some months after his confinement, and, as some said, by violence. But his own relations at Venice gave other intelligence to Fuller, and affirmed he died a natural death; and that four of the Pope's sworn physicians, upon viewing the corpse, gave in evidence upon oath, that there was no mark of foul play found upon him. However, the dead bishop passed through the forms of the Inquisition, and was pronounced a relapsed heretic. After this sentence, the corpse was publicly burnt by the executioner in the field of Flora.

Besides the work *De Republ. Eccles.*, he published, 1. *Dominis suæ Profectionis a Venetiis Consilium exponit*, Lond. 1616. 2. *Predica Fatta in Londra nella Capella delli Mercieri*, Lond. 1617. 3. *Sui Reditus ex Angliâ Consilium exponit*, Rome, 1623. These were all translated into English. 4. *Scogli del Cristiano Naufragio, quali va Scopendo la Santa Chiesa*, 1618. 5. *De Radiis Visûs et Lucis in Vitris Perspectivis, et Iride*, Venet. 1611.—*Heylin. Collier. Fuller.*

## DONATUS.

Of this person, condemned to an evil fame as the founder of the Donatist schism, little is known. He was Bishop of Casa Nigra, in Numidia, in the early part of the fourth century. Uniting with Secundus, and some other discontented persons at Carthage, he formed a party against Mensurius, the bishop of that city, and his deacon Cæcilianus. They accused Mensurius of being a traditor, one who had given up the Scriptures to the idolaters, on the persecution of Diocletian, and of refusing succour to the Christians who were languishing in prison. But

when, after the death of Mensurius, Cæcilianus was chosen to succeed him, this schism came to an open rupture. Cæcilianus was consecrated before their arrival, and without the co-operation, which was not at all required by the canons, of the Numidian bishops, by Felix of Aptungus. The seventy Numidian bishops, when they arrived at Carthage, found there a small party who were hostile to Cæcilianus; this party consisted of two presbyters who had been disappointed in their hopes of obtaining the bishopric, and of a female named Lucilla, whose riches gave her power. In 312 a synod was held at which Secundus of Tigisis presided, and in which the reader, Majorinus, one of the household of Lucilla, was elected Bishop of Carthage, in opposition to Cæcilianus. Mosheim gives the history of the sect with his usual accuracy and conciseness. After remarking that some persons are of opinion that the Donatists derive their name from another Donatus, whom the Donatists surnamed the Great, he says that this controversy in a short time spread far and wide, not only through Numidia, but even through all the provinces of Africa, which entered so zealously into this ecclesiastical war, that in most cities there were two bishops, one at the head of Cæcilianus' party, and the other acknowledged by the followers of Majorinus. The Donatists having brought this controversy before Constantine the Great, that Emperor, in the year 313, appointed Melchiades, Bishop of Rome, to examine the matter, and named three bishops of Gaul to assist him in this inquiry. The result of this examination was favourable to Cæcilianus, who was entirely acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge: but the accusations that had been brought against Felix of Aptungus, by whom he was consecrated, were left out of the question. Hence it was, that the Emperor, in the year 314, ordered the cause of Felix to be examined separately by Ælian, proconsul of Africa, by whose decision he was absolved. The Donatists, whose cause suffered necessarily by these proceedings, complained much of the judgment

pronounced by Melchiades and Ælian. The small number of bishops, that had been appointed to examine their cause jointly with Melchiades, excited in a particular manner their reproaches, and even their contempt. They looked upon the decision of seventy Numidian prelates, as more respectable than that pronounced by nineteen bishops (for such was the number assembled at Rome,) who, besides the inferiority of their number, were not sufficiently acquainted with the African affairs to be competent judges in the present question. The indulgent Emperor, willing to remove these specious complaints, ordered a second and a much more numerous assembly to meet at Arles in the year 314, composed of bishops from various provinces, from Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain. Here again the Donatists lost their cause, but renewed their efforts by appealing to the immediate judgment of the Emperor, who condescended so far as to admit their appeal; and, in consequence thereof, examined the whole affair himself in the year 316, at Milan, in the presence of the contending parties. The issue of this third trial was not more favourable to the Donatists than that of the two preceding councils, whose decisions the Emperor confirmed by the sentence he pronounced. Hence this perverse sect loaded Constantine with the bitterest reproaches, and maliciously complained that Osius, Bishop of Cordua, who was honoured with his friendship, and was intimately connected with Cæcilianus, had, by corrupt insinuations, engaged him to pronounce an unrighteous sentence. The Emperor, animated with a just indignation at such odious proceedings, deprived the Donatists of their churches in Africa, and sent into banishment their seditious bishops. Nay, he carried his resentment so far as to put some of them to death, probably on account of the intolerable petulance and malignity they discovered, both in their writings and in their discourse. Hence arose violent commotions and tumults in Africa, as the sect of the Donatists was extremely powerful and numerous there. The Emperor endeavoured by embassies and negotiations,

to allay these disturbances, but his efforts were without effect.

These unhappy commotions gave rise, no doubt, to a horrible confederacy of desperate ruffians, who passed under the name of Circumcelliones. This furious, fearless, and bloody set of men, composed of the rough and savage populace, who embraced the party of the Donatists, maintaining their cause by the force of arms, and, overrunning all Africa, filled that province with slaughter and rapine, and committed the most enormous acts of perfidy and cruelty against the followers of Cæcilianus. This outrageous multitude, whom no prospect of sufferings could terrify, and who, upon urgent occasions, faced death itself with the most audacious temerity, contributed to render the sect of the Donatists an object of the utmost abhorrence; though it cannot be made appear, from any records of undoubted authority, that the bishops of that faction, those, at least, who had any reputation for piety and virtue, either approved the proceedings, or stirred up the violence of this odious rabble. In the mean time the flame of discord gathered strength daily, and seemed to portend the approaching horrors of a civil war; to prevent which, Constantine having tried, in vain, every other method of accommodation, abolished at last, by the advice of the governors of Africa, the laws that had been enacted against the Donatists, and allowed the people a full liberty of adhering to the party they liked the best.

After the death of Constantine the Great, his son Constans, to whom Africa was allotted in the division of the empire, sent Macarius and Paulus into that province, with a view to heal this deplorable schism, and to engage the Donatists to conclude a peace. Donatus, surnamed the Great, the principal bishop of that sect, opposed all methods of reconciliation with the utmost vehemence, and his example was followed by the other prelates of the party. The Circumcelliones also continued to support the

cause of the Donatists by assassinations and massacres executed with the most unrelenting fury. They were, however, stopt in their career, and were defeated by Macarius, at the battle of Bagnia. Upon this, the affairs of the Donatists declined apace; and Macarius used no longer the soft voice of persuasion to engage them to an accommodation, but employed his authority for that purpose. A few submitted; the greatest part saved themselves by flight; numbers were sent into banishment, among whom was Donatus the Great; and many of them were punished with the utmost severity. During these troubles, which continued near thirteen years, several steps were taken against the Donatists, which the equitable and impartial will be at a loss to reconcile with the dictates of humanity and justice: nor, indeed, do the Catholics themselves deny the truth of this assertion, and hence the complaints which the Donatists made of the cruelty of their adversaries.

The Emperor Julian, upon his accession to the throne in the year 362, permitted the exiled Donatists to return to their country, and restored them to the enjoyment of their former liberty. This step renewed the vigour of that expiring sect, who, on their return from banishment, brought over, in a short time, the greatest part of the province of Africa, to espouse their interests. Gratian, indeed, published several edicts against them, and in the year 377, deprived them of their churches, and prohibited all their assemblies public and private. But the fury of the Circumcelliones, who may be considered as the soldiery of the Donatists, and the apprehension of intestine tumults, prevented, no doubt, the vigorous execution of these laws. This appears from the number of churches which this people had in Africa towards the conclusion of this century, and which were served by no less than four hundred bishops. Two things, however, diminished considerably the power and lustre of this flourishing sect, and made it decline apace about the end of this century; the one was

a violent division that arose among them, on account of a person named Maximin; and this division, so proper to weaken the common cause, was the most effectual instrument the Catholics could use to combat the Donatists. But a second circumstance, which precipitated their decline, was the zealous and fervent opposition of St. Augustine. This learned Father attacked the Donatists in every way. In his writings, in his public discourses, and in his private conversation, he exposed the dangerous and seditious principles of this sect in the strongest manner; and as he was of a warm and active spirit, he animated against them, not only the province of Africa, but also the whole Christian world, and the imperial court,

The reader is referred for further particulars to the Life of St. Augustine. The Donatists, according to Dollinger, endeavoured to justify their schism dogmatically, by asserting that only that Church, which would not tolerate a known sinner within itself, could be the true Church; that, except their own, all other Churches, (as they admitted the traditors Cæcilianus and Felix of Aptungus into their religious communion), had been corrupted and separated from the true Church, of which they ceased to form a part. They imagined, therefore, that they could persuade men, that the Catholic Church in all other parts of the world had fallen, and was centred only with them in Africa. As, moreover, they asserted that the effects of the Sacraments depended on the merit and sanctity of the minister, they concluded that all Sacraments conferred out of their Church were thereby invalid; they, therefore, rebaptized all those who went over to their party. Like the Novatians, they considered themselves the only pure and holy men, they boasted of their martyrs, and carried their horror of the Catholics, "the sons of the traditors," so far, as to avoid every kind of intercourse with them.—*Mosheim. Dollinger. Guiseler.*

## DONNE, JOHN.

JOHN DONNE was born in London, in 1553. He received his early education from a private tutor, and in his eleventh year was entered at Hart Hall, Oxford, whence he removed, three years after, to Trinity College, Cambridge. He distinguished himself by his proficiency at both universities ; but, by the advice of his relations, who were Romanists, and objected to the necessary oaths, he did not take a degree. About the age of seventeen he became a member of Lincoln's-Inn ; but having, by his father's death, inherited the sum of £3000, he thought it unnecessary to follow any profession, and devoted himself to general literature. His instructors were chosen by his mother and guardians, who charged them to possess his mind with the Romish tenets ; but after a long and deliberate enquiry into the controversy between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, he renounced popery, and determined to conform to the Catholic Church, as it had been reformed in his native country. The spirit in which the search was made, may be best described in his own words, in the Preface to his *Pseudo-Martyr*.

“ They who have descended so low as to take knowledge of me, and to admit me into their consideration, know well that I used no inordinate haste, nor precipitation in binding my conscience to any local religion. I had a longer work to do than many other men ; for I was first to blot out certain impressions of the Roman religion, and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken ; and some anticipations early laid upon my conscience, both by persons who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and others who, by their learning and good life, seemed to me justly to claim an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these matters. And although I apprehend well enough, that this irresolution not only

retarded my fortune, but also bred some scandal, and endangered my spiritual reputation, by laying me open to many misinterpretations; yet all these respects did not transport me to any violent and sudden determination, till I had, to the measure of my poor wit and judgment, surnamed and digested the whole body of divinity, controverted between ours and the Roman Church. In which search and disquisition, that God, Which awakened me then, and hath never forsaken me in that industry, as He is the author of that purpose, so is He the witness of this protestation; that I behaved myself and proceeded therein with humility and diffidence in myself; and by that, which by His grace, I took to be the ordinary means, which is frequent prayer, and equal and indifferent affections."

He accompanied the Earl of Essex to Cadiz in 1596, and on the voyage to the Azores in the following year. He then spent some years in Italy and Spain. On his return to England he was appointed secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, with whom he remained five years. This connexion made him acquainted with Lady Ellesmere's niece, the daughter of Sir George Moore, lieutenant of the Tower. A private marriage took place between them, which so highly enraged Sir George, that he procured Donne's dismissal from the chancellor's service, and caused him to be imprisoned. He was soon released; but Lord Ellesmere, from a regard to his own reputation for consistency, refused Sir George's request that he might be restored to the office of secretary. Sir Francis Woolley, of Pirford, in Surrey, son of Lady Ellesmere by her first husband, afforded Donne and his family an asylum for some years, and shortly before his death prevailed on Sir George to allow them £20 quarterly. At this time, says Isaac Walton, a most generous offer was made him, which must be related in old Isaac's own inimitable style.

God has been so good to His Church, as to afford it in



every age some such men to serve at His altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind, a disposition that is so like to God Himself, that it owes itself only to Him who takes a pleasure to behold it in His creatures. These times He did bless with many such ; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse ; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham ; one, that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals, and a cheerful heart at the age of ninety-four years ; one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining ; and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which *to-morrow were to care for itself*. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short, but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation. He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose : “ Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for you is to propose to you what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you ; which nevertheless I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer ; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne ; for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to me.”

This request being granted, the doctor expressed himself thus :

“ Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities ; I know your expectation of a state-employment ; and I know

your fitness for it ; and I know too, the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises ; and let me tell you that my love begot by our long friendship, and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities ; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported with a pious patience. You know I have formerly persuaded you to waive your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders ; which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request ; the King hath yesterday made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed of a benefice ; the profits of which are equal to those of my deanery, I will think my deanery enough for my maintenance (who am, and resolve to die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it, (which the patron is willing I shall do) if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment, which is to be an ambassador for the God of Glory, that God Who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict ; but he performed his promise and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect :

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you, I have been faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude ; but that it cannot do ; and more I cannot return you ; and I do that with an heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your offer : but, sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good

enough: nor, for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted with God's grace, and humility, render me in some measure fit for it; but, I dare make so dear a friend as you are my confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of His grace banished them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour. And besides; whereas it is determined by the best of casuists, that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling; and though each man may propose to himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which He that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, sir, who says *Happy is that man, whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does*. To these I might add other reasons that dissuade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his present resolution; but the heart of man is not in his own keeping, and he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall now give the reader an account.

After the death of Sir George Woolley, Donne resided for some time at Mitcham, having lodgings in London, where he was consulted by persons of all classes and nations. He afterwards removed, by Sir Robert Drury's desire to Drury-House, in Drury-Lane, London, and in 1609 he attended Sir Robert to Paris, in company with Lord Hay, the ambassador.

About this time, says Isaac Walton, there grew many disputes that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the King had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant : and, his majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them ; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger, and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and, within six weeks brought them to him under his own handwriting, as they be now printed ; the book bearing the name of *Pseudo-Martyr*, printed anno 1610.

When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry ; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities ; and though his majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his majesty for some secular employment for him (to which his education had fitted him), and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour ; who being then at Theobalds with the King, where one of the clerks of the council died, that night the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said " Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are clerk of the council : doubt not my doing this, for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me." But the King gave a positive denial to all requests, and having a discerning spirit replied, " I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher ; and my desire is to prefer him that

way; and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth, the King descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation of him to enter into sacred orders; which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

Walton also informs us that his abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life; but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

In 1614 he received his degree of D.D. In 1617 he became preacher to Lincoln's Inn. In 1621 he was appointed Dean of St. Paul's. Immediately on his coming to the deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel, suffering, as holy David once vowed, his eyes and temples to take no rest till he had first beautified the house of God. In 1624 he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation. He was once, says honest Isaac Walton, and but once, clouded with the King's displeasure; and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the King's then turning the evening lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and the Belief, and Commandments. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for

that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not; and especially about religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion. When the King had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion. At which the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested he believed him; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, "My doctor is an honest man: and, my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me: and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

Isaac Walton, writing at the time of the Rebellion when the Church was silenced, her music with her liturgy being proscribed, gives us a hymn written by the dean, and says "I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's church, in his own hearing, especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, The

words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness when I composed it. And, O the power of church music! that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude: and I observe, that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the Church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and profaned and ruined their sanctuaries; and, because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.

Walton informs us that the latter part of his life may be said to have been a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversion of his thoughts; and would say, that he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness. He died in 1631.

His works are,—1. Sermons, 3 vols, folio. 2. Pseudo-

Martyr, 1610. 3. Devotions, 1625. 4. Biathanatos. 5. Essays in Divinity, 1651. 6. Ignatius, his Conclave, &c., 1653. 7. Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, 1652. 8. Poems. 9. Letters. His collected works were published in 1839, under the judicious editorship of the Rev. H. Alford.—*Walton. Alford.*

## DOUGLAS, GAWIN.

GAWIN DOUGLAS, celebrated rather as a poet, and one of the most distinguished luminaries that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland, than as a divine, was born, the third son of the Earl of Angus, at Brechin, in 1474. He received his education, first in his own country, and next at Paris. On his return to Scotland he was made Provost of the Church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, and afterwards Abbot of Aberbrothick. He was also nominated to the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's, but this dignity he never obtained, owing to the refusal of the pope to confirm the appointment. He was, however, advanced to the Bishopric of Dunkeld, which diocese he improved by many public works, but the violences that prevailed, obliged him at last to retire to England, where Henry VIII granted him a pension. He died of the plague at London in 1552. Bishop Douglas translated the *Æneid* of Virgil, with the additional book of Maphæus, into Scottish verse, printed at London in 1553, 4to. His other works are a poem called "The Palace of Honour," 4to; another, entitled "King Hart," printed in 1786. His Virgil was reprinted at Edinburgh, in folio, with a glossary, in 1710.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DOWDALL, GEORGE.

GEORGE DOWDALL, a native of the county of Louth, was, on the recommendation of Lord St. Leger, Lord-



deputy of Ireland, named Archbishop of Armagh by Henry VIII. in 1543. The terms upon which Henry stood with the Roman see at this time caused the pope to refuse to receive his nominee ; nevertheless Dowdall was at the head of the Romish party in the Church of Ireland. His history is so blended with that of Archbishop Browne, that the reader is referred to Browne's Life, under which article the history of the early days of the Reformation in Ireland is given.

According to Bishop Mant, Archbishop Dowdall was a man of gravity and learning, and a very assiduous preacher, but withal a most zealous advocate for popery : notwithstanding which he was contented to accept his advancement from the King ; and could never succeed in obtaining a provision from Pope Paul the Third, who had conferred the archbishopric on Robert Waucop, by others called Venantius, a Scot, who assisted at the council of Trent, from 1545 to 1547 ; and is transmitted by history with the glory or the shame, of having, about two years before, been the first to introduce the Jesuits into Ireland. with the favour and countenance of the pope ; and the observing reader, as is well remarked by Cox. in his history, written in 1689, "will easily perceive the dismal and horrible effects of that mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland, even to this day."

The conduct of Archbishop Dowdall, first in accepting the primacy from the King, notwithstanding his attachment to the papacy, and then in seeking a nomination from the pope, notwithstanding his acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, leaves him with a character which it were difficult to vindicate from the charge of instability, if not of disregard and dereliction of principle, unless indeed in accordance with the rule of morals which his rival, the titular primate, had lately introduced into the kingdom, as means of undermining the simplicity and godly sincerity of the Gospel.

For a time, however, the new primate seems not to have had much opportunity of manifesting his popish

predilections by any act directly hostile and offensive to the advocates of the reformed religion; and the only measure attributed to him at this period is, that in a synod holden by him in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, June 20, 1545, it was appointed and ordained, "that the festival of St. Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, should be celebrated with nine lessons yearly, *in crastino Johannis et Pauli*," that is, the day following the 26th of June. The canonization of the celebrated primate, Richard Fitzralph, under the designation of "St. Richard of Armagh," seems to have been the act of Dowdall himself: for when, in consequence of the miracles attributed to Fitzralph after his death, Pope Boniface the Ninth had issued a commission to certain prelates for holding an inquiry concerning their truth, the whole matter was permitted to vanish away in silence under the commission.

Thus by recognizing the saintship of his predecessor, and by appointing a rule for celebrating his festival, Archbishop Dowdall gave a convincing testimony of his own religious predilections; but he appears to have had no occasion for placing himself in an attitude of resistance to the Reformation, as no fresh efforts were made for its advancement in the Church of Ireland till after the year 1546, when the death of King Henry made way for his son and successor, King Edward the Sixth.

The zeal he displayed in resisting the introduction of the English liturgy in 1551, with his altercation with the Lord-deputy, is related in the Life of Archbishop Browne. Sir James Crofts was appointed as viceroy in the spring of that year, who is described as "a zealous Protestant;" and agreeably to that character, as well as in dutiful discharge of the trust reposed in him by his Sovereign, he lost no time on his arrival in endeavouring to persuade the primate into submission to the King's order concerning the liturgy. Having, therefore, been sworn into office on the 23rd of May, he wrote an earnest letter to Archbishop Dowdall, on the 16th of June, inviting him to a conference with the other prelates; and sending his letter,

in testimony of respect, by the principal of the primate's suffragans, Staples, Bishop of Meath. This letter, and the primate's answer follow, copies of them being preserved among the Harris MSS., in the Royal Dublin Society's Library, vol. iv. p. 472.

Sir James Crofts, Lord Deputy to George Dowdall, Bishop of Armagh :—

“ Reverend Sir,

“ We understand you are a reverend father of the Church, and do know full well that you are not ignorant of the obedience due unto kings and princes ; for the chief of bishops, namely, Christ, the bishop of our souls, shewed you the way by His tribute given unto Cæsar, the same being formerly confessed and acknowledged to be so due by the bishops of Rome themselves ; therefore, if your lordship will appoint a place where I may conveniently have the happiness of appeasing wrath between the fathers of the Church and your grace, I shall think my labour well spent to make a brotherly love therein, as I profess myself to be a Christian. Yet as I am employed under my most gracious Sovereign Lord, within this his majesty's realm, I needed not have sought this request ; but fearing we shall have an order ere long to alter church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which I would prevent if possible, therefore, out of my hearty affections unto your paternal gravity and dignity, I have written by the chief of the bishops under your jurisdiction, (viz.) the Bishop of Meath, by whom we entreat your grace's answer. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, June 6th, 1552.” (Apparently a mistake in the MS. for June 16th, 1551.)

(Signed.) “ JAMES CROFTS.”

(Superscribed)

“ To the Reverend Father in God, George, Archbishop of Armagh, at St. Mary's Abbey, by Dublin.”

The Archbishop of Armagh's answer to the Lord Deputy.

“ Right Honourable,

“ Your kind and hearty overtures came unto me unexpected. I fear it is in vain for me to converse with an obstinate number of churchmen, and in vain for your lordship to suppose the difference between us can be so soon appeased, as our judgments, opinions, and consciences are different: yet do accept of your honour's friendly proffers. I shall rejoice to see your lordship, and would have waited on you in person: but having withdrawn myself for a long space during your predecessor's government, and for a while since, it is not so meet for me to appear at your lordship's palace. This, I hope, is a sufficient reason from

“ Your lordship's humble servant,

“ GEORGE ARMACHANUS.”

“ To the Right Honourable Sir James Crofts, Knight, his majesty's Viceroy of Ireland.”

In pursuance of this negotiation, the proposed conference took place the following day, in the great hall of St. Mary's Abbey, where the primate had for some time resided in a state of dignified or sullen seclusion, and where the Lord Deputy condescended to his humour, and attended him accompanied by the Bishop of Meath, and Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare. In the debate which ensued, the particulars of which are extant in a manuscript of the British Museum, the principal interlocutors were the Primate and the Bishop of Meath, and occasionally the Lord Deputy. And although neither party gave way to the sentiments of his opponent, and no profitable result accrued from the discussion, it is gratifying to notice the viceroy's demeanour of respectful courteousness towards the dignified ecclesiastic, whose opinions he disapproved; and how the suffragan bishop, whilst he frankly controverted and effectually repelled the positions of his metropolitan,

accosted him with the most becoming inoffensiveness, temperance, and reverence of language and of manner.

The conference was opened by this question from the Archbishop :

“ My lord, why is your honour so for my compliance with these clergymen, who are fallen from the mother Church ?”

*Lord Deputy.* “ Because, reverend father, I would fain unite you and them, if possible.”

*Archbishop.* “ How can that be expected, when you have demolished the mass, to bring in another service of England’s making ?”

*Lord Deputy.* “ Most reverend father, I make no doubt but here be those, who will answer your grace, which behoofs them best to answer in this case, as it belongs to their function.”

*Bishop of Meath.* “ My lord says well, as your grace was talking of the mass, and of the antiquities of it.”

*Archbishop.* “ Is it not ancients than the liturgy, now established without the consent of the mother Church ?”

*Bishop of Meath.* “ No, may it please your grace: for the liturgy, established by our gracious King Edward and his English clergy, is but the mass reformed and cleansed from idolatry.”

*Archbishop.* “ We shall fly too high, we suppose, if we continue in this strain. I could wish you would hearken unto reason, and so be united.”

*Bishop of Meath.* “ That is my prayer, reverend sir, if you will come to it.”

*Archbishop.* “ The way then to be in unity is not to alter the mass.”

*Bishop of Meath.* “ There is no Church, upon the face of the whole earth, hath altered the mass more oftener than the Church of Rome: which hath been the reason, that causeth the rational sort of men to desire the liturgy to be established in a known tongue, that they

may know what additions have been added, and what they pray for."

*Archbishop.* "Was not the mass from the Apostles' days? how can it be proved, that the Church of Rome hath altered it?"

*Bishop of Meath.* "It is easily proved by our records of England. For Cœlestinus, Bishop of Rome, in the fourth century after Christ, gave the first introit of the mass, which the clergy was to use for preparation; even the psalm, '*Judica me Deus, &c;*;' Rome not owning the word mass till then."

*Archbishop.* "Yes, long before that time: for there was a mass called St. Ambrose's mass."

*Bishop of Meath.* "St. Ambrose was before Cœlestinus: but the two prayers which the Church of Rome had foisted and added unto St. Ambrose's works are not in his general works: which hath caused a wise and a learned man lately to write, that those two prayers were forged, and not to be really St. Ambrose's."

*Archbishop.* "What writer dares write, or doth say so?"

*Bishop of Meath.* "Erasmus, a man who may well be compared to either of us, or the standers by. Nay, my lord, no disparagement if I say so to yourself: for he was a wise and a judicious man, otherwise I would not have been so bold, as to parallel your lordship with him."

*Lord Deputy.* "As for Erasmus's parts, would I were such another: for his parts may parallel him a companion for a prince."

*Archbishop.* "Pray, my lord, do not hinder our discourse; for I have a question or two to ask Mr. Staples."

*Lord Deputy.* "By all means, reverend father, proceed."

*Archbishop.* "Is Erasmus's writings more powerful than the precepts of the mother Church?"

*Bishop of Meath.* "Not more than the holy Catholic one, yet more than the Church of Rome, as that Church hath run into several errors since St. Ambrose's days."

*Archbishop.* “How hath the Church erred since St. Ambrose’s days? Take heed lest you be not excommunicated.”

*Bishop of Meath.* “I have excommunicated myself already from thence. Therefore with Erasmus I shall aver, that the prayers in St. Ambrose’s mass, especially that to the Blessed Virgin Mary, appears not to be in his ancient works: for he had more of the truth and of God’s Spirit in him, than our latter bishops of Rome ever had, as to pray to the Blessed Virgin, as if she had been a goddess.

*Archbishop.* “Was she not called ‘blessed;’ and did she not prophesy of herself, when she was to bear our Saviour Jesus Christ, that she would be called by all men ‘blessed;’”

*Bishop of Meath.* “Yes, she did so. But others be called ‘blessed,’ even by Christ Himself. In His first sermon, made by Him in the mount, ‘blessed,’ saith He, ‘be the meek, be the merciful, be the pure of heart: blessed be those persecuted for righteousness’ sake, and those that hunger and thirst after the same:’ and He blessed the low-minded sort, of which few or none of the bishops of Rome can be said to be called since Constantine’s reign. Christ also to all those who shall partake of His heavenly kingdom, will likewise say unto them, ‘Come, ye blessed of My Father, &c.’”

*Archbishop.* “Why, pray, is it not probable, that St. Ambrose desired the Blessed Virgin’s mediation for him, as she is the mother of Christ? Are not children commanded by God’s commandments to reverence and obey their parents? therefore, as He is a man, why may He not be subject?”

*Bishop of Meath.* “St. Ambrose knew better, that he ought to apply to Jesus, the sole and only Mediator between him and God; and that, as Christ is man, He is the Mediator. If the Blessed Virgin, therefore, can command her Son in heaven to mediate, then St. Ambrose

would have made her a goddess, or a coadjutor with God, Who is Himself omnipotent. And lastly, if we make her a mediator as well as Christ, we do not only suspect Christ's insufficiency, but mistrust God's ordinances, thinking ourselves not sure by His promises to us and our forefathers, that Christ should be our Mediator."

*Archbishop to the Lord Deputy.* "My lord, I signified to your honour, that all was in vain, when two parties should meet of a contrary opinion; and that your lordship's pains therein would be lost, for which I am heartily sorry."

*Lord Deputy.* "The sorrow is mine, that your grace cannot be convinced."

*Archbishop.* "Did your lordship but know the oaths we bishops do take at our consecrations, signed under our hands, you would not blame my stedfastness. This oath, Mr. Staples, you took with others, before you were permitted to be consecrated. Consider hereon yourself, and blame not me for persisting as I do."

*Bishop of Meath.* "My Lord Deputy, I am not ashamed to declare the oath, and to confess my error in so swearing thereunto. Yet I hold it safer for my conscience to break the same, than to observe the same. For when your lordship sees the copy thereof, and seriously considers, you will say it is hard for that clergyman, so swearing, to be a true subject to his King, if he observe the same: for that was the oath, which our gracious King's royal father caused to be demolished, for to set up another, now called the oath of supremacy, to make the clergy the surer to his royal person, his heirs and successors."

"Then," as the manuscript narrative concludes the account, "the Lord Deputy rose and took leave; so likewise did the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, who waited on his lordship."

The contest which took place for precedence between



the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin is narrated in the life of Archbishop Browne, to whom for a brief space it was conceded. Archbishop Dowdall, when deprived of the primacy, removed beyond the seas, which was regarded by the government as tantamount to a resignation of his archbishopric, and a successor was appointed. Archbishop Dowdall, however, was restored by Queen Mary in 1553, and was commissioned, with others, to restore popery to the Church of Ireland.

The restored primate was not remiss in testifying his zeal for the peculiarities of his religion, which had been shaken by the inroads of the Reformation.

In 1554, the same year in which he acted in the same cause under the royal commission, he held a provincial synod in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, or Tredagh, as the town was then called; the constitutions of which chiefly tended to the restoration of popery and the deprivation of the married clergy, and of which one article laid an obligation upon all rectors and vicars, who did not know how to preach, of engaging a substitute to preach for them four times a year. The next year he caused a day of jubilee to be observed through all Ireland for the restoration of the Romish religion. And in 1556 he held another provincial synod at Drogheda, in which little more was done than the giving of liberty to husbandmen and labourers to work on certain festivals during harvest.

Archbishop Dowdall died in London, in 1558.—*Mant's Hist. of the Church of Ireland.*

#### DOWNHAM, GEORGE.

GEORGE DOWNHAM was son of William Downham, Bishop of Chester, and was born in that city. He was educated at Cambridge, was chosen fellow of Christ's College in 1585, and was afterwards Professor of Logic. James I., to whom he had been chaplain, raised him to the Bishopric of Derry in 1616. Among his works are,—

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1. A Treatise concerning Antichrist, 1603. 2. The Christian's Sanctuary, 1604. 3. Papa Antichristus, 1620. 4. The Covenant of Grace, Dublin, 1631. 5. A Treatise on Justification, London, 1633, folio. 6. The Christian's Freedom, Oxford, 1635. 7. A Treatise on Prayer, 1640, and some sermons. He died in 1634.—*Ware*.

## DRELINCOURT, CHARLES.

CHARLES DRELINCOURT was born in 1595, at Sedan, where his father occupied the post of registrar to the supreme council. He was educated in the classics and theology in his native town; whence he was sent to Saumur, to study philosophy under Duncan. In 1618 he was admitted to the ministry, and officiated for some time in the neighbourhood of Langres, till 1620, when he removed to Paris, where he settled as pastor to the Church at Charenton. In 1625 he married the daughter of a rich merchant at Paris, by whom he had sixteen children. He wrote a treatise on the preparation for the Lord's Supper, and Consolations against the Fears of Death, which, besides undergoing numerous impressions in the French, have been translated into the German, Flemish, Italian, and English languages. His Charitable Visits, also, in five volumes, and three volumes of Sermons, which he published, were very favourably received. Among his controversial pieces, his Catechism, and his Abridgment of Controversies, have been most frequently reprinted.—*Gen. Dict.*

## DRIEDO, OR DRIDOENS, JOHN.

JOHN DRIEDO flourished in the sixteenth century, a native of Turnhout, in Brabant. He studied at the university of Louvain, where he was a pupil of Adrian Florent, afterwards Adrian VI., and became qualified for

the theological chair. In the controversy between the Lutherans and Roman Catholics he took an active part ; and, according to the testimony of Erasmus, in one of his letters, disputed both coolly and learnedly. He died at Louvain in 1535. He wrote Lib. IV. De Scripturis et Dogmaticis Ecclesiasticis ; Lib. II. De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio ; De Concordia Liberi Arbitrii et Prædestinationis ; De Captivitate et Redemptione Generis Humani ; and De Libertate Christiana.—*Moreri*.

## DRUMMOND, ROBERT HAY.

ROBERT HAY DRUMMOND, the second son of George Henry, Earl of Kinnoul, by a daughter of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, was born in London in 1711. He was educated at Westminster School, from whence he removed to Christ Church, Oxford, of which college he became student. On entering into orders he was appointed chaplain to the King, whom he attended abroad, and preached a thanksgiving sermon before him after the victory at Dettingen. On his return he was installed prebendary of Westminster ; and in 1748 made Bishop of St. Asaph. In 1761 he was translated to Salisbury, and the same year preached the coronation sermon ; soon after which he was removed to the see of York. He died in 1776. He published six occasional sermons, which were collected, with a Letter on Theological Study, in one vol. 8vo. 1803, to which his Life is prefixed.—*Memoir as above*.

## DRUSIUS, OR DRIECHE, JOHN.

JOHN DRUSIUS, divine, was born at Oudenard in 1550. He was educated at Ghent and Louvain, after which he studied Hebrew at Cambridge. In 1572 he became professor of the Oriental languages at Oxford, but, in 1576, he returned to Louvain and studied law. He next ob-

tained a professorship at Leyden, and lastly at Franeker, where he died in 1616. He wrote several learned works. His son John, who died in England in 1609 at the age of twenty-one, was versed in the learned languages, particularly the Hebrew.—*Wood*.

#### DRUTHMAR, CHRISTIAN.

CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, a monk in the abbey of Corby, in the ninth century, was born in Aquitaine, and afterwards taught in the monasteries of Stavelo and Malmedy, in the diocese of Liege. He left a commentary on St. Matthew, Strasburg, 1514; or Haguenau, 1530, folio; and in the Library of the Fathers. It contains some opinions respecting transubstantiation, decidedly opposed to those of modern Romanism, though they were regarded as orthodox at the time of his writing. He commenced a commentary on St. Luke and St. John, which he did not live to finish. For St. Mark he refers his pupils to a commentary of Bede. His commentary on St. Luke and St. John was printed at Haguenau, in 1530, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.—*Moreri*. *Dupin*.

#### DUC, NICHOLAS LE.

NICHOLAS LE DUC, a French priest, in the diocese of Rouen, was at first settled on a benefice at Trouville en Caux, which he quitted in order to remove to Paris, where he was for fifteen years vicar of St. Paul's; but in 1731, being accused of Jansenism, and interdicted by the archbishop from engaging in his clerical functions, he devoted himself entirely to a studious life. He had a considerable share in the translation of De Thou's History, in 16 vols, 4to. He was also the author of a work entitled *L'Année Ecclésiastique*, in 15 vols, 12mo; and translated some of Cardinal Bona's "Way to Heaven, and shortest Way to God;" Hymns from the Breviary of Paris.—*Biog. Universelle*.

## DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS was born about 1265, at Dunstance, in the parish of Emildon, or Embleton, near Alnwick, in Northumberland. Some writers have contended that he was a Scotchman, and that the place of his birth was Dunse, in Berwickshire ; and others have asserted that he was an Irishman. When a youth, he joined himself to the Minorite friars of Newcastle ; and, being sent by them to Oxford, he was admitted into Merton College, of which he became fellow. While a student at the university, he is said to have been very eminent for his knowledge in the civil and canon law, in logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, mathematics, and astronomy. Upon the removal of William Varron from Oxford to Paris, in 1301, Duns Scotus was chosen to supply his place in the theological chair, which office he sustained with such reputation, that it is said more than 30,000 scholars came to the university to be his hearers. In 1304 he removed to Paris. At a meeting of the monks of his order at Toulouse, in 1307, he was created regent ; and about the same time he was placed at the head of the theological schools at Paris. He has the ill fame of being the first who broached the grand error which is now so prevalent in the Church of Rome, but was at first strongly opposed by the Dominicans, of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. He influenced the university of Paris to adopt the heresy, and supported his cause with such subtilty of logic, that he obtained on that occasion the title of Doctor Subtilis, the subtle doctor, which he deserved for the pregnancy of his parts. His celebrated attack on the system of Thomas Aquinas drew this skilful reasoner very frequently into vain and idle distinctions, but in all his dialectic disputes he maintained a steady zeal for the promotion of real knowledge. He endeavoured to ascertain some certain principle of knowledge, whether intellectual or sensible, and applied himself to demonstrate the truth and necessity of revelation. As a realist he differed from Thomas,

by asserting that the universal is contained in the particular not merely *in posse* but *in actu*: that it is not created by the understanding but communicated to it: that the nature of things is determined to particular or universal by a higher principle; with other opinions too obscure to be satisfactorily detailed. In psychology he opposed the belief that the faculties of the soul were distinct, and maintained the freedom of the will. In theology he endeavoured to fortify the cosmological proof of the existence of the Deity, and to demonstrate the Divine attributes. He asserted the Supreme power of the Divine Will in all things, even in the establishment of the laws of morality; which he deduced from that alone. Occasionally he expressed doubts respecting the admissibility of a theology founded on principles of reason.

Duns Scotus was the founder of a school, the Scotists, who distinguished themselves for subtilty of disputation, and for incessant disputes with the Thomists. These disputes were so frequently mixed up with human passions, that science derived from them little benefit; and it very frequently happened that the points in question instead of being elucidated were obscured through their controversies.

In 1308, Duns Scotus was ordered by Gonsalvo, the general of the Minorites, to remove to Cologne, on the road to which he was met in solemn pomp, and conducted thither by the whole body of the citizens. Not long after his arrival in this city he was seized with an apoplexy, which carried him off, on the 8th of November, 1308, in the forty-third, or, as others say, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Paul Jovius's account of the mode of his death is, that when he fell down of his apoplexy he was immediately interred as dead; but that, afterwards coming to his senses, he languished in a most miserable manner in his coffin, beating his head and hands against its sides, till he died. He was the author of numerous works, several of which have been separately published; and in 1474, the English Franciscans printed a collection of the

larger part. At length they were collected together by Luke Wadding, an Irishman, illustrated with notes, and having a Life of the author prefixed, and published at Lyons in 1639, in 12 vols, fol.—*Wharton. Tennemann.*

## DUNSTAN.

DUNSTAN was born in 925, of a noble family, in Wessex, the son of Heorstan and Cynethryth, or Cynedrida, who appear to have resided near Glastonbury, and was nephew of Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was educated in the school of Glastonbury. He seems to have been a delicate boy, and to have been subjected to a brain fever, when he thought himself, and was believed by others, to have been haunted by devils, and rescued by Divine power.

By his uncle, Archbishop Athelm, he was presented to King Athelstan, in whose court, by his engaging manners, and his various accomplishments, especially in music, he became a favourite. The jealous courtiers attributed his success to magic, and, on the death of Athelm, he left the court, and repaired to the house of another uncle, Alfheh, Bishop of Winchester. On his road he was waylaid by his persecutors and sorely injured.

He could not have been more than eighteen or nineteen years of age when he reached Winchester, where he fell in love with a maiden in every respect his equal. The match was opposed by his uncle, as there existed a prejudice against the marriage of the clergy, which would have prevented his rising in the Church when old enough to take orders. The bishop urged him to embrace the strict rule of monastic life, then prevalent in France; but for monachism Dunstan avowed his distaste. His contending feelings, however, brought on another attack of fever, and then, listening to the exhortations of his uncle, he vowed, if he recovered, to retire from the world.

On his recovery, he built himself a small cell adjacent to the walls of the church of Winchester. Here he pursued his studies as well as his devotions; and not only in writing and illuminating books, but in the manufacture of articles for the ornament of the church, his skill was evinced.

In those days there was, of course, a learned class by whom the genius of Dunstan was respected. But there was, if we may so express ourselves, no middle class in literature. The effect of superior genius, therefore, appeared to the great bulk of the people like black-art, of which Dunstan was suspected. It is not a matter of surprise that the youthful Dunstan, accused of magic, should at length be led to think that there was something supernatural about him, and, ever since the brain-fever of his boyhood, he appears to have laboured under a monomania on the subject of demons, who, he thought, were always attempting to annoy him. To this period we are to give the story of his interview with the devil. The devil, it is said, came to his hut in the form of a man, and asked him to beat a piece of iron, which he brought with him, into a certain form. This Dunstan did, but suspecting who his visitor was, suddenly seized the fiend by the nose with his red hot tongs, and forced him to resume his former shape. It is probable that the young enthusiast may have been insulted, that he revenged the insult in the manner described, and imagined that in doing so he punished the devil, of whom he stood in such constant dread at this period of his life.

In 940 Dunstan was recalled to court by King Edward, who soon afterwards made him Abbot of Glastonbury. England had hitherto abounded with conventual foundations liberally endowed, but these were rather colleges than regular monasteries. They afforded accommodation to the secular clergy, for youth under education, and for some few ascetics bound by solemn vows. Dunstan was ambitious of introducing regular monachism under the most popular



form, as it existed on the continent, the Benedictine ; and he now commenced that struggle for ascendancy over the secular clergy, on the part of the Benedictines, which continued till after the Norman Conquest. It was doubtless by Dunstan, his chaplain, that King Edward was induced to build and endow a regular monastery at his beloved and venerated Glastonbury. This was the first establishment of the kind ever known in England, and Dunstan was the first Benedictine abbot. He may indeed be regarded as the father of English monachism, though the 'Father of Monks' is the title usually given to his friend and pupil Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, by whom the details were matured. To complete his foundation, he dealt hardly with the secular clergy, who had hitherto resided at the establishment of Glastonbury. But he formed an admirable school, in which were educated the most celebrated ecclesiastics of the latter half of the tenth century. The abbot himself, in spite of his success, still imagined himself haunted by demons.

Dunstan remained in honour both in his monastery and at court till the reign of Edwy, to whom he rendered himself obnoxious by opposing the rising corruptions of the court. A tragic story is invented with reference to the amours of that young King, into the facts of which it is unnecessary to enter, as Dunstan was only concerned in the opening scene. The King having insulted his nobles at his coronation feast, by retiring to the apartment of his mistress, a married woman, was brought back to the banqueting hall by Dunstan, and Kynesey, Bishop of Lincoln, who used on this occasion something between persuasion and force. The next year Dunstan was banished by the offended and profligate King, and his monks at Glastonbury dispersed.

But on the partition of the kingdom, Edgar sent for Dunstan, who returned amidst the acclamations of the people, and, having recalled his monks to Glastonbury, he was, in 958, made Bishop of Worcester, to which was

added soon after the see of London. In 962 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, holding in commendam the sees of London and Rochester. At this time he was only about thirty-eight years of age.

While Archbishop of Canterbury he gave a proof of faithfulness, which was not always imitated by his successors. King Edgar had carried away by force a beautiful damsel, Wulfrida, from the monastery at Wilton. And when Dunstan next came into the royal presence he refused to give his hand to the King, "I will never be the friend," he said, "of him to whom God is an enemy." Edgar fell on his knees and acknowledged his fault, and Dunstan enjoined him a penance of seven years, during which he was never to wear his crown. Among the acts of penance enjoined upon him, it ought to be noted that this was one, to transmit at his own expense to the different counties of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, copies of Holy Scripture.

Nor may we omit another instance of the Archbishop's independence worthy of imitation. He excommunicated a powerful earl who had made an incestuous marriage; the earl, finding royal interference of no avail to remove the penalty, spent his money freely at Rome, and obtained a letter from the Pope, commanding Dunstan to absolve him. But the Archbishop resolutely refused to obey that bribed foreign potentate, until the sin had been forsaken: the Pope had not at this time obtained the power he afterwards usurped over our Church, though it is clear that if Dunstan had been a weak man, a precedent for papal interference at this time would have been established.

During the reign of Edgar Dunstan was his chief adviser. About forty monasteries were at this time built, and most of them richly endowed. And the whole religious enthusiasm of the Church ran in that direction, a circumstance which confirms the statement that the secular clergy had become corrupt, and that it was by turning the seculars into regulars a reform was hoped to be effected.

Dunstan appears, though zealous in this cause, to have been a liberal man, and to have tolerated the secular clergy—the canons remained unmolested at Canterbury, while at Worcester and Winchester the bishops resorted to acts almost of persecution to convert their cathedral churches into monasteries. But the canons ejected, or menaced with ejection, and the married clergy especially, very naturally began to complain of the treatment they had received. Their cause was espoused by several of the more powerful of the laity. This led to a convocation of the national estates at Winchester in 968, where heavy charges were brought against the married clergy. To this it was replied, that all reasonable causes of complaint should be removed. The majority of the nobles inclined to the side of the married priests, and the King himself began to waver. But the council came to no decision. There is a story that the council separated, alarmed at hearing a voice from a crucifix in the wall, saying, “God forbid it to be done.” But modern writers are slow to believe this, as it appears to be an apocryphal legend posterior to the Conquest.

In the reign of Edward, the successor of Edgar, another assembly was held at Calne, to settle the disputes between the married clergy and the monks, when suddenly the floor of the room in which they met gave way, and many persons were seriously injured, some killed, Dunstan himself being left alone standing upon a beam. As Mr. Churton observes, a similar accident has occurred almost within the memory of man, when the floor of a court of justice, at a county assize, giving way, many persons were maimed, and some killed, while Sir Eardley Wilmot was left in his seat against the wall. We can have no sympathy with those party historians, who, without the shadow of a proof, think fit to insinuate that Dunstan contrived this wholesale destruction to carry his point—his point, indeed, not being carried, for no decision was come to. Dunstan was a pious and learned prelate,

and there is nothing in his history to justify so foul a suspicion. Though he erred in introducing monachism into our Church, it was the error of a mind, mistaken it may be, but seeking only the glory of God by a reformation of the Church of England, according to the notions of reformation then prevalent.

Nor were his notions of reformation confined to the introduction of monachism. The church laws passed in the reign of Edgar are to be attributed to Dunstan, and many of these are excellent, and, of course, where not subsequently altered, are still binding: it is enjoined that every clergyman shall do his duty in his own parish, and not interfere with another; that he must not appear in church without his surplice; that he must not administer the Eucharist in private houses, except in sickness; that every parish priest must preach every Sunday to his people. There is one law which makes the Lord's Day to commence at noon on Saturday and last till Monday's dawn.

Archbishop Dunstan felt deeply the murder of the young King by his step-mother. He officiated unwillingly at the coronation of Ethelred, and predicted that, in vengeance for his brother's blood, the sceptre would pass from his house to a nation of strangers. From that time he ceased to interfere in state affairs. He lived to see the fulfilment of his prophecy commenced. In Ethelred's third year, a fleet of northern pirates appeared on the coast of England, and their invasions continued till they had subdued the kingdom under a Danish dynasty. Dunstan died May 19th, 988, in the 64th year of his age, and was buried at Canterbury.

The strong measures adopted by Dunstan against the secular and married clergy of our Church have made him unpopular among ourselves; but it is trusted that the life of this most distinguished and learned man has been written with impartiality.—*Wright. Soames. Churton. Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws.*

## DUPIN, LOUIS ELLIS.

LOUIS ELLIS DUPIN, a celebrated historian, to whom the reader of the Ecclesiastical Biography is so often referred, was born at Paris, in 1657, of an ancient and noble family. After having gone through his course of grammar learning and philosophy in the college of Harcourt, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and frequented lectures of divinity in the Sorbonne. Afterwards he applied himself entirely to the reading of councils, fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, Greek as well as Latin; and, being found at his examination among the first rank, he was admitted doctor of the Sorbonne, upon the first of July, 1684. In 1686, when the contest was at its height, how far the Gallican Church could dispense with the institution of Bishops at Rome, (*See Life of Bossuet*) Dupin published a treatise on the Ancient Discipline of the Church. It is written in Latin, and it tends to represent all that can be called power and jurisdiction in the see of Rome, as acquired, if not abusive, leaving to the Pope a mere primacy. He considered the Church to have reached her perfection in the fourth century, and that we should endeavour, as far as circumstances will admit, to restore the discipline of that age. In the same year he commenced his great work entitled, *Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclesiastique, &c.*, the first volume of which, containing the writers of the first three centuries, was printed at Paris, 1686, 8vo, and was followed by four volumes in succession, published at different periods from that time to the year 1719. But before Dupin had completed his *Account of the Writers of the first Eight Centuries*, the freedom with which he had expressed his opinion on the style, the sentiments, and the conduct of many of them, excited the hostility of several monks of the Benedictine order, whose strictures were published under the inspection of father Matthew Petit-Didier, afterwards Bishop of Macra. These remarks engaged Dupin in a defence of what he had

written, in which his abilities were advantageously displayed. But his labours met with the still more formidable opposition of Bossuet, who soon perceived how much an honest reference to the doctrines and the writers of antiquity would damage the Romish cause, and who, therefore, collected a number of propositions from his volumes, which he pronounced to be of a dangerous tendency, and which he made the subject of complaint against the author to Harlay, Archbishop of Paris. Dupin attempted to calm the resentment of his ecclesiastical superiors by a retraction of the opinions of which he had been accused, in hopes of preventing his work from being entirely suppressed. It did not, however, escape the censure and condemnation of the archiepiscopal court, which was pronounced in 1693, and the learned Sorbonnist was forbidden to proceed. In order to evade the prohibition he continued his undertaking under a different form and title; henceforth interweaving an account of ecclesiastical writers with a general history of the Church. He thus went on, concluding with the beginning of the eighteenth century, the whole making 47 vols, 8vo, which were reprinted at Amsterdam, in 19 vols, 4to. It was also begun to be translated into Latin, and the first three volumes were printed at Amsterdam; but no farther progress was made. Dupin was engaged at his death in a Latin translation, to which he intended to make considerable additions. This *Bibliothèque* was likewise to be translated into English, and printed at London in several volumes in folio, usually bound in seven. A better edition was printed in three vols, folio, by Grierson of Dublin. The translation appears to have been executed partly by Digby Cotes, and revised by Wotton. The translation has been censured by Mr. Maitland. Mr. Dowling observes of the work itself, that at the time it was written, it was undoubtedly an important work, and must have had considerable influence on the progress of Church-history. The author was a man of extensive and various learning, and of an inde-

pendent and candid mind. But he appears to have been a person of little originality. His liberality too frequently seems mere indifferentism; and his book abounds throughout with evident marks of carelessness and haste. The writer of these pages willingly acknowledges his obligations to an early guide, but it is right to warn the student that the work of Dupin is very far from exhibiting the present state of ecclesiastical knowledge.

In addition to Dupin's other literary labours, he was commissary in most of the affairs of the faculty of theology of the Sorbonne, was professor of divinity in the Royal College, and was for many years editor of the *Journal des Sçavans*, and carried on an extensive correspondence with learned men. Dupin was again brought into trouble by the celebrated Case of Conscience. This Case of Conscience was a paper signed by forty doctors of the Sorbonne, in 1702, the purport of which allows some latitude of opinion with respect to the sentiments of the Jansenists. It occasioned a controversy of some length in France, and most of those who signed it were censured or punished. Dupin, in particular, was not only deprived of his professorship, but banished to Chatellerault. At length he was induced to withdraw his subscription, and, by the interest of some friends, was permitted to return; but his professorship was not restored to him. Clement XI. sent formal thanks to Louis XIV. for bestowing this chastisement upon Dupin; and in the brief which he addressed to the King on that occasion, characterised him as "a man who held very pernicious opinions, and who had been guilty of a criminal opposition to the proper authority of the apostolical see." Dupin afterwards met with much trouble under the regency, on account of the correspondence which he held with Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, which had for its object the formation of a union between the Church of England and the Church of France. A succinct account of the correspondence is given by Butler.

On the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Christina of Wolfenbuttell, a Lutheran, with the Archduke of Austria, her court consulted the faculty of theology, of the University of Helmstadt, on the question, "Whether a protestant Princess, destined to marry a Roman Catholic Prince, could, without wounding her conscience, embrace the Roman Catholic religion?" The faculty replied, that, "it could not answer the proposed question, in a solid manner, without having previously decided, whether the catholics were, or were not engaged in errors, that were fundamental, and opposed to salvation; or, (which was the same thing), whether the state of the Roman Catholic Church was such, that persons might practise in it the true worship of God, and arrive at salvation." This question the divines of Helmstadt, discussed at length; and concluded in these terms: "After having shown, that the foundation of religion, subsists in the Roman Catholic religion, so that a person may be orthodox in it, live well in it, die well in it, and obtain salvation in it, the discussion of the proposed question is easy. We are, therefore, of opinion, that the most Serene Princess of Wolfenbuttell, may, in favour of her marriage, embrace the Roman Catholic religion." This opinion is dated the 28th of April, 1707, and was printed in the same year at Cologne. The journalists of Trevoux inserted both the original and a French translation of it in their journal of May, 1708.

Under these circumstances, the correspondence in question took place. It began in 1718, through Dr. Beauvoir, chaplain to Lord Stair, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Paris. Some conversation on the re-union of the two churches having taken place, between Doctor Dupin and him, he acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury with the subject of them. This communication produced some compliments from the archbishop to Dr. Dupin, and these led the latter to address to his grace a letter, in which he mentioned generally, that on some points



in dispute, the supposed difference between the two communions was reconcileable. The correspondence getting wind, Dr. Piers pronounced a discourse in the Sorbonne, in which he earnestly exhorted his colleagues to promote the re-union, by revising those articles of doctrine and discipline, which protestants branded with the name of papal tyranny; and contended that by proscribing the ultramontane doctrines, the first step to the re-union would be made. The discourse was communicated to Dr. Wake; in his answer he pressed Dr. Dupin for a more explicit declaration, on the leading points in controversy.

In compliance with this requisition, Dr. Dupin drew up his *Commonitorium*, and communicated it to several persons of distinction, both in the state and Church of France. He discussed in it the Thirty-nine Articles, as they regarded doctrine, morality, and discipline. He insisted on the necessity of tradition to interpret the Scriptures, and to establish the canonicity of the books of the Old and New Testament. He insisted on the infallibility of the Church in faith and morals; he contended that the sacrifice of the mass was not a simple sacrament, but a continuation of the sacrifice of the cross.

The word transubstantiation he seemed willing to give up, if the Roman Catholic doctrine, intended to be expressed by it, were retained. He proposed that communion under both kinds, or under bread alone, should be left to the discretion of the different Churches, and consented that persons in holy orders should retain their state, with such provisions, as would place the validity of their ordination beyond exception. The marriage of priests in the countries in which such marriages were allowed, and the recitation of the divine service in the vulgar tongue, he allowed; and intimated that no difficulty would be found in the ultimate settlement of the doctrine respecting purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of saints, relics, or images. He seems to have thought that the pope can

exercise no immediate jurisdiction within the dioceses of bishops, and that his primacy invested him with no more than a general conservation of the deposit of the faith, a right to enforce the observance of the sacred canons, and the general maintenance of discipline. He allowed, in general terms, that there was little substantially wrong in the discipline of the Church of England; he deprecated all discussion on the original merit of reformation, and he professed to see no use in the pope's intervention, till the basis of the negotiation should be settled.

The answer of the Archbishop was not very explicit. It is evident from it that he thought the quarrels on the subject of Jansenism had alienated the Jansenists and their adherents from the Pope, much more than they had done in reality. He was willing to concede to the pope a primacy of rank and honour, but would by no means allow him a primacy of jurisdiction, or any primacy by divine right. On the other points, he seemed to have thought that they might come to an agreement, on what they should declare to be the fundamental doctrine of the Churches, and adopt on every other point of doctrine, a general system of Christian toleration.

The correspondence, which is very interesting, may be seen in the last volume of the English translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. To facilitate the accomplishment of the object of it, Dr. Courayer published his celebrated treatise on the Validity of the English Ordinations.

It is said that the Czar of Muscovy also consulted Dupin on an union with the Greek Church. Dupin was an eager opponent of the constitution styled *Unigenitus*, and was the great leader of the opposition to it in the Sorbonne, the deputations, commissions, and memorials, all passing through his hands. At length, exhausted by his uninterrupted labours, he died at Paris, on the 6th of June, 1719, in his sixty-second year. His other works were numerous, but his fame rests on the *Bibliothèque*.—*Niceron. Chauffepie. Dowling. Butler. Hallam.*

## DUPPA, BRIAN.

BRIAN DUPPA was born in 1588, at Lewisham, in Kent, and was educated at Westminster and Christ Church. He was elected fellow of All Soul's in 1612, and in 1629 he was appointed dean of Christ Church. In 1634 he was constituted chancellor of the church of Sarum, and soon after made chaplain to Charles I. He was appointed, in 1638, tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York; he was also presented to the living of Petworth, in Sussex, and in the same year was nominated to the Bishopric of Chichester. In 1641 he was translated to the see of Salisbury, but received no benefit from it, on account of the suppression of episcopacy.

On this event he repaired to the King at Oxford; and, after that city was surrendered, attended him in other places, particularly during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight. He was a great favourite with the King, whom he is said by some to have assisted in composing the *Eikon Basilike*. The royal martyr placed great confidence in him, and entrusted him with the delicate and important office of supplying the vacant bishoprics; an office which he retained until the Restoration. After Charles's death, Bishop Dappa retired to Richmond, in Surrey, where he lived a solitary life, but was engaged with Barwick and the Bishop of Ely in a plan for continuing the episcopal succession, notwithstanding the triumph of dissent during the period of the rebellion. The plan was not completed when the Restoration took place. On that event Dr. Dappa was translated to the Bishopric of Winchester, and was also made lord-almoner. About 1661 he began an alms-house at Richmond, and had designed some other works of charity, but was prevented from accomplishing them by his death, which took place at Richmond in 1662. A few hours before he expired, Charles II. honoured him with a visit; and, kneeling down by the bed-side, begged his

blessing; which the Bishop, with one hand on his majesty's head, and the other lifted up to heaven, gave with fervent zeal. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the north side of the Confessor's chapel; where a large marble stone was laid over his grave, with only these Latin words engraved upon it: "Hic jacet Brianus Winton." He wrote, 1. *The Soul's Soliloquies, and Conference with Conscience*; a sermon before Charles I. at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on October 25, being the monthly fast, 1641, 4to. 2. *Angels rejoicing for Sinners repenting*; a sermon on Luke xv. 10, 1648, 4to. 3. *A Guide for the Penitent, or a Model drawn up for the Help of a devout Soul wounded with Sin*, 1660, 8vo. 4. *Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion, both in Prayer and Practice, in two parts*, 1674, 12mo.—*Wood. Barwick.*

#### DURANDUS, DE ST. POURCAIN.

ST. POURCAIN DE DURANDUS was born in the village of Pourcain, in the diocese of Clermont, in Auvergne. He was a preaching monk of the Dominican order, and acquired high reputation. In 1313 he was created doctor in divinity by the university of Paris, and some time afterwards obtained the situation of master of the sacred palace at Rome. In 1318 he was nominated Bishop of Puy; and in the year 1326 he was translated to the Bishopric of Meaux, by John XXII. He made himself so famous by his acuteness and perseverance in discussing the most difficult topics in scholastic theology, that he obtained the title of *The Most Resolute Doctor*. He contributed much to the downfall of Realism, and the cessation of those endless logical disputes connected therewith, by resolving difficulties after a clearer and more precise manner, and establishing the foundations of a more exact knowledge of the properties of Object and Subject. He was at first a Thomist, but subsequently became a can-

did adversary of that school. He wrote, *Commentaria Super Libros IV. Sententiarum*; *Liber de Origine Jurisdictionum, seu de ecclesiastica Jurisdictione*, and *Tractatus de Legibus*, 1571, 4to. He died in 1333 —*Dupin. Tennemann.*

## DUREL, JOHN.

JOHN DUREL was born at St. Heliers, in Jersey, in 1625. He studied at Merton College, Oxford, from whence he removed to Caen, and took his master's degree there in 1646. In 1673 he obtained a prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury; and in 1677, being then doctor in divinity, he was made Dean of Windsor. He died in 1683. His principal works are—1. *A View of the Government and Worship of the reformed Church of England*, 4to. 2. *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus iniquas atque inverecundas Schismaticorum criminationes Vindiciæ*. 3. *Theoremata Philosophica, &c.* —*Wood.*

## DURELL, DAVID.

DAVID DURELL was a native of Jersey, and born in 1728. He became a student of Pembroke College, Oxford, where, in 1758, he proceeded master of arts; after which he obtained a fellowship in Hertford College, of which society he became principal. In 1764 he took his doctor's degree; and in 1767 was made prebendary of Canterbury, with which he held the vicarage of Tysehurst in Sussex. He died in 1775. His works are—1. *The Hebrew Text of the parallel Prophecies of Jacob and Moses, relating to the Twelve Tribes*, 4to. 2. *Critical Remarks on the Books of Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles*, 4to.—*Biog. Brit.*

## DURHAM, JAMES.

JAMES DURHAM was born in the county of Angus, in 1622, and educated at St. Andrews. He became very popular as a preacher at Glasgow. He died in 1658. His works are—1. A Commentary on the Revelations. 2. Sermons on Isaiah. 3. Sermons on the Song of Solomon. 4. A Treatise on Scandal. 5. The Exposition of the Commandments.—*Gen. Dict.*

## DURY, OR DUREUS, JOHN.

JOHN DURY was born in Scotland, but in what place, or in what year, according to Reid, is not known. He visited Oxford in 1624 for the sake of the libraries. He devoted his life to an endeavour to reconcile the various protestant parties, and was at first encouraged by Archbishop Laud, Bishop Bedell, and Bishop Hall, by the latter of whom he was ordained. Mr. Mede also encouraged him. But Dury was a time-server, and when dissent was in the ascendant, he joined the rebels, and was one of the so-called divines at Westminster. He made many journeys, and held many conferences, which ended in nothing, and he wrote many books which the world has long ceased to read. A long list may be seen in Reid. The year of his death is not known.—*Wood. Reid's Westminster Divines.*

## DUVAL, ANDREW.

ANDREW DUVAL, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was born at Pontoise, in 1564. He defended the opinions of the ultra-montanes, and was among Richer's greatest adversaries. He was superior general of the French Carmelites, senior of the Sorbonne, and dean of the faculty

of theology at Paris. He died in 1638. He wrote *De Supremâ Romani Pontificis in Ecclesiam potestate*, 1614, 4to; a Commentary on the summary of St. Thomas, 2 vols, folio.—*Moreri*.

## EACHARD, JOHN.

JOHN EACHARD was born in Suffolk, about 1636. He was educated at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship, and in 1660, took his master's degree. In 1670 he published a book, entitled "The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy," which was answered by several writers, to whom Eachard replied with wit and argument. He next attacked Hobbes in two dialogues, on the state of nature; written with exquisite humour. In 1675, he was chosen master of Catherine Hall, on which he obtained the degree of doctor in divinity by mandamus. He died in 1697. His works were published in 1774, in three volumes, 12mo, with a life written by Davies.—*Life prefixed to his Works*.

## EADMER.

EADMER, a celebrated monk of Canterbury, who flourished in the twelfth century, was distinguished as an historian, and as the friend of Archbishop Anselm, and of his successor Ralph. The time and place of his nativity is not known. He was the spiritual director of Archbishop Anselm, who would do nothing without his permission, and it would seem that he stood in a similar situation to Archbishop Ralph, for when Alexander, King of Scotland, applied to him to recommend a bishop for the vacant see of St. Andrews, he recommended Eadmer, and in doing so he said that he was both unwilling and willing; "willing, in so far as we perceive it is God's will, which

we dare not withstand ; and yet unwilling, for that we are left alone and deprived of his fellowship, who, as a father, ministered unto us consolation in time of grief ; giving us sound advice in many perplexed cases, and has been to us a most helpful brother in this our infirm and old age. If any other should have required him of us, we would no more have parted with him than with our own heart ; but there is nothing which, in God, we can deny you. Thus we send unto you the person whom you desired ; and so free, that you may lay on him what charge you will, so as it be to the honour of God, and the credit of the mother church of Canterbury. Do, therefore, what you purpose wisely, and remit him unto us with diligence to be consecrated, because delay in that affair may produce impediments which we desire to avoid." Eadmer was favourably received in Scotland, and, "with consent of the King, clergy, and people," made Bishop of St. Andrews. But he never received consecration ; for Alexander would not suffer either of the English Archbishops to perform that ceremony, lest their doing so should be construed into a pretence for infringing on the independence of the Scottish Church. This was far from being agreeable to Eadmer, who was anxious "for the credit of the mother church of Canterbury ;" which, he asserts, was "the primacy of all England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the adjacent isles," resting this on the authority which Pope Gregory had given to St. Austin upwards of five hundred years before. But, as he could not make the King or clergy of Scotland converts to this opinion, he consented, after some hesitation, to receive the *ring* from the hands of Alexander, in token of his subjection to him *in temporalibus* ; and of his own accord he took the *crozier* from off the high altar of the church, to show his independence *in spiritualibus*. Matters being thus compromised between them, it was hoped that every thing would proceed smoothly. But Thurstan, Archbishop of York, hearing of what was going on, put in a claim to consecrate Eadmer,



and prevailed on the King of England to write both to the King of Scotland and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to have this measure carried into effect. And, what was then of still greater importance, he gained over Pope Calixtus II. to his interest, who not only commissioned him and his successors to consecrate the bishops of St. Andrews, but all the bishops of Scotland, in all time coming. But it may be observed here, that this was before the authority of the Bishop of Rome was fully recognised in Scotland; and, besides, this order was reversed by subsequent popes, whose authority *was* recognised. Alexander, in the meantime, being equally unwilling to disoblige the pope and the King of England, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the English Archbishops, began to grow cold in his behaviour towards the bishop elect. The latter, finding himself thus uncomfortably situated, informed the King that he wished to take a journey to Canterbury, for the purpose of consulting the Archbishop relative to his very peculiar situation. The King told him that he never would consent that any of his bishops should yield obedience to Canterbury. To this Eadmer replied with some warmth, that he would not renounce his connexion with Canterbury though he were to gain the whole kingdom of Scotland. The effect of this imprudent speech was only to increase Alexander's irritation, and to render the Bishop's situation more unpleasant than it was before; whereupon he consulted the Bishop of Glasgow, and two monks of Canterbury who belonged to his household, how he ought to conduct himself under the circumstances of the case. These three went to court in his name, and, after discovering Alexander's resolution, told Eadmer that they thought he could no longer be of any service to the cause of religion in Scotland; that the King was of an arbitrary temper, and had, besides, a personal aversion to him; and that, therefore, he had better resign his office and return to Canterbury. The Bishop took their advice, and gave in his resignation, which was accepted. He returned into the King's hands

the ring which he had received from him, and laid the crosier upon the altar whence he had taken it. On his return to Canterbury, he was kindly received by the Archbishop and his brother monks; but they disapproved of his stiffness, and thought him too hasty in giving up the honourable and useful office to which the providence of God had called him. Nor was it long before he himself became sensible of this. He, therefore, wrote a long letter to the King, in which he begins by returning him thanks for the honour of having fixed upon him for the Bishopric of St. Andrews, when there were so many men more worthy of it. He then says, that he did not address him out of any principle of ambition, but because all those whom he had consulted told him that it was not in his power to resign the bishopric, nor could any other person lawfully accept of it while he lived. "But sir," he goes on to say, "it may be your highness will object, that I threw it up of my own accord. To this I answer, that what I did was extorted from me by hard usage; I perceived the duties of my office to be impracticable, and, accordingly, thought proper to give way. But, if your highness would be pleased to remove these obstructions, and permit me the privilege of my character, I am ready again to undertake the charge, and observe your commands in everything not repugnant to the laws of God. But, if your highness is pleased to refuse me on these terms, I must desist: God, I question not, will take care of the interests of His Church, and reward every person according to the quality of his behaviour. At the same time, that your highness may not suppose I have any intention to lessen the dignity and prerogative of the crown of Scotland, I promise not to trouble you again with the conditions formerly mentioned relating to the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury, but submit to your own terms as to that affair." What effect this letter had upon the King is not known, for Eadmer's history breaks off here; from which it may be inferred that he died soon

after. It is certain, however, that he never returned to St. Andrews.

Eadmer wrote a history of the affairs of England, of his own time, from 1066 to 1122, in which many original papers are inserted, and many important facts, no where else to be found, preserved. This work has been highly commended both by old and modern writers, as well for its correctness, as for the regularity of the composition and purity of the style. The best edition is that by Selden, in 1623. Eadmer wrote the Life of St. Anselm, which has been often printed with the works of that prelate, and the lives of St. Wilfred, St. Oswald, St. Dunstan, and others.—*Tanner. Bale. Lyon's St. Andrews. Collier.*

#### EARLE, OR EARLES, JOHN.

JOHN EARLE was born at York, in 1601. He was entered at Merton College, Oxford, in 1620; became chaplain to Philip, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards chaplain and tutor to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II., with whom he went into exile, and to whom he was chaplain and clerk of the closet. He was on intimate terms with Walton's friend, Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and lived a year with him at Antwerp, in the house of Sir Charles Cotterel, from whence he went to France, to join James, Duke of York. On the Restoration he was made Dean of Westminster, in 1662 consecrated Bishop of Worcester, and in the following year Bishop of Salisbury. In 1665 he attended the King and Queen, who had left London on account of the plague, to Oxford. He died in the same year. Earle wrote a copy of verses in praise of Beaumont, which is prefixed to the collection of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. He translated into Latin the Eikon Basilike. He also translated into Latin Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, but it was destroyed by the carelessness of his servants. His principal work is his *Microcosmographie, or a Piece of the World Dis-*

covered, in *Essays and Characters*; a work of great humour, and which throws much light on the manners of the times. No less than six editions of it were published in his lifetime. An edition was published in 1811, at Oxford, by Mr. Bliss.

Walton says of him, that, since the death of Hooker “none have lived whom God hath blest with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper.”—*Wood. Salmon. Barwick.*

#### EATON, JOHN.

JOHN EATON was born in Kent, in 1575, and educated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1603. In 1625, he was presented to the living of Wickham Market, in Suffolk, and died there in 1641. His writings, which approach to Antinomianism, are,—1. *The Discovery of a dead Faith*, 12mo. 2. *The Honeycomb of Justification*, 4to. For this last he was imprisoned by the Long Parliament.—*Wood.*

#### EBERUS, PAUL.

PAUL EBERUS, one of the early German reformers, was born in Franconia, in 1511. He was educated at the university of Wittemberg, and was employed for some time as amanuensis by Melancthon, who held him in such high esteem that he consulted him on all important matters, and hence he got the name of “Philip's Repository.” He was appointed professor of Hebrew at Wittemberg in 1556, and afterwards first pastor of the church there. After the death of Melancthon, he was regarded as the first of those of his followers who were called Crypto-Calvinists, from their being reserved as to their religious views. He was a man of great learning, and an eloquent preacher. He died in 1589. He wrote, 1. *Expositio Evangelior. Dominicalum.*

2. *Calendarium Historicum.* 3. *Historia Populi Judaici a reditu Babylonico ad Hierosolymæ excidium.* 4. *Hymni sacri vernacule editi*, which were written for the use of his church, where they long continued to be sung.—*Melchior. Adam. Moreri.*

## EBION.

Some have supposed that a person of the name of Ebion lived about A.D. 72, was a disciple of Cerinthus, preached the doctrines of his master at Rome and in Asia, and was the founder of the sect of the Ebionites. Others say that there was no such person, and that it is merely an imaginary name; and the silence of Irenæus, and the testimony of Eusebius and Origen, render it probable that this is the case. Nevertheless, the tenets of this sect having been referred to in modern controversies, the following account of it is given from Dollinger. He says that the Ebionites derived their name from the Hebrew word which signifies poor, on account of their voluntary poverty and community of goods, for the origin of which they appealed to the ordinance of the Apostles. They were, so they taught, the descendants of those who sold their possessions, and laid them at the Apostles' feet.

According to their doctrines, the birth of Jesus was not the effect of a miracle, but that on account of His great virtues He was made worthy to receive the Christ, and to be called the Son of God. At His baptism in the Jordan, the heavenly Messiah descended upon Him in the form of a dove, and entered into Him. This Messiah, the most noble of all spirits created by, or emanating from, God, the ruler of all things, appeared first in Adam; it manifested itself under veils of flesh to the prophets; and lastly united itself with Jesus, after Whose crucifixion and resurrection it returned to heaven. To Him was opposed Satan, to whom the dominion of this lower visible world, as to the Christ the rule of the future heavenly kingdom, had

been granted by the Supreme Deity. The Ebionites taught also a certain, though not absolute, Dualism. The object of the various manifestations of the Christ, was the founding and establishment of a pure religion; that the mission of Jesus, after the descent of the Christ upon Him, was to purify and strengthen Judaism, and to impart it, in its renewed form, to the Gentiles, as the only source of salvation. As the Ebionites, as well as the Essenians, rejected all sacrifices, Jesus is made to speak thus in the Ebionite gospel: "I am come to destroy sacrifice, and if you cease not to slay victims, the anger of God shall remain upon you." They granted only to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron and Joshua. the dignity of inspired prophets; they rejected all others as usurpers of that sacred name. Whatever displeased them in the Pentateuch, they considered as additions of later ages. In other things the Ebionites believed as the Jews; so that Origen might say of them that they differed in little from them. They observed circumcision, the Sabbath, and the other precepts of the law. To justify their practice of circumcision, they alleged the example of Jesus, —and citing His words, "It is sufficient for the disciple to be as his master,"—they said, Jesus was circumcised, be you also circumcised, for circumcision was the seal and mark of the patriarchs and of all the just, who had lived according to the law. The Apostle St. Paul they declared an apostate and deceiver; they therefore rejected his works. He was, they said, by birth not a Jew but a Gentile, and had become a proselyte in the hope of obtaining in marriage the daughter of the high-priest; in his disappointment and revenge, he wrote against circumcision, the Sabbath, and the whole law. St. Peter, and after him, St. James, the brother of the Lord, were their ideal of perfection, and both are represented in their apocryphal books as Jewish ascetics. They themselves adopted the ascetic life of the ancient Essenians; they abstained from all flesh, and from all food proceeding from animals; they bathed daily in flowing water, to which

they attributed the virtue of purifying them from every stain ; they refused to take oaths, which they considered unlawful. They avoided all intercourse with strangers, as they would have considered themselves thereby defiled. Celibacy was at first in great esteem amongst them, but in the time of St. Epiphanius it was no longer practised ; they then recommended early marriage, and permitted divorce and second espousals. They had elders and synagogues, baptism and sacred evening meals, at which they drank only water, which, according to St. Epiphanius, they honoured as almost divine. They forbade the use of wine, as being the production of an evil principle.

The Ebionites had their own gospel, which they named “The Gospel of the Hebrews.” If it be true that the gospel of St. Matthew was the foundation of this book, it had been modified by great changes and frequent omissions, to suit the principles of the sect. The subject of the first and second chapters of St. Matthew was wanting ; the circumstances attending the baptism of our Saviour were disfigured ; and, as they rejected the use of animal food, instead of what we read in Luke xxii. 15, they wrote, “Have I ever at any time desired to eat the paschal lamb with you ?” Amongst other apocryphal works, they possessed also a history of the Apostles, and a doctrinal work attributed to St. James, in which he is made to inveigh against the temple and sacrifices, against the sacred fire, and the altar of incense. They had also a book of the “Travels of St. Peter.” Either this, or another work of the same nature, was known under the name of the “Clementine Homilies,” and contained the pretended travels of St. Clement with the Apostle St. Peter, the instructions delivered by the latter, and his disputations with Simon Magus, and the philosopher Appian. This work, which was written in the second century, evidently contained the principles of the Ebionite doctrines, but with some modifications ; whence we may conclude, that they are the doctrines of a sect of Ebionites differing from

those described by St. Epiphanius. According to this book, there exists a primitive religion, which, from the beginning, was announced by Adam, the first of the prophets; then by the patriarchs, and by Moses: but was afterwards disfigured by the admission of many strange additions made in writing. To restore this religion to its primeval purity, and to separate that which was false from that which was true, contained in the pentateuch, was the object of the coming of Christ. His doctrine was therefore no more than the ancient Mosaic law, as the divine spirit which appeared in Adam and Moses, was the same which dwelt in Jesus. From this cause, the disciple of Moses was equal to the disciple of Christ, each should respect the other, and confess that both were equally in the possession of the truth. In this system, Christ is accounted only as a prophet or teacher; His sacrifice of redemption is not mentioned, and His death is considered as purely accidental. The Apostle St. Paul is not named throughout the entire work, although there are several polemical allusions to his writings. In this we can easily perceive an uniformity of teaching in the Clementine Homilies with the doctrines of the sect of Ebionites, of which St. Epiphanius has written, as also in the rejection of the divinity of Christ, in the belief of His birth according to the ordinary laws of nature, in the condemnation of sacrifices and oaths, in their esteem of daily bathings, and in the declaration that the pentateuch had been falsified by interpolations. We find also the dualism of the Ebionites, their disregard of the prophets, all of whom they rejected, except Adam, and the patriarch Moses, and Jesus. Of the Apostles, none are named but Peter and James, the latter of whom they extolled as an observer of the law in its purity, to whom was given the power of proving and confirming all other apostles or teachers. The author of the Clementines considers the Mosaic law as limited in its destination; it is holy, but exacts not observance from all; the Gentile need follow only the doctrines of Jesus; he may not, however, hate or despise Moses, or his law. Finally, it is



worthy of remark, that the late origin of the doctrine, and of the sect which professed it, may be learned from the internal evidence of the work.—*Mosheim. Dollinger.*

## ECHARD, LAURENCE.

LAURENCE ECHARD was born in Suffolk, about 1671. He took his degree of B.A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1691; and took orders, and was presented to the livings of Welton and Elkinton, in Lincolnshire. In 1707 he became prebendary of Lincoln and chaplain to the bishop of the diocese, was installed Archdeacon of Stowe in 1712, and was presented about 1722, by George the Second, to the livings of Rendlesham, Sudborne, and Alford, in Suffolk. He died in 1730. He wrote, 1. *The History of Rome to Augustus*; the fourth edition of which was published in 1692. 2. *The History of the Empire from Augustus to Constantine*; the second edition of which was published in 1699. 3. *An Ecclesiastical History from the Nativity of Christ to Constantine*, 1702. The sixth edition of this was published in 1722, and was regarded by Dean Prideaux as the best of the kind then in the English language. 4. *A Complete History of England from the earliest times to the death of William III.* In this work are embodied the writings of some of our ancient historians, and much valuable information is given with reference to our history about the period of the Revolution. There is one thing in it which has made him and his history notorious: he has given a contract made in form between Oliver Cromwell and the Devil, which he says was so strongly attested, that he thought himself obliged to insert it. 6. *Maxims and Discourses of Tillotson*, 1719. 7. *History of the Revolution of 1688.* 8. *A Gazetteer*, the eleventh edition of which was published in 1716. 9. *A Description of Ireland*, 1691. He also translated three plays of Plautus, and had a share in the translation of Terence.—*Biog. Brit. Dowling.*

## ECK, OR ECKIUS, JOHN.

JOHN ECK was born in Suabia in 1483, the son of a peasant. He was professor and vice-chancellor of Ingolstadt, having established a high character for talent and learning. He was, says Ranke, one of the most eminent scholars of his time—a reputation which he had spared no pains to acquire. He visited the most celebrated professors in various universities: the Thomist Sustern at Cologne, the Scotists Sumenhard and Scriptoris at Tubingen; he attended the law lectures of Zasius in Freiburg, those on Greek of Rauchlin, on Latin of Bebel, on cosmography of Reusch. In his twentieth year he began to write and to lecture at Ingolstadt upon Occam and Biel's canon law, on Aristotle's dialectics and physics, the most difficult doctrines of dogmatic theology, and the subtilties of nominalistic morality; he then proceeded to the study of the mystics, whose most curious works had just fallen into his hands: he set himself, as he says, to establish the connexion between their doctrines and the Orphicoplatonic philosophy, the sources of which are to be sought in Egypt and Arabia, and to discuss the whole in five parts. He was one of those learned men who held that the great questions which had occupied men's minds were essentially settled; who worked exclusively with the analytical faculty and the memory; who were always on the watch to appropriate to themselves a new subject with which to excite attention, to get advancement, and to secure a life of ease and enjoyment. His strongest taste was for disputation, in which he had made a brilliant figure in all the universities we have mentioned, as well as in Heidelberg, Mainz, and Basle: at Freiberg he had early presided over a class (the *Bursa zum Pfauen*) where the chief business was practice in disputation: he then took long journeys,—for example, to Vienna and Bologna, expressly to dispute there. It is most amusing to see in his letters the satisfaction with which he speaks of his Italian journey: how he was encouraged to undertake it

by a papal nuncio ; how, before his departure, he was visited by the young Margrave of Brandenburg ; the very honourable reception he experienced on his way, in Italy as well as in Germany, from both spiritual and temporal lords, who invited him to their tables ; how, when certain young men had ventured to contradict him at one of these dinners, he had confuted them with the utmost ease, and left them filled with astonishment and admiration ; and lastly, how, in spite of manifold opposition, he had at last brought the most learned of the learned in Bologna to subscribe to his maxims. He regarded a disputation with the eye of a practised fencer, as the arena of unfailing victory ; his only wish was to find new adversaries on whom to try his weapons

Dr. Eck at one period of life had contracted a friendship with Martin Luther, who sent him his Theses against Aristotle, one of his earliest works ; at that time Luther called him his “very learned and ingenious friend.” It does not appear that Eck took any notice of this work, but he attacked Luther in his Obelisks. Respecting this attack, Luther writing to a friend in 1518, expressed his feelings as follows : “a scholar of excellent and truly ingenious erudition and erudite genius, and, what hurts me still more, a person bound to me by a strong and recent friendship, has lately composed certain ‘Obelisks’ against my Propositions—I mean the distinguished John Eck ; and if I were ignorant of the devices of Satan I should be surprised at the fury, with which he has broken a new and very delightful friendship, without warning, without communication, without so much as bidding me farewell. He has written these Obelisks, however, in which he calls me drunkard, Bohemian, heretic, seditious, impertinent, rash, besides a number of lighter reproaches, such as somnolent, silly, illiterate, and, above all, despiser of the sovereign pontiff. In a word, he has uttered nothing but the blackest calumnies, expressing my name, and marking my positions. His Obelisks contain nothing but malice and the rust of a raging mind.”

Dr. Eck's excuse was, that the Obelisks were not intended for publication, but were composed only as a confidential communication, and for the private satisfaction of his Bishop. The Obelisks were attacked by Carolostadt in certain theses, four-hundred and six in number; Eck replied, and Carolostadt rejoined. Against this work Luther also wrote, without at the moment publishing, some animadversions, as strong in their language as that used by Eck, under the title of Asterisks.

Eck seems to have suffered some dissatisfaction that his polemical writings had procured him neither endowment nor honour, and he desired to renew, in a more conspicuous manner, his controversy with Carolostadt concerning Grace and free-will. Luther and Eck met on friendly terms, and through his mediation Carolostadt consented to dispute with Eck in Erfurt or Leipsic; upon which Eck immediately published a prospectus of the disputation, and made it known as widely as possible.

Luther's astonishment was extreme when he saw in this prospectus certain opinions announced as the subject of the debate, of which he was far more the champion than Carolostadt. He held this for an act of faithlessness and duplicity which he was called upon openly to resist; and he was determined to take up the gauntlet himself.

It was of vast importance that Eck had annexed to the dogmatic controversy, a proposition as to the origin of the prerogatives of the papacy. At a moment when anti-papal opinions were so decidedly triumphant throughout the nation, he had the clumsy servility to stir a question, always of very difficult and dubious solution, yet upon which the whole system of the church and state depended, and, when once agitated, certain to occupy universal attention: he ventured to irritate an adversary who knew no reservations, who was accustomed to defend his opinions to the utmost, and who had already the voice of the nation on his side. In reference to a former assertion of Luther's, which had attracted little attention, Eck propounded the maxim, that the primacy of the Pope of Rome was derived

from Christ Himself, and from the times of St. Peter; not, as his opponent had hinted, from those of Constantine and Sylvester. The consequences of this gross imprudence were soon apparent. Luther, who now began to study the original documents of the papal law—the decretals, and had often in the course of this study felt his Christian convictions wounded, answered with a much bolder assertion, namely, that the primacy of Rome had been first established by the decretals of the later popes in the last four centuries (he meant, perhaps, since Gregory VII.), and that the primitive church knew nothing of it.

It is not surprising that the ecclesiastical authorities in Saxony, (for example, the Bishop of Merseburg) and even the theologians of the university, were not much pleased that a disputation of the kind at last agreed upon between the parties, should be held at Leipsic. Even the elector hesitated for a moment whether he should allow Luther to go. But as he had the firmest conviction that hidden truth would be best brought to light in this manner, he at length determined that it should take place, and endeavoured to obviate every objection that stood in its way.

The polemics, Eck and Carolstadt, (*See his Life*) together with Luther, arrived at Leipsic on the 24th of June, 1519; a kind of literary Tournament taking place, Eck seeking to gratify his vanity, and thinking only of the immediate triumph, the Reformers looking to the results which would ensue from the mere mootings of the questions about to be stated. The 27th was the day fixed for the commencement of the discussion. In the morning the parties met in the hall of the university, and thereafter walked in procession to the church of St. Thomas, where high mass was celebrated by the order and at the expense of the duke. After service, those present proceeded to the ducal castle. At their head walked Duke George, and the Duke of Pomerania; next came counts, abbots, knights, and other persons of distinction; and lastly, the doctors of the two parties. A guard composed of seventy-six citizens, carrying halberds, accompanied the

procession, with colours flying, and drums beating, and halted at the castle gate.

On the arrival at the palace, each took his place in the hall where the debate was to take place—Duke George, the hereditary Prince John, Prince George of Anhalt, a boy of twelve, and the Duke of Pomerania, occupying the seats allotted to them.

Mosellanus, by order of the duke, mounted a pulpit, to remind the theologians of the manner in which the discussion was to be carried on. “If you begin to quarrel,” said the orator to them, “what difference will there be between a theological disputant and a swaggering duellist? What is victory here but just to recall a brother from his error?.....Each, it would seem, should be more desirous to be conquered than to conquer.”

At the conclusion of the address, sacred music echoed along the aisles of the Pleissenberg, the whole assembly knelt down, and the ancient hymn of invocation to the Holy Spirit, “Veni, Sancte Spiritus,” was sung.

The discussion between Eck and Carolostadt lasted seventeen days; for an account of the combatants the reader is referred to the life of Carolostadt. It was on the doctrine of grace and free-will. The proceedings are briefly described by Dean Waddington, whose account of the disputants agrees with that which is given from Ranke in the life of Carolostadt. Of Carolostadt, he says, that his demeanour was composed and serious; and he had the appearance of one contending with no selfish motive for what he sincerely deemed the truth. But his figure was insignificant and his voice disagreeable. He was in temper irritable, yet laborious in mind and in manner; and by reference to books, which he at first required permission to use, he threatened to throw an unusual tediousness into no very lively description of controversy. Eck was possessed of more powerful, or at least more popular talents; he was deeply versed in all the arts and expedients of the schools; he was familiar with all the points in dispute, and all the turns which the argument might take.

The readiness of his retentive memory, supported by great boldness of assertion, insulted the slow and scrupulous deliberation of his opponent, while his commanding stature, his overbearing voice and manner, his uninterrupted fluency, his violent gesticulation, his imperious and immovable confidence and self-complacency, completed the picture of an irrefragable polemic.

The proposition of Carolstadt on which this controversy turned was expressed with apparent simplicity : That every good work is altogether from God—*omne bonum opus totum esse a Deo*. It comprehended, however, in its consequences, the efficacy of grace, the entire impotence of the human will ; in short, the extreme doctrine that our degenerate and corrupted nature is not in any way accessory to salvation, either by doing any good action, or even by preparing the soul to receive or to merit the grace unto salvation. He admitted that it possesses a natural power to act and will, but he maintained that the moral power to do good actions proceeds entirely from grace ; that it does in no manner co-operate with grace ; that in the reception of grace it is purely passive ; but that afterwards, when it has been regenerated by this gift of God, it employs it, through the continued aid and direction of the Holy Spirit, in the performance of good works. This doctrine he confirmed especially by the authority of St. Augustine and St. Paul—of the former where he says, “It is certain that it is we who will ; but it is God who makes us will, who operates the will within us. It is certain too that it is we who act ; but it is God who makes us act, in giving power and efficacy to the will :” of the latter, in his Epistle to the Philipians : “It is God Which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure.”

The fundamental proposition of Carolstadt was met by his opponent indirectly. Eck advanced, That every good work is from God, but not altogether—*omne opus bonum esse a Deo, sed non totaliter* ; and he defended this distinction by some irrelevant sophistry. His meaning,

however, was this ; that grace must first excite the will, but that it does no more than this ; that the latter retains its freedom and acts with perfect independence ; that it can give or withhold its consent ; and that, according to such consent or refusal, the grace vouchsafed becomes efficacious or fruitless towards conversion.

These doctrines, with their real or imputed senses and consequences, were contested during several following days with much heat and perseverance.

Hitherto Eck had seemed to triumph, and Luther had assisted at the disputation as a silent spectator ; on Monday the 4th of July, however, Eck had the pleasure of coming into collision with the antagonist whom he most ardently desired to meet, and whose rising fame he hoped to crush by a brilliant victory. Alas ! for the vanity of human hopes ; the name of Eck would have been unknown, unless it had been connected with the greater name of Luther. When the discussion commenced, it was immediately obvious that Luther could not maintain his assertion, that the pope's primacy dated only from the last four centuries : he soon found himself forced from this position by ancient documents, and the rather, that no criticism had as yet shaken the authenticity of the false decretals. But his attack on the doctrine, that the primacy of the pope (whom he still persisted in regarding as the ecumenical bishop) was founded on Scripture and by divine right, was far more formidable. Christ's words, "Thou art Peter, feed my sheep," which have always been cited in this controversy, were brought forward : Luther laboured to support the already well-known explanation of them, at variance with that of the curia, by other passages which record similar commissions given to the Apostles. Eck quoted passages from the Fathers in support of his opinions, to which Luther opposed others from the same source. As soon as they got into these more recondite regions, Luther's superiority became incontestible. One of his main arguments was, that the Greeks had never acknowledged the pope, and yet had not been



pronounced heretics ; the Greek church had stood, was standing, and would stand, without the pope ; it belonged to Christ as much as the Roman. Eck did not hesitate at once to declare that the Christian and the Roman Church were one ; that the Churches of Greece and Asia had fallen away, not only from the pope, but from the Christian faith—they were unquestionably heretics : in the whole circuit of the Turkish empire, for example, there was not one soul that could be saved, with the exception of the few who adhered to the pope of Rome. “How ?” said Luther, “would you pronounce damnation on the whole Greek Church, which has produced the most eminent fathers, and so many thousand saints, of whom not one had even heard of a Roman primate ? Would Gregory of Nazianzen, would the great Basil, not be saved ? or would the pope and his satellites drive them out of heaven ?” These expressions prove how greatly the omnipotence and exclusive validity of the forms of the Latin Church, and the identity with Christianity which she claimed, were shaken by the fact that, beyond her pale, the ancient Greek Church, which she had herself acknowledged, stood in all the venerable authority of her great teachers. It was now Eck’s turn to be hard pressed : he repeated that there had been many heretics in the Greek church, and that he alluded to them, not to the Fathers,—a miserable evasion, which did not in the least touch the assertion of his adversary. Eck felt this, and hastened back to the domain of the Latin church. He particularly insisted that Luther’s opinion,—that the primacy of Rome was of human institution, and not of divine right,—was an error of the poor brethren of Lyons, of Wickliffe and Huss, but had been condemned by the popes, and especially by the general councils wherein dwelt the Spirit of God, and recently at that of Constance. This new fact was as indisputable as the former. Eck was not satisfied with Luther’s declaration that he had nothing to do with the Bohemians, nay, that he condemned their schism ; and that he would not be answered

out of the Collectanea of inquisitors, but out of the Scriptures. The question had now arrived at its most critical and important moment. Did Luther acknowledge the direct influence of the Divine Spirit over the Latin Church, and the binding force of the decrees of her councils, or did he not? Did he inwardly adhere to her, or did he not? We must recollect that we are here not far from the frontier of Bohemia; in a land which, in consequence of the anathema pronounced in Constance, had experienced all the horrors of a long and desolating war, and had placed its glory in the resistance it had offered to the Hussites: at a university founded in opposition to the spirit and doctrine of John Huss: in the face of princes, lords, and commoners whose fathers had fallen in this struggle; it was said, that delegates from the Bohemians, who had anticipated the turn which this conflict must take, were also present: Luther saw the danger of his position. Should he really reject the prevailing notion of the exclusive power of the Roman Church to secure salvation; oppose a council by which John Huss had been condemned to the flames, and perhaps draw down a like fate upon himself? Or should he deny that higher and more comprehensive idea of a Christian Church which he had conceived, and in which his whole soul lived and moved? Luther did not waver for a moment. He had the boldness to affirm, that among the articles on which the council of Constance grounded its condemnation of John Huss, some were fundamentally Christian and evangelical. The assertion was received with universal astonishment. Duke George, who was present, put his hands to his sides, and shaking his head uttered aloud his wonted curse, "A plague upon it!" Eck now gathered fresh courage. It was hardly possible, he said, that Luther could censure a council, since his Grace the Elector had expressly forbidden any attack upon councils. Luther reminded him that the council of Constance had not condemned all the articles of Huss as heretical, and specified some which were likewise to be

found in St. Augustine. Eck replied that all were rejected; the sense in which these particular articles were understood was to be deemed heretical; for a council could not err. Luther answered that no council could create a new article of faith; how then could it be maintained that no council whatever was subject to error? "Reverend father," replied Eck, "if you believe that a council regularly convoked can err, you are to me as a heathen and a publican."

Immediately after the conclusion of the disputation, Eck addressed, on the 23rd of July, a letter to the Elector of Saxony, exhorting him to discourage the pernicious doctrines of his professor, and to cause his books to be burnt. Frederick replied with some delay and great moderation; Luther and Carolstadt with controversial bitterness. In February, 1520, Eck also completed a treatise on the primacy, in which he promises triumphantly and clearly to confute Luther's assertion, "that it is not of divine right," and also to set forth various other rare and notable things, collected with great labour, partly from manuscripts which he had most diligently collated. "Observe, reader," says he, "and thou shalt see that I keep my word." Nor is his work by any means devoid of learning and talent; it is an armoury of very various weapons; but it affords the most distinct evidence of the importance of this controversy to science, independent of all theological considerations, and of the profound darkness in which all true and critical history still lay buried. Eck assumes, without the slightest hesitation, that Peter resided twenty-five years at Rome, and was a perfect prototype of all succeeding popes; whereas, historical criticism has shown that it is a matter of doubt whether the Apostle ever was at Rome at all: he finds cardinals, and even under that title, as early as the year 770, and assigns the rank and functions of cardinal to St. Jerome. In the second book, he adduces the testimony of the fathers of the church in support of the divine right of the pope, and places at their head Dionysius Areopagita, whose works

are, unfortunately, spurious. Among his favourite documents are the decretals of the elder popes, from which much certainly is derived that we should not otherwise be inclined to believe; the only misfortune is, that they are altogether forgeries. He reproaches Luther with understanding nothing whatever of the old councils; the sixth canon of the council of Nice, from which Luther deduced the equality of the ancient patriarchate, he interprets in a totally different manner; but here again he had the ill luck to rest his arguments on the spurious canon, which belongs not to the Nicene, but the Sardicene, synod. And so on.

When Eck perceived that he was making no progress towards his object by angry controversies, which followed the disputation of Leipsic, he thought to accelerate the catastrophe by his presence at Rome. Accordingly, under some plea of personal business, he went thither in the beginning of 1520, burning with apostolical zeal. He found there a numerous party, composed for the most part of Dominicans, who were as anxious as himself for the excommunication of Luther. His exhortations animated them; and by the assiduous employment of every sort of expedients, they at length prevailed upon the pope to summon a congregation on that subject. Gaetan and Prierias were among the members of this body, as well as the Professor of Ingolstadt; and as it was moved by one spirit, it began with perfect unanimity by passing sentence of condemnation upon Luther.

It is extraordinary as an act of indiscretion, on the part of Leo X., that he should appoint as his nuncio for the promulgation of his bull in Germany, none other than Eck himself. Elated by the most selfish vanity, Eck accepted the office as an honour and triumph, and set out with puerile exultation, to inflict, as he thought, a fatal blow on his devoted adversary. He instantly hastened, says Ranke, to the scene of the conflict, and, in the month of September, caused the bull to be fixed up in public places in Meissen, Merseburg, and Brandenburg. Meanwhile Alexander descended the Rhine for the same purpose.

It is said, and with perfect truth, that they did not every where meet with the best reception; but the arms they wielded were still extremely terrible. Eck had received the unheard of permission to denounce any of the adherents of Luther at his pleasure, when he published the bull, a permission, which, it will readily be believed, he did not allow to pass unused. In October, 1520, Luther's books were seized in all the booksellers' shops of Ingolstadt, and sealed. Moderate as was the Elector of Mainz, he was obliged to exclude from his court Ulrich von Hutten, who had been ill received in the Netherlands, and to throw the printer of his writings into prison.

But though this storm raged far and wide, it passed harmless over the spot which it was destined to destroy. Wittenberg was unscathed; Eck had indeed instructions, if Luther did not submit, to execute on him the menaces of the bull, with the aid of the surrounding princes and bishops. He had been authorized to punish as a heretic the literary adversary whom he was unable to overcome; a commission against which the natural instinct of morality so strongly revolted, that it more than once endangered Eck's personal safety, and which, moreover, it was found impossible to execute.

What Eck regarded at first as the most triumphant, was in fact the most humiliating portion of his life. He was more respectable when acting as the champion of Rome, than when employed as the minister of her vengeance. His unwearied zeal, says Dean Waddington, hurried him into every field where the Reformers were encamped. Every where he contended with force and energy, and, on more than one occasion, with success. Germany was his usual arena, where the brunt of the controversy was almost invariably sustained by him, while the proud and pampered dignitaries sat by, the silent representatives of the wealth and ignorance of their church. But in Switzerland his voice was likewise heard; and there, indeed, the papal interests were never upheld by any advocate of any talents or distinction, except himself

and Faber. Thus was he confronted in a long series of combats, during a space of twenty years, with all the chieftains of the Reformation : and though he was defending what we are wont to consider the feebler cause, he never defended it feebly, or was overthrown with shame.

For the details relating to his various controversies with the Reformers, we must refer the reader to the lives of Luther and Melancthon, as it is difficult to separate his share in the contest from that in which others participated. Dr. Waddington remarks, that he was not recompensed with any ecclesiastical dignity or emolument ; but Sleidan expressly says that both he and Faber demanded and obtained a reward from the Romish princes for their exertions, though he does not mention what the reward of Eck was : it was probably not in dignities but in wealth, as the witty remark of Erasmus is applied to both, “ that poor Luther made many rich.”

Eck died at the age of fifty-seven, in February, 1543. His last composition was his censure on the imperial “ Book,” propounded at Ratisbon. Many others he had published, in the course of his earlier controversies, on the disputed subjects—on the mass, on penance, on confession and satisfaction, as well as a commentary on the prophet Haggai and some homilies. But that which obtained for him the greatest praise and performed the best service for his cause, was entitled “ The Manual of Controversies.” This was a particular apology for all the disputed tenets and practices of the Church of Rome. It supplied the accustomed arguments, so plausible to ordinary or prejudiced minds, against the principles of heresy and heretics. It treated the entire series of the subjects contested, from the sacrifice of the mass down to tithes, annates and canonical hours, and it treated them with ingenuity and address ; and it was as useful to the one party, as were the “ Common Places” of Melancthon to the other.—*Sleidan. Seckedorf. Ranke. Waddington. D'Aubigny.*

## EDMUND, ST.

EDMUND RICH, commonly called St. Edmund, was born at Abingdon, in Berkshire. He was educated, first at the university of Paris, and afterwards at University College, Oxford. He is said to have been the first who taught logic at Oxford. Having become a respectable theologian, he applied himself to preaching, in which he took great pains, especially in the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester, until he was made treasurer of Salisbury. After the death of Richard Wethershed, Archbishop of Canterbury, the monks of Canterbury elected in his stead Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester, chancellor of England, a man high in favour with the King. Gregory IX., however, refused to sanction the appointment, and requested the monks that were at Rome to choose Edmund, the treasurer of Salisbury; and though they refused to take any steps in the matter without conference with their brethren, and ascertaining the pleasure of their prince, Henry III., he sent the pall to England without more ado to Edmund. The King and the convent not objecting, Edmund was consecrated in 1234.

He maintained his character for zeal and piety when he was elevated to the metropolitan see, and laboured hard to correct the abuses which popery had introduced into our Church. His constitutions are published under the date of 1236, and are of the nature of what would now be called an episcopal charge; they are here given as illustrating the character of the medieval Church.

1. By the power of the Holy Ghost, we in the first place strictly charge all ministers of the Church, especially priests, diligently to examine themselves by the testimony of their own conscience, in what state, and for what end they entered into orders. For we denounce them in general suspended from their office, who contracted an irregularity at the time of their entering into orders or

before, or since, unless they are expressly dispensed with by them that have power to dispense. We conceive them to be irregular as to the premises, who have committed murder, or have been advocates in causes of blood, simoniacs, transactors of simoniacal bargains, or who knowingly received orders from such as were under that blemish, or that were ordained by schismatics, heretics, or such as were excommunicated by name, such as have been twice married, or married to such as were not virgins, corrupters of nuns, excommunicates, such as get orders by stealth, sorceries, burners of churches, and such like. For it is certain, according to the traditions of the holy fathers, that they who being irregular do, without dispensation perform their ministrations, do it with presumption, and danger.

2. We add our strict charge, that all who take orders, while they remain under an habitual impenitence for mortal sin committed before, or only for temporal gain, do not execute their office till they confess to the priest.

3. It hath been ordained in a general council, that clerks, especially they in holy orders, who being suspended for their incontinence, do yet presume to officiate, be not only deprived of their ecclesiastical benefices, but for ever deposed for their double crime, that a temporal punishment may restrain them, whom the fear of God doth not restrain. Let prelates, who countenance such in that wickedness be liable to the same punishment, especially if they do it for the sake of money, or temporal gain. Therefore it concerns you the archdeacons, officials and deans, to increase your diligence in proportion to the danger which attends them that are guilty of neglect.

4. Let priests' concubines be monished by the archdeacons, and especially by the priests, within whose parishes they dwell, that they either marry, or go into a cloister, or make their repentance as public as their crime. He who for the sake of money, or acquaintance, neglects this wholesome warning, shall be subject to the punishment now



mentioned. If these [women] can be brought to neither by monition ; after they have first been denied the kiss of peace, and the bread blessed in the Church, let them, and such as communicate with them be excommunicated, in order to be delivered to secular justice, unless they repent.

5. A great necessity of following peace lies on us, my sons, since God Himself is the author, and lover of peace, Who came to reconcile not only heavenly, but earthly beings ; and eternal peace cannot be obtained, without temporal and internal peace. We admonish, and strictly charge you, that having peace, as far as lies in you, with all men, you exhort your parishioners to be one body in Christ, by the unity of faith, and by the bond of peace ; that you compose all differences that arise in your parish, with all diligence, that you sodder up breaches, reclaim, as far as you can, the litigious, and not suffer the sun to go down upon the indignation of your parishioners.

6. We wholly forbid clergymen the ill practice, by which all that drink together are obliged to equal draughts, and he carries away the credit, who hath made most drunk, and taken off the largest cups : therefore we forbid all forcing to drink : let him that is culpable be suspended from office, and benefice, according to the statutes of the council, unless upon admonition from his superior, he make competent satisfaction. We forbid the publication of Scottales, to be made by priests. If any priest, or clerk do this, or be present at Scottales, let him be canonically punished.

7. Because some laymen, out of an heretical leaven under pretence of Catholic piety endeavour to break a custom commendable in regard to the Church : now as we charge no wicked exactions to be made on these occasions ; so we charge the pious and laudable customs to be observed, as it has been ordained in a council. Let not a corpse be deferred to be buried on account of the fee. But after the burial, if any thing be given, let it be accepted as an alms.

8. Farther we forbid the selling of masses, and charge laymen and others to give, or bequeath nothing in their wills for annals, or trentals of masses : and we forbid any bargains to be made by priests, or other transactors, directly or indirectly for this purpose. And we prohibit under pain of suspension, that priests do at any time burden themselves with an immoderate number of annals, which they are not able honestly to discharge, and therefore must hire at a certain price mercenary priests, or else sell them to be performed by others, for their own acquittal.

9. Let baptismal fonts be kept under lock and key for [fear of] sorcery, as also the chrism, and the holy oil. If he, who has the charge of them be negligent in this point, let him be suspended from his office for three months. And if any wickedness have happened through his neglect, let him be liable to greater punishment.

10. In every baptismal church, let there be a baptistery of stone, or however one that is sufficient, handsomely covered, and reverently kept, and not used for any other purposes. Let not the water, in which a child has been baptized, be kept in the baptistery above seven days. If a child in case of necessity have been baptized by a layman at home, let that water, in honour to baptism, be either thrown into the fire, or carried to church in order to be poured into the baptistery ; and let the vessel, [in which baptism was performed] be burnt, or deputed to the use of the Church.

11. Let the priest always diligently inquire of the layman, who has baptized a child in case of necessity, what he said, and what he did : and if he find by full evidence, that he did clearly perform baptism in the form of the Church, let him approve the fact, whether he did it in Latin, French, or English : but if not let him baptize the child, as ought to be done according to the form of the Church.

12. We charge that deacons presume not to administer penances, or baptism, but when the priest is not able, or

not present, or stupidly unwilling, and death is imminent to the child, or sick person. But if a child be baptized by a layman, let what goes before the immersion, and what follows after, be fully supplied by the priest.

13. Let the chrysoms be made use of for the ornaments of the Church only : let the other ornaments of the Church which have been blest by the Bishop, be applied to no common use. And let the archdeacon in his visitation diligently inquire, whether this be observed.

14. If it be certain that the woman in child-birth is dead, let her be cut open in case the child be thought to be alive ; but let care be taken that the mouth of the woman be held open.

15. Let women be admonished to nurse children with caution, and not lay them near themselves by night, while they are young, lest they be overlaid ; nor leave them alone in a house where there is fire or water, without one to look after them ; and let them be reminded of this every Lord's-day.

16. The priest at confession, is to have his face and eyes looking toward the ground, not in the countenance of the penitent, especially if it be a woman : and let him patiently hear whatever she says, and support her in the spirit of lenity, and persuade her by all ways and means to make a full confession ; otherwise the confession is none at all. Let him enquire after usual sins, but not after unusual, unless it be at a distance, and indirectly ; that such as know may be put into a method of confessing, and such as do not know, may not have an opportunity of learning to sin. Let not the priest ask the names of the persons with whom the penitent hath sinned : but after confession, he may enquire whether he were a clerk or a layman, a monk, priest, or deacon : and let the greater crimes be reserved [to be confessed] to superiors ; such are murder, sacrilege, sins against nature, incest, deflowering of virgins and nuns. Laying violent hands on parents, and clergymen. Breach of vows and the like. But there are cases in which the pope alone, or his legate has power

of absolving. Yet at the hour of death absolution is to be denied to none ; but upon a condition, that they present themselves to the apostolical presence if they recover ; yet they who are guilty of such crimes are always to be sent to the bishop, or his penitentiary. And let the persons thus sent bring with them letters containing the quality and circumstances of the sin ; or let the priest come with them, else let them not be admitted.

17. Let there be two or three men in every deanery, who have God before their eyes, to denounce the public excesses of prelates or other clergymen, at the command of the archbishop or his official.

18. We forbid any man to detain a pledge, after he has received the principal out of the profits, after a deduction of expenses : for that is usury.

19. Let sorcerers, such as invoke the help of devils, such as abuse sacraments, and sacramentals, or convert them to profane uses, incendiaries, rapperees, such as maliciously obstruct the executions of reasonable testaments be generally with solemnity excommunicated on three of the greater feasts every year.

20. That ecclesiastical censure may not grow into contempt, we charge, that all who knowingly communicate with such as are publicly, and by name excommunicate be laid under the same sentence, till they repent, saving the tenor of the canon.

21. We add, that when the Eucharist is to be carried to a sick man, the priest have a clean, decent box, and in it a very clean, linen cloth, in which to carry the Lord's Body to the sick man, with a little bell going before, to stir up the devotion of the faithful by its sound ; and let the priest go on this occasion with his stole, and in his surplice, if the sick man be not too far distant. And let him have a silver, or tin vessel, always to carry with him to the sick, appropriated for this special purpose, that is for giving the washings of his fingers to be drunk [by the sick man], after the taking of the Eucharist.

22. Our will is, that this constitution be inviolably ob-

served; that if a rector of a church die, and leave [his church without proper priestly vestments, or books, or both, or] the church houses ruined, or decayed, such a portion be taken from his ecclesiastical goods, as may be sufficient to make good, and supply these defects of the church. We ordain the same concerning those vicars, who upon paying a moderate pension have the whole profits of the church. For since they are bound to the aforesaid reparations, such a portion ought to be reckoned amongst the debts. But let a reasonable regard be had to the value of the church, in setting out this portion.

23. Let no rector of a church subject to us presume to sell the tithes of his church not yet become due, before the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; from which day the fruits of custom ought to go for the paying of the debts, and legacies of the rectors, though they die, before the fruits become due.

24. As it has been forbidden in a council, so we forbid any pension, great or small to be given to any one fraudulently out of the profits of a church. And because fraud and simony used to be committed in relation to such pensions, therefore we to obviate such evils do sometimes take an oath both of the presenter and the presented, that no unlawful promise or bargain hath been made.

25. We admonish rectors of churches, that they do not endeavour to remove annual chaplains without reasonable cause, especially if they are of honest life, and have a laudable testimony of their conversation.

26. If scandal arise by reason of the incontinence of a parish priest, since the rector ought to be very watchful in this point; if therefore we come to the knowledge of it by common fame, or enquiry, earlier than by the denunciation of the rector, then he shall be punished, as conscious, at the discretion of his superior. We pass the same sentence as to perpetual vicars: and we decree both parsons, that is, rectors and vicars, and also parish priests to be severely punished, unless they be very vigilant in denouncing the

excesses, of this sort especially, for which clerks are found remarkable.

27. Let the priests often caution the people, and forbid under pain of anathema any married person to enter into religion, or to be received, but by ourselves, or our license.

28. Let the priest warn women not to make vows, but with great deliberation, or the consent of their husbands, and the advice of a priest who is capable of giving them counsel.

29. We charge that laymen be often forbid to make their wills without the presence of a parish priest, as they desire, that their wills be fulfilled: we also forbid priests to make their wills by a lay hand.

30. That is no marriage where there is not consent of both parties, therefore they who give girls to boys in their cradles do nothing, except both of them consent after they come to years of discretion. We therefore by this decree forbid any to be married for the future, before both are come to the age appointed by laws and canons, unless in case of urgent necessity for the good of peace.

31. Because too great diversity of religions brings confusion into the Church of God, we charge that they who will found a new [religious] house, or hospital, take from us the rule and institution of it; that they [who are to be received into it] may live regularly and religiously; and we strictly forbid any men or women to be made close recluses any where, without special license of the diocesan, who is to judge of the places, the manners, the quality of the persons, and the means, by which they are to be maintained. And let no secular persons by any means sojourn in their houses, without a manifest and honest cause.

32. At the celebration of mass, let not the priest, when he is going to give himself the host, first kiss it; because he ought not to touch it with his mouth before he receives it. But if (as some do) he takes it off from the patten, let him after mass cause both the chalice and patten to be rinsed in water; or else only the chalice, if he did not take it from the patten. Let the priest have near to the

altar a very clean cloth, cleanly and decently covered, and every way enclosed to wipe his fingers, and lips after receiving the Sacrament of the altar.

33. Let the priests admonish women that are big of child in their parish, that when they apprehend the time of their delivery to be at hand, they take care to have water in readiness for baptizing the child, if necessity require. And let them confess to the priest on account of their imminent peril, lest being seized on a sudden a priest be not to be had when they desire it. [And in some places they also receive the Eucharist, which is a laudable practice.]

34. It is provided by the sacred council, that if patrons, advocates, feudataries or vidoms presume to kill or maim a rector, vicar, or clerk of that Church [in which they are interested] either by themselves, or by others; that then the patrons wholly loose their patronage, the advocates their advowson, the feudataries their feofment, and the vidoms the vidomship, [to the fourth generation.] And let not the posterity of such be received into any college of priests [to the fourth generation] nor have the honour of a prelacy in any house of regulars. And we will have this often denounced in churches.

35. As to tithes, we command them to be paid of all things which are yearly renewed, to the Churches to which they are due, especially those which are due by the law of God, and the approved custom of the place; and so that the Churches be not defrauded of the tenth part on account of the wages of servants, or harvesters. And we grant that the detainers of tithes, if upon a third admonition they do not reform their error, be struck with anathema by the chaplains of the places till they make fit satisfaction. And when they who detain, or steal tithes come to shrift, let them not be admitted, unless they make satisfaction to the priest, to whom the tithes are due by themselves, or by the hands of their priest [to whom they confess.] And let predial and other tithes be paid without difficulty, or

diminution in an entire manner, according to the institutes of the canons. And we grant that parish priests have power of censuring the detainers of tithes in their parishes, and of excommunicating them if they are contumacious, and do not reform upon admonition. And let no layman by any length of time claim to himself an immunity against paying tithes; since a layman according to the institutes of the canons, cannot prescribe [against] tithes.

36. Upon terror of anathema we forbid any constable of a castle, or forest, or the bailiff of any potentate to invade the possessions of clerks, religious, or any other persons, or to molest them with any unjust exactions or oppressions. If any contrary to [our liberties and] this prohibition, to the loss of his own salvation (which God avert) do offend herein, and not amend upon admonition, we charge, that their lands be forthwith laid under ecclesiastical interdict by the archdeacon: if after that, they being hardened return not to amendment, let them be excommunicated with bells tolling and candles lighted after a canonical admonition first given. And our will is, and we strictly charge, that archdeacons and their ministers give mutual assistance to each other, when they are required to it by such as put this in execution.

37. We suspend those from the exercise of their orders, who were not born in lawful matrimony, and were ordained without a sufficient dispensation, as also those who were ordained by such as were not their proper bishops, without the license of those that were their proper bishops or prelates, till they have obtained such dispensation. And we decree, that they who when they were ordained were conscious to themselves of their being in mortal sin formerly committed, or who took orders only for temporal gain do not exercise their office, unless they are first cleansed from this sort of sin by the sacrament of penance.

His Grace soon fell into the King's displeasure, by



opposing himself to the marriage of Elianor, the King's sister, with Simon Mountfort Earl of Leicester, because, upon the death of the Earl-Marshal, her first husband, she had vowed chastity. To have this vow dispensed with, the King procured the Pope to send a legate into England: his name was Otho, a cardinal. Him also this good Archbishop offended, and that so grievously, by reprehending his monstrous covetousness, his bribery, and extortion, as ever after he sought to work him all the mischief he might. The monks of Rochester had presented unto this Archbishop one Richard de Wendover, demanding of him consecration unto the bishopric of their church. The Archbishop refused to afford the same, knowing him to be a very unlearned and insufficient man. Hereupon the monks appealed to Rome, which the Archbishop understanding, hastened thither himself. Otho, the legate, endeavoured to stay him at home, and failing thereof, did his errand so well at Rome, as not only in that suit, but another also which he had against Hugh, Earl of Arundel, in another cause of appeal, he was overthrown, and condemned in a thousand marks charges to his great disgrace and empoverishment. Being at Rome, he had complained of many great abuses in England, and, among the rest, of the long vacancy of bishoprics. The Pope seemed willing to redress these things, and, concerning that matter, set down this order, that if any cathedral church continued void above five months, it should be lawful for the Archbishop to confer it where he list, as well as any smaller benefice. The procuring of this order cost him a great sum of money: yet no sooner was his back turned, but the Pope, at the King's request, revoked the same. Being thus continually vexed, thwarted, and disgraced, he departed into voluntary exile, and there, bewailing the misery of his country, spoiled and wasted by the tyranny of the Pope, spent the rest of his life in continual tears. Through extreme grief and sorrow, or (as some think) too much fasting, he fell first into a consumption, and after into a strange kind of ague. Whereupon he



never a sectary in England durst to have preached in such a place and at such a time."

He officiated at Hertford, and at several places in and about London; and was sometimes brought into trouble for non-compliance with the doctrines and discipline of the Church. At length the declaration of the parliament against Charles I. enabled him to renounce episcopacy at once, and to profess himself openly a Presbyterian. His satisfaction, however, lasted but a short time, for the Independents soon displayed towards the Presbyterians the same opposition and hatred that those two bodies had felt in common against the Church. This raised the wrath, and called his pen into action. He established a correspondence all over the kingdom, and professed that he would resemble that tree spoken of in the Revelation, as yielding fruit every month, by continually producing some tractate or other. He delivered himself of sermons, prayers, praises, and discourses, and at last poured upon the "Sectaries," as he called them, the heavy artillery of his *Gangræna*. The first part of this work was published at London in 1645, and the author of it asserts in the title page that the errors had been "vented and acted in England these four last years," that is, from 1640-1, the very years in which the Covenanters entered England, and dissent was triumphant. This is a remarkable fact. This writer, one of their party, declares that they were guilty of all manner of outrages; some of their errors as stated by him are as follows: "That the Scriptures cannot be said to be the Word of God: there is no Word but Christ; the Scriptures are a dead letter, and no more to be credited than the writings of men; not divine but human inventions. That the Scriptures are insufficient and uncertain, there is no certainty to build any doctrine upon them, they are not an infallible foundation of faith. That the holy writings and sayings of Moses and the Prophets, of Christ and His Apostles, and the proper names, persons, and things con-

tained therein, are allegories, and these allegories are the mystery and spiritual meaning of them. That the New Testament, nor no place of Scripture in it, binds any further than the Spirit for present reveals to us that such a place is the word of God. That God hath a hand in, and is the author of the sinfulness of His people : that He is the author not of those actions alone, in and with which sin is, but of the very pravity, ataxy, anomy, irregularity and sinfulness itself which is in them. That all lies come forth from out of the mouth of God. That no man was cast into hell for any sin, but only because God would have it so. That the soul dies with the body, and all things shall have an end, but God only shall remain for ever. Every creature in the first estate of creation was God, and every creature is God. every creature that hath life and breath being an efflux from God, and shall return into God again, be swallowed up in Him as a drop is in the ocean. That by Christ's death, all the sins of all the men in the world, Turks, Pagans, as well as Christians, committed against the moral law and first covenant, are actually pardoned and forgiven, and this is the everlasting gospel. That no man shall perish or go to hell for any sin, but unbelief only. That the least truth is of more worth than Jesus Christ Himself. That there is a perfect way in this life, not by Word, Sacraments, prayer, and other ordinances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a man's self. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghost knows all things, even as God knows all things; which point is a deep mystery and great ocean, where there is no casting anchor, nor sounding the bottom. That if a man by the Spirit knew himself to be in the state of grace, though he did commit murder or drunkenness, God did see no sin in him. There is no freewill in man either to good or evil, either in his natural or glorified estate. That the moral law is of no use at all to believers, that it is no rule for believers to walk by, nor to examine their lives by, and that Christians are freed from the mandatory power

of the law. Neither faith, nor repentance, nor humiliation, nor self-denial, nor use of ordinances, nor doing as one would be done to, are duties required of Christians, or such things as they must exercise themselves in, or they can have no part in Christ. That the doctrine of repentance is a soul-destroying doctrine. That it is as possible for Christ Himself to sin, as for a child of God to sin. That God doth not chastise any of his children for sin; and let believers sin as fast as they can, there is a fountain open for them to wash in. That God's children are not to ask the pardon and forgiveness of their sins, they need not, they ought not, and it is no less than blasphemy for a child of God to ask pardon of sins, it is infidelity to ask pardon of sins, and David's asking forgiveness of sin was his weakness. That the soul of a man is mortal as the soul of a beast, and dies with the body. There is no resurrection at all of the bodies of men after this life, nor heaven nor hell, nor devils after this life. That in points of religion, even in the articles of faith, and principles of religion, there is nothing certainly to be believed and built on, only that all men ought to have liberty of conscience, and liberty of prophesying. It is as lawful to break any of the ten commandments, as to baptize an infant: yea, it is as lawful to commit adultery and murder, as to baptize a child. That the Church of England and the ministry thereof is antichristian, yea of the devil, and that it is absolutely sinful and unlawful to hear any of their ministers preach in their assemblies. That all settled certain maintenance for ministers of the Gospel, especially that which is called tithes, is unlawful, Jewish, and antichristian. That it is unlawful to worship God in places consecrated, and in places where superstition and idolatry have been practised, as in our churches. That there is no need of human learning, nor for reading authors, for preachers, but all books and learning must go down; it comes from the want of the Spirit, that men write such great volumes, and make such ado of learning. It is unlawful for the saints to join in prayer where wicked

men are, or to pray with any of the wicked. That there are revelations and visions in these times; yea to some they are more ordinary, and shall be to the people of God generally within a while. That the gift of miracles is not ceased in these times, but that some of the sectaries have wrought miracles. It is ordinary for Christians now in these days, with Paul to be wrapt up to the third heavens, and to hear words unutterable, and they cannot well have assurance of being Christians, that have not found and had experience of this. All the earth is the saints', and there ought to be a community of goods, and the saints should share in the lands and estates of gentlemen and rich men. That it is lawful for a man to put away his wife upon indisposition, unfitness, contrariety of mind, &c. It is unlawful for Christians to fight, and take up arms for their laws and civil liberties. That using of set forms of prayer prescribed is idolatry. That it is not lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate, but upon turning Christian he should lay down his magistracy. That God hath a bodily shape and proportion. The souls of the saints departed now in heaven, are on earth every where present with their friends, and with all the affairs of this world, seeing and knowing them; and do now with Christ govern and rule the kingdoms of the earth, and all the affairs here below. That there is no need of universities, that universities are of the devil; that human learning is flesh opposed to the Spirit, and that if men be anointed with the Spirit, and accepted among the saints, they are sufficiently qualified. That all shall be saved at last, both all men and devils: and shall see, feel, and possess blessedness to their everlasting salvation and comfort. That Christ shed His blood for kine and horses and all other creatures, as well as for men," &c.

These, and many more, says the writer in the *Biographia Britannica*, are some of the blasphemies and horrid impieties advanced and maintained in these unhappy kingdoms, in those lawless and distracted times, when every one did what seemed right in his own eyes.

The Dissenters in power were not prepared to show toleration, even to one who shared with them their hatred of the Church, and Edwards was driven by them out of England in 1647, soon after the publication of the third part of the *Gangræna*. He retired to Holland, and died the same year. He published, 1. "Reasons against the Independent government of particular congregations," &c. London, 1641, 4to. This was answered the same year by a woman named Catherine Chidley. 2. "Antapologia: or, a full answer to the apologetical narration of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, members of the assembly of divines: wherein are handled many of the controversies of these times," 1644, 4to. The chief design of this work we learn from himself, in the preface to it: "This Antapologia, says he, I here recommend to you for a true glass to behold the faces of Presbytery and Independency in, with the beauty, order, and strength of the one; and the deformity, disorder, and weakness of the other." 3. "Gangræna; (already alluded to) or, a catalogue and discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years," &c. 1645, 4to. 4. *Gangræna*: part the second, 1646, 4to. 5. *Gangræna*: part the third. The errors, heresies, and blasphemies, he particularly takes notice of, in these three parts of his *Gangræna*, are by him referred to sixteen heads or sorts of sectaries; viz. Independents, Brownists, Chiliasts or Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Manifestarians or Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers and Waiters, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Sceptics and Questionists, who question every thing in matters of religion; namely, all the articles of faith, and first principles of the Christian religion, holding nothing positively or certainly, saving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conscience for all, or liberty of prophesying. 6. "The casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan; or, a

treatise against toleration," Part. I. London, 1647. This was written when the Independents, by means of a toleration, were for working themselves into all places of trust. 7. "Of the particular visibility of the Church." 8. "A treatise of the civil power in ecclesiasticals, and of suspension from the Lord's Supper."—*Wood. Gangræna.*

## EDWARDS, JONATHAN.

JONATHAN EDWARDS was born at Windsor, in Connecticut, in 1703, and educated at Yale College, where he took his degrees in arts. In 1722 he became preacher to a Presbyterian congregation at New York; but in 1724 he was chosen tutor of Yale College. In 1726 he resigned that station, and became assistant to his maternal grandfather, a minister at Northampton, in Connecticut. Here he continued till 1750, when he was dismissed for refusing to administer the sacrament to immoral persons. He now went on a mission to the Indians, and in 1757 was chosen president of the College of New Jersey, where he died in 1758, of the small pox. He wrote—1. A Treatise concerning religious affections, 8vo. 2. The Life of David Brainerd, 8vo. 3. An inquiry into the qualifications for communion, 8vo. 4. An Inquiry into the Modern Notion of that Freedom of will, which is supposed to be essential to moral agency, 8vo. 5. The Doctrine of original sin defended. 6. A history of Redemption, 8vo. After his death appeared his sermons, with his life prefixed.—*Watkins.*

## EGBERT, OR ECBERT.

EGBERT was the brother of Eadbert, King of Northumberland, and became Archbishop of York in 731. He procured the archiepiscopal pall to be restored to his cathedral, and revived the metropolitan jurisdiction. This



see had never been dignified by the pall since the time of Paulinus, if the pall may be regarded as conferring dignity. The prelates succeeding Paulinus had been contented with diocesan authority. The three bishops north of the Humber were suffragans to Egbert, who is still more distinguished for the library he founded. This has been mentioned honourably by Alcuin, who was for some time keeper of it. William of Malmesbury called it "omnium liberalium artium armarium nobilissimam bibliothecam." It was burnt, with a great part of York, in the reign of Stephen. He died in 767. He wrote, 1. *Dialogus de Ecclesiasticâ Institutione*. This was printed by Warton, in 1693, and has appeared in different editions of the Councils. 2. *Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ*. Several copies of this exist in manuscript, but portions only have been hitherto published.—*Collier. Godwin. Wright.*

## EGERTON, JOHN.

JOHN EGERTON was the son of Henry, Bishop of Hereford, and born in London, in 1721. He received his education at Eton, and next at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1745 he obtained the rectory of Ross, and the year following a prebend in the cathedral of Hereford. He was appointed chaplain to the King in 1749, and the next year Dean of Hereford. In 1756 he was consecrated Bishop of Bangor; removed to Lichfield in 1768, and finally to Durham in 1771. He was a munificent prelate, and died in London in 1787. The Bishop published only three sermons.—*Hutchinson's Durham.*

## EGGLESFIELD, ROBERT.

ROBERT EGGLESFIELD, the founder of Queen's College, Oxford, was a native of Cumberland, where his family

held large estates ; part of which now belong to the college. He was probably born at Eggesfield, and in 1332 became rector of Burgh in Westmoreland ; but he lived at court, where he was chaplain to Philippa, Queen of Edward III. He died in 1349.—*Hutchinson's Cumberland.*

ELIOT, JOHN.

JOHN ELIOT was born in 1604, and educated in the University of Cambridge. He embarked in 1631 for America, became pastor of an Independent church at Boston, but afterwards went to Roxburg in New England, where the rest of his life was spent. In 1646, having learnt the language of the Indians, he commenced his scheme of converting them to Christianity. He translated the Bible into the language of the Six Nations. This was printed first at Cambridge in New England in 1664, and afterwards, shortly before his death, with corrections, by Mr. Cotton, his fellow-labourer in the Indian mission. This was the first translation of the Scriptures that had ever been attempted in the Indian language. He published an Indian Grammar, 1666, and the Logic Primer for the use of the Indians, 1672. He used to write periodically accounts of the progress of the gospel among the Indians in New England, which were regularly sent to London. He was not forgetful, in his benevolent exertions, of the whites ; for he was the means of establishing a free-grammar school at Roxburg, which was eminently beneficial to the interests of learning in the New England States. The unexpected success of Eliot drew the attention of the parliament and people of England to the necessities of the colonies, and hence arose the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He died in the latter end of 1689, at the age of eighty-six.—*Cotton. Mather.*

## ELLIS, CLEMENT.

CLEMENT ELLIS, born in Cumberland, in 1630, was the son of the steward of the Bishop of Carlisle. He was a servitor at Queen's College, in 1649, and afterwards became a fellow. He or his father had probably suffered for the Royal cause, for Clement received, while at college, several donations towards his subsistence, which he afterwards discovered to have come from Dr. Jeremy Taylor and Dr. Hammond, being part of the collections of money put into their hands for the support and maintenance of such as had suffered under the persecution of the Puritans. He was ordained by Dr. Skinner, the then deprived Bishop of Oxford, at his house in Langton, near Oxford, on the 10th of December, 1656. This bishop was almost the only one that conferred holy orders during the troubles, and was thought at his death to have sent more labourers into the vineyard, than all the bishops of his time. Mr. Ellis being thus in orders, became a constant preacher, either at St. Peter's in the East, or at Abingdon, until the year 1660, when the Lord William, then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, took him to be his domestic chaplain, upon the recommendation of Dr. Morley and Dr. Barlow.

By his noble patron he was presented to the rectory of Kirkby in the county of Nottingham. He became a prebendary of Southwell in 1693. He died in 1700. His death, which he was better prepared for by a lingering illness, was attended with all the tokens of an humble and devout soul, and a spirit entirely resigned to the will of God. The prayers of the Church, which he valued above others, were to his last minutes made use of. He received the Holy Sacrament several times, and had always in the time of his health a monthly Sacrament in his church; and during the whole course of his sickness, as well as at his departure, such a power and presence of God's good Spirit seemed to be afforded him, that it was

the greatest ease and pleasure for him to die; and all doubtfulness and uncertainty, concerning his everlasting state, was with true reason, and upon good grounds, removed from him. He published—1. *The Genteel Sinner; or England's Brave Gentleman Characterized in a Letter to a Friend*, 1660. In which he says, "The true gentleman is one that is God's servant, the world's master, and his own man. His virtue is his business, his study his recreation, contentedness his rest, and happiness his reward. God is his Father, the Church is his mother, the saints his brethren, all that need him his friends, and heaven his inheritance. Religion is his mistress, loyalty and justice her ladies of honour; devotion is his chaplain, chastity his chamberlain, sobriety his butler, temperance his cook, hospitality his housekeeper, providence his steward, charity his treasurer, piety his mistress of the house, and discretion, to let in, and let out, as is most fit. Thus is his whole family made up of virtues, and he the true master of the family. He is necessitated to take the world in his way to heaven, but he walks through it as fast as he can; and all his business, by the way, is to make himself and others happy. Take him all in two words, he is a man, and a Christian." 2. *A Catechism*. This was reprinted in 1738 by the Rev. John Veneer, and to this edition a life was added. 3. *The Vanity of Scoffing, in a Letter to a witty Gentleman*. 4. *Christianity in Short, or the Short Way to be a good Christian.—Veneer.*

## ELLYS, ANTHONY.

ANTHONY ELLYS was born in 1693. He was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he took his master's degree in 1716. In 1724 he was presented to the vicarage of St. Olave, Jewry, and the rectory of St. Martin, Ironmonger Lane. In 1725 he obtained a prebend of Gloucester, and in 1728 was created D.D. at Cambridge.

He was next promoted to the bishopric of St. David's, and died at Gloucester in 1761. The bishop published in his life time—1. A Plea for the Sacramental Text. 2. Remarks on Hume's Essay concerning Miracles, 4to., and sermons preached on public occasions. 3. Tracts on the Liberty, Spiritual and Temporal, of Protestants in England, 1763. 4. Tracts on the Liberty, Spiritual and Temporal, of Subjects in England. The two last-mentioned are collections of tracts, and form one great and elaborate work, which had been the principal object of the bishop's life. The first vindicates the establishment of the Church of England against the objections of the dissenters and the Roman Catholics; the second relates to the British constitution. They were not published until after his death.—*Biog. Brit.*

## ELPHINSTON, WILLIAM.

WILLIAM ELPHINSTON was born at Glasgow, in 1431. He received his education at the university of his native place, and on entering into orders, obtained the rectory of Kirkmichael. After this he went to Paris and Orleans, at both which places he was chosen professor of civil and canon law. At the end of nine years he returned to Scotland, and became rector of the university of Glasgow. He also sat in parliament, and had a place in the privy council. James III. sent him on an embassy to France, and when he came home he was made Bishop of Ross, from whence, in 1484, he was translated to Aberdeen. In 1488 he was advanced to the post of lord chancellor; soon after which he went on an embassy to Vienna. In 1492 he was made lord privy-seal, and the same year appointed one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, for the prolongation of the truce with England. The distractions of the state being appeased, he found leisure to attend to an object that he had long meditated, and which engrossed much of his thoughts. Religion and learning had been

the chief pursuits of his life, and he wished to diffuse the influence of both over the north of Scotland. For this purpose he applied to the king to solicit the papal authority for the foundation of the university of Aberdeen, which was granted by a bull from Pope Alexander VI., dated February 10, 1494. The college, called King's College, in Old Aberdeen, was, accordingly, erected in 1506. Besides the erection and endowment of the college, Bishop Elphinston left ample funds to build and to support a bridge over the river Dee, and the sum he bequeathed for these two objects was 10,000 pounds Scots. He wrote a book of canons, some lives of Scottish saints, and the history of Scotland, from the rise of the nation to his own time, which is now preserved among Fairfax's MSS. in the Bodleian library. The death of James IV., who lost his life at Flodden-field, where the better part of the Scotch nobility shared a similar fate, so afflicted the mind of Elphinston, that he died soon after, broken-hearted, at Edinburgh, on the 25th of October, 1514, while negotiations were pending with the court of Rome for his elevation to the primacy of St. Andrew's.—*Keith's Scottish Bishops. Thom's Hist. of Aberdeen.*

#### ELSNER, JAMES.

JAMES ELSNER was born in 1692, at Saalfeld, in Prussia, and educated at Konisberg. In 1720 he was appointed professor of theology and the Oriental languages at Lingen, having previously taken his doctor's degree at Utrecht. He was afterwards director of the belles lettres in the academy of Berlin, where he died in 1750. His theological works are very numerous. Those of most importance are—1. *Observationes Sacræ in Novi Fœderis historicos Libros*: tomus i. *Libros historicos complexus*: tomus ii. *Epistolas Apostolorum et Apocalypsin complexus*. This work gave rise to a controversy with Stoer. 2. The

Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians explained. He also wrote, A new Description of the State of the Greek Church in Turkey, and other works on theology and antiquities. —*Dict. Hist.*

## EPHRAIM, OR EPHREM.

Of this distinguished deacon we cannot do better than present the reader with the account which is given us by the ancient historian Sozomen. Ephraim the Syrian, he says, was entitled to the highest honours, and was the greatest ornament of the Church. He was a native of Nisibis, or of the neighbouring territory. He devoted his life to monastic philosophy; and although he received no instruction, he became, contrary to all expectation, so proficient in the learning and language of the Syrians, that he comprehended with ease the most abstruse theorems of philosophy. His style of writing was so replete with splendid oratory and sublimity of thought that he surpassed all the writers of Greece. If the works of these writers were to be translated into Syriac, or any other language, and divested, as it were, of the beauties of the Greek language, they would retain little of their original elegance and value. The productions of Ephraim have not this disadvantage: they were translated into Greek during his life, and yet they preserve much of their original force and power, so that his works are not less admired when read in Greek than when read in Syriac. Basil, who was subsequently bishop of the metropolis of Cappadocia, was a great admirer of Ephraim, and was astonished at his erudition. The opinion of Basil, who was the most learned and eloquent man of his age, is a stronger testimony, I think, to the merit of Ephraim, than any thing that could be indited in his praise. It is said that he wrote three hundred thousand verses, and that he had many disciples who were zealously attached to his doctrines. The most celebrated

of his disciples were Abbas, Zenobius, Abraham, Maras, and Simeon, whom the most learned men of Syria regard as the glory of their country. Paulanus and Aranad are likewise generally included in their number; for they were renowned as men of great eloquence, although reported to have deviated from sound doctrine.

I am not ignorant that there were some very learned men who flourished in Osroene, as, for instance, Bardasanes, who originated a heresy designated by his name, and Harmonius his son. It is related that this latter was deeply versed in Grecian erudition, and was the first to compose verses in his vernacular language; those verses he delivered to the choirs, and even now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise verses written by Harmonius, but others of the same metre. For as Harmonius was not altogether free from the errors of his father, and entertained various opinions concerning the soul, the generation and destruction of the body, and the doctrine of transmigration, which are taught by the Greek philosophers, he introduced some of these sentiments in the lyrical songs which he composed. When Ephraim perceived that the Syrians were charmed with the elegant diction and melodious versification of Harmonius, he became apprehensive, lest they should imbibe the same opinions; and therefore, although he was ignorant of Grecian learning, he applied himself to the study of the metres of Harmonius, and composed similar poems in accordance with the doctrines of the Church, and sacred hymns in praise of holy men. From that period the Syrians sang the odes of Ephraim, according to the method indicated by Harmonius. The execution of this work is alone sufficient to attest the natural endowments of Ephraim. He was as celebrated for the good actions he performed as for the rigid course of discipline he pursued. He was particularly fond of tranquillity. He was so serious, and so careful to avoid giving occasion to calumny, that he refrained from looking upon woman. It is related that a female of licentious



character, who was either desirous of tempting him, or who had been bribed for the purpose, contrived on one occasion to meet him face to face, and fixed her eyes intently on him; he rebuked her, and commanded her to look down upon the ground. "Wherefore should I obey your injunction," replied the woman; "for I was born not of the earth but of you? It would be more just if you were to look down upon the earth whence you sprang, while I look upon you as I was born of you." Ephraim, astonished at the language of the woman, recorded the whole transaction in a book which most Syrians regard as one of the best of his productions. It is also said of him, that, although he was naturally prone to passion, he never exhibited angry feeling towards any one from the period of his embracing a monastic life. It once happened that after he had, according to custom, been fasting several days, his attendant, in presenting some food to him, let fall the dish on which it was placed. Ephraim, perceiving that he was overwhelmed with shame and terror, said to him, "Take courage; we will go to the food as the food does not come to us," and he immediately seated himself beside the fragments of the dish, and ate his supper. What I am about to relate will suffice to show that he was totally exempt from the love of vain-glory. He was appointed bishop of some town, and attempts were made to convey him away for the purpose of ordaining him. As soon as he became aware of what was intended, he ran to the market-place, exhibited himself in an indecorous manner, and ate in public. Those who had come to carry him away to be their bishop, on seeing him in this state, believed that he was out of his mind, and departed: and he, meeting with an opportunity for effecting his escape, remained in concealment until another had been ordained in his place. What I have now said concerning Ephraim must suffice, although his own countrymen relate many other anecdotes of him. Yet his conduct on one occasion shortly before his death, appears to me so worthy of remembrance that I shall record it here. The city of

Edessa being severely visited by famine, he quitted the solitary cell in which he dwelt, and rebuked the rich for permitting the poor to die around them, instead of imparting to them of their superfluities ; and he represented to them that the wealth which they were treasuring up so carefully would turn to their own condemnation, and to the ruin of the soul, which is of more value than all the riches of the earth. The rich men, convinced by his arguments, replied, “ We are not intent upon hoarding our wealth, but we know of no one to whom we can confide the distribution of our goods, for all are prone to seek after lucre, and to betray the trust placed in them.” “ What think you of me ? ” asked Ephraim. On their admitting that they considered him an excellent and just man, and worthy of confidence, he offered to undertake the distribution of their alms. As soon as he received their money he had about three hundred beds fitted up in the public galleries, and here he tended those who were ill and suffering from the effects of the famine, whether they were foreigners or natives of the surrounding country. On the cessation of the famine he returned to the cell in which he had previously dwelt ; and, after the lapse of a few days, he expired. He attained no higher clerical degree than that of deacon, although his attainments in virtue rendered him equal in reputation to those who rose to the highest sacerdotal dignity, while his holy life and erudition made him an object of universal admiration. I have now given some account of the virtue of Ephraim. It would require a more experienced hand than mine, to furnish a full description of his character and that of the other illustrious men who about the same period had devoted themselves to a life of philosophy ; and it is to be regretted that Ephraim did not enter upon this undertaking. The attempt is beyond my powers, for I possess but little knowledge of these great men, or of their exploits.

Ephraim, it will be observed from the above statement, is to be regarded as a benefactor of mankind, as having

been the first to suggest the idea of an Infirmary or Hospital supported by general subscriptions. His death occurred in 378.

His works were very little known until they were brought into public notice by Vossius, and then they appeared under such suspicious circumstances, as to occasion considerable doubts in many minds as to their general authenticity; but these doubts have, for the most part, been removed by the edition of his works published at Rome in 1736, and the following years by Joseph Asseman. The Oxford Translator of the Prythous "feels himself under an obligation," as he tells us, "to speak with suspicion of the Greek works attributed to St. Ephraim;" and then, in what seems to be an affected humility, gives reasons why his suspicions ought not to be attended to. The following is the list of editions:

Ephræmi Syri Opera, cura Ger. Vossii, Gr. et Lat. 3 vol. Rom. 1589—1597.

———— Colon. 1603.

———— Antverp. 1619.

———— Gr. cura Ed. Thwaites, fol. Oxon. 1709.

———— Opera omnia, Syr. et Lat., et Gr. et Lat., 6 tom. fol. Opera et Studio Jos. Assemani, Rom. 1737—46. This is the only complete edition of Ephraim's Works.—*Sozomen. Cave.*

## EPIPHANIUS.

SAINT EPIPHANIUS was born about the year 320, at Besanduce, a village of Palestine. His early years were passed under monastic discipline; nevertheless he informs us he was nearly seduced to the Gnostic heresy; but God of His mercy preserved him, and by his intercourse with Helarion and the monks of Palestine, he was confirmed in the true faith. About 367 he was chosen Bishop of Salamis, afterwards called Constantia, the metropolis of the island of Cyprus. Epiphanius took up a violent

animosity against the writings of Origen : he seems to have been almost insane upon the subject. In the pulpit at Jerusalem he declaimed so strongly against certain opinions of Origen that John, Bishop of Jerusalem, supposed that an insinuation was intended against himself ; and Epiphanius who, though evidently a pious, was clearly a weak man, and peculiarly open to the flattery which is shewn by deference, continued to place himself in the wrong by the ordination of Paulinianus. Paulinianus, the brother of St. Jerome, lived with him in the monastery of Bethlehem. There were two priests in this community, both of whom, through a mistaken humility, and through a forgetfulness of Him on Whose help and in Whose name they were to act, refused to officiate at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper : these were St. Jerome and Vincentius. Paulinianus was judged worthy of the priesthood, but feeling himself unworthy, and fearing compulsory ordination, he carefully avoided meeting any bishops. Their friend, St. Epiphanius, had founded a monastery at his birth-place, in the diocese of Eleutheropolis, in Palestine. While he was there, Paulinianus went with several monks to see him, that they might give him satisfaction for some cause of displeasure he had against them. St. Epiphanius believed that Providence had sent him ; and as divine service was being performed in the church of a village near his monastery, he caused Paulinianus (who was wholly unconscious of his intention) to be seized by several deacons, and ordered them to stop his mouth, lest to deliver himself he should conjure them in the name of Christ. In this way he ordained him deacon, notwithstanding his great unwillingness, and the protestations which he made of his unworthiness ; he obliged him to perform the duties of his office, endeavouring to persuade him by passages from Scripture, and through fear of the judgments of God. Afterwards, as he was officiating at the Holy Sacrament, St. Epiphanius ordained him priest with the same difficulty, causing his mouth to be stopped ; and he then made use of the same argu-

ments to oblige him to take his seat among the priests. After this he wrote to the priests and other monks of this community, reproving them for not having written to ask for the ordination of Paulinianus ; especially since it was now more than a year since several had complained to him of having no one among them to celebrate the Holy Mysteries ; and that all desired the ordination of Paulinianus, for the advantage of the monastery. Paulinianus followed St. Epiphanius into Cyprus, and continued subject to him as being one of his clergy ; only going sometimes to visit his brother in Palestine.

John of Jerusalem was justly angry at this ordination. He complained loudly of it, and threatened to write concerning it to the whole world. He alleged that St. Epiphanius had no jurisdiction over Paulinianus, nor in Palestine, which he claimed as his province. He said moreover that Paulinianus was too young to be a priest, though he was thirty years of age. He added certain personal reproaches against St. Epiphanius, and amongst others, that in the prayers of the Holy Sacrifice he said : “ Lord ! grant unto John to believe aright ; ” thus accusing him of heresy. It is true that St. Epiphanius accused John of holding the errors attributed to Origen, and this was the chief cause of their division. John pretended that they had reproached him with this only since he had complained of the ordination of Paulinianus. But St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome maintained on the contrary, that John complained of this ordination only through revenge, because they had found fault with his doctrine. Epiphanius having been informed of the complaints and menaces of John of Jerusalem, wrote a letter to him, in which he gave an account of the manner in which he had performed the ordination, and said :

“ You ought to rejoice, knowing that the fear of God obliged me to do it ; especially considering that there is no difference in the priesthood of God, when regard is had to the good of the Church. For though the bishops have every one his church, of which he takes care, and though

none may encroach upon what belongs to another, yet the love of Christ, which is without dissimulation, is to be preferred to every thing." And afterwards: "O how truly commendable is the meekness and goodness of the bishops of Cyprus; and how worthy of the mercy of God is our rusticity as you would term it! For many bishops of our communion have ordained as priests in our province, some whom we were unable to secure, and have sent us deacons and subdeacons, whom we gladly received. I, myself, exhorted Bishop Philo of blessed memory and holy Theoprobos, to ordain priests in certain churches of Cyprus, which were near them, because my diocese, in which they are situated, extends so far. Why therefore are you so angry on account of a work of God, which was done not for the destruction but for the edification of the brethren?" He afterwards answers the personal reproaches; and protests that he never spoke of John in the public prayers, any otherwise than of the rest of the bishops, saying; "Lord! preserve him that preacheth the Truth;" or else, "Grant, Lord, that he may preach the Word of Truth;" using one or other of these expressions according to the occasion or the sequence of the discourse.

He afterwards comes to Origen's errors, which he affirms to be the true cause of John's animosity, and he refers them to eight heads. The first is, that the Son of God cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, the Son; the second, that souls have been angels in heaven, and that for their sins they were sent here below and imprisoned in bodies; the third, that the devil will return to his former dignity and reign in heaven with the saints; the fourth, that the garments of skins, with which God clothed Adam and Eve, were their bodies, and that they were incorporeal before they sinned; the fifth, that we shall not rise again with the same flesh; the sixth, that the terrestrial paradise is only an allegory of heaven; the seventh, that the waters which in Scripture are placed above the firmament, are the angels, and those beneath,

the evil spirits ; the eighth, that man by sin lost his resemblance to God. St. Epiphanius exhorts John of Jerusalem to renounce all these errors, of which he likewise accuses the priest Ruffinus of Aquileia and Palladius of Galatia.

At the end of his letter are these words : “ Moreover, I have been informed, that some have murmured against me, because when we were going to the holy place named Bethel, in order to perform the collect there with you ; on coming to the village Anablatha, and seeing there, as I passed, a lamp lighted, I asked what place it was, and on being told that it was a church, I went in to pray accordingly. I found a curtain fastened to the door of this church, upon which was painted a picture to represent Christ or some saint ; for I do not perfectly remember the subject. Having therefore seen the image of a man exposed to view in the church of Christ against the authority of Scripture, I tore the curtain and advised those who kept that place rather to wrap the dead body of some poor man in it, for his burial. They murmured and said ; ‘ If he must tear our curtain, he ought at least to give us another in exchange.’ When I heard this I promised to do it, and accordingly I now send the best I could meet with, and I beg you to order the priests of the place to receive it ; and to forbid for the future the exhibition in the church of such curtains as are contrary to our religion ; it becomes you to remove this scandal.”

We may be thankful that in the blessed Church of England better discipline is observed ; and that, if we have faults of our own, we are free from some which existed even in the primitive ages.

Soon after this controversy in Palestine, an ambitious and violent prelate, Theophilus, came forward as the bitter opponent of Origen, and made a party with Epiphanius. Irritated for several reasons against the monks of Nitria, whom he represented as infected with the contagion of Origenism, he ordered them to give up and abandon all

the productions of Origen. The monks refusing to obey, Theophilus called a council at Alexandria in 399, in which, having condemned the followers of Origen, he sent a band of soldiers to drive the monks from their residence in Mount Nitria. The persecuted monks, after going first to Jerusalem, and then to Scythopolis, betook themselves at last to Constantinople. Here St. Chrysostom was now bishop, beloved by all the virtuous of the clergy, though hated by a corrupt and luxurious court. St. John Chrysostom drew upon himself the bitter hatred of Theophilus by espousing the cause of the banished monks, and writing to him in their behalf. The rest shall be stated in the words of the ancient historian Sozomen, compared with those of Socrates. These historians speak of the celebrated Patriarch of Constantinople, whom we now chiefly know by his title, if we may so call it, of Chrysostom, by his name, John. "Theophilus," says Sozomen, "kept his designs against John as secret as possible; and wrote to the bishops of every city, condemning the books of Origen. It also occurred to him that it would be advantageous to enlist Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, on his side, because the eminent virtues of this prelate had secured him universal admiration; and he therefore formed a friendship with him, although he had formerly blamed him for asserting that God possessed a human form. As if repentant of having ever entertained any other sentiment, Theophilus wrote to Epiphanius (whom Socrates describes as a person more eminent for his extraordinary piety than for his intelligence) to acquaint him, that he now held the same opinions as himself, and to condemn the works of Origen, whence he had drawn his former hypothesis. Epiphanius had long regarded the writings of Origen with peculiar aversion, and was therefore easily led to attach credit to the epistle of Theophilus. He soon after assembled the bishops of Cyprus together, and prohibited the perusal of the books of Origen. He also wrote to the other bishops, and among others, to the Bishop of



Constantinople, exhorting them to issue similar prohibitions. Theophilus, perceiving that there could be no danger in following the example of Epiphanius, whose exalted virtues were universally appreciated and revered, assembled the bishops of his province, and enacted a similar decree. John, on the other hand, paid little attention to the letters of Epiphanius and Theophilus. Those among the powerful and the clergy who were opposed to him, perceived that the designs of Theophilus tended to his ejection from the bishopric, and therefore endeavoured to procure the convention of a council in Constantinople, in order to carry this measure into execution. Theophilus exerted himself to the utmost in convening this council; he commanded the bishops of Egypt to repair by sea to Constantinople; he wrote to request Epiphanius and the other eastern bishops to proceed to that city with as little delay as possible, and he himself set off on the journey thither by land. Epiphanius was the first to sail from Cyprus; he landed at Hebdoma, a suburb of Constantinople, and after having prayed in the church erected at that place, (where, according to Socrates, he again violated the canons, by ordaining a deacon in another man's diocese) he proceeded to enter the city. In order to do him honour, John went out with all his clergy to meet him. Epiphanius, however, evinced clearly by his conduct that he believed the disadvantageous report that had been spread against John, for he would not remain in his house, and avoided all intercourse with him. He also privately assembled all the bishops who were in Constantinople, and showed them the decrees that he had issued against the works of Origen. Some of the bishops approved of these decrees, while others objected to them. Theotimus, Bishop of Scythia, strongly opposed the proceedings of Epiphanius, and told him that it was not right to cast insult on the memory of one who had long been numbered with the dead, nor to call into question the conclusion to which the ancients had arrived on the subject. While discoursing in this strain, he drew forth a work of Origen's which he

had brought with him ; and after reading aloud a passage conducive to the edification of the Church, he remarked that those who condemned such sentiments were guilty of manifest absurdity, and that while they were ridiculing the words of the author, they were evidently in danger of being tempted to ridicule the subjects themselves upon which he wrote. John manifested great respect towards Epiphanius, and invited him to join in the meetings of his church, and to dwell with him. But Epiphanius declared that he would neither reside with John, nor pray with him, unless he would denounce the works of Origen and expel Dioscorus and his companions from the city. Not considering it just to act in the manner proposed until judgment had been passed on the case, John tried to postpone the adoption of further measures to some future time. In the meantime his enemies met together, and arranged that on the day when the people would be assembled in the church of the Apostles, Epiphanius should publicly pronounce condemnation on the works of Origen, and on Dioscorus and his companions as the partizans of this writer ; and also denounce the bishop of the city as the abettor of Dioscorus. By this means, it was hoped, that the affections of the people would be alienated from their bishop. The following day, when Epiphanius was about entering the church, in order to carry his design into execution, he was stopped by Serapion, at the command of John, who had received intimation of the plot. Serapion proved to Epiphanius that while the project he had devised was unjust in itself, it could be of no personal advantage to him, for that, if it should excite a popular insurrection, he would be regarded as responsible for the outrages that might follow. By these arguments Epiphanius was induced to relinquish his designs.

About this time, the son of the Empress was attacked by a dangerous illness, and the mother, apprehensive of consequences, sent to implore Epiphanius to pray for him. Epiphanius returned for answer, that her son would recover provided that she would avoid all intercourse with

the heretic Dioscorus and his companions. To this message the Empress replied as follows : ‘ If it be the will of God to take my son, His will be done. The Lord Who gave me my child, can take him back again. You have not power to raise the dead, otherwise your archdeacon would not have died.’ She alluded to Chrispio, the archdeacon, who had died a short time previously.

Ammon and his companions went to Epiphanius, at the permission of the Empress. Epiphanius inquired who they were, and Ammon replied, ‘ We are, O father, the Great Brothers : allow us to ask whether you have read any of our works or those of our disciples.’ On Epiphanius replying that he had not seen them, he continued, ‘ How is it then that you condemn us as heretics, when you have no proof as to what sentiments we may hold.’ Epiphanius said that he had formed his judgment by the reports he had heard on the subject ; and Ammon replied, ‘ We have pursued a very different line of conduct from yours. We have conversed with your disciples, and read your works, and among others, that entitled *The Anchor*. When we have met with persons who have ridiculed your opinions, and asserted that your writings are replete with heresy, we have defended you as our father. Ought you then to condemn upon mere report, and without any substantial proofs, those who have so zealously defended your sentiments, and spoken well of you?’ Epiphanius was affected by this discourse, and dismissed them. Soon after, he embarked for Cyprus, either because he recognized the futility of his journey to Constantinople, or because, as there is reason to believe, God had revealed to him his approaching death ; for he died while on his voyage back to Cyprus. It is reported that he said to the bishops who had accompanied him to the place of embarkation, ‘ I leave you the city, the palace, and the stage, for I shall shortly depart.’ I have been informed by several persons that John predicted that Epiphanius would die at sea, and that this latter predicted

the deposition of John. For it appears that when the dispute between them was at its height, Epiphanius said to John, 'I hope you will not die a bishop,' and that John replied, 'I hope you will never return to your bishopric.' Such was the animosity of even saints, as they were called, in those days.

The intrinsic value of the works of Epiphanius is not great; but as throwing light upon the opinions and practices of the age in which he lived they are most valuable. To him modern writers refer when they have occasion to write on ancient heresies, or on Scripture weights and measures. His principal works are—1. The Pannarium, or treatise against heresies. The title signifies, as he himself says, a little box full of diverse antidotes against several sorts of poison. 2. The Anacephaliosis, or abridgment of the above work. 3. The Anchorate, so called because it is a kind of anchor to which the faithful may adhere. 4. A Treatise of Weights and Measures. 5. A Treatise on the Twelve Precious Stones on the High Priest's Garment. 6. An Exposition of the Catholic Faith. 7. An Epistle to John of Jerusalem. 8. One to St. Jerome.

The Pannarium is the most important; it is divided into three books, which are subdivided into seven sections. The first book contains three of these subdivisions, and each of the others two. The whole includes the account of eighty heresies. By heresy (*αἵρεσις* from *αἵρω* I choose, hence the word *Αἵρετικός* a heretic, one, who acting on his private judgment, makes a particular choice and obstinately adheres to it) Epiphanius means "a sect or society who have particular religious sentiments which differ from those generally held by other religious people," who, from holding no peculiar views, are called Catholics. Hence those who made choice of a particular creed, different from what had been agreed upon by general councils, were termed heretics, especially if they obstinately persevered in and defended those opinions.

Epiphanius is one of the writers to whom we can refer for proof of the errors of modern Romanism, and for justification of our Reformation. For example, against invocation of saints, "Neither Elias (he says) nor John, nor Thecla, nor any of the saints, is to be worshipped. For that ancient error shall not prevail with us, that we should forsake the living God, and worship the things that are made by Him. For they worshipped and served the creature above the Creator, and became fools. For if He will not permit angels to be worshipped, how much more would He not have her who was born of Anna? Let Mary, therefore, be had in honour, but let the Lord be worshipped." Again, he observes,—“That the creature cannot be worshipped, without injuring the true faith, and falling back to the errors of the ancient pagans, who forsook the worship of the true God, to adore the creature; or without incurring the malediction spoken of by St. Paul, —They worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, Who is blessed for ever; therefore God gave them up to vile affections.” “Sed neque Helias, neque Joannes —neque quisquam sanctorum adoratur, &c.”—Epiph. Cont. Hæres. Hær. 79 & 62.

As decisive is his testimony against the doctrine of a purgatorial state. “In the age to come, (he says) there is no advantage of fasting, no call to repentance, no display of charity: none are admitted after their departure hence, nor can we then correct what was before amiss. There Lazarus goeth not to Dives, nor Dives to Lazarus; the garners are sealed, the combat finished, the crowns distributed. Those who have not yet encountered, have no more opportunity; and those who have conquered, are not cast out. All is finished after we have departed hence.” “In futuro enim seculo post hominis mortem,” &c.—Epiph. Cont. Hæres. Hær. 59. Chrysostom, in the fourth homily on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (second chapter and fourteenth verse,) largely expatiates on the victory which faith in the sacrifice and death of Christ,

gives the sincere believer, over the fears of death. Speaking of the death of believers, and the reason why we should not grieve for them, since they have passed to happiness, he adds,—“Tell me what mean these festal lamps in funerals? Is it not that we bring forth the dead like victorious combatants? Why are the hymns? Is it not because we glorify God, for crowning him that is departed; that He hath freed him from labour, and from the fear of death, and taken him to Himself? Consider what ye sing, when ye say,—Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. And do you weep? If so, is it not a mere acting a part, a dissimulation? For if you believe what you say, you lament unnecessarily; but if you deem it not true, (do not believe in the rest of the departed soul,) why do you sing?” “Dic mihi quid sibi volunt istæ Campades festivæ?”—Chrysos. In Ep. ad Hæb. Hom. 4, tom. 4, p. 87. And he concludes most prophetically, by saying,—“I very much fear, lest by these means, some grievous disease should creep into the Church.” “Etenim satis timeo ne isto modo pessimus quidam morbus in ecclesiam subintret, &c.”—Ibid, p. 88. In the fifth homily on Genesis, —“He that in the present life shall not wash away his sins, shall find no consolation hereafter;” as he saith,—“In hell who shall confess to thee?” For this is the time of care, conflict, and strife; that of crowning, retribution and reward.” “Neque enim qui in præsentī vita peccata non abluerit, &c.”—In Gen. Hom. 5, tom. 5, p. 20. And in the second, on the rich man and Lazarus,—“When we are departed hence, it is not in our power to repent, or wash away the sins we have committed.” “Simul atque vero discesserimus illuc non est postea in nobis situm poenitere, neque commissa diluere.”—De Lazaro, tom. 1, p. 60.

The best edition of the works of Epiphanius is that by Petavius, in Greek and Latin, Paris, 1662. Cologne, 1682.—*Socrates. Sozomen. St. Jerom. Fleury.*

## EPISCOPIUS, SIMON.

SIMON EPISCOPIUS, (*See the Life of Arminius*) whose real name was Bishoff, was born at Amsterdam in 1583. After he had gone through the Latin schools at Amsterdam, he went to study at Leyden in the year 1602. His father died of the plague in 1602, and his mother in 1604; neither of which calamities however retarded his studies in the least. He was admitted master of arts in the year 1606, and from thenceforward applied himself wholly to the study of divinity. He made so great a progress in it, that he was judged in a short time worthy of the ministry. The magistrates of Amsterdam wished he might be promoted to it; but he met with several difficulties in his way, because, during the violent controversy between Gomarus and Arminius about predestination, he declared for the latter. This made him weary of the university of Leyden, and he went to Franeker in the year 1609; but he did not continue there long, for he found that by disputing too vehemently, he had exasperated the professor Librandus Lubertus, who was a zealous Gomarist. Arminius was at that time labouring under the illness, of which at length he died; on which account Episcopius went to Leyden to pay a last visit to his friend and patron. He watched him night and day, but was not present at his death, as the friends of Arminius intimating that the disease would be of long continuance, he had returned to his duties at Franeker. He had, however, received his last directions as to the management of the Arminian party, of which, from this time, he may be considered as the leader. The love of disputation was the evil of the day, and its prevalence induces us to fear, that while much was said about religious doctrine, the pure religion and undefiled of the heart was much neglected: such, indeed, would be the inference from the conduct of the Calvinists of the age, both in Holland and in England. Episcopius was the most skilful disputant of the age, and his skill in refuting his opponents made them

especially bitter against him. This was the case with Librandus at Franeker. There was a determination on the part of the heads of the university to punish, with the utmost severity, all who treated with contumely the name or doctrine of Calvin, just as if Calvin had been inspired.

In 1610 he was called to the ministry amidst much unfair opposition on the part of the calvinistic teachers; he became minister of Bleyswick, a village dependent upon Rotterdam.

The year 1611 is memorable as the year in which the Arminian ministers of Holland presented that remonstrance to the states, from which their denomination of Remonstrants is derived. This remonstrance was occasioned by the persecution to which they were subjected from the calvinistic ministers, and in it the Remonstrants first stated the doctrines they rejected, which they summed up in five points :

I. That God, as some assert, of His own will, by an eternal and irreversible decree, had ordained some from amongst men who were not yet created, much less considered as fallen, to everlasting life; and the others, by far the greater part, to eternal damnation, without any regard to their obedience or disobedience, and that for the purpose of manifesting His justice and mercy; and for the effecting this purpose, He had so appointed the means, that those whom He had ordained to salvation, should necessarily and unavoidably be saved, and the others necessarily and unavoidably be damned.

II. Or as others taught, that God had considered mankind, not only as created, but as fallen in Adam, and consequently liable to the curse; from which fall and condemnation He determined to redeem some, and, for the display of His mercy, make them partakers of salvation; and to leave others, even children of the covenant, under the curse, for the manifestation of His justice, without any regard to their belief or unbelief. And for the accomplishment of His will, He hath instituted the means by



which the elect should necessarily be saved, and the reprobates necessarily be damned.

III. That consequently, Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world, did not die for all men, but only for those who were elected, as stated in the first or second manner.

IV. That the Spirit of Christ worked with irresistible force on the elect, in order to beget faith in them, that they might be saved ; but from the reprobates, necessary and sufficient grace was withheld.

V. That those who had once received true faith, however they might afterwards awfully sin, could never wholly or finally lose it.

Their own sentiments they stated thus :—

I. That God, from all eternity, hath decreed to elect to everlasting life, all those who, through His grace, believe in Jesus Christ, and in the same belief, and obedience of faith, persevere to the end ; but the unconverted and unbelieving, He had resolved to reject to everlasting damnation.

II. That in consequence of this decree, Christ the Saviour of the world, died for all and every man, so that by His death, He hath obtained reconciliation and pardon of sins for all men, nevertheless, in such a manner, that none but the faithful really and effectually enjoy the benefits thereof.

III. That man could not obtain saving faith of himself, or by the strength of his own free will, but stood in need of God's grace, through Christ, to be made the subject of its power.

IV. Therefore this grace is the cause of the beginning, the progress, and the completion of man's salvation ; in so much, that no one could believe, or persevere in faith, without this operating grace, and consequently, that all good works must be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ. Nevertheless, the manner of the operation of this grace was not irresistible.

V. That true believers had sufficient strength, through Divine grace, to resist and overcome Satan, sin, the world,

and their own lusts ; but whether they might not, through their negligence, apostatize and loose the power of holy saving truth, the testimony of a well-directed conscience, and forfeit that grace, must first be more fully inquired into, under the guidance of the holy Scriptures, before they could, with confidence and unhesitating minds, assert and teach it.

The remonstrance was favourably received by the States, but was violently attacked by the Calvinists, who, according to their custom at all periods, strange to say, had recourse to personalities and calumny ; they complained that the statements were ambiguous, obscure, and contradictory to the tenor of the holy Scriptures ; and declaring their perfect readiness, at any suitable time and place, to prove their assertions. Against these accusations, the States judged it proper to allow the Remonstrants a hearing ; and in order that they might not, upon so important an occasion, come to a hasty decision, they determined that twelve ministers, —six from each party,—should appear before them, and thus in the presence of the noble and mighty Lords, the States, should hold a friendly conference with each other, that the matters in dispute might be examined into, most carefully and seriously. This was the famous conference of the Hague.

Before the conference commenced, the Calvinistic party presented a memorial to their High Mightinesses the States of Holland, which they called a Contra-Remonstrance, and on which account they were afterwards designated Contra-Remonstrants, in opposition to the Arminians or Remonstrants. In this document they gave a statement of their own opinions on the five points, and opposed those of the Remonstrants. The latter afterwards replied at great length to the objections, in a work entitled *Pressior Declaratio*, a further account or declaration. This conference being closed, the ministers on each side drew up a statement of their opinions, as to the best method to be adopted in order to terminate these controversies. The Contra-Remonstrants pressed for the assembling of a

synod, where the points in debate should be fully examined and decided upon according to the word of God. The Remonstrants, on the contrary, gave it as their judgment, that the more preferable way would be, for the present, to allow mutual toleration, in consequence, they said, of men's minds having been inflamed for a length of time, and alienated from each other, occasioned by the agitating of the points in question, and that after a period of time, they might become more calm, and thereby be the better prepared to enter upon the examination of them with less of party feeling, and with the happiest effects, especially if the various synods adopted mild and healing measures.

The States of course wisely declined deciding on which side the truth was found, but expressed a strong desire that the opposite parties should cultivate the spirit of tolerance and forbearance towards each other, and confirmed a resolution they had previously published, which was to this effect;—"that as they never had intended, or did intend, that the opinions of the Remonstrants with reference to the five points, should be imposed upon any body; so neither did they think fit, on the other hand, that any person should be burthened with opinions beyond the said points contrary to his conscience; but that both parties should live mutually like brethren in Christian charity, in the ecclesiastical employments they actually had or might have."

This counsel was not followed by the Contra-Remonstrants, whose violence could scarcely be kept within bounds; meanwhile, Episcopus, in 1612, was chosen professor of divinity in the university of Leyden. The Calvinists resorted to their accustomed arts, and raised a moral persecution against him, calvinism in their minds being confounded with Christianity. Surely these Calvinists professed to hold the Bible and the Bible only, and the right of private judgment; so did Episcopus; why was not his judgment as likely to be right, as that of those

who persecuted him because his private judgment differed from theirs, and from that of John Calvin. All kinds of falsehood were propagated against him by wicked Calvinists, and were readily believed by the weak and the malignant. Episcopus himself remarks, that on one occasion he with difficulty escaped being murdered; and on another occasion, a blacksmith, said to be a man of vital religion, because he believed himself among the elect, ran after him with a red hot iron, crying, "Stop the Arminian, the disturber of the Church," and Episcopus, it is said, "would certainly have been knocked down by this brute," unless his friends had interfered to protect him. It seems that since the day when Calvin murdered Servetus, there has been a curse upon Calvinists, as in every age and country, they are the most violent and intolerant of all parties, and the most unscrupulous in their manner of assailing their opponents; they nickname calvinistic peculiarities the Gospel, and think themselves, like the inquisitors in the Romish Church, friends of God, when they punish or persecute those who do not preach their gospel, confounded, as in their minds it is, with the everlasting Gospel of Christ our Lord. "The calvinists," says Sir James Mackintosh, "now punished with death those dissenters who only followed the example of the most renowned Protestant Reformers, by a rebellion against authority, for the sake of obtaining the paramount authority of reason." The Arminians were certainly wrong in not shewing sufficient deference to authority, and were subsequently led into error thereby: but the calvinists were not the persons to complain on that subject; neither could they prove why more of deference should be paid to the authority of Calvin than to that of Arminius. Our English reformers did defer to primitive authority, but not so as to supersede the proper office of reason in theological investigations.

In the year 1614, Episcopus began his comment upon the first Epistle of St. John, which gave occasion to various rumours, all of them tending to prove him

a Socinian. The year after, taking the opportunity of the vacation, he went to Paris, for the sake of seeing that city: which journey occasioned him no small trouble. For he was no sooner returned home, than his adversaries published, that he had had secret conferences with Father Cotton, in order to concert the ruin of the Protestant Church and the United Provinces; that he avoided all conversation with Peter du Moulin, minister at Paris; or, as others say, that the latter declined all conference with him, seeing him so intimate with the enemies of his country and of the Protestant religion. False and groundless as these reports were, it cost Episcopus some pains to refute them.

Still Episcopus and the Remonstrants, forming the great body of learned, enlightened, and liberal religionists in the Low Countries, were protected and supported by many of the most influential men in the state, until Prince Maurice, to further his objects of private ambition, threw himself into the arms of the Calvinists, who, under his patronage, convened the synod of Dort, the most unfairly conducted assembly of men professing to be religious ever held. That which is now recognized as the fundamental principle of ultra-protestantism, the Bible and private judgment, was maintained by the Arminians: they were indeed the first body of men who really did so: the Calvinists refused to argue with them, or to hold a conference; holding the Bible, and Calvin's interpretation of it, as expressed in the catechism they had received, they professed only to sit as judges, and to pronounce sentence upon those who did not receive calvinism as the Gospel. King James I. sent over some of his court divines to attend the assembly, but they appeared there merely as ambassadors from the King, they had no ecclesiastical authority. One of them, "the ever memorable John Hales," at that time a Calvinist, was so disgusted with the Contra-Remonstrants, and so convinced by the reasonings of Episcopus, as to be induced, as he said of himself, to "bid John Calvin good night."

The synod of Dort was opened on the 13th of November, 1618, and was occupied during the first session with preliminaries. At the second session John Boyerman was appointed president, an appointment which augured ill for the Remonstrants, as he had openly avowed it to be his opinion that all heretics, meaning all who were not Calvinists, should be punished with death, and had translated into the Dutch language the celebrated treatise of Beza, *de Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis*, in which this doctrine is maintained in its fullest extent. His two assessors and two secretaries were men of like mind. The Remonstrants arrived at Dort on the 5th of December, and were introduced to the synod. Episcopus, who was their spokesman, saluted the commissioners and divines. He said, that the Remonstrants were come to defend their cause, in the presence of that venerable assembly, by reasons grounded upon the Word of God, or to be better instructed by the same Word. He added, that the cited ministers, being arrived late the day before, requested a little more time to make themselves ready to enter into a conference about the articles in question. After that discourse, the Remonstrants went out. The synod resolved to make them appear the next day. Polyander, having observed the words to enter into a conference, used by Episcopus, said, that the Remonstrants should be told, they had not been cited to enter into a conference, but to propose their opinions, and submit them to the judgment of the synod. This advice was approved. The Remonstrants were sent for, and told by the president, that the synod met to judge them, and not to confer with them.

The Remonstrants complained of the bad reception they had met with. They said, that when they came in, many members of the synod had much ado to take off their hats; that it was no difficult thing to judge of their hatred ~~by~~ their countenance: that they were obliged to appear before an assembly, consisting of their greatest enemies, &c.

The same day the Remonstrants visited the foreign divines, to desire their good offices. Most of those divines received them civilly. Some deplored their condition : others appeared prepossessed against them, particularly Diodati of Geneva, who told them in a reproachful manner, that they had spoken of Calvin with contempt, and that if they had preserved their power, they would have treated their adversaries, as they were now treated by them.

On the 7th of December Episcopus delivered an oration to the assembly, which, though much too long to be transcribed here, would amply repay the perusal. It is to be found in Limborch and in Calder. One passage will be read with interest, as shewing the mode of proceeding adopted by the Calvinists. "In consequence," he says, "of the reports spread against the Remonstrants, an inquisitorial spirit awoke, and a species of vigilant scrutiny was adopted, under which was noticed and criticised every word and expression we uttered. Nay, so far was this carried, that tribunals were instituted, where not only our words, but the very letters and syllables of which they were composed, with the intonations of our voices, were subject to animadversion, whilst the least departure in controversy from the usual phraseology became an occasion of suspicion, it being asserted that under such deviations were hidden embryo errors, lurking as serpents and other reptiles are wont to do under stones. Not only so, but our private conversations or public communications were sifted, and from these were collected words and expressions, which in their single and separate state were light and trivial, but by being seen in a collected form were made to appear important and deserving of attention. Thus, in whatever way the Remonstrants acted, they were made the objects of suspicion and mistrust. Were they silent?—this was said to be the result of that cunning which was fostering some dark and dangerous design. Were they open and frank?—then they were branded

with being insolent and contumacious, while all they said and did was exaggerated and held up to public view under the strongest colourings of hyperbole."

It would occupy too much time, neither would it be interesting to the reader, were we to enter into a detailed account of the proceedings of this synod; the abridged account of which occupies nearly two hundred pages in Brandt. The proceedings throughout were marked by a violence of temper, and an unjust spirit, which contrast remarkably with the dignified deportment of the Remonstrants. The request of the Remonstrants was that they might argue; the demand of the Contra-Remonstrants, that their opponents should submit to their authority, although, why their authority, or that of Calvin, should be greater than that of any other person, is not apparent. The Remonstrants excepted against the synod, and refused to submit to the order made by that assembly: which was, that the Remonstrants should neither explain nor maintain their opinions, but as far as the synod should judge it necessary. Upon their refusing to submit to this order, they were expelled the synod; and measures were taken to judge them by their writings. They defended their cause with the pen; and it was Episcopus that composed most of the pieces they presented on this occasion, and which were published some time after. The synod deposed them from their functions; and because they refused to subscribe a writing, which contained a promise not to perform privately any of their ministerial functions, they were banished out of the territories of the commonwealth.

Some of the Remonstrants were imprisoned for life; Episcopus and his immediate followers retired in the first instance to Antwerp, and afterwards into France; and although the Spaniards endeavoured to shake their patriotism, and the Roman catholics, while treating them with generosity, used many efforts to convert them to the Church of Rome, they remained steadfast to their principles, and true to their country. Episcopus was employed



not only in defending his own party, but also in attacking the errors of the Church of Rome; this he did with great ability, being provoked to it by Waddingus, a Jesuit. The privations of the banished Remonstrants were great; and persecution raged during the life-time of Maurice, against all who were suspected of Arminianism, in the united provinces. But by degrees the Calvinists became odious to the people, and many anecdotes are recorded of the well-merited rebukes they received on account of their bigotry. A facetious and sartirical man, of the name of Robert Robertson, who did not belong to the Remonstrants, was met one day, while walking on the beach at Horn, by two Calvinist ministers, who knowing the disposition of the man, were disposed, says Brandt, to joke with him; and they accosted him thus, "Well Robert, you seem very pensive, what is the matter with you?" "It is true, sirs," said he, "I am pensive, for I was just considering who was the author of sin." "Well," replied the others, "and whom do you consider to be its author?" "Why," said he, "when it was first introduced into our world, Adam laid the blame upon Eve; Eve laid the blame upon the serpent, who, at that time was very young, ignorant, and modest, and bore the charge in silence, but having become more experienced and daring, he has been to the synod of Dort, and laid the blame upon God."

That many of the members of the synod, and the Calvinists of the Continent, did in that day charge God with being the author of sin, the ecclesiastical history of that period furnishes decisive evidence.

It was thus gradually that the public mind was prepared for the return of the exiled Remonstrants, and on the death of Prince Maurice, when he was succeeded by Prince Henry, who favoured their cause, Episcopius and the other exiles ventured to appear once more in their native land. Episcopius returned to Holland in 1626, and was made a minister of the church of the Remonstrants at Rotterdam. In 1634 he was made rector of the newly established Remonstrant College at Amsterdam. He

married the year after his return, but had no children. In August, 1640, hiring a vessel, he went with his wife to Rotterdam: but after noon, while he was yet upon his voyage, a fever seized him; and, to add to his indisposition, about evening came on such a storm of thunder and rain, as had not been known for many years. All these hindrances made them arrive so late at Rotterdam, that the gates of the city were shut: and the long time he was obliged to wait, before he could get them opened, increased his disorder so much, that he was confined to his bed for the four following months. He recovered; yet perceived the effects of this illness, in the stone and other complaints, as long as he lived. He died on the 4th of April, 1643, of the same illness which had killed his wife, viz. a retention of urine; having lost his sight some weeks before. Limborch tells us, that the moon was under an eclipse at the hour of Episcopius's death; which some considered as a fit emblem of the Church, which was then deprived of a great deal of light, by the disappearing of such a luminary as Episcopius. He tells us also, that Episcopius's friends and relations had some medals struck with the images of truth and liberty upon them, in remembrance of him, who had been a most strenuous assertor of both. He had wonderful influence with his party, and appears to have been beloved by all who knew him. There is some asperity in his writings, but it must be remembered how sorely he was provoked. He was not a man of extensive reading, and was deficient in theological information; but his powers of reasoning were wonderfully great, and except in his contests with the Romanists, he had no occasion for theological acquirements, the theology of calvinism embracing a very small compass. He had the weakness to despise the theology which he did not possess, and for want of which, while skillful in arguing against the heresies of Calvin, he became a heretic himself, on some of the fundamental verities of the Christian faith, as may be seen on reference to the works of Bishop Bull. His life was published by Lim-

borch, at Amsterdam, in 1701, and is a work of great interest. He first digested under a regular system the opinions of Arminius, and his learning and genius have given him a place next to the founder of the sect. He wrote a great many treatises on the subjects of difference between the Arminians and the Calvinists, and between Protestants in general and the Roman Church. His works were collected and published at Amsterdam, 1665—1671, and at Leyden in 1678.—*Limborch. Brandt. Calder.*

## ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS was born at Rotterdam, October 28th, 1467, the natural son of Gerard of Tergou. His name was that of his father, Gerard, which signifying amiable, he converted into the Latin Desiderius, and the Greek Erasmus, though it would have been more correct to style himself Erasmius. His father took great pains with his education, though he is, perhaps not correctly, reported to have been a heavy youth. He studied at Daventer, in Guelderland, at that period one of the best schools in the Netherlands, where he had for his school-fellow, a youth who was always his friend, and died as pope, Adrian VI. While there he lost both his parents, and being left to the care of unconscientious guardians, an attempt was made to force him into a monastery, in order that his guardians might enjoy his patrimony. To monks and to a monastic life he always felt the greatest repugnance; for, generally speaking, the corruption and the hypocrisy of the monkish system were such as to disgust every one who had any self-respect. He was, however, compelled at length by his relations to enter among the regular canons at Stein, near Tergou, in 1486. Here he met and formed a friendship with a distinguished scholar, William Hermaun.

As he admits in one of his letters, with much regret,

that his conduct was at one time the reverse of what it ought to be, this disgraceful part of his life is generally attributed to his residence at Stein.

His character as a scholar being now established, and Henry á Bergis, Bishop of Caubray, at that time preparing to go to Rome, and wanting a secretary who could read Latin with ease, and write it with accuracy, Erasmus was received into his family. Under the protection of the bishop he studied at the university of Paris, and was ordained priest in 1492.

Erasmus was continually complaining that his patrons did not fulfil their promises; though certainly, in the art of begging he was an adept; but the Bishop of Caubray seems to have kept him short of money, and he was consequently obliged to take pupils. Among his pupils, Lord Montjoy, an Englishman, was one, and continued through life his sincere friend and most generous patron. In 1497 he visited England, and Lord Montjoy was devoted to his protection. Erasmus went from London to Oxford, where he studied in St. Mary's College, opposite to New-Inn Hall, a college not now in existence. Here he became intimate with Colet, (*See his Life*) Linacer, Sir Thomas More, and other distinguished men, and here too the study of Greek having been renewed, he studied that language. With England, and the people of England, he was delighted, and he speaks of our learning at that period, as "not trite and superficial, but deep, accurate, true old Greek and Latin learning."

He revisited England in 1499; and in 1500, having returned to the continent, he published his *Adagia*, and afterwards his *De Copia Verborum*, and a piece *De Conscubendis Epistolis*, all of which he dedicated to Lord Montjoy.

His fame was now established, but we find him in his letters continually pleading poverty, and wearying his patrons by requesting them to supply him with money. He may have occasionally been in want, but in general he seems to have fared as well as we could expect a

man who had no certain income. We find him speaking of his two horses and two servants. Sometimes his begging letters are so offensive, that we must make allowance for his less enthusiastic patrons if they became disgusted. In 1503 he wrote some theological pieces, reflecting upon the religion of the age. But at this period he could do this with impunity. Erasmus would find many most devoted churchmen who were ready to agree with him in thinking that the Church required a reformation, although they were not prepared to sanction the kind of reform which Luther attempted to introduce.

Erasmus frequently visited England, and in Dr. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, he found a liberal patron, and a judicious friend. Such, too, he found in Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, Sir Thomas More, and others already alluded to, not forgetting his quondam and ever grateful and admiring pupil Lord Montjoy. In a letter to Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, he tells him that "there was no country which had furnished him with so many learned and generous benefactors, as even the city of London." About this time he took his doctor's degree at Turin; and on the 10th of November, 1506, he witnessed the triumphant entry of the pope into Bologna. With the pomp assumed by Pope Julius II., Erasmus was much disgusted; the pope regarded himself as a sovereign Prince, and acted accordingly; Erasmus viewed him as a Christian bishop. There is always a difficulty in uniting the two characters, which nothing but deep piety, combined with good taste, can overcome. The same kind of difficulty is experienced by our own bishops, who have to unite the two characters of peers of a wealthy land, and pastors of the flock of Christ.

At Bologna he declined to read lectures, fearing to appear ridiculous to the students, the Italian mode of pronouncing Latin being so different from that of the Germans. He revised his *Adagia*, and went to Venice to have it printed by Aldus Manutius, who printed several other of his works. Here, and at Padua, where he super-

intended the education of Alexander, a natural son of James IV. of Scotland, he pursued his studies with diligence, and with satisfaction to himself. He studied the Greek authors under the celebrated Musurus.

From Padua he went to Sienna, and there leaving his royal pupil, he went to Rome, where he was received with all the honours due to so distinguished a scholar. Leo the Tenth, at that time Cardinal John de Medicis, with other cardinals, who were the patrons of learning and learned men, welcomed him with enthusiasm. Indeed Leo the Tenth, like Erasmus himself, thought more of literature than religion. By Cardinal Grimani he was urged to remain at Rome, and promises of high patronage were held out to him; but, having an invitation from the King of England to visit England, he determined to quit Rome. He seems at this time to have made up his mind to settle in England, and to have expected high preferment there. Although Henry the Eighth had succeeded to the throne in 1509, and was the professed friend of Erasmus, yet he complains that his reception was not what he expected it to be. Perhaps he had expected too much; and there was a suspicion that he was not quite sincere in his professions to those who patronized him. He had no reason to complain of any want of attention, but the money he wanted, and for which he did not hesitate to beg with an importunity not the most dignified, did not come so freely in.

The celebrated Bishop Fisher, at that time head of Queen's College, invited him to Cambridge, where he became Lady Margaret's professor of divinity, and also professor of Greek. He did not probably retain these situations long, for he was always desirous of change, and discontented. His habits were, from the state perhaps of his health, expensive, and he was ever complaining. We may here remark that Erasmus had at various times pieces of preferment given to him, which he held for a very short time, and then resigned, on condition that his successor should pay him a pension. This kind of arrangement

was openly made, and was perhaps customary. It was not worse than our custom of permitting a non-resident to draw the whole income of a living, deducting only the curate's salary.

In 1515, and 1516, Erasmus was in different parts of the Continent, and had the prospect of an offer of a bishopric in Sicily, an office for which he knew himself to be incompetent, and which he could not have accepted, as it would have interfered with his literary pursuits. He was nominated to it by Charles of Austria; but it was discovered that the patronage was vested in the pope.

He received at this time frequent invitations to Rome, but through life he avoided that city, feeling that he should be urged when there, to write against Luther, with whom he had so many feelings in common, that it would have been impossible for him to write in a manner satisfactory to the papal party, whom at the same time he was unwilling to offend.

In 1516 he printed at Basil his edition of the New Testament, a work of such labour, that, in preparing it for the press, he injured his constitution, which was always delicate. This was the first Greek Testament which was printed, and though, of course, it was attacked by some parties, yet such was the demand for it, that in the course of twelve years it was reprinted three times. He commenced also this year his edition of St. Jerome, which was completed in 1526.

Erasmus, though not a religious man himself, had from an early period distinguished himself by his censure of those abuses which existed in the Church, and by his assertions that a reform was necessary. At that time the monks were the parties determined to maintain the existing system, and to resist the movement. Erasmus was strongly opposed to the monks, since he regarded them as opposed to the literature he idolized. They returned hatred for hatred; and were continually annoying him and alarming him by asserting that he was a Lutheran in disguise.

That Erasmus sympathized with the first movements of Luther is evident ; the monks asserted that he laid the egg which Luther hatched. But his sympathy was rather that of a man of literature than that of a divine. He thought the movement would be favourable to the revival of learning. He was deeply impressed by Luther's mental powers, and he saw him gathering around him some of the most commanding intellects. But he became alarmed at his violence and want of discretion : and he perceived that, instead of reforming, he would cause a schism in the Church. Although he still regarded the monks as hypocrites, and thought a reformation necessary, he doubted whether Luther was the man to conduct it. And his object was not to be a leading theologian, but to enjoy in peace the pursuits of literature. Erasmus, therefore, remained with the party opposed to Luther, though admitting that Luther was in many things right, and nothing seems to have annoyed him so much as being called a Lutheran.

It is necessary to bear all this in mind in order to understand the conduct of Erasmus. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, in 1518, after some compliments, he heavily complained of the malice of certain calumniators and enemies of literature, who thwarted his designs of employing human learning for sacred purposes. " These wretches," says he, " ascribe to Erasmus every thing that is odious ; and confound the cause of literature with that of Luther and religion, though they have no connection with each other. As to Luther, he is perfectly a stranger to me, and I have read nothing of his, except two or three pages ; not that I despise him, but because my own pursuits will not give me leisure ; and yet, as I am informed, there are some who scruple not to affirm, that I have actually been his helper. If he has written well, the praise belongs not to me ; nor the blame, if he has written ill ; since in all his works there is not a line that came from me. His life and conversation are universally commended : and it is no small prejudice in his favour, that his morals are



unblameable, and that calumny itself can fasten no reproach on his life. If I had really had time to peruse his writings, I am not so conceited of my own abilities, as to pass a judgment upon the performances of so eminent a divine. I was once against Luther, purely for fear he should bring an odium upon literature, which is too much suspected of evil already, and I know full well how invidious it is to oppose those received opinions which produce so plentiful a harvest to priests and monks."

Luther was fully aware of the advantage it would be to secure to his side the authority of Erasmus, and in 1519 addressed to him a very courteous letter. To this Erasmus replied, addressing him as his "dearest brother in Christ," and telling him of the uproar his works had occasioned at Louvain. As for himself he had declared "to the divines of that university that he had not read these works, and therefore could neither approve nor disapprove of them; but that it would be better to answer them, than to rail at them before the people, especially as the moral character of their author was blameless." These divines of Louvain had attacked the New Testament of Erasmus, and he remarks of them—"There are none," says he, "who bark at me more furiously, than they who never saw even the outside of my book. Try the experiment upon any of them, and you shall find that I tell you what is true. When you meet with one of these bawlers, let him rave on at my New Testament, till he hath made himself hoarse and out of breath. Then ask him gently whether he hath read it. If he hath the impudence to say, yes; urge him to produce one passage that deserves to be blamed. You will find that he cannot. Consider now whether this be the behaviour of a Christian, or suitable to the profession of a monk, to blacken before the populace a man's reputation, which they cannot restore to him again, though they should attempt it, and thus to rail at things of which they are entirely ignorant; never considering the declaration of St. Paul, that slanderers shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Of all the vile ways

of defaming a man, none is more villanous than to accuse him of heresy; and yet to this they have recourse upon the slightest provocation. As amongst the Swiss, if one of the multitude lifts up his finger, and gives the signal, all the rest, as they say, do the same, and run to pillage; so when one of this monkish herd hath begun to grunt, all the rest grunt also, and stir up the populace to stone their enemies, forgetting the character which they assume, and making it their only occupation to throw dirt at honest men."

In 1520 Leo X. published his bull against Luther, and Erasmus writes thus:

"Would to God he had followed my counsel, and had abstained from odious and seditious proceedings! he would then have done more good and have incurred less hatred. It would be no great matter that one man should perish; but if these people (the monks) get the better, they will never rest till they have ruined literature."

It was affirmed, that Erasmus had written a treatise, called *The Captivity of Babylon*, although Luther openly acknowledged it for his own. Others would have it, that Luther had taken many of his sentiments from Erasmus. "I see now," says Erasmus, "that the Germans (the German Lutherans) are resolved, at all adventures, to engage me in the affair of Luther, whether I will or not. In this they have acted foolishly, and have taken the surest method to alienate me from them and their party. Wherein could I have assisted Luther, if I had declared myself for him, and shared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that instead of one man, two would have perished. I cannot conceive what he means by writing with such a spirit: one thing I know too well, that he hath brought a great odium upon the lovers of literature. It is true, that he hath given us many a wholesome doctrine, and many a good counsel; and I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable faults. But if he had written every thing in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of truth. Every

man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr ; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I should imitate St. Peter."

He gives rather an unfavourable report of some of the reformers. "Evangelical liberty is the cry and the pretence ; but all have not the same point in view. There are, who, under this plausible plea, want an unbounded license to satisfy the lusts of the flesh. There are who envy the riches of the ecclesiastics, and who, consuming their own patrimony in drinking, whoring, and gaming, want to lay hands on the goods of other people. There are, whose situation and condition is such, that the public welfare must be their ruin. There are likewise some, who wish that the useless innovations, which are crept into the Church, might be corrected gradually, gently, and peaceably. When all is thrown into confusion, each will seize what suits him best, as when a city is on fire."

In 1519 a collection of Erasmus's letters was published, which gave him, as he pretends, much vexation. As he had spoken freely in them on many important points, he could not avoid giving offence. The monks especially, as enemies to literature, exclaimed violently against them ; and when the Lutheran contentions broke out, these letters were still more censured than before, and accused of favouring Lutheranism, at a time when, as he says, it was neither safe to speak, nor to keep silence. He adds, that he would have suppressed those letters, but that Froben would not consent : but in this, says Jortin, he could hardly speak seriously, since Froben was too much his friend to print them without his consent. In 1522 he published the works of St. Hilary. "Erasmus," says Dupin, "when he published his editions of the fathers, joined to them prefaces and notes full of critical discernment : and, though he may sometimes be too bold in rejecting some of their works as spurious, yet it must be confessed, that he has opened and shewed the way to all who have followed him." He had lately published also at Basil his celebrated "Colloquies," which he dedicated to

John Erasmus Froben, son to John Froben, and his godson. He drew up these "Colloquies," partly that young persons might have a book to teach them the Latin tongue, and religion and morals at the same time ; and partly, to cure the bigoted world, if he could, of that superstitious devotion which the monks so industriously propagated. The liveliest strokes in them are aimed at the monks and their superstition ; on which account they had no sooner appeared, than a most outrageous clamour was raised against them. He was accused of laughing at indulgences, auricular confession, eating fish upon fast-days, &c., and it is certain he did not talk of these matters with much respect. The faculty of theology at Paris passed a general censure, in 1526, upon the Colloquies of Erasmus, as upon a work in which "the fasts and abstinences of the Church are slighted, the suffrages of the Holy Virgin and of the saints are derided, virginity is set below matrimony, Christians are discouraged from monkery, and grammatical is preferred to theological erudition ; and therefore decreed, that the perusal of that wicked book be forbidden to all, more especially to young people, and that it be entirely suppressed, if possible." In 1537, Pope Paul III. chose a select number of cardinals and prelates, to consider about reforming the Church ; who, among other things, proposed that young people should not be permitted to learn Erasmus's Colloquies. A provincial council also, held at Cologne in 1549, condemned these Colloquies, as not fit to be read in schools. Yet they must be allowed to contain a treasure of wit and good sense, and though they were intended as only a school-book, are not unworthy the perusal of the most advanced in knowledge. Colineus reprinted them at Paris in 1527 ; and, by artfully giving out that they were prohibited, sold, it is said, above four-and-twenty thousand of one impression. It is a work which might be, with profit, translated and circulated at the present time.

Adrian VI. having succeeded Leo in the see of Rome, Erasmus dedicated to him an edition of a commentary of

Arnobius upon the psalms ; and added to it an epistle, in which he congratulates this new pope, and entreats him not to pay any regard to the calumnies spread against his humble servant, without first giving him a hearing. Adrian returned him an elegant and artful letter of thanks, exhorting him strongly to write against Luther, and inviting him to Rome. Erasmus wrote a second time, and offered to communicate to Adrian his opinion upon the fittest methods to suppress Lutheranism ; for he entertained some hopes that his old friend and school-fellow might possibly do some good. Adrian sent him word that he should be glad to have his opinion upon this affair ; and invited him a second time to Rome. Erasmus excused himself from the journey on account of his bad health, and other impediments ; but certainly did not repose such confidence in Adrian, as to trust himself in his hands. He tells his holiness, that he had neither the talents nor the authority requisite for answering Luther with any prospect of success. He then proceeded to the advice he had promised : and, 1. He disapproves of all violent and cruel methods, and wishes that some condescension were shewed to the Lutherans. 2. He thinks that the causes of the evil should be investigated, and suitable remedies applied ; that an amnesty should ensue, and a general pardon of all that was past ; and that then the princes and magistrates should take care to prevent innovations for the future. 3. He thinks it needful to restrain the liberty of the press. 4. He would have the pope to give the world hopes, that some faults should be amended, which could be no longer justified. 5. He would have him assemble persons of integrity and abilities, and of all nations.—Here Erasmus breaks off in the middle of a sentence, intending to say more at another time, if the pope were willing to hear it. But he had already said too much. Adrian utterly disliked his advice ; and Erasmus's enemies took this opportunity of plotting his ruin ; but the death of the pope soon after put a stop to their contrivances. Yet as the monks reported in all places that

Erasmus was a Lutheran, he took much pains by his letters to undeceive the public, and satisfy his friends. With this view he wrote, in 1523, to Henry VII. and to the pope's legate in England. Cuthbert Tonstall sent him a letter and exhorted him to answer Luther; and, unable any longer to withstand the importunate solicitations of the Romanists, he sent word to the King that he was drawing up a piece against Luther. This was his "*Diatribæ de libero arbitrio*," which was published the following year. But this gave no satisfaction at all to the Romanists; and, although he could have proved Luther erroneous in his notion of free-will, this had nothing to do with the dispute between Luther and the pope, and the Romanists therefore thought themselves very little obliged to him.

Adrian dying this year, he was succeeded by Clement VII., who sent to Erasmus an honourable diploma, accompanied with two hundred florins. He invited him also to Rome, as his predecessors had done: but "at Rome," says Erasmus, "there are many who want to destroy me, and they had almost accomplished their purpose before the death of Adrian. After having, at his own request, communicated to him my secret opinion, I found that things were altered, and that I was no longer in favour." The cause was manifest, says Jortin: Erasmus had hinted at the necessity of a reformation; and such language was highly disgusting at the court of Rome. If Luther did not like Erasmus, because Erasmus approved not in all things either his doctrine or his conduct, the court of Rome liked him as little, because he did not condemn Luther in all things: yet it thought proper to give him good words and promises, and to entice him thither if possible; where he would have been in their power, and no better than a prisoner at large.

In 1524, Luther, upon a rumour probably that Erasmus was going to write against him, sent him a letter, full of fire and spirit; which gives so just an idea of both Luther and Erasmus, that the reader shall be presented with a

portion of it. He begins in the apostolical manner: "Grace and peace to you from the Lord Jesus. I shall not complain of you for having behaved yourself as a man alienated from us, for the sake of keeping fair with the papists, our enemies; nor was I much offended, that in your printed books, to gain their favour, or to soften their fury, you censured us with too much acrimony. We saw that the Lord had not conferred upon you the discernment, the courage, and the resolution, to join with us in freely and openly opposing those monsters; and therefore we durst not exact from you what greatly surpasseth your strength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakness, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you." Then, having bestowed upon him his due praises, as a reviver of good literature, by means of which the Holy Scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he proceeds thus: "I never wished, that, deserting your own province, you should come over to our camp. You might, indeed, have favoured us not a little by your wit and eloquence: but, forasmuch as you have not the courage which is requisite, it is safer for you to serve the Lord in your own way. Only we feared, that our adversaries should entice you to write against us, and that necessity should then constrain us to oppose you to your face.—I am concerned, as well as you, that the resentment of so many eminent persons of your party hath been excited against you. I must suppose that this gives you no small uneasiness: for virtue like yours, mere human virtue, cannot raise a man above being affected by such trials. I could wish, if it were possible, to act the part of a mediator between you, that they might cease to attack you with such animosity, and suffer your old age to rest in peace in the Lord: and thus they would act, if they either considered your weakness, or the greatness of the cause in dispute, which hath been long since beyond your talents. They would shew their moderation towards you so much the more, since our affairs are advanced to such a point, that our cause is in no peril, though even

Erasmus should attack it with all his might: so far are we from dreading the keenest strokes of his wit. On the other hand, my dear Erasmus, if you duly reflect upon your own imbecility, you will abstain from those sharp and spiteful figures of rhetoric; and, if you cannot defend your sentiments, will treat of subjects which suit you better. Our friends, as you yourself will allow, have reason to be uneasy at being lashed by you, because human infirmity thinks of the authority and reputation of Erasmus, and fears it! and indeed there is much difference between him and other papists, he being a more formidable adversary than all of them put together." This letter vexed Erasmus not a little, as may easily be imagined, and he wrote an answer to it; but the answer is not in the collection of his epistles.

In 1525 he published his "*Diatribes de libero arbitrio*," already noticed, which Luther replied to, in a treatise entitled "*De servo arbitrio*." In this he mixes compliment, praise, scorn, insult, ridicule, and invective, together; at which Erasmus was much provoked, and immediately wrote a reply, which was the first part of his "*Hyperaspistes*:" the second was published in 1527. The year after he published two treatises, in the way of dialogue, entitled, "*The pronounciation of the Greek and Latin languages*," and "*The Ciceronianus*." In the former, which is one of the most learned of all his compositions, are contained very curious researches into the pronounciation of vowels and consonants; in the second, which is one of the most lively and ingenious, he rallies agreeably some Italian purists, who scrupled to make use of any word or phrase which was not to be found in Cicero: not that he condemned either Cicero or his manner of writing, but only the servility and pedantry of his imitators, which he thought, and very justly, deserving of ridicule. On the contrary, when Froben engaged him, the very same year, to revise a new edition of the *Tusculan Questions*, he prefixed to it an elegant preface, in which he highly extols Cicero, both for his style and moral sentiments, and



almost makes a saint of him ; and Julius Scaliger, who censured Erasmus for his treatment of the Ciceronians, declared afterwards, that he was willing to forgive him his blasphemies, and to be at peace with him thenceforward, for the sake of this preface ; which he considered as a kind of penance, and of satisfaction made to the manes of the Roman orator.

In April, 1529, Erasmus departed from Basil, where he thought himself no longer safe, and went to Friburg, where at first he had apartments belonging to the King, but afterwards bought a house. Here, in 1531, he had a sight of the first oration of Julius Scaliger against his "Ciceronianus;" all the copies of which, or at least as many as he could, Erasmus is said to have collected and destroyed. "There is something," says Dr. Jortin, "ridiculously diverting in the pompous exclamations and tragical complaints of Scaliger. One would imagine at least, that Erasmus had called Cicero fool, or knave : and yet all his crime was, to have besprinkled the servile imitators of Cicero with a little harmless banter." After the first oration, Scaliger composed a second, more scurrilous if possible than the first : but it was not published till after Erasmus's death, in 1537.

Erasmus now began to complain to his friends, and to represent himself as quite worn down with age, pain, and sickness ; and in 1535 he returned to Basil, to try if he could recover his health, where he continued ever after. This year Bembus congratulates him upon the high regard which the pope had for him ; and hopes that it would end in great preferment, by which he probably meant a cardinal's hat. The enemies of Erasmus have affirmed, that the court of Rome never designed him such a favour ; but Erasmus has affirmed the contrary, and says, "that having written to Paul III., that pope, before he had unsealed his letter, spoke of him in the most honourable manner : that he had resolved to add to the college of cardinals some learned men, of whom he might make use in the general council, which was to be called ; and I," says Erasmus,

“ was named to be one. But to my promotion it was objected, that my bad state of health would make me unfit for that function, and that my income was not sufficient: so at present they think of loading me with preferments, that I may be qualified for the red hat.” He declares, however, that his health would not permit him to accept such favours, since he could scarce stir out of his chamber with safety; and he refused every thing that was offered him.

He had been ill at Friburg, and continued so at Basil. In the summer of 1536 he grew worse; and the last letter which we have of his writing is dated June the 20th of that year. He subscribes it thus, “ Erasmus Rot. ægra manu.” He was for almost a month ill of a dysentery; and he knew that his disease would prove fatal. He had foreseen for several months, that he could not hold out long; and he foretold it again three days, and then two days, before his death. He died July 12, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral church of Basil, where his tomb is to be seen, with a Latin inscription on the marble, of which a copy is inserted in the first volume of his works. He had made his will in February, in which he left handsome legacies to his friends, and the remainder to be distributed to relieve the sick and poor, to marry young women, and to assist young men of good characters: by which it appeared that he was not in low circumstances, nor so bad an economist as he sometimes, between jest and earnest, represented himself.—*Jortin's Life of Erasmus, which is for the most part a translation of Le Clerc. Knight's Life.*

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



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