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JOHN HEY, D. D.

AS NORRISIAN PROFESSOR.



VOLUME THE FOURTH.



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M D C C X C V I I I .

L E C T U R E S

I N

D I V I N I T Y, &c.

B O O K I V.

CONTINUATION OF ARTICLE XVII.

SECT. XVII.

QUEEN *Mary's* court does not seem to have intermeddled much with Predestination; they had other matters to engage their attention; their chief view was, to bring the nation back to Popery; as we have given the decision of the Council of *Trent*, we need take no more notice of the popish part of our countrymen.

The reformed fell into disputes amongst themselves even in prison, where they were confined as Heretics, expecting, many of them, to be brought to the stake; “they wrote against each other, and dispersed their writings abroad in the world^a.”—The doctrine of Predestination was even now gaining strength amongst the generality of plain divines, though

^a Neal, Vol. 1. 4to. page 69. Oxf. page 67. Heylin.
VOL. IV. A

though it was checked by some of the most improved minds. Some *forms* were drawn up for the prisoners to sign, in order to reduce them to amity; but they are not extant: it seems probable, that though they did not run into the extreme of Calvinism, they approached too near it to be encouraged by the principal^b Reformers. *Bradford* and *Carlejs* are named on this occasion; both martyrs; as were many others engaged in the dispute.

XVIII. *Elizabeth* came to the throne in 1558. In the beginning of her reign the more liberal and polite sort of divines wished to lower the doctrine of Predestination, or to avoid it. The less liberal and refined pushed it forward very stoutly; nay tyrannically, so as to oblige some to seek for shelter and protection. Both these things appear, I think, from *Strype's*^c *Annals*. Besides, the *Puritans*, who were Calvinists, got considerable power in the *House of Commons*, and made the Queen so *jealous*, that their proposing to ratify by act of Parliament the *Reformatio Legum*, was reason sufficient^d with her to set it aside.

Much of the growth of Calvinism has been ascribed to the *flight* of the Protestant divines from England during the reign of Queen Mary: some went to *Geneva*, others to Switzerland, &c.—But^e

Jewel

^b Oxford Pamph. page 67, &c.

^c *Annals* 1559, page 116. 118, Vol. 1. and page 294, (in some editions I think page 331): my old references to the *first* Vol. of *Strype's* *Annals*, seem all wrong: what Edit. did I use? the reference in this Section to the *second* Vol. is right, for Sid. Coll. Library.

^d Oxford, page 47, from *Collier* 2. 530.

^e Some where I have mentioned the bad reception which these Refugees met with from the *Lutherans*, on account of their being what was called *Sacramentarians*, that is, denying the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist: the cruelty of the *Lutherans* made them take refuge with the *Calvinists*, who used them

Jewel went to *Italy*; and others to other places^f, where they rather grew weaker than stronger in the doctrine about the divine decrees. Much would depend upon the notions they found associated with kindness and hospitality: but Calvinism seems to me to have been growing in England even before, or during, the reign of Queen Mary.

I gave the History of the *Lambeth Articles* under the sixteenth Article^g; I have now only to read such of them as belong to our present subject.—The cordial assent to them all, of that professed divine Matthew *Hutton*, Archbishop of *York*, may amuse the curious^h. The remarks of the Bishops and *Divines*, seem to be *ingenious*, and to have drawn the *sting* of some of them very expertly.—I suppose Archbishop *Whitgift* was at the head of theseⁱ remarkers. He is said to have acted “*facilitate*^k et metu.” Though he encouraged some eminent preachers against Reprobation, he might not think Professor *Whitaker* a man to be bluntly opposed: but his conduct^l seems to prove what has been already observed,

1. That men of improved minds, were endeavouring to soften the rigours of Predestination.

2. That

them kindly: they were indeed of the same opinion in regard to the Sacrament.—See *Mosheim*, Vol. 4. 8vo. page 87, or Cent. 16. 3. 2. 2. 16.

^f *Strype's Annals*, 1562, Vol. 1. page 294. (Sid.) or near that page; perhaps 293.

^g Art. xvi. Sect. viii.

^h *Strype's Whitgift*, p. 478.

ⁱ P. S. I cannot find, from *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, who these remarkers were; *Strype* contradicts this writer of the *Lambeth Articles*; and represents *Whitgift*, more than that writer does, as favouring *Whitaker* and Calvinism. Yet I thought he did not quite prove what he undertook. *Whitgift* seemed to me, even from *Strype's* account, to be guided much by prudence, and to dislike *Whitaker's* zeal.

^k *Hist. Art. Lamb.* F—15—18, *Cambr.*

^l *Waterland's Suppl. to Arian Subscr.* page 44, &c.

2. That the less refined were very strenuous in heightening the doctrine, and were very hard to restrain.

One sentence of *Neal*^m may make students aware of the language of Puritans in whatever books they meet with it. “Though the *Pelagian* doctrine was espoused by very few of the English Reformers”—“it revived the latter end of Queen Elizabeth’s reign under the name of *Arminianism*”, and within the compass of a few years supplanted the received doctrine of the Reformation.”

Before we pass to another reign, it may not be amiss to mention the idea of Predestination entertained by the *Familists*^o. “There are two, with their members, that are predestined, or pre-ordained; the one unto preservation, and the other unto condemnation, from the beginning: the one is *Christ*, the man of God, predestined unto preservation, and with him, all his incorporated members: the other is the man of Sin, *Antichrist*; predestinated unto condemnation; and in him all his incorporated members^p: as for any other predestination than this (come it out of Turkey, or elsewhere) I know not of it.”

XIX. In the reign of *James I.* there seems to have been an odd mixture of Calvinism and Arminianism. He was bred in the Kirk, and was, at one time, calvinistic; and he favoured Prince *Maurice* at the Synod of Dort, who favoured the Calvinists: yet in the conference at Hampton Court, in the beginning of his reign, he discouraged them, and never chose to prefer them in
the

^m Hist. of Puritans, Vol. 1. page 70, 4to.

ⁿ Eliz. died in 1603. Arminius in 1609 (æt. 49)—it was early for the name of *Arminianism*.

^o Art. vii. Sect. iii.

^p *Strype’s Annals*, Vol. 2. page 378 This passage is given by *Strype* from an *Apology* of the *Familists*, but it is not marked with inverted commas.

the Church. He preferred Arminians, yet kept up decency, and restrained the Puritans in an artful manner. He gave his preferments to men of abilities and good lives. He forbade the Puritans to rail against the Papists; but then every one was forbidden to rail at the Puritans; this founded fair, but was really a great restraint. The *five points* were too mysterious and nice for the *ordinary* Clergy to preach upon; reasonable enough; therefore only *Bishops* and *Deans* must preach upon them; but James made Arminians Bishops and Deans; and so the Puritans were silenced on those points which they wanted most to propagate.—And sometimes laws appearing perfectly equal, were so executed as to make the Puritans complain. It seems as if James, though a Pedant, considered things more as a statesman than as a divine; favoured those men whose manners were the most courtly, and checked, as imperceptibly as he could, those who were more rigid and uncomplying.

xx. In the reign of *Charles I.* Calvinism grew headstrong; but still it was not in favour at *Court*: there Arminianism flourished: indeed with too great openness to be consistent with prudence. One charge against Archbishop *Laud*, when he was impeached, was Arminianism; the opposition to that was stronger than to anything else.

Mr. *Hume*⁹ remarks, that perhaps the only thing in which all the Sectaries agreed, was the notion, that the doctrines of Fate and Destiny were essential to all religion. Dr. *Balguy*^r speaks of their overturning the Monarchy, as being only a *step* to overturning the Church.—If we have time, I will read

⁹ A. D. 1644. Vol. 5. 4to. p. 371, near the bottom: Chap. viii.—These are not the very words of *Hume*, but taken from two sentences.

^r Page 61.

read some of Mr. *Roufe's Speech* in the House of Commons: and a *Protest* of the House against Arminianism, in 1628.

In 1643 the Parliament, by ordinance, appointed an *Assembly of Divines* who should reform the Church of England, bring it nearer Calvinism, and make a coalition with the Church of *Scotland*: we have their *Catechisms*, and the *Articles* which they reformed; but after debating ten weeks on the first fifteen, they stopped short, and desisted from the task.

xxi. The turn which religious opinions took in the reign of *Charles II.* has been mentioned under the eleventh Article.—And the notions of *Antinomians* with regard to Election, sufficiently, under the sixteenth. It has been hinted, that *Methodists*^u are divided into Calvinistic and Arminian: and that the generality of the English *Clergy*^x are reputed Arminians. The first Earl of *Chatham* said, in Parliament, that we have a Calvinistic Creed, and an Arminian Clergy^y; I should be more willing to acknowledge the latter than the former.—Dr. *Jortin* says^z, “Our Dissenters, in the last Century, were generally absolute Predestinarians;”—they are now, I take it, mostly *Socinians*^a.—The *Quakers* are said to profess Arminianism: and some Presbyterians, I have been told, continue Calvinists.

xxii. The

^u See Neal's Pur. Vol. 1. 4to. page 530, 532, 534. from Rushworth.

^t Neal 1643, Vol. 2. 48. 4to. The articles are in the Appendix.

^u Art. xvi. Sect. x.

^x Art. xvi. Sect. viii.

^y See Belsam's Memoirs of the reign of George III. Vol. 1. page 362. Ed. 1796.

^z Second Dissertation, page 112.

^a I do not perceive that Dr. Priestley allows any decree at all. Famil. Illustr.

XXII. The most formidable Calvinist of *modern times* I take to be *Jonathan Edwards*. He died in 1758. The modern *Baptists* are represented by Wall, in his *History of Infant-baptism*, (Part 2. Chap. 8. Sect. 6. Subsect. 16), as more earnest about Predestination than any other people in England: As being anxious to know whether any one is a *Freewiller* or a *Freegracer*. They have also amongst them a division of persons into *General men*, and *Particular men*, from their holding a general or a partial *Redemption*.

XXIII. In *Scotland* John Knox established Calvinism; and in 1643 the assembly of Divines had in view the *Reformation* of the Church of England, but only the *Preservation* of the Church of Scotland; which shews how calvinistic it was,—and puritanical in discipline. The *Confessio Scotica* seems to conceive the *true Church*^b of *Christ* to be the *elect*, and others *reprobates*. What are now the notions of the established presbyterian Kirk, or of the tolerated episcopal Church, I have not been well informed.

XXIV. The *Irish*^c Articles were drawn in 1615 by Archbishop *Usher*, when Provost of *Dublin College*; the *Lambeth Articles* were incorporated into them. But in 1634 Archbishop *Laud* got our xxxix accepted; Neal says, in the *room* of the others; but *Waterland* says the *Lambeth Articles* were never formally laid aside. *Usher* was then *Primate*: his *Body of Divinity* is very Calvinistic, but *Waterland* says, “he renounced his Calvinian principles, as is well attested by Three good Hands^d.”

Archbishop

^b Syntagma, page 141. 148. Art. Electio. et de Ecclesiâ.

^c Neal i. 475. *Waterland* Suppl. Ar. Subscr. p. 51.

^d In a MS. note in the Library of *Magdalen College*, *Cambridge*, are mentioned *Bryan Walton*, *Peter Gunning*, and

Archbishop *King* has left a very good discourse on Predestination.

xxv. Having in the tenth Article reserved the notion of God's causing *evil*, I do the same here.—He has been supposed to cause it either by *influence*, or by *decree*; the former belonged to the tenth Article, the latter to this.

Vice is ascribed to Fate in Homer. Agamemnon excuses himself for robbing Achilles of his prize by saying^c, *Εγω δ' εκ αιτιος ειμι, Αλλε Ζεος και Μοιρα*—*Agathias* mentions it as a common notion, that wars and battles were imputed to the stars and fate: see Lardner's account of Simplicius in his Heathen testimonies^f.

xxvi. With regard to the *Jews*, I know not that I need add anything to what was said under Section III.—As Jewish expressions, arising from Jewish ideas, are the very things which cause our difficulties, they will appear of course in the solution.

xxvii. Some *early Christians* have been said to run into notions of sin being caused by decrees of powers above; but the accounts seem scarcely to be depended^g upon. They are mentioned by Heylin at the opening of his History of the five Articles. Chap. 1. Sect. 4—6.—But *Colarbasus* seems,

Herbert Thorndike: with reference to Smith's Life of Usher, and Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. page 868.—And Neal owns the fact, in a degree. Hist. Pur. Index.—All the Calvinists still speak respectfully (I am told) of Archbishop Usher.

^c Iliad, Book 19 l. 86. This expression is quoted by Heylin, p. 507; but a few other expressions might be read: Agamemnon says, what could he do? a divine power made him offend.

^f This was mentioned before as an instance of ascribing events in general to Fate, Sect. 11. but it ought also to appear as an instance of ascribing evils to Fate. Natural evil may be distinguished from moral, but though war is natural evil, it is usually caused by moral.

^g Art. xv. Sect. 11. and Art. xvi. Sect. 11.

seems, in Aug. de Hær. only to have believed in *Æons*. Of the *Priscillianists* Augustin says, “*Astruunt etiam fatalibus stellis homines colligatos,*” &c.

XXVIII. In *Augustin's* time the Monks of *Adrumetum* are said to have held, that God predestinated the wicked, not only to punishment but to *guilt*. — And all those who came into this notion were called *Predestinarians*. But disputes have arisen concerning this part^h of History. What I have seen of Augustin's writings to Valentinus and others of that Monastery at Adrumetum, has not given me anⁱ idea that they held so strange a doctrine.

XXIX. Some have allowed a *foreknowledge of sin* in God as a motive for reprobation, who would not allow a *foreknowledge^k of merits*, as a motive to Election. Peter Lombard¹ says, “*prædestinavit eos quos elegit, reliquos verò reprobavit, id est ad mortem eternam præsevit peccaturos.*” — Some have made *Reprobation* to consist merely in *not electing*. — The *Rhemists* on Rom. ix. 14. speak of an illustration of Augustin's, who compares the elect and reprobate to two *debtors*, one of which is forgiven all, and the other made to pay all, by the same creditor.

Some strong expressions of *Calvin* may be found in the first seventeen pages of the Oxford Dissertation: but in those expressions we see that desire before-mentioned of making *Reprobation*, though proceeding

^h Mosheim, Vol. 2. page 90, octavo, or Cent 5. 2. 5. 25.

ⁱ These Monks were for Grace excluding Free-will; which is rather a *symptom* of their being for Predestination excluding Virtue. — *Jansen* felt as I did; see opening of Sirmond's *Historia Predestinatiana*. — Vossius's *Hist. Pelag.* Lib. 7. is about *Reprobation*: and I think he is of my mind: — See Index to *Hist. Pelag.* “*Prædestinationem,*” &c.

^k Sect. v. 11. end.

¹ Lib. 1. Dist. 40.

proceeding from the good pleasure of God, an act of *just* punishment.

At *Trent* the Dominicans founded reprobation on the mere pleasure of God, alledging the instance of *Esau* reprobated before he was born.

There has been a distinction between *Supralapsarians* and *Sublapsarians*, from *Lapsus* the Fall of Man. The former held, or have been charged with holding, that God decreed the Fall of Man, and all its fatal consequences; the latter, that God's decree *presupposed* the Fall, or only *permitted* it, and determined the state of different men in *consequence* of it.—One *Twisse* has been reckoned a *Supralapsarian*^m; he was Prolocutor to the Assembly of Divines in 1643.

This gives an idea of all *Mankind* taken collectively; with regard to a particular *instance*, Master *Fulke* speaks plainly in his answer to the *Rhemists* on Rom. ix. 17.

“The purpose for which God *set up* Pharao is manifest in the text, *that in him he might shew his power, &c. God made all things for himself, even the wicked unto the evil day.* Therefore was Pharao, a vessel of wrath ordained to destruction, vers. 22.—His reprobation therefore was for the Glorie of God, his condemnation most *just*, for his obstinate contempt of God and his word.”

In reading the *Lambeth Articles* it was not easy to avoid reading the part about *reprobation* with that about *election*: because one wished not to leave a sentence unfinished. As this remark may apply to several instances, I will here *close the History* of *Reprobation*, and of the *Article*.

xxx. We

^m Turretin, *Locus* 4 *Quest.* 9. *Sect.* 23.—Turretin was a *Predestinarian* himself.—*Neal* gives a good character of *Twisse*.

xxx. We come then to the *Explanation*.

The *title* is, “Of Predestination and Election.”—Predestination is sometimes a *generic* term, including Electionⁿ and Reprobation; sometimes it signifies only predestination to *happiness*, which is its sense here, as appears from its being joined with Election.—And also from the first expression of the Article, “Predestination to *Life*.”—Προορισμος is not in Scripture, but προορίζω is, and προθεσις.

xxxI. The *first paragraph* of our Article exhibits nothing more than a *series of texts*, with a word or two connecting them together. To make such a series seems fair, yet it occasions some impediment to that conception of the Article, which I think the right one. The texts of scripture, on which the doctrine of Predestination has been built, seem to me chiefly expressions of *sentiment*, or eloquence, or even of *formality* and *decorum*.—Now to put such expressions into a series, must give them more appearance of *system* and *theory* than they would have if each was read, with a right feeling, in its *place*.

When such expressions occur as, “O King^o *live for ever*,”—“the *most excellent Governor*^p Felix,” “*most noble*^q Festus,” &c. how strange it would seem, if an Historian was to hold, that *Darius* was immortal, or that Felix excelled all other men as a Governor; yet when such sayings are connected together, the connexion gives each more speculative meaning than it was intended to have. ^W
—I would not be understood to say, that *all* the texts

ⁿ Usher's Body of Divinity under God's *Kingdom*, page 73, 7th Edit.—Arminius's Works, Disp. 15. page 226. but Arminius prefers our sense.

^o Dan. vi. 21.

^p Acts xxiii. 26.

^q Acts xxvi. 25.

texts introduced have an indefinite meaning; but only, that when the things they mention, are referred to the *predetermination* of God, *then* the meaning is indefinite.

Nor would I insinuate, that even *then* the meaning is *as* indefinite, as the meaning of the phrases just now mentioned, “*O King live for ever,*” &c.; they are only mentioned to shew the *nature* of the inconvenience complained of, not to mark out the *degree* of it.

Still, however, it will be proper to shew, that the Compilers of our Article *did* follow Scripture^r.

XXXII. “*Predestination to Life,*” implies that there is such a thing supposed, at least, as Predestination to *Death*.—Which is not here *denied*, but waved, or *omitted*.—The Reformatio Legum says, that wicked men used frequently to alledge *Reprobation*, as an excuse for their wickedness.

XXXIII. “*Is the everlasting purpose of God*”—we have “*eternal purpose*” Eph. iii. 11.—and *purpose*, in this sense, occurs several times. Rom. viii. 28.—ix. 11.—And Eph. i. 11.—“*everlasting*” is to be taken in a *negative*^s sense, as that which has continued during a time to which we can conceive no limit.

“*Whereby,*” will be allowed as a connecting word, not scriptural.

XXXIV. “*Before the foundations of the world were laid;*”—See Matt. xxv. 34.—Eph. i. 4.—2 Tim. i. 9.—This expression seems *indefinite*, and meant to be so taken.

XXXV. “*He hath constantly decreed.*”—“*Constantly,*” seems again a *negative* term, signifying a decree *not interrupted* in any way assignable by man:—*decreed* might be used as *implied* in predestination and

^r See Oxf. page 20, &c. and bottom of page 74.

^s Introd. to second Part, Sect. v 11.

and purpose; but it may be referred to Jer. v. 22.; in LXX. *πρὸς ἄγμα αἰωνιον*. *God's decree* is a sort of *technical* term in Theology.

XXXVI. “*By his consent*,” *βελη* Acts ii. 23.—Rom. xi. 34.—Heb. vi. 17.

XXXVII. “*Secret to us*,” Deut. xxix. 29.—Amos iii. 7.—The secrecy is also implied in Rom. xi. 33, 34.

Secret seems to imply here that which belongs to *God's part*, in the Government of the world: to be opposed to *revealed*, for the guidance of *Man*; if what is called secret ever appear, it is by the *event*², or at most by faint intimation.

XXXVIII. “*To deliver from curse*”—Gal. iii. 10, 13. with reference to Deut. xxi. 23. and xxvii. 26.

XXXIX. “*And damnation*,” *κατακριμα* Rom. v. 16, 18.—but of this enough under the ninth Article.

XL. “*Those whom he hath chosen in Christ*”—we have “*chosen in him*,” Eph. i. 4.—the words “*in Christ*,” were added to the Article in 1562, though they make what comes after seem rather an harsh repetition; in order, probably, to keep close to words³ of Scripture.—The term “*chosen*,” is one of those which were originally used of the *Jews*, and applied to *Christians* in the way of comparison or^x allusion.—The expression, “*those whom he hath chosen*,” or, whom he hath *since* chosen, seems to me to imply, that the secret purpose of God is only to be looked upon as opened by the *event*: the publication of Christianity is
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² “Made manifest by the effects.” “then” (when a matter is come to pass) “it is manifest what *was* God's will *before* concerning the matter.”—This is Calvinistic Uther: *Body of Divinity*, page 41, 7th Edit.

³ Oxf. page 20.

^x Taylor on Romans, Key, Par. 92.

an event which ought to be referred to the Divine Government, not limited by time. Whoever entered fully into this remark, would allow me to say, that predestination of men to be Christians, ought not to be mentioned, or thought of, till they *are become* Christians: agreeably to what was^y said under the tenth Article of preventing Grace; nay, that any *heathen* who pleases, may to-morrow *have^z been* “*chosen*” from all eternity; that is, whoever becomes a Christian in the common way, may, when he does become one, *ascribe* his conversion to the goodness of God, acting before all time that can be limited.

“*Out of mankind*”—these words seem only for connexion.—They might have been omitted.

XLI. “*And to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation.*”—Eph. i. 7, 10, 11; say the same thing, only in a manner not so suitable to the course of expression in the Article: that true Christians are to be *saved* eternally, is not a thing likely to be questioned by any set of Christians. *Salvation* was one of the terms explained in the Appendix to the eleventh Article^a. The word “*everlasting,*” is not useless, as men are sometimes said to be *saved* when they are only *admitted* into Christianity.

XLII. “*As vessels made to honour*”—Rom. ix. 21, 23. with reference to Jer. xviii. 1, &c.—These texts describe only *comparative* privileges, or distinctions; and those distinctions must be supposed to be acquired in the *common way*, by a diligent use of *opportunities*, and then *referred*, indistinctly,
to

^y Art. x. Sect. xxxv.

^z Rogers on this Article, mentions, as in error, those who say, “it is in any man’s power to be elected,” page 80. — Theophylact is one, I see: which is a comfort.

^a Sect. xviii. and Art. xi. Sect. xxi.

to the Divine Providence: though the reference to God will always be the stronger when we speak of men *collectively*, and of disposing or governing them^b.

We have now got what may be called a *definition* of our *cause*; of the cause of *Christianity*, as existing in the Divine mind, in a *manner* unknown to us, from a *time* not to be limited by us. The *effects*, that is the *parts* of Christianity, fall more within our comprehension. If they had been mentioned *first*, and then referred to their *unsearchable* cause, in *indefinite* language, our ideas would have been kept in better order; but it might be thought that an Article ought to keep to the *synthetical* method.

XLIII. “*Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God*”—I see nothing in these words but connexion. “*They which be,*” seems to imply uncertainty about *individuals*; whosoever they may be, that are, in the sight of God, true *Christians*.

XLIV. “*Be called according to God's purpose,*”—the expression is all taken from Rom. viii. 28.—See also 2 Tim. i. 9^c.—*invited*, offered *election*; Matt. xx. 16.—Taylor's Key, par. 97.—The invitation must have been primarily given to quit Idolatry and Paganism.

XLV. “*By his spirit working in due season*”—1 Pet. i. 2.—the manner of referring conversion to God's spirit, has been mentioned^d under the *tenth Article*: it must not interfere with endeavours, nor take place till the conversion is *past*.—“*In due season,*” I do not seem to see the whole purpose
of

^b Art. x. Sect. XLIX.

^c 1 Cor. vii. 21. “*called,*” is equivalent to becoming a Christian.

^d Art. x. Sect. XXXVI.

of inserting these words; they fill up the sentence to the *ear*; they occur several times in scripture, but not with regard to the working of the *spirit*.

XLVI. “*They through Grace obey the calling,*” — *obey* is in Rom. vi. 17. and *obedience* 1 Pet. i. 2.— It would not have been regular to have omitted the divine *assistance*.

XLVII. “*They be justified freely:*” — the expression comes from Rom. iii. 24. but Rom. viii. 30. should be kept in mind. Of Justification we have treated under the eleventh Article.

XLVIII. “*They be made the Sons of God by adoption:*” — Gal. iv. 5, 6.—Rom. viii. 15.—Heb. ii. 11. we were *born in sin*. But the principal passage seems Eph. i. 5.

XLIX. “*They be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ:*” — this expression comes from Rom. viii. 29.—but if we look at the 30th verse, we have after *justified*, “*glorified:*” instead of which our church takes a passage out of the 29th verse: from whence it seems probable, that they had the same notion of the passage, with *Taylor*; namely, that the 29th verse describes the *first* and *last* steps of our spiritual progression; and that the 30th enumerates the *intermediate* steps: if this be right, it comes to the same thing saying, we shall be finally *glorified*, and, we shall be made finally like the *image* of Jesus Christ.— See 2 Cor. iii. 18.—“*begotten*” may be opposed to *adopted*.

L. “*They walk religiously in good works:*” — this seems *implied* in becoming *Christians*; but for the same reason the *twelfth Article* was inserted, a *plain* expression seems useful here:—I conceive a reference to Titus ii. 14. and iii. 8.—But Eph. ii. 10. has the most of Predestination in it.

LI. “*And*

LI. “*And at length, by God’s mercy,*” — Tit. iii. 5.—1 Pet. i. 3.

LII. “*They attain to everlasting felicity*” — Matt. xxv. 34. (speaks of the predestinated as attaining to endless happiness, therefore is here the proper authority.)

Before we proceed, we should consider whether the distinguishing characteristics of Christians admit of various *degrees*. *Salvation* does; *justification* has been said to do, under the eleventh Article; why may not *Adoption*? good *works* allow of great variety.

LIII. We have now had a scriptural *delineation* of *Christianity*, and we have seen the scriptural method of *referring* it to the divine foreknowledge and “*everlasting purpose.*” And what is the *use* of such referring? that we are to see next. It may be used so as to do *good*; but it, or something thought to be of the same sort with it, may be used so as to do great *harm*. Our Article proposes to attain the good, and avoid the evil.—The unsearchable counsels and foreknowledge of God do so far appear to man, as to become to him a most interesting object of *contemplation* and *reflection*; and if rightly contemplated, they may improve *Christian piety*; if wrongly, they may promote *vice* and *misery*. But let us pursue the expressions of the Article.

LIV. “*As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our election in Christ*”—the sort of contemplation allowed, must be “*godly,*” that is, it must *presuppose* true piety in the mind: and it must also presuppose *admission* into Christianity, it must be contemplation of the *Christian scheme*, as referred to the purpose of God; the word “*our*” was inserted in 1562, but it might as well perhaps have been omitted; if it had been wanted to shew

that the meditation ought to be upon the *Christian* plan, it would have been useful; but there are other marks of that; at present, it must either be taken impersonally, and so add little or nothing to the sense; or it must come too near affirming of *individuals*, what is only intended to be affirmed of *Christians in general*.

LV. “*Is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons*”—again, “*godly;*” joined to “*persons,*” as well as to “*consideration;*” in order to make the distinction as clear as possible.

LVI. “*And such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ*”—we here distinguish between feeling *the spirit*, and feeling the *working, vim*, of the spirit; we mean, finding such dispositions and principles as we piously, though indistinctly, ascribe to the assistance of the Holy Spirit, in the manner mentioned under the tenth Article: for fear of mistake, the *effects* of the spirit, or the phænomena which are to make us trust we are real Christians, in some degree or other, are next specified.

LVII. “*Mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members,*”—this is from Rom. viii. 16.—Col. iii. 5.

LVIII “*And drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things;*”—more phænomena, from whence we may judge whether we are such Christians as may derive *good* from contemplating the Christian scheme as settled in the secret counsels of God.—Here seems to be an allusion to John vi. 44.—“*except the Father draw him.*”

LIX. “*As well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ,*”—suppose then a Christian, with such dispositions; would it really strengthen his *faith* to refer the Christian scheme back to God’s
planning

planning it before all time? it must; the *constancy*, the *duration* of it, must heighten his conceptions of its *stability* and *importance*: and the power, justice, and wisdom of God must appear in a strong and striking light.

LX. “*As because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God;*”—in like manner we may ask, would it really inflame the devout *Love* of such a Christian as is here supposed, to dwell on the same contemplation? unavoidably: for such a contemplation would shew him God as engaged, for endless ages, in acts of kindness to him; and would make the *connexion* between a kind Deity and him seem much more intimate than it was before.—“We love him, because he *first loved* us.”

LXI. “*So for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ.*”—Now we come to the persons who may make a *pernicious* use of the secret counsels of God; in the first place, they are not *Christians*; or if they have been *baptized*, they have not the *internal* qualifications of real Christians: “lacking the spirit of Christ,” may be still farther cleared by comparing it with the sixteenth^f Article, “after we have received the Holy Ghost.”—“A Christi spiritu prorsus *alieni*,” says the Reformatio Legum.

And the persons who would do harm by thinking much on the secret counsels of God, are not only no Christians, but they are *weak* or *wicked men*; *curious* or *carnal*.

“*Curious*,” seems to be used with much meaning; and to describe that kind of men, who are continually entering into such abstruse and sceptical speculations as are apt to make *Atheists*; such as unfettle

^e 1 John iv. 19.

^f Art. xvii. Sect. xix.

unsettle all principle; perplex, but never convince. —*Re ipsâ curiosi*, the *Reformatio Legum* calls such persons: speculations of the sort here meant frequently engender melancholy and misanthropy, as well as impious murmuring against God.

“*Carnal*,” means men of debauched morals; the *Reformatio Legum* informs us, that there were many such, who took the turn of fatalists at the time of the Reformation: “*differti luxu;*” having recourse to Predestination as a covering, “*maleficiis, et sceleribus, et omnis generis perverfitati.*”

LXII. “*To have continually before their eyes the sentence of God’s predestination,*”—here the *object* of contemplation is changed: it was before the *Christian* religion in the divine mind; here it is “*God’s predestination,*” in general; Fate, Destiny^g.—For bad men to have fatality before their eyes, is certainly what the following words express.

LXIII. “*Is a most dangerous downfall,*” *precipitium*; the nature of a *precipice* is, that it does not necessarily destroy, but puts one in immediate danger of being destroyed; either by any one who chuses to push one down; or by a slip of one’s own.

LIV. “*Whereby the Devil doth thrust them,*” about referring evil to malignant Spirits, I have said something^b before.—“*duce Diabolo,*” *Reform. Legum.*

LXV. “*Either into desperation,*”—despair is one natural consequence of a person’s persuading himself that there is a fatality against him.

In desperationem præsentem abjiciuntur *precipites*, *Reform. Legum.*

LXVI. “*Or*

^g Or, according to Bishop Hooper, “*fatal destiny:*”—See on the Commandments; or Heylin *Quinq.* page 557.

^b Art. x. sect. 1.

LXVI. “Or into wretchedness of most unclean living,”—*wretchedness*, means careless, negligent; in the Rhemish Testament on Rom. ix. 14. it is spelt *retchedness*, which brings it nearer *reckless*, which occurs several times in Shakspeare¹: and a character in one of his plays, says, “I *reck* not”—for, I *care* not. At Sedbergh I have (above 40 years ago) heard often, “*never reck*,” for “*never mind*,” (pronounced, *neverack*), do not give yourself any trouble, or concern. In the *Latin*, the word is *securitatem*:—“*impurissimæ vitæ.*” The Reformatio Legum has, “*ad solutam quandem et mollem vitæ securitatem:*” being *secure* is, properly, being without *apprehension* of danger; whether really *in danger* or not.

LXVII. “*No less perilous than desperation.*”—perhaps *more* perilous: God may pity the despairing fatalist; he is more likely to be sincere than the sensualist, who must, on numberless occasions, act contrary to those principles by which he excuses his faults.

Perhaps “*desperation*” may refer to “*curious*,” and “*unclean living*,” to “*carnal*.”

Some passages from *Latimer* and *Hooper* might be read here. (quoted Heylin’s *Quinq.* page 556, &c.; also *Oxf.* page 54, &c.; also *Rhem. Test.* on Rom. ix. 14. marginal note.)

LXVIII. We come now to the *third Paragraph*.—So far we have been concerned with duly *regulating* a sublime and interesting *meditation*, into which men are very *apt* to run.

It seems proper not to conclude the Article, without laying down something relative to *practice*.

In the Article of 1552 the beginning of the third paragraph stood thus;

“*Furthermore*”

¹ See Ayscough’s Index, Stockdale’s edition.

“*Furthermore*” “ [though the decrees of Predestination be unknown to us,]—it seems a pity the words in hooks were omitted; they tend to keep the thoughts in the right train: some puritanical influence might throw them out.

LXIX. “*We must receive God’s promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture:*”

Promises are opposed to *decrees*; that which supposes man at *liberty*, to that which supposes him *fixed*. *Promises* seems to include *threats*: they are things to *act* from; *decrees*, while “*secret to us,*” or “*unknown to us*” are only to be *contemplated*.

“*Generally set forth;*” to *all* men, not to any set of men particularly *favoured*. *Electing* is partial, *promising* extends even to those at present “*lacking the Spirit of Christ.*” *Promises* any man may *apply to himself*: *decrees*, no man may, in any *definite* manner.

LXX. “*And in our doings,*” in our conduct, or practice, “*in actionibus suscipiendis,*” says the *Reformatio Legum*, more clearly.

LXXI. “*That will of God is to be followed*”—here is a reference to the *scholastic* division of *will* into different kinds; which would not have been made except, as in *St. Paul’s* time, perverse men said, “*who hath resisted^k his will?*”—to in the age of the *Reformation*, men had urged the *Will of God* as an excuse for their vices: “*in voluntatem Dei criminum suorum culpam conferunt.*” (*Rel. Leg.*) —“*they say it is God’s will.*” (*Hooper*^l).—I will not take you into all the distinctions of *Archbishop Usher*^m on the subject of will, much less into

^k Rom. ix. 19.

^l See Heylin, page 556.

^m Body of Divinity, page 40—48. 7th Edition,

into those of *Thomas*ⁿ *Aquinas*; but some distinction seems necessary.—From what was said in the *elementary introduction* to this second part of the Articles, it will be easily allowed, that we may conceive a thing to be according to the will of God, or man, in two senses, as he *permits* it, and as he *chuses* it should be done; *will*, in the former sense, may be called *secret*^o will, in God, as containing the rules of God's government, which must be secret to us; in the latter, *revealed*. The *secret* will of God we can only *contemplate*, in the manner now settled; the *revealed* will we must endeavour to *execute*. God wishes us to do what is right, for our own good.

LXXII. “Which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.” — “*disertè* revelatam:” this means God's *revealed* will. *Disertè*, Livy uses for, *named*, mentioned by name; so it may be that will of God which is plainly called so, called *his will*, in scripture. However, it is opposed to God's will “*secret to us:*” to “*decrees*” “*unknown to us.*”

LXXIII. Having now gone through the several expressions of our Article, I conclude the Explanation with observing, that our Article does not *deny* either *absolute* or *conditional*^p Predestination. And that it is silent about *Reprobation*, has been already observed.

Ecclus. iii. 21—23, is like the general turn and scope of the Article.

LXXIV. According

ⁿ The Index to his works, under *Voluntas*, is really worth looking at as a matter of curiosity.

^o *Plaifere*, page 342. 398.—See also Whitby on Five Points, Chap. 3. page 435; and compare John vi. 39. with Matt. xviii. 14. and 1 Tim. ii. 4.

^p *Waterland's Supplement to Arian Subscription*, page 60. with reference to *Plaifere's Apello Evangelium*.

LXXIV. According to our common order, I should now come to *Proof*; but there is a difficulty in determining what is to be proved. Our Church can scarce be said to lay down^a any *doctrine* in this Article; it only gives a series of *texts*, and declares against the *abuse* of them. I will, however, lay down *one proposition*, in order to have an opportunity of offering some remarks, tending to give the right *value* of those texts which have occasioned the strict doctrine of Predestination: my proposition may be,

God has predestinated Christians, as such, to Life.

But as all our knowledge of God's secret counsels is extremely indistinct, and as therefore this proposition, in its present form, *seems* to have more meaning than it really has; and moreover, as in its present form it interferes with practical^r exertions, I will put it into a form, better suited to the real state of our knowledge, to the real sense of scripture, and the active performance of the *duties* of human life. In its new form, then, it may stand thus;

LXXV. Whenever any thing important happens, or is conceived to happen, of a tendency to bring Christians to heavenly happiness, they may ascribe that to the purpose of God; not limiting the duration of his purpose; if they do it with due *diffidence*, and in *circumstances* similar to those in which the same is done in scripture.

Still our ascribing is, from our ignorance of God's decrees and counsels, to be extremely *indistinct*, and in the *heart*, rather than the *head*; but proving this, will justify the generality of Churches in holding *something* about Predestination.

The

^a Sect. XVI.

^r Art. x. Sect. xxxv.

The only passages where predestination is mentioned *expressly*, are Rom. viii. 29, 30.—And Eph. i. 5. 11.—These may therefore have a precedence; others may be mentioned in the order in which they lie in the sacred volume.

Matt. xxv. 34.—John xvii. 11.—Acts ii. 23. and xiii. 48.—Rom. ix. 23.—Eph. i. 4. 9, or the whole, 4—11.—1 Theff. i. 4. and v. 9. (the latter quoted by Usher repeatedly.)—2 Tim. i. 9.—Titus i. 1.—1 Pet. i. 2.

These may answer our purpose; and he who has a right notion of these, may apply it to all the rest.

LXXVI. The remarks, by which I would endeavour to give the right *value* of these expressions of Scripture, are much the same with those in the tenth Article; that is, applications of the elementary remarks, which make the Introduction to the second part of our xxxix Articles.

LXXVII. The *popular*^s *language* of Scripture, does not lay down any *system* of speculative truth; but *each* expression describes some *feeling* for some useful *purpose*: we must see what this purpose is, in each instance, or we do not understand the expression. There is really *no Theory of Predestination* in scripture; there are separate pious *references* of important and happy events, to the unbounded foresight and superintendence of the Deity; and out of these, *men* have *formed* theories; but such theories are merely *human*. Each passage of scripture aims at producing *Faith* and *Love*; and we have no right to use any passage for any other purpose.

If this is not the case, why are *trifling* events never referred in scripture to Predestination? God is as much the Author of trifling events as of important;

important ; and it has in strictness been as *long ago* determined, for anything we know, that a man shall be *six foot high*, as that he shall be a *Christian*; yet the former kind of event is not referred to the divine counsels, the latter is : why, but because it answers a good *purpose* to the Christian, and not to the tall man. The fine reference of the privileges of a Christian to the divine counsels, in *Rom. viii. 28—30*, is not for the sake of *truth*, or *speculation*; but for *animating* the converts to brave all the terrors of *persecution*, rather than revolt from Christ. —And whoever sees the passage for a moment without seeing it aim at the *heart*, misses what was principally intended, and of course sees something which the writer never thought of. The same may be said of the *openings* of several Epistles; the heart is to be inflamed, by grand and affecting sentiments, however indefinite, in order that the work may be *studied* with a proper interest.

LXXVIII. In the texts on which Predestination is founded, great use is made of positive terms with *negative* significations; as may appear from the beginning of the *explanation*. It would greatly tend to prevent misconception, if we kept this constantly in mind; as also, that our meaning frequently is, when we refer to divine predetermination, no more than that it would be impious to *exclude* the Deity; or fix on any time when he *did not* foresee, or intend to confer, such or such a blessing. The expressions concerning the “*eternal purpose*” of God, have had a sense in the mind of the sacred writer (as it appears to me) much nearer this, than any *Theorist* imagines.

LXXIX. Events ascribed to the Predestination of God, are not to exclude *human agency*; they will be ascribed to the one or the other, as the

occasion

occasion directs; sometimes to^u *both*; and when only to one, the other must be understood to be *implied*.

Acts ii. 23. may afford us an instance. “Him being delivered by the determinate *counsel* and foreknowledge of God ye have taken, and by *wicked* hands have taken and slain.”—The death of Christ is sometimes ascribed to the *will of God*^x, sometimes to the *wickedness* of the Jews, (in different senses indeed;) here to *both*. Whatever happens may be referred to God, in one way or other.—But the part which God acts in the Government of the world, does not in the least affect the moral nature of man; that nature is God’s immediate work; and men, when free, act under his government; whenever any good purpose is to be answered by referring an event to the government of *God*, it may be so referred, even though the act be *punishable*^y; only in that *indistinct* way, which becomes our ignorance of the divine counsels: when any good purpose is to be answered by referring the *same event* to the choice of *man*, that may be done; and if it should happen that a good purpose would be answered by referring *one* event at the *same time* to *both* the government of God, and the choice of man; the reason still remains in force: this last mode of referring must intimate, that though man is ever so free, he is still under the controul of God. By Acts ii. 23. the Jews were

^u Art. x. Sect. xli. referring to Introduction to second Part, Sect. viii.

^x Rom. v. 8.—viii. 32.

^y Art. x. Sect. l.—Hecuba, (Il. Ω . 209, &c.) says, that her son Hector was killed by *Fate*; yet she desires to *punish* Achilles on account of his death.

$\text{\textcircled{C}}$ Edipus is said to have had an hard *fate*, but he is blamed just as if that had not been said:—See Batteux, Aristot. Poet. page 258, Note.

were given to understand, that they had made a bad use of their freedom, but that they depended on God; he was their Governor, and would be their Judge.—Does not Mr. Pope's expression, "*His scourge the tyrant*," mix divine and human agency equally? "*tyrant*" implies *wickedness*, which implies choice, or *human* agency; the Tyrant's being a *scourge* in the hand of God, expresses the government of God, or *divine* agency.

LXXX. We have no right to use any text of scripture without regard to the *circumstances* in which it was used originally. How much change of circumstances will alter the *sense* of words, has been carefully² shewn. If then, in scripture, we only find *past* events, or events supposed to have happened, or *viewed as* having come to pass, referred to the everlasting purpose of God, we have no right to refer events to the same, without attending to that circumstance.

This again, will prevent any *theory*, any *abstract* propositions, about predestination, from being admitted.—This would have been reason enough for changing the form of our *proposition*^a: it was liable to be objected to thus; 'I know of *no such* proposition in *Scripture*; give me a *fact*, and perhaps I may refer that fact to God's unbounded foreknowledge.'—Matt. xxv. 34^b. The kingdom of the blessed was "*prepared*" for them "from the foundation of the world;"—but this is said when you are supposed to *look back* from the Day of Judgment. We might now say, *to any man*; be you *good*, and a kingdom *will have been* prepared for you from the foundation of the world; *but* if you become wicked, and are so finally, an "everlasting fire"

² Book I. Chap. x. xi.—Introd. to second Part, Sect. ix.
—Art. x. Sect. xlii.

^a Sect. lxxiv.

^b Compare 1 Cor. ii. 9.

fire" will *have* been prepared for you. Both the passages of scripture which mention Predestination expressly, have a *retrospective* view; and refer, indistinctly, a present happy state of things, to the divine secret counsels. And the same may be observed of those *openings* of the Epistles, from which any thing relating to Predestination has been taken.

I think some of our Reformers and writers have seen something of this notion. The *Necessary Doctrine* lays down^c, that a man ought not to judge that he is *elect*, but by his good disposition, "and by the tokens of good and virtuous living."—When *Latimer* says we should "*begin with Christ*"—he seems to mean we should begin with the *effect*, and reason *à posteriori*^d. And Archbishop *Bancroft* meant something of the same sort at the Hampton-Court conference, by "*ascendo*:" we *ascend* from effect to cause. When we reason from a known effect to a cause imperfectly known, we *finish* with that which is above our comprehension; but when we *begin* from a cause not^e understood, we are misled in things which concern us immediately; and which are, in reality, level to our capacities.

Attention to circumstances would hinder us from referring any *trivial*^z events to God, or from making any references to his secret decrees, without a view to exciting some *good sentiment*; according to what has already been laid down: and
would

^c Sect. XVI.

^d Ser. on Septuages, quoted by Heylin, page 557.—Waterland, page 60. (Suppl. to Arian Subscr.)

^e Oxf. page 36.

^f Introd. to second Part, end of Sect. VIII.

^z Fanatics have referred trifling events to God's decree or purpose, though I have no instance at hand: something *similar* to this we have had, Art. X. Sect. XXXIX.

would make us aware how things are referred to the *permission* of God though contrary to what is most commonly called his *will*.

The more a man studies the circumstances in which our texts were used, the fewer references to the eternal purpose of God, will he be inclined to make.

LXXXI. I have several times said, that I look upon the passages of Scripture from which the doctrine of Predestination has been derived, as being of the nature of *Eloquence*^h, and not of speculation. That will be the case if those passages are always calculated to excite good *sentiments*. And they will be, of course, much *less plain* and perspicuous, because more indefinite, than practical directions; and therefore ought to be interpreted less literally. Indeed to interpret an eloquent expression, so as to give it its true value, and neither more nor less, seems scarce practicable.—Rom. viii. 29, 30. is intended to have an effect upon the *feelings* of those to whom it is addressed;—part of Taylor's paraphrase on the next verse is, "and what effect should they ["these things"] have upon our *hearts*?" and though Mr. *Locke* on the opening of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, gives predestination the limited sense of God's purpose to take the Heathens into the Christian Religion; yet he looks upon that whole epistle as a piece of eloquence and sublimity.

He says, in his Synopsis, that St. Paul displays in it, "the glorious state of that kingdom" (the kingdom of the Messiah) "not in the ordinary way of argumentation and formal reasoning, which had *no place* in an Epistle writ as this is, all as it were in a *rapture*, and in a style far above the plain *didactical* way; he pretends not to *teach* them any thing,

^h Art. x. Sect. XLII.—Art. XVI. Sect. xxx.

thing, but couches all that he would drop into their minds, in Thanksgivings and Prayers; which affording a greater liberty and flight to his thoughts, he gives utterance to them in noble and *sublime* expressions, suitable to the *unsearchable* wisdom and goodness of God, shewn to the world in the work of Redemption." Mr. Locke himself makes one afraid of giving any very definite sense to any lofty expressions in the *opening* of such an address especially; though he may rightly point out what was to be a *distinguished* part of the sentiment excited.

Perhaps some passages may be made easy by observing the *Jewish* mode of referring all events to God. But this remark may be more useful when we say anything about *Reprobation*.

LXXXII. An observation made in the Introduction to this second part of our Articles, may be of use here. Sometimes expressions of Scripture are not considered with sufficient freedom, because they are supposed to contain *new truths*, communicated immediately from Heaven.—I do not *perceive*, that any sacred writer intended to teach any thing *new* with regard to the predeterminations of God; I mean, it does not strike me that any sacred writer has intended to give us any knowledge of the *Nature* of the divine decrees, which might not be derived from natural religion. The sacred writers refer *new events* to the everlasting purpose of God; but it does not follow that they taught new doctrines about them.

LXXXIII. I will now make a few remarks on the particular *texts* which I have produced in support of my proposition. — Of Matt. xxv. 34.— Acts ii. 23. and the opening of the Epistle to the Ephesians, I have already said something; Rom. ix. will come best under *Reprobation*: and the openings

ings of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the Epistle to Titus have nothing peculiar in them: I will therefore confine myself to John xvii. 11. (and similar expressions;) Acts xiii. 48.—1 Theff. v. 9.—2 Tim. i. 9. and 1 Pet. i. 2.

In John xvii. 11. and other passages, Christ speaks of Christians as *given* him by his heavenly Father; a very proper and pious acknowledgment! especially in *prayer*, or devout discourse; but containing no more *doctrine* than would have arisen from our *King's* thanking God, on the day of his public thanksgiving, for *giving* him millions of affectionate subjects, rejoicing in his recovery.

Acts xiii. 48. has occasioned many discussions. I confess it seems to me to mean no more than that as many as *chose* to become Christians, were *allowed* to become Christians; or as many as it *pleased* God to make so: *none* duly qualified were *refused*, though they were *Gentiles*: that was the *wonder*; that *Gentiles* should be admitted to be God's people! "when the Gentiles heard this" (that they might be Christians) "they were *glad*;" it was new to them at "Antioch in Pisidia;"—"they *glorified* the word of the Lord! and *as many* as were ordained to eternal life, believed:" not *one* or *two* distinguished Heathens were admitted into Christianity, but Heathens were admitted just as *Jews* would have been. Certainly the phrase "*ordained to eternal Life*," to express being inclined to become Christians, is copious; and it is very solemn and *grand*; but so was the occasion; nothing less was in agitation than what is called the rejection of the Jews, and the adoption of *all nations* upon the face of the earth: the phrase might seem *natural* to Jews, in describing conversion to a religion, the characteristic of which was,

to confer “*eternal Life*” on its votaries; it must needs seem highly decorous — “*Believed,*” is put for, becoming believers.

Archbishop *Sharp*ⁱ and Mr. *Parkhurst*^k understand by ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰωνίου, as many as were in a due *disposition* for eternal Life: a sense supported in a very respectable manner^l.

But if τεταγμένοι meant *destined*, the expression might mean no more than that all such, of those present, as were destined to be converted, were converted *then*: that is, the conversion of the Gentiles, as a solemn thing, might be referred, when it had actually happened, in the way already described, to the divine *purpose*. Being destined to *eternal Life*, might be used for being destined to *Christianity*; as Christianity produces eternal life of course, all things going right; no impediment arising on the part of the convert; being admitted into Christianity is often expressed by the word *Salvation*^m: which is generally equivalent to *eternal Life*. — As many as were destined to be *saved*, were admitted Christians. — Acts ii. 47ⁿ.

1 Theff. v. 9. is twice referred to by Archbishop *Usher* in one page^o: yet it is the conclusion of an *exhortation to arm*; therefore cannot, at least, exclude *human agency*. It, with what goes before, conveys to me this idea. Remember the state you are in; a state of *warfare*; you are encom-

passed

ⁱ Sermons, Vol. 3.

^k Greek Lexicon.

^l For Epictetus's sense of τεταγμένος, see afterwards, Sect. LXXXIX.

^m Art. IX. end of Sect. XXIV. — Art. XI. Sect. XIV. — Append. to Art. XI. Sect. VIII. — Locke on Eph. ii. 8. — Taylor's Key.

ⁿ One might suppose what effect the phrase would have had, which was used with regard to *Lydia's* conversion, Acts xvi. 14

^o Page 73. 7th Edit. Body of Divinity.

passed with enemies; they may come upon you by surprize; put on “the whole armour of God;” if you are surprized, you will incur *disgrace* and *punishment*: yet, believe me, that was not the *design* of your being placed in a state of warfare; it was, that you might attain to honour, victory, reward. If this be right, there is a likeness between this passage and James i. 2, 12. “My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations;” that is *trials*, difficult situations; “Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.” But no *doctrine* of *decrees* do I perceive.

In 2 Tim. i. 9. and what immediately precedes it, St. Paul exerts all his powers of *eloquence* to “*stir up*” Timothy to exercise his ministerial functions: St. Paul himself was a *prisoner* when he wrote, and under *affliction* on account of the Gospel; his minister seems to have been of a *mild* disposition^p, we read of his “*tears*,” of his drinking “no *wine*,” of his being “*ashamed*,” of a “*spirit of fear*;” such a situation of things was alarming; the ministers of the Church which we are told of, seem to have been very few, considering the number of countries in which Christianity was planted; *Timothy* was to be animated in the most forcible manner; the *Gospel* was to be set in its highest light; to be shewn as existing in the divine mind time without end. Let any one read our text with these ideas, and he will see much noble *vehemence* in it, but no speculative *teaching*; nothing didactic.

1 Pet.

^p Compare the dispirited expostulations of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 4. 9. 10. 14.

1 Pet. i. 2. has been explained before^q; with relation to our present subject, we have only to observe, that it is a fine *exordium* of an interesting and affecting Epistle. The author instead of addressing the converts by the bare appellation of “*Christians*,” enumerates the most striking *characteristics* of Christians; and in order to *raise* their minds the more, he directs their views *back* to the *foreknowledge* of the heavenly Father. But teaches nothing *new*; points to nothing which is not *past*.

I *conclude*, that to *refer* in an indefinite manner, the important things of religion, to the *purpose* of God, may be highly proper and *decorous*, on great occasions, as a part of *devotion* or *exhortation*; but that no *practical rule*, no *speculative proposition*, can be justly deduced from those passages of scripture, which have given birth to the doctrine of Predestination.

LXXXIV. I will now come to some proof of the *indirect* kind; or to the answering of a few *objections*: premising, that what was said in answer to objections under the preceding^r Article, might be of use here. The *immutability* of God used to be urged by the Predestinarians at the time of the Reformation, in favour of their notions.—It may be proper to keep in mind the objections in the tenth Article.

LXXXV. Is not what has here been laid down, too *intricate*^s for common people to attend to? It does not seem so to me. Indeed, common people do in reality know as much of the subject, as the learned;

^q Art. xi. Sect. xxii.

^r Art. xvi. Sect. xxx.—In Heylin, 557th page.—Oxford, page 64.

^s Art. x. Sect. xlv.

learned; if they would not frighten themselves with fancies: and as all ranks may feel uneasiness from what they hear of predestination, all should be provided with the remedy. In our method, all distinctions between absolute and conditional Predestination are set aside; all theory is dismissed; nothing remains, but what is to be dispatched by common feeling and common sense. Nay, no man is required as matter of duty, to think *anything* about predestination; only it is a pity any one should lose a species of meditation, which “is full of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort,” when rightly performed. Mr. *Whitehead* says, that
 ↙ sages formed civil *societies*,

By heaven's *permission*†, or by heav'n's *command*;
 and afterwards,

And men are *born* to trifle, or to reign.

In these two lines are couched all the mysteries of God's different *wills*, and of each man's *destiny*; but they give no sort of trouble, so long as men have no superstitious fear about them. If we would carry the feelings and sense with which we read these, to Scripture, that would occasion no greater perplexity. The plainest things seem abstruse whilst we are obliged to examine them minutely; but use soon makes examination unnecessary.

In short we seem to have little to do in referring

† See William Whitehead's Works, Vol. ii. Elegy iii. addressed to the present Earl Harcourt, (1796.)—Marmontel puts these words into the mouth of one of his characters in his Tale of La Bergere des Alpes, (Contes Moraux, Tome 2. p. 50.) “Puisque je *suis* Pasteur”—“il faut bien que je sois *né* pour l'être.”—Any common expressions, of the sort here quoted, used without any idea of their being abstruse, or of their having relation to religious disputes, are to our present purpose.

ferring events to God's purpose; but to let our feelings^u *ply freely* to the case.

LXXXVI. Is not the general language of scripture as if men were^x *free*? yes; and so is the language of our Article: "in our *doings*," we are to conceive ourselves free; though looking *back*, we may acknowledge our dependence on God in every thing. Our moral and *accountable* nature is immediately^y from God. The texts about predestination are *few*, and so are the occasions on which they ought to be used. It may not be *necessary* to use them *ever*. Even those men who favour predestination in the way of Theory, have such faint notions of it that they do not *act* from it. *Calvinists act* from free-will as much as other men: sometimes men may *evade* their duty, by *pretending* to act from a belief of destiny, but I do not call this acting from a such belief; they act from the notion of their being free, in every thing else.

Bishop *Butler*^z proves, that the doctrine of men's not being at liberty, if it could be true in *Theory*, must be false in *practice*: we must *act* as free; therefore there must be a fallacy somewhere.

LXXXVII. Is not the doctrine of Predestination hurtful to *Virtue*? No; Virtue is, in our Article, *presupposed*, before men are allowed to meddle with Predestination: those who are to hope that God's purpose will prove favourable to them, must "walk *righteously* in *good works*;" those who may
meditate

^u Hecuba does this, in the passage mentioned Sect. LXXIX. Il. Ω . 209, &c. she uses *Fate* to raise a *sentiment* of Consolation: refers an event back to fate, though she has no precise idea what Fate means.

^x Art. x. Sect. XLVI.

^y Sect. LXXIX.

^z Analogy I. 6.

meditate on the Christian dispensation as having been planned in the divine counsels, must not be “*carnal*,” but “*godly persons*.” And even these, according to our notions, ought only to dwell upon the decrees of God, *as far* as it will promote and strengthen their virtue.—Besides, those texts which mention predestination, are so *linked* with the mention of virtue and holiness^a, that no ingenuous man can take the former and leave the latter. If, on reading any text seeming to favour predestination, we ask, *whose* virtue could this hurt? we shall find that it could hurt no one’s, without some misapplication.

LXXXVIII. Does not the doctrine of Predestination interfere with the duty of *Prayer*^b? No more than with any other exertion for attaining good: no more than with any Virtue: indeed, according to the representation of our Article, referring important and sacred events to the divine purpose, is itself a species of *devotion*.

Of *Prophecy* I have said enough before^c.

LXXXIX. I would lastly propose the same question which I have proposed in some *preceding*^d Articles; will not the doctrine before us, *disgust* thinking men? I think it *ought not*; particularly if our observation be true, that the scriptures give *nothing new* upon it. If, as a Christian, I were asked what I *meant* by Predestination, I should give an answer which would suit natural religion,
as

^a Eph. i. 4. “he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be *holy* and without *blame*,” &c.—See also Eph. ii. 10. *created unto good works*, “*ordained* that we should *walk* in them:” and so in other passages.

^b Art. x. Sect XLVII.

^c Append. to Art. XI. Sect. xxvii.

^d Art. IX. Sect. XI. — Art. X Sect XI IX. — See the Heads of Lectures in each Article, and the Appendix to Art. XI. Sect. xxix.

as well as revealed. I should say, I mean that, which, in the divine mind, is the cause of order and regularity; of such order and regularity, as, in man, would be ascribed to foresight and pre-determination. To this, events have been ever ascribed, in all ages of the world. *Epietetus* uses *τεταγμενος* much like the Author of the Acts of the Apostles^c: and certainly reasonable men could, in no age of the world, *deny* or *limit*, the pre-determinations of God: If we can only turn reflexions upon the divine decrees to a *moral* purpose, we may be well satisfied.

xc. But while I am upon the subject of natural religion, I should take notice of the famous difficulty arising out of the Divine *Prescience*. If God foreknows my actions, they are fixed, though seemingly voluntary; therefore I have no *choice*, I am no *agent*. But, according to our notions, repeatedly^f stated, we have no right to ascribe to God a *certain knowledge* of our voluntary actions, if we have no such thing ourselves, nor any idea of such a thing: do we know that it is not an *impossibility*? We have *analogies*, by which we can *conjecture*, with great probability, how men will act; and

^c The passage, to which I mean to refer, I find in Cap. 21. in a Glasgow Edit. with a Latin translation, page 30.—In *Stanhope's* Edit. with *Simplicius*, about the 26th or 27th Chap.—*Simplicius*, in his comment, makes the passage belong rather to the *tenth Article*: to which might perhaps be referred the *Prayer*, with which *Simplicius* concludes his Comment.—(Lardner's Testimonies.)

Epiet. Enchir. Cap. 22. Των δε βελτιστων σοι φαινομενων ετως εχει, ως υπο θεου τεταγμενος εις ταυτην την ταξιν.

Here the true end of referring actions to God, seems to be discerned: not speculative truth, but moral feelings; assisting virtuous principles of human agency, and mixing it with divine.

^f Art. xvi. beginning of Sect. xxx.

and God must have something of the same sort in an unbounded degree; but these must, by their nature, fall short of certain knowledge. This is a different thing from *denying* the Prescience of God, as the Socinians are said to do: God has certainly all *possible* knowledge; but if he has a certain foreknowledge of our voluntary actions, it is a thing of a kind^s of which we know nothing; and therefore if we admit it, and act from it, we are answerable for the consequences. We must not, through a fear of detracting from the wisdom of God, endanger our own morals; they are the principal objects of the divine administration.

XCI. I would also recall^b to your mind, that there may be two different *trains* of thought, seemingly inconsistent with each other, and yet in either you may go on without coming to an end. Study the regularity of God's government, the constancy of the *rules* or laws of nature; you come to no end:—Study the *freedom* of voluntary agents, and the interpositions of God's particular *Providence*; again you come to no end; what remains, but that here, as in former instancesⁱ, we leave two things to exist together as they may, though we are unable to make them fit and suit each other? assuring ourselves, that there *is* some way of reconciling them, though we may not understand it; now, or ever.

What we have said of the Divine Prescience and Immutability^k, may put us into a right way of understanding the *Repentance*^l of God, and other

^s It is one of the *secret things* which belong unto the Lord our God. Deut. xxix. 29.

^b Book III. Chap. xv. Sect. 1x.

ⁱ Sect. v. with references.

^k Art. xv. beginning of Section xxx.

^l Compare Num. xxiii. 19. with Jer. xv.ii. 8, 10.

other things ascribed to the Deity, which seem rather to belong to man. Each is, (as before, repeatedly) the cause, in God, of those effects, which, in man, would be ascribed to that quality: and each quality is ascribed to God in any situation, as far as, in that situation, it is a *Perfection*.

We speak of *Rules* of the Divine Government; but, in strictness, we know no such: when anything goes on *uniformly*, we presume and suppose a rule; but we know not the mind of the Lord; the unexpected violation of that uniformity which we have observed, may be as much from rule, as the uniformity itself.

I conclude this topic of *natural religion*, with observing, that I do not see how the divine pre-determination makes any difference in the doctrine of *Liberty and Necessity*, which was laid down^m under the tenth Article; and therefore I do not say anything here on that subject.

XCII. I now come to say something of the Doctrine of *Reprobation*. As in the tenth Article I reserved to the last, the subject of referring *evil* to God, so I do in the present Article.—Evil has been referred to God as *inspired*ⁿ by him, or *decreed*, the former part was treated in the tenth Article, the latter must be mentioned here.

I should imagine, that as we have already seen the manner of referring *good* to God, if we gave some account of the *etymology* of reprobation, and shewed in what respects referring *evil* to God is more *complicated* than referring good, (and therefore how any scriptural expression ascribing evil, should be construed *less strictly* than one ascribing good,) we should, with the help of what has been already said, be prepared to examine any particular *texts* of scripture.

Probs

^m Art. x. Sect. XLIX.

ⁿ Art. x. Sect. L.

Probo signifies to *try*, and so, in the common course of things, to *approve*: a *tried friend* is an approved friend. — *Reprobo* is, *after trial*, to throw away, as refuse, that which has not answered the trial.

In the trial of *metals*, what is thrown away, is in English, called *dross*, in Greek^o, *αδοκιμον* (*αργυριον*). — In any contests, in *running*, &c. the loser was called *αδοκιμος*; to this St. Paul seems to allude when he says, of himself, *μηπως αλλοις κηρυξας αυτος αδοκιμος γενωμαι*^p. *Man* is in a state of *probation*; if he does tolerably well, he is *δοκιμος*, but if he is so bad as to be deemed incorrigible, he is *αδοκιμος*, or *reprobate*^q. I do not see why *Locke* and *Taylor* should run away from this sense; there is nothing more frightful in it, than in the expression, “*he gave them up*;” when it is seen what they were given up to.

Reprobation seems generally to give more alarm, by the *sound*, than *condemnation*; yet one had rather be neglected as *refuse*, than adjudged to positive punishment. A man may be *comparatively* reprobated; as when another who is *preferred* to him, is said to be *elected*; reprobated, being the correlative.—Nay, one might conceive one who is *reprobated* in comparison of *one* man, to be *elected*, in comparison of another. As a thing thrown aside, may be used for some other purpose from that it was tried for; and in preference to something else.

XCIII. The difference between referring *good* and *evil* to God, seems to consist in this; God may have *evil* ascribed to him, because none can
happen

^o Prov. xxv. 4.—If. i. 22. according to the LXX.

^p So that with us, a *distanced horse*, is a *reprobate horse*.

^q In our *Homily*, *reproveable* is the word for *reprobate*.—On Faith, beginning; from Titus i. 16.

happen which he does not *permit*, and which, therefore, does not, in some sense, make a *part* of his *Government*; (and every part of his *Government* is *good*;) or because there is no evil which he does not *control*, so as to prevent its operating beyond certain *limits*^r. Evil may also be ascribed to God, when he *punishes* it, and thereby produces *good*; but more directly, when the evil ascribed is used as a *punishment*. It is also ascribed to him when he brings *incidental* good out of it. *Language* must, to be sure, be *far* from *literal*, which ascribes *evil* to God in *any* sense; but it is usually a *fact* which is ascribed, and that fact is good in some *respects* and evil in others. *At bottom*, it is only *good* which is ascribed to God, or what is good to him who ascribes it; and common sense sees this, though it may not be conscious of every step in the process. When God only *permits* evil, there is, no doubt, good, if it were only in the liberty, accountableness, &c. and in every other case just now mentioned, the good appears more plainly.

But *good* is ascribed to God more simply and *directly*; it is unmixed; he not only permits it, but *rewards* and encourages it; so that both the liberty of conferring and attaining good, and the encouragements to use that liberty, are his.

Though *language* in which evil is ascribed to God, is more imperfect than language in which good is ascribed; yet even the latter is capable of being perverted:—God is “the author of *peace*;” then what occasion, says a man who wants to *evade* his duty, for me to be a *Peace-maker*?—perhaps
this

^r Some references might be made from this Section, and the next to the 50th Section of the tenth Article; but the best method would be, to look at that before reading this part.

this evasion might be too gross to pass; but others do pass, which are of the same *kind*.

When one man is *preferred* to another, we sometimes hear the comparative disadvantage called *evil*, *injury*, or even *punishment*. Of such evil God may be the immediate author. He may prefer one of his creatures to another, or make them into different *ranks*, in any kind of life. (Rom. ix. 15.)

There seems to be Reprobation spoken of *à priori* and *à posteriori*.

XCIV. Some have had a notion, that God, by a *direct act*, ordains a number of men to misery; but there is no warrant in scripture for saying any such thing. Take an *evil*, a *fact*, and you may refer it to the divine government, with that indistinctness which your ignorance demands, if you can answer a good *purpose* by so referring it; if you can excite a pious or virtuous *sentiment*; but not otherwise. An attention to *circumstances*, is required in referring *evil* as well as in referring good*; nay, a greater degree of attention. But let us take some *instance*.

Let us take first the *rejection of the Jews*; as a great part of the doctrine of reprobation has been taken from scriptural expressions relating to that event. The *plain fact*, if told in common language, was, the Jews, or part of them, rejected the Christian religion: but when this fact was taken in a religious light, and considered as part of God's government, and referred to God, the expression then was, *God rejected the Jews*; which to the Jews themselves would seem natural and easy language.

The Jews, in this case, were *reprobated*; and important good, no doubt, they lost;—but they might

* Consider Matt. xxv. 41. in this light, as before, Section LXXX.

might any of them embrace Christianity when they pleased; and then, when their conversion was spoken of in a religious light, and as part of divine government, they would be said to have been *elect*, *predestinated*, according to God's purpose. In both cases, of rejecting and embracing Christianity, the *fact* must come *first*, and then be referred back to the divine counsels; in such reference language implying divine agency would be rightly used.

xcv. Now let us take a few particular *texts*.— I will take them chiefly, or entirely, from Archbishop *Usher's* proof of Reprobation¹, which he favours. I do not perceive Jude 4, amongst his texts; which I wonder at.

Prov. xvi. 4. gives me no other idea than this: God's government is universal; what he *created* he always designed to superintend: he created all things as subjects of his government; it extends to the punishment of the wicked. Though God *hates* sin, yet the permission of it, and the punishment of it when committed, is as much a part of his plan, as even the rewarding of goodness.

Let us now go to the *ninth Chapter to the Romans*, and first take the 13th verse, "*Jacob* have I loved, but *Esau* have I hated." This *whole chapter* is written to prove, that God might *set aside* the Jews, or leave them out of the kingdom of the Messiah, that is, *reprobate* them, notwithstanding his *promises* to their forefathers. Their notion seems to me to have been this;—the Christian religion cannot be the true, or if it is, we need not be anxious about it, because we must be of the true, in consequence of the promises of God. No, says St. Paul, that reason is not valid; you cannot depend upon *descent*, because you inherit from
Jacob,

¹ Body of Divinity, page 73, 74. 7th edition.

Jacob, and he was not regularly descended from Abraham; *Eſau* was his elder brother:—that inſtance of quitting the direct line, St. Paul well knew, the Jews would not object to; the preference of the deſcendants of *Jacob*, that is, of the *Iſraelites*, to thoſe of *Eſau*, or the *Edomites*, was a favourite ſubject: but, ſay the Jews, *Eſau* was diſinherited, becauſe of his bad *character*: that, replies the Apoſtle, was not the reaſon; for the diſinheriting was announced before the birth of the twins; therefore God may make a ſimilar change when it ſeems good to him. The expreſſion of the Apoſtle, “*Jacob* have I loved, but *Eſau* have I *hated*,” is, very properly, borrowed from a *Prophet*”; and the language of the prophet, means, that the *Iſraelites* were a much more proſperous *people* than the *Edomites*:—there is not the leaſt in the paſſage of any *individuals*, or of any puniſhment in a future ſtate.

The 17th verſe is another ſupport* of Reprobation: It contains another inſtance, which the Jews would readily adopt, the puniſhment of the *enemies* of their forefathers, the puniſhment of the *Agyptians*, and *Pharaoh* their King.—It is mentioned in the Book of *Exodus*†. God *raiſed up* *Pharaoh* in order to ſhew his power; the *plain ſaci* was, while *Pharaoh* was under the rod, under any of the plagues, he was *humble* and ſubmiſſive; when they were remitted, he *exalted*‡ *himſelf*, and grew arrogant again.

But though in plain language he *exalted himſelf*, yet when the tranſactions were conſidered as a part of God’s government, the expreſſion was, *God* exalted him, or *raiſed him up*; by allowing him that

† Mal. i. 2, 3. *Obadiah*, ſeems all on this ſubject.

* *Rhemifts* on the place.—*Uſher*, page 74.

† *Exod.* ix. 16.

‡ *Exod.* ix. 17.

that relaxation from punishment, which occasioned his insolence. And this was very suitable to Jewish phraseology. The effect of Pharaoh's insolence was, to make God's protection of the Israelites much more striking, and much more *celebrated* than it would otherwise have been; which is, in like manner, as a part of divine government, thus expressed, "*that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.*"—Now why might not God, in the same sense, *raise up the Jews?* the more they exalted themselves, and the more obstinate they grew in rejecting the Gospel, the more would the fame of the Gospel be declared throughout the world. Indeed the situation of the *Jews* has been, and is, most wonderful; and has, in fact, greatly assisted in proving the divine authority of the Gospel. But the passage before us is so little to Reprobation, in the usual sense of the word, that we have lost all idea of reprobation merely by examining it.

We must take one more passage out of this famous chapter; the 22d verse: "*vessels of wrath, fitted to destruction:*" but we must look back, perhaps as far as our last instance, the 17th verse. My idea of the whole passage, is this;—a *taunting Jew* had said; we make God's name^a to be glorious? do we so? then God cannot be angry with *us*; in truth, as yet, (continuing the sarcasm) we have suffered no *great* harm!—On this the Apostle is indignant; Insolence! he exclaims, You know your cavil to be insolent, as well as sophistical: but dare you insult *God!* are not you, according to your own prophets, in his hands, as clay in the hand of the Potter? may not you be appointed to a more or less noble office? He might *destroy* you,
and

^a Ezek. xviii. a Jew makes a taunting cavil; see the ninth Art. Sect. xxxviii.

and he does not; is this your complaint? forgive him this wrong: it may not continue; *He* only knows how near your destruction is; *He* only knows how soon you may weep over your *Temple*, and find not one stone left upon another! Because destruction is not actually arrived, do you conclude that Christianity is not the kingdom of the true Messiah? that would be a most unwarrantable conclusion. Remember how God acted with the *Ægyptians*; if, in the same manner, he makes your refusal of the Gospel, the means of promoting its *honour*, you cannot, after praising the measure in one case, blame it in another, exactly similar.

Thus we see, that the passage has no relation to *individuals*, or to *Christians*, or to punishment in a *future life*. There is some appearance as if St. Paul had not been wholly without an idea of the destruction of Jerusalem; but how far he was informed of that event, does not appear. One thing seems evident, that St. Paul, by his reasoning was endeavouring to promote *conversion* to Christianity; and from thence we may conclude, that any *individual* Jew might have escaped from any kind of destruction which was impending over the Jewish *people*.

We have now only 1 Pet. ii. 8. and Jude 4, remaining: they are so much alike, that I will take them together: indeed they seem so little different from Prov. xvi. 4. that if that is explained, so are these. All three consist in referring evil to God, in order to shew, that the most daring offenders cannot *exempt* themselves from the restraints of his Government. You will find learned^b and ingenious solutions of them all; but I am most inclined to solve them from what has been laid down,
about

^b In Benfon, I.e Clerc, Whitby on the five points, &c.

about the difference between referring^c good and evil to the Supreme Being. When men run into great crimes, they are apt to *triumph* in their freedom from those fetters, in which they fancy the good are confined: nothing tends more to humble them, and make them sober-minded, than to make them feel, that they are totally under the government of God; and that, though they are really guilty, yet their very crimes may be instruments of good in the hands of God; this makes them feel impotent and despicable; and the more if they are made sensible of the *boundless duration* of the divine schemes of Government.—These are the ideas which seem to me to prevail in the minds of the sacred writers when they throw out, “*appointed*” to this evil; “of old *ordained* to this condemnation.”

And we should really consider what a world we should be in, if God was *ignorant* of man’s wickedness; or if the profligate were really *lawless*; or if evil was simply evil; if no good came out of evil; or if a sin was never made the punishment of a sin. It frequently happens, that the *good* which springs out of evil incidentally is so great, that we dare not wish the evil had not happened. To be sure when we express God’s permission, regulation, improvement of evil, by speaking as if he were the *author* of evil, our language is very imperfect; but so indeed is the generality of our language; often, I apprehend, not less imperfect: custom reconciles us to it; and practising upon it, serves to define it: the case might soon be the same with language ascribing evil to God. It has been easy and familiar to the Jews; it might become so to us.

XCVI. At

^c Sect. xciii.

xcvi At length we come to our *Application*. If what has been^d said is just, we may have here an Article of *natural religion*^e.

‘ I have already^f returned thanks to Providence for making me a member of my religious *association*: Its laws and regulations must improve me and bring me to happiness; but I cannot think that those laws existed *first* when I first knew them.—how *long* then may the plan have existed in the divine mind?—the heavenly planner only knows!

‘ When I reflect on the blessed Institution, as *settled* by divine wisdom, before all time, I am filled with sacred *wonder*: could I flatter myself that I was a worthy *member* of it, I should be happy; I try my *principles* and my *conduct*; and in proportion as they satisfy me, I feel a *confidence* in God as the protector of it, and an *affectionate* gratitude towards him.—Yet I can see, that if a *bad* man was to act from a notion that all things are settled, it could only lead him to *despair*, or *licentiousness*.’

‘ No; the decrees of God may be an interesting subject of *contemplation* to a good mind; but *practice* must spring from the endeavours of man, animated by the hopes of *pleasing* God, and being *rewarded* by him.’

xcvii. A Christian might say thus;

‘ That I am a member of the Church of Christ, is matter of sincere rejoicing to me: what a privilege! to be *invited* into such a society, to be considered

^d End of Sect. LXXXII.

^e These forms proceed according to the hint at the end of Sect. XLII: first comes the *fact*, then the *cause*, in God’s purpose, formed before any assignable time: then the good and bad *use* of *contemplating* God’s purposes, or *decrees*: then the nature of *practical rules*.

^f Art. XIII. Sect. XXVII. — Art. XII. Sect. XXVI. — Art. XI. Sect. XXX.

considered as free from any great *fault*, to be regarded in the light of a *brother* to my Lord and Saviour! to be led naturally to *imitate* his perfections, and to be put into a way which leadeth to eternal life!—The importance of the blessing still grows upon me when I consider, that the Church of Christ has been an object of attention in the Divine mind ever since the Fall of our first Parent.—So far I am expressly taught; but had not the Christian dispensation been conceived or planned *before* the Fall? I must not say or think it: I look back, and time keeps opening upon me: I can fix no period when it seems at all probable that the gracious design had a beginning.’

‘Christianity, existing in the divine mind before the foundation of the world, and opening gradually upon mankind, is the most *august* and *affecting* object which an human being can contemplate.—And when an examination of my heart and actions gives me any reason to think that I am really a member of it, my *hope* is confirmed, and my devout *affections* enlivened, by the *constancy* of the divine benevolence. Nevertheless, it is intelligible how an opinion, that all things are fixed by the Deity, may lead a man into a state of *despondency*, or into a *negligent* and dissolute course of life.’

‘Though therefore I am happy in having such a subject of *meditation*, to raise my mind to piety and devotion; yet I shall endeavour to strengthen and improve my *practical* principles by attending to the *promises* of God, and to the revealed descriptions of that conduct, which he wishes man to pursue, for the improvement of human happiness.’

XCVIII. With regard to *mutual concessions*, I would not say much;—*Dupin*^s makes no objection to this Article: there is great room for *candour* in debating

^s Mosheim, Vol. 6. page 77, octavo.

debating about it. If divine agency does not *exclude* human, nor human^h divine, and both are *indistinct*, different *modes* of referring events, to God and man, should be allowed; and different *phrases*, according to mens different feelings and conceptions. St. John seems to have been of an affectionate temper, and that influences his stile.— And if you and your adversary may get into two different *trains*, of thought and expression, and both beⁱ right, to what purpose is dispute? Our form of assent seems to be such (as we said on a former occasion^k) as an *Heathen* would subscribe to, except in those particulars which must be *common* to *all Christians*; and if it be so, no denomination of Christians need dissent from it. But till it appear how our method would be accepted, one cannot tell what concessions to propose.— Even *Usher*, speaking^l of Reprobation, seems to have had some ideas of referring evil to God, which might, with some tempering, be made to coalesce with ours. Indeed our method has favoured Reprobation as much as Election; and possibly might be acceptable to some as setting aside *no texts* of scripture, in order to favour commonly-received notions of human^m Philosophy.

XCIX. We come, in the last place, to *Improvements*. Shall we, in imitation of *Melancthon*, strike out this seventeenth Article? I had much rather our method of explaining and defending it, were accepted. The mind wants something to *lean* upon with regard to the divine Counsels; and those passages of Scripture which speak of them. The disquisitions and meditations on such passages might

^h Sect. LXXIX. LXXXVI.

ⁱ See Sect. XCI. referring to Book III. Chap. xv. Sect. IX.

^k Art. x. Sect. LIII.

^l Page 74, Body of Divinity, 7th Edition.

^m Dr. Powell's 3d Charge.

might be called a fine species of *devotion*: they are all sentiment and sublimity.—One would do a good deal to suit weak brethren; but there is no sufficient reason why those who are *not* weak should lose such sublime devotion: especially as those who are perplexed by meditations on the benign purposes and plans of the Supreme Being are under no sort of *obligation* to dwell upon them. (Sect. LXXXVI.)

A *transposition* of the former and latter parts of the firstⁿ paragraph, might prevent some wrong conceptions.

It must be *tried*, in Natural Theology, Heathen writings, the Scriptures, and common^o discourse, whether the observations which have been hazarded are just.

c. When *Milton* assigned to his *fallen* angels the employment of reasoning^p on our present subjects, I hope he did not mean to deny, that, when *rightly* conceived and made the subject of our contemplation, they are “full of sweet, pleasant, and *unspeakable*^q *comfort*.”

ⁿ Sect. XLIII.

^o Art. x. Sect. LIV.

^p Paradise Lost, Book ii. 557.

^q It may be a satisfaction to some hearers of the Lectures, who took notes, to know, that the five last Sections of this 17th Article, were omitted April 1, 1791, for want of time; even though the Lecture that day was supernumerary.



ARTICLE XVIII.

OF OBTAINING ETERNAL SALVATION ONLY BY
THE NAME OF CHRIST.

THEY also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, That every Man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

I. In treating of this Article we will proceed in our usual method, though much of what was said upon the thirteenth Article might be applied here. The thirteenth seems to relate to *individuals*, and this to members of *Society*; but yet as these may be the same persons, their neglecting Christianity in the capacity of individuals, must be nearly connected with their neglecting it in their social character.

According to what was said at the opening of the Introduction to the second part of our Articles, the THIRD PART begins here.

It has probably been the custom in many different ages to say, that all honest men will be saved, whatever religion they may be of; but this sentiment must be most prevalent when men are most

most divided into religious parties; then the difficulty of forming a judgment, is most striking:—it must, on this account, have been very prevalent at the time of our *Reformation*, and that æra is probably of the most consequence to us at present; nevertheless, if we make historical remarks, we may as well look back as far as we can.

II. Bishop *Burnet* says, that “The impiety that is condemned in this Article was first taught by some of the Heathen Orators and *Philosophers* in the fourth Century,” who pleaded, that God was more honoured by *various modes* of worship, than if all men agreed in one mode.—I should rather apprehend, that the compilers of our Article would have chiefly in view some error held by *Christians*, or by such as might have the scriptures proposed and urged to them; scriptural authorities would only affect persons so situated.

Philaster does give an account of a Sect called *Rhetorians*, who held, that *all sects* were right; and some have imagined, that these were *Rhetoricians*, or Orators of the fourth Century; but *Philaster* lived in the^a fourth Century himself, and places this sect much earlier. Our business does not seem to be to enter into nice questions on ecclesiastical History; and therefore I shall content myself with referring you to *Lardner’s* account^b of *Rhetorians*, and with observing, that though *Augustin* thinks it incredible that any sect should justify all sects; it has often appeared to me, that each sect *sets out* on some right principle, though it may afterwards go too far, or deviate from the right path.

III. We may now take notice of the *fifth Century*. One part of the *Pelagian* controversy was about

^a A. D. 380, *Lardner*.

^b Works, Vol. 9, page 232.

about the *universality of Redemption*; was intended to determine, whether *all men* were *redeemed* by the Death of Christ, and whether all men were *called*. I believe disputes on such matters referred chiefly to *Predestination*; and were intended to determine whether Christ could be said to have died for the *reprobate*; but yet perhaps they might have *some* relation to our present Article; for if all men were so redeemed by Christ as to be upon *one footing*, it would not signify what religion any man was of.—It seems, moreover, as if the Pelagians had held notions which were not approved by the orthodox^c, about the justification and Salvation of the holy men mentioned in the Old Testament. Yet this Salvation was, in some measure, ascribed to *Christ*; to their having *foreseen* his coming.

iv. *Mohammed* lived partly in the sixth Century, and partly in the seventh, (571—633). Bp. *Burnet* observes, that the Koran represents “all men in all religions” as “equally acceptable to God, if they serve him faithfully in them.” He also remarks, that this candour was intended as an *inducement* to embrace Mohammedanism, and was followed by great severity towards those who were desirous to apostatize. We may give a passage from the Koran to our purpose; “Sciendum generalitèr, quoniam omnis rectè vivens, Judæus seu Christianus, seu lege suâ relicta ad aliam tendens, omnis scilicet Deum adorans, bonique gestor, indubitanter divinum amorem assequetur^d.”

v. But, for the reason already assigned, we are chiefly concerned with the age of the *Reformation*.

In

^c See Augustin's Works, Ed. Antv. Vol. 10.—Appendix, page 75. in a Pelagian Creed, or Confession of Faith.

^d Azoara 2d. page 10, Edit. Bibliandri. Zurich 1564, quoted by Forbes, Lib. 4. cap. 10.

In the *Racovian*^e Catechism it is laid down, that since the coming of Christ no one is justified without faith in him, but before his coming, good men were justified by faith in^f *God*.—*Erasmus* not only speaks of *Cicero* as inspired^g, but as probably saved.—*Paulus Jovius* died in the year 1552, when King Edward's Articles were published; in his lives of famous men, he gives an account of *Galeottus Martius*, who was persecuted by some monks (though accidentally protected by Pope Chrystus, or Sixtus the Fourth, as an old acquaintance) for teaching, in a Book of sacred and moral philosophy, “omnibus gentibus, integrè et puritèr veluti ex justâ naturæ lege viventibus, æternos cœlestis auræ fructus paratos:” &c. this person died in 1478.—We have already^h mentioned the decrees of the Council of *Trent*; I do not see any thing more to our purpose than what was quoted under the thirteenth Articleⁱ.

The *Scotch* confession seems very strenuous on the necessity of being of the true Christian church in order to attain^k Salvation. “Extra quam” (ecclesiam) “nec est vita nec eterna felicitas.—Itaque prorsùs detestamur illorum blasphemiam qui dicunt homines viventes secundùm equitatem et justitiam, quamcunque religionem professi fuerint, servatos

^e This quoted Art. XIII. Sect. vi.

^f De prophetico Jesu Christi munere; or page 212.

^g Mentioned Art. x. Sect. 11. Ep. ad Jo. Ulatt, in Cic. Tusc. Disp.

^h Art. XIII. Sect. v.

ⁱ To what was quoted Art. XIII. Sect. v. from *Hume's* History, should be added the latter part of *Hume's* sentence; which belongs to the 18th Article: “Any one who presumes to maintain, that an Heathen can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.”—*Hume's* Hist. 4to. Vol. 3, page 334, 1st Edit. quoted by Gilpin in his *Life of Cranmer*, page 159.

^k Sect. 16. De Ecclesiâ.

servatos iri." The Scotch might be the more zealous, as being inclined to *Calvinism*: to such it must be shocking to have any one speak as if there were no *elect*.

The authors of the *Reformatio Legum* are also very warm; perhaps thinking the notion opposed an affront to Christianity. "*Horribilis*¹ est et inanis illorum audacia, qui contendunt in omni religione vel sectâ quam homines professi fuerint salutem illis esse sperandam," &c.—In the same chapter is a declaration against the notion that *all* men shall be saved *at last*, after undergoing some punishment; which notion is the subject of the last of King Edward's Articles. Perhaps it might seem, that universal salvation, though after some evil suffered, was not agreeable to the scriptural accounts of salvation by Christ.

This *Reformatio Legum* professes to censure only hæreses actually prevailing at that time: as appears from the Epilogus after the twenty-second chapter.

VI. We have sometimes carried our historical remarks lower than the times when the Articles were compiled; if we do this in the present case, we may take notice of *Milton*, *Hobbes*, and *Pope*.

Milton may not at first, seem a proper instance, as he did not, in the latter part of his life, adhere to *any* sect, but thought he might be saved though separate from all sects; but if the fault condemned in the Article be that of not founding our hopes of Salvation on our being members of the *Church* of Christ, and on our acting as such; the great Poet might run into that fault by depriving himself of opportunities of performing *social acts* of Christian worship. His Biographer, Dr. Johnson, seems to disapprove of his conduct in this respect.

Hobbes

¹ De Hæresibus, Cap. 11.

Hobbes is mentioned by Bishop Burnet as requiring no man to take farther care what Religion he is of, than that it be the religion established in his own country by *law*.—I would mention Mr. *Pope* only in order to introduce those two lines of his, which may have contributed, perhaps more than he intended, to promote the notion condemned in our Article;

For modes of Faith let graceless Zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose Life is in the right.
Near end of 3d Ep.—Essay on Man.

We might again^m read the passage where Dr. Priestley affirms, that “nothing is requisite to make men” object of God’s favour, “but such moral conduct as he has made them capable of;” —with what follows.

VII. After History we come to *Explanation*.

Ought this eighteenth to be considered as belonging to the *second*ⁿ or *third part* of our thirty-nine Articles? I think, rather to the *third*; it seems a kind of *Introduction*; and the idea this; a man must not think that he may be sure of Salvation as a member of *any* sect, or religious *Society*, which he may happen to engage in: Salvation can only be hoped for, according to the *Scriptures*, from being a member of the *true Church of Christ*, whatever may be the right idea of that Church: and what it *is*, is settled in the subsequent Articles.—The *Scotch* confession introduces the error opposed in our eighteenth Article, under the subject *Ecclesia*.

In

^m Near the end of Art. xii; from Hist. Corr. Vol. 1, page 279, end of Atonement.

ⁿ These *Parts* see opening of Introduction to second Part: before Art. 1x. and opening of this 18th Article.

In the Articles of 1552, indeed, there is an Article *between*° our eighteenth and nineteenth, against evading the *Moral Law*, either under pretence of its being *Mosaical*, or of immediate *inspiration*; and so the connexion might be, though mere virtue cannot *save* men, it is not to be *neglected*:—in 1562, the part about the moral law of Moses was added to the *seventh* Article, (about the Old Testament) and the part about Inspiration was omitted.

The *title* of our eighteenth Article speaks of obtaining Salvation “by the *Name* of Christ:” in compliance with the text which is introduced into the Article. The force of that expression may therefore be noticed when we come to that text.

VIII. “*They ALSO are to be had ACCURSED,*” —to what does the word “*also*” refer? no persons had been pronounced accursed before?—but several sets of persons had been *condemned* for holding different errors, though not by the same expression. In the fourteenth Article we have, “Works of *supererogation* cannot be taught without *arrogance* and *impiety*;”—In the sixteenth, “they are to be *condemned* which say they can no more sin,” &c.—In the seventeenth, a doctrine is said to set men on a *precipice* from which they are liable to fall headlong into despair, or licentiousness:—in the eighteenth, “they *also* are to be had *accursed*,” &c. “*damnandi*”—*et*—“*anathematizandi*.”

Indeed it might be proper to take notice of the meaning of the word “*they* :” the persons spoken of must be supposed, at least, to *know* of Christianity, if not to be, in some sense, *Christians* : in

1552

° Why should Bishop Sparrow, in his Articles of 1562, insert this Article of 1552 before our 18th? was he unwilling to interrupt the series of Articles relating to the *Church*?

1552 the title was, “*We* must trust to obtain eternal salvation only by the name of Christ:” and in the body of the Article we have, “holy *Scripture* doth set out unto *us* only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.” This cannot belong to those who know nothing of the Holy Scriptures^p: the persons condemned are supposed to make a wrong choice, to rest their hopes of happiness on a wrong foundation, when they *might* rest them upon a right one.

If it be said, that “*sect*,” and natural *virtue*, considered in regard to a power of conferring salvation, are opposed to *Christ*, and therefore *sect* may mean a religion *not* Christian; I answer, there may be sects not Christian, which may be within *reach* of arguments for Christianity, though too careless in attending to such arguments: and there may be *Christian* sects too careless about approaching as near to the *Truth* as possible. (Art. XIII. Sect. 1. near the end.)—Probably at the *Reformation* many took up this mode of talking; it signifies but little whether you are Papist or Protestant, or Puritan, or even a Jew, if you are a good *man*.—And many might float about, as kind of nominal Christians, without paying much attention to *any* reasonings on religious subjects.—This might retard the Reformation, as well as seem an affront to Christianity. One cannot conceive a person to be strongly impressed with the idea, that he can only be saved by being a member of the Church of Christ; and not anxious to know wherein genuine Christianity consists.

“*To be had accursed*,” in the Latin, “*anathematizandi sunt* ;”—are to be anathematized. Something was said of the meaning of this expression,

in

^p See opening to the thirteenth Article.

in the third Book^q. It has an harsh sound, but should be, like all other expressions, interpreted by *custom*. Now it has been very much the custom to condemn errors in such form as this; if any one holds such an error, "*anathema sit*," let him be accursed: we may see instances in the acts of the Council of *Trent*, or of any other Council.—And in our readings on Bishop *Pearson*, we meet with^r *Cyrrill's* twelve anathematisms, against Nestorius, and those of the Council of Sirmium and others, against^s *Photinus*. Indeed this has been the *established* language of the Church. Its general meaning seems to have been, that men who ran into such particular errors, did not deserve to be united to the holy Church of Christ, did not appear to be so in the sight of God;—but ought to be looked upon as *separated* from it: and as anathemas accompanied *excommunications*, the ideas of them became^t *associated*. This account agrees with the expressions in Bingham's *Antiquities*; where the expression, "cast out of the Church," used by Pope Vigilius, seems equivalent to, "*anathema esto*," used by the first Council of Bracara.—And in *Wall's*^u translations from Augustin, we find *renounced* and *anathematized* put as meaning the same thing.—This anathematizing was not only the language of the high *Orthodox* party, but of *Pelagius* himself^x.—It was indeed taken from the New Testament, which often took its expressions from the Old. Consult Rom. ix. 3. — 1 Cor. xvi. 22. — Gal.

^q Chap. ix. Sect. i. Vol. 2, page 97.

^r Page 325, Fol.

^s Page 120. Fol.

^t See Du Fresnoie under *Excommunicatio*. The *excommunicatio major* and *Anathema* are said, I think, to mean the same thing.

^u On Infant Baptism, page 188, 4to. or 1. 16. 24.

^x See his Creed, in Augustin's Works, Vol. 10. Pref. Edit. Antv.—Vossius's Hist. Pel. l. 1.—Wall 1. 19. 29.

Gal. i. 8.—Rev. xxii. 3.—In Rom. ix. 3. *accursed* answers to the marginal *separated*; *αναθεμα* is from *ανατιθημι* to separate. *Αναθεμα* amongst the *Heathens* signified anything put aside, or separated for the use of the Gods; that is in effect, most commonly, for *destruction*. *Sacer*, means, set apart, or *devoted*, in the sense of *curfed*. In 1 Cor. xvi. 22. St. Paul uses both the term of the LXX, *αναθεμα*, and the Hebrew *maran-atha*^y, *curfed art thou*; changing, according to custom, the final *m* of *מָרָא* into *n*.—In Gal. i. 8. *αναθεμα* seems to imply separation, devoting, curse.—It is on Rev. xxii. 3. that *Hammond* gives his explanation of *αναθεμα*, and makes it relate to *excommunication*.

In the *Old Testament*, *הָרֵם* generally, if not always, implies separation for the purpose of destruction. And with us, *devoted*, conveys the same idea: yet *Corban* amongst the Jews, *oblation*, from *קָרַב* to approach, implied something consecrated and *not* to be destroyed; but when anything was devoted to destruction, there was a previous separation of it, either actual, or supposed. The *Heathen*^z Idols were actually set apart and devoted;—the city^a of Jericho, when devoted to the Lord, or accursed, is *supposed* to be set apart; the besiegers are commanded to “*keep*” themselves “*from the accursed thing*.”—*Christ*, by an ignominious death, was “*made a curse*^b for us,” was devoted to destruction: “*curse*” often means a devoted^c *person*.

From hence we may conceive how the early Christians might come to use the word *curse*, or *anathema*,

^y Parkhurst's Lexicon: this is Parkhurst's etymology, but not the common one.

^z Deut. vii. 25, 26.

^a Joshua vi. 17, 18.

^b Gal. iii. 13.—Deut. xxi. 23.

^c See Hammond on Rev. xxii. 3.

anathema, and how they might esteem any cooler word, a sign of lukewarmness or disrespect.— Though we should not omit to mention the *example* which they had in Deut. xxvii. 14—26.

The expression of the Article in 1552 was, “They also are to be had accursed *and abhorred*,” &c. which looks more like the “*damnandi*” of the sixteenth Article, than “*accursed*” alone.

IX. “*That presume to say that every man shall be saved*”—what is here blamed, may not perhaps appear, without some attention: the words may lead some to think, that it is called an accursed thing to *hope* that virtuous Heathens *may* be saved: but they do really express a different idea; they do not blame candor, but *presumption*; it would be presumption to *acquit* a culprit, or reus, without authority, as well as to *condemn* one; we need not condemn, but we must not acquit: to do either properly, we should be *judges*. It is neither our business to *confine* the mercy of God in its operations, nor to *dispense* it according to our fancies.—

Nay, suppose that in particular cases it were allowed us strongly to hope, that the divine goodness would be exerted, yet even that falls far short of the presumption of affirming that “*every man shall be*” made eternally happy in a way prescribed by ourselves.

X. “*By the Law or Sect which he professeth*,” &c. Bishop *Burnet* distinguishes between being saved *by* a law, and *in* a law;—and with reason; a man may be saved *in* an imperfect religion *by* the mercy of God, or even by the merits of *Christ*; though not by virtue of the religion which he professes: it may be considered whether the word *whereby*, which comes afterwards, does not rather confirm this notion.—Indeed in the *Latin* Article the expression is “*in lege*,” but we cannot say that
the

the English is a wrong translation; because the English and Latin are equally authentic. "In *sectâ*" therefore means, as a *member* of a sect.—We have^d, in Eph. iv. 32. *ev Xristw* translated, "for Christ's sake;" it may mean, as a *member* of Christ; or of that *society*, or *body* of which he is the Head. It is scarcely needful to observe, that our being saved *by Christ*, or *in Christ*, cannot exclude^e *human agency*. (*ev w* is translated *whereby*.)

XI. "Only the Name," &c.—In order to see the force of this expression, which is taken from Acts iv. 12. we must conceive different men to worship^f different deities, and *invoke* them and praise^g them, and *swear*^h by them under their different *names*.—The contention between Elijah and the Priests of *Baal*, related in 1 Kings, Chap. xviii, may give us an idea of the case; particularly ver. 24. & 26.—Through association and habit, sentiment and passion are excited by the mere sound of a name; so that enthusiasm might rage on founding the name of a much-honoured Deity, and the whole of his attributes might seem to be concentrated in the appellation. We find similar effects from the names of political or other partiesⁱ; the very sound of them excites animosity and virulence^k.

And when men do not distinguish between the power of the person to whom the name belongs,
and

^d Art. xii. end of Sect. xi.

^e Art. x. Sect. xxxii.

^f Joshua xxiv. 15.

^g Psalm lxviii. 4.

^h Psalm lxiii. 12.—1 Sam. xvii. 43.

ⁱ The Chorus in the Oratorio of Samson, in which the Israelites and the Philistines contend in Invocation, the one party invoking *Jehovah*, the other *Dagon*, must tend to enliven our conceptions of what is related, 1 Kings xviii. 24, &c.

^k Nov. 1793, the French are changing names of Streets, Cards, Months, &c.

and the combination of letters or sounds which compose the name, then the name itself comes to be regarded as endued with some *charm* or supernatural influence.

XII. The last thing which can come into our explanation, is the word “*saved*,” and we have *before*¹ considered its meaning. Here we may observe, that Salvation (and in like manner damnation) may admit of an endless variety of *degrees*: and it might be wrong to omit wholly, that *saving* has in Acts iv. 12. a particular reference to deliverance from *bodily* evil. Peter and John had healed a lame man; they are asked solemnly, “By what power, or by what *name* have ye done this?” they answer, “By the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.”—“Neither is there *salvation* in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby (ἐν ᾧ) we must be saved;” (οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρίας ἄλλης). Suppose this meant merely that the lame could only be healed in the name of Christ, yet the healing meant was miraculous; and therefore that would be saying, that real miracles could only be performed in support of Christianity: but the Apostle, with what he says about the miraculous cure, mixes a great deal of reasoning about the nature of the Christian Dispensation, and we^m know that mere admission into Christianity, was called being *saved*: what he says, ver. 12. seems to be delivered as an *universal* truth.

XIII. Having finished our explanation, we come to the *Proof* of what is affirmed in our Article. And I do not see that we need make more than *one proposition*.

XIV. ‘The

¹ Appendix to Art. XI. Sect. xvii.—and several other places.

^m Art. IV. Sect. xiv. and Appendix to Art. XI. Sect. xviii.

XIV. ‘The Scriptures do not allow any one to consider it as an indifferent matter, whether he acts as a member of the true Church of Christ, or not.’

We have already produced many texts which are really to this purposeⁿ, though they relate immediately to acts of *individuals*. There would be no propriety in our being represented as branches of a *vine*, as the *flock* of a shepherd, as the *spouse* of Christ, as *elect*, *knit* together, forming an *edifice* built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, if we were under no *obligation* to act socially as Christians, or if we could attain to Christian *Salvation* without acting so.

XV. As to *indirect* proof, or answers to *objections*, we have before given what is abundantly sufficient. No objections of any force seem to occur, except those from Acts x. 34 and Rom. ii. 14—27.; and these^o texts have been already considered.

XVI. We may therefore proceed to our *Application*.

We might, at this time, give our *Assent* to the Article before us in some such form as the following;

‘Whatever degree of happiness it may please God, in his mercy, to confer on the virtuous *Heathen* or *Jew*, who continues such to the end of his life without any *fault* of his own; no man can *voluntarily neglect* the provision which God has made for us under Christianity, or encourage others to neglect it, or be *careless* about getting as near
truth

ⁿ Art. XII. Sect. XXI.—Art. XIII. near the end of Sect. XV II. and near the end of Sect. XXII.

^o Art XIII. Sections XXIII. & XXVI.

truth and perfection as possible^p, in Christianity, without meriting a severe *condemnation*, and rendering himself *unworthy* to continue in possession of the inestimable privileges of that society of which Christ in Heaven is the Head, and to^q purchase which he shed his precious blood.

XVII. With regard to *mutual concessions*, little more seems wanting than for disputants to acknowledge that, when they disagree, they do not sufficiently consider the different *points of view* in which they see the subject of contention.—When we approve such expressions as that of Mr. *Pope*^r, we suppose men to have done their best, humanly speaking, to acquire right religious principles: when we disapprove men's notions, and call them horrible, blasphemous, *accursed*, &c. we suppose men not doing their best; but neglecting, with absurd presumption, contemptuous ingratitude, and profligate insensibility, every thing that has been done and suffered for mankind, in order to give them a blessed religion, and bring them to the never-ending enjoyment of supreme felicity.—While men dispute without entering into each other's views, they are not likely to come to any end of disputing; but there are persons so reasonable as to allow of candour towards those who really do every thing in their power to be upon a right footing in respect of religion, and at the same time to abhor, especially in themselves, every degree of voluntary negligence.—Not to act as Christians, may in some be only a misfortune, in others a great fault; but yet in either case it may be attended with great and important^s *evil*.

XVIII. I am

^p Phil. i. 9.—iii. 13, 14 — Conclusion of St. Peter's second Epistle.

^q Acts xx. 28.

^r Sect. vi.

^s Dr. Balguy's Sermons, page 158, &c. to the end of the 9th Discourse.

XVIII. I am not prepared to suggest any *Improvement* relative to the present Article; unless it might be *expressed* more precisely than it is. Perhaps it might be so expressed as to shew *for whom* it is particularly intended, how far it conceives those of whom it speaks, to be members of religious *Society*; and how it supposes those whom it condemns, to be informed of the nature of Christianity.



ARTICLE XIX.

OF THE CHURCH.

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred; not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

I. Before I enter upon another Article, let me say, that it is my intention, in this part of my undertaking, to make a change in my manner of treating the subjects which may come under consideration. I mean to treat the remaining articles in a more *summary* way than I have treated the preceding. For this change it may be natural to ask some reasons. The first is, that without some change, our system would be *too extensive*, if it be not so already, considering that, in order to obey the directions of our Founder, I have been obliged to make Bishop *Pearson* on the Creed occupy every third Lecture. It may indeed be said, that if I had treated the preceding Articles more briefly, I might have treated the following more fully; and without taking more time: that is true; but yet

yet it seems better to go the bottom of some subjects, and give a summary account of others, than to treat all with an intermediate degree of fulness. This might be said though there were no other reasons for the change I am about to make; but it may be added, that the remaining subjects have been already much better treated than those which we have gone through; and are therefore much more easy for the student to consider by himself. Bishop *Burnet* writes better on the Articles which are to come, than on those which are past: and the refutation of the *Popish* errors is now reduced into a small compass, by Archbishop *Secker* and Bishop *Porteus*. It seems to me likewise, that the first eighteen of our xxxix Articles may be considered as more important than the rest, as belonging more to Mankind in general. Religious Society is indeed a subject of great importance to all men; but that was attentively considered in the third Book of our System.

Nevertheless, though I propose to speak more briefly on each subject than I have done hitherto, or at least than I have done since I entered upon the Articles of our Church, I would keep the same method in view; as that seems founded in reason. What facts are mentioned, should be mentioned before we use the expressions which allude to them: and the terms of propositions should be explained before their truth be proved.

11. With regard then to the nineteenth Article, some few *Historical* remarks may be made. The propagation of the Gospel was treated in our first Book. Here we may observe, that before^a the Church

^a The History of the beginnings of the Church of Rome is, I believe, too obscure for *us* to dwell much upon: I would not speak positively: the Bishop of Rome must be above neighbour-

Church of *Rome* came to be famous in the west, the Churches mentioned in the Article, had existed in great celebrity: so I conceive. The Church of *Jerusalem* must of course be eminent, as it was planted where our Saviour and his Apostles resided: it might be considered as the *source* of Christianity, where it was most pure: the first Bishop of it is said to have been St. *James*.

The Church of *Alexandria* was the capital of the Churches of *Africa*, and has been said to be founded by St. *Mark*. In like manner the Church of *Antioch* was the capital of the Churches of *Asia*, and has been said to have had St. *Peter* for its first Bishop. These became three *Patriarchates*, and we have in *Bingham's Antiquities*^b, three *maps* of them^c.

In *what* these three churches “have erred,” seems but of little moment; because the Article is only against the *Romanists*, and they would not deny the fallibility of the Eastern Churches. Yet these three churches might have made as high claims, of any kind, as the Church of Rome; having under them Primates and Metropolitans.

The

ing Bishops; people would have to go to Rome about various concerns; when a precedence was wanted, it would naturally fall to the Bishop of that Church which was in the Capital.—By the year 325 the Bishop of Rome must have grown great: about the year 250 there were at Rome 1500 Widows and other indigent persons supported or relieved by Christians; see Lardner, Index, *Rome*.—The Bishop of Rome was not at Nice in 325, only *Presbyters*; why not Suffragan Bishops, if he had any?

^b Book ix.

^c For the dignity of these Churches see the Canons of the Council of Nice; Canon 6 and 7.—Also Bishop Hallifax on Prophecy, page 335.—Heylin, on Episcopacy, mentions Saint James, Saint Mark and Saint Peter as having been the first Bishops.

—The errors alluded to, however, seem to have been, favouring *Arianism*, and condemning^d *Origen*. Acts for these purposes were passed in Councils^e at these cities; and the decree of a *Council* at any city must include the opinion of the *Church* there.—(Councils occur again in the twenty-first Article.)

Several *subjects* relative to our present Article, have been much discussed; but it does not seem necessary for us to enter into them at present; such are, the *marks* of a^f true Church, the power of the *Keys*^g, the nature of *binding*^h and *loosing*.—The Romanists, after we had separated from them at the Reformation, held, that we were no true church; and the disputes which took place on that matter, were probably one immediate *occasion*ⁱ of our present Article.

III. Let us next see what may be wanted in the way of *Explanation*.—Our Article consists of two Paragraphs; the first seems to be definition and theory, the second, fact.

IV. The definition is, of “*the visible church of Christ* :” now previous to that, we should conceive, that Christ formed all his Disciples into *one society*; the members therefore must live in different *ages*: it is not needful to consider the deceased at present, therefore our views are confined to the “*visible church*,” that is, to the society of all *living* Christians. But how, you say, do these form a *society*? first, we may answer, as all *men* form a society; God has made *good* to follow

^d Socrates 6. 10.

^e Berli's Compendium, Vol. 1, page 126.

^f Hales, G—13—49, Cambr. ^g Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

^h Matt. xviii. 18.

ⁱ The Trent Creed is called by the Romanists, that Faith “*extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.*” quoted in Bennet's Essay on the 39 Articles, page 426.

follow from mens acting as a society, and *evil* from their *not* acting as a society; this shews them that they *are* a society. Secondly, we know, that all Christians constitute one society, from the *Scriptures**.

v. “*Congregation*,” *cœtus*, rather seems to imply, as does *ἐκκλησία*, that all living Christians can assemble at one time, in one place; this is suitable enough to *Theory*, and is Dr. *Balguay*’s¹ first supposition, when he is describing the nature of a Church: the contrivances which become necessary when it is found that all cannot make one congregation, are only *mechanical*, as it were, and do not affect the nature or essence of the thing which accidentally requires them.

The compilers of our Article would be led to use the word “*congregation*” by the language of our Old Testament; the *whole body* of Israelites, (the *Church* of God before Christianity) being called the *Congregation*. See Numb. xvi. 3.—xxvii. 17.—Josh. xxii. 17.—1 Chron. xxviii. 8.—Psalm lxxiv. 2. in all which places we have *συναγωγή* in the LXX; except 1 Chron. xxviii. 8. which is *ἐκκλησία*.—In the *New Testament* the whole Body of Christians is called the *Church* of God; but the Greek is always *ἐκκλησία*: *Taylor* however looks upon this calling the whole body of Christians the *Church*, as an *imitation* of the language of the Old Testament, in which the whole Body of Israelites was called the *Congregation*.—*Taylor* on Romans, Key, par. 52. 133.

vi. The word “*faithful*” seems technical; *fideles* used to be opposed to *Catechumeni*.

vii. “The

* Art. xviii. Sect. xiv.—Also Book III. Chap. xi. Sect. iv.

¹ Vol. of Sermons, page 89.

VII. “The *pure* word of God”—is also *theory*: it is that to which Christians may continually approach, though they may never attain to perfect purity of doctrine.—“*The sacraments*” are introduced as *essentials* of a Christian Church; and it is at the same time implied, that though they are essential, some *circumstances* about them are not so: this is more clear in the Latin than in the English.—A religious society under natural religion might perhaps have no essentials; I mean, they might pursue the ends in view by such methods as their wisdom should suggest; but that is not the case in a Christian society; they cannot teach any doctrines but those of scripture, nor set aside the holy *Sacraments*.—We may observe how very little was thought^m necessary, by our English Reformers, to constitute a Christian Church; prayer is not mentioned, though it is in Acts ii. 41, 42. nor any kind of discipline: this seems to imply, that no Christian church could be supposed to meet without prayer, or that prayer is included in pure *doctrine*, and that no modes of administering the Sacraments destroy the *essence* of a Christian Church.

VIII. In the second part there is a sort of ambiguity: a doubt is left, whether the three churches only erred in *general*, or erred, like the church of Rome, in morality, (agenda), ceremonies, and tenets (credenda): but either sense may be taken by him who gives his assent.

In

^m P. S. See a passage quoted by Dean Tucker (Letter to Kippis, page 56) from the enlarged confession of Augsberg. “Ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ satis est consentire de *Doctrinâ* Evangelii, et administratione Sacramentorum.” This does not mean a consent about all *particulars*, as appears from what follows, which answers to the beginning of our 34th Article: “Nec necesse est ubique similes esse Traditiones humanas, seu *ritus* ab hominibus institutos.” Syntagma, page 12.

In the English, we have “*in their living,*” (Church of Rome), but in the Latin, “*quoad agenda.*” The English seems to regard *conduct*, the Latin, moral, practical *principles taught*, or allowed. Hence, in examining the wickedness prevailing in Popish countries, we should always keep in mind how far it is permitted, or encouraged.

The Church of *Rome* is here allowed the *essence* of a true Churchⁿ; it aims at preaching scriptural doctrines, and it does not set aside the Sacraments. Archbishop *Laud*, on his *trial*^o before the inveterate enemies of the Roman church, maintained this to be the truth, but did not, I think, refer to this Article, to prove it: that the Church of Rome is here declared *erroneous*, as well as fallible, needs no remark. The Church of Christ in *theory* is *pure*; in *practice* each part of it is *fallible* and imperfect.

IX. Thus we have looked through the Article; but yet a few things remain to be mentioned: if “the visible Church of Christ” be the society of *living* Christians, what is *opposed* to it? or what Church of Christ is *invisible*? the Romanists do not allow^p of *any*. There may be, seemingly, *two* notions of

ⁿ The Puritans did not allow this.—See Neal, 1. 96. 4to.

^o Index to Neal’s Hist. Pur. et alibi. When Protestants say, that a Christian may be saved in the Church of Rome, they mean, or ought to mean, supposing the Christian not to think it *wrong* to be of that Church — Therefore Papists cannot use their famous argument to those who do think it wrong.—The argument is, all sides own, that a man may be saved in the Church of Rome; but all sides do *not* own that a man may be saved in a Protestant Church; therefore it is most *safe* to adhere to the Church of Rome.

^p “The pretended invisible Church of the Heretikes.”—Rhemius on Acts ii. 47. the Romanists seem to *mean*, that the scriptures, when they speak of the *Church* of Christ, do not mean to speak of those who are true Christians in the sight of God, but of Christians such as we find them.

of it; one, that the *invisible* church contains *all Christians*; the living, and all who have departed this Life in the Faith of Christ: another, the calvinistic, and most common, that it consists of those who *in the sight of God* are considered as true Christians: and Romanists, I think, make a difference between *vera* and *viva* membra of the Church. Perhaps the term "*visible*" might be used in order to prevent Romanists from objecting; and to satisfy *Calvinists* that it was not intended to speak here of the *elect* or *predestinate*, as seen by God himself.

x. We often hear of the *Catholic* Church.—If we go only by Etymology, it may signify the whole visible church of Christ, or even invisible; or all Christians of all ages. When I say I *believe* in the Catholic Church, I mean, I believe that Christ intended to form all Christians into one society; though when I speak of the Church at large, I have only in mind the present generation. (Art. VIII. Sect. III.)—And the church of Christ may be "therefore called catholic, or universal, because it consists of *all nations*; whereas the Jewish Church" consisted⁹ "only of one nation:"—As words are made for use, one may often get the right *sense* of a word by considering for what *use* it might be made; and this is generally to mark out some *distinction*; as just now was the the case. The church might be called *Catholic*, to distinguish it from a church, or a *particular* church; that is a set of Christians whose minds cannot be satisfied without joining in some peculiar regulations for carrying on social religion amongst themselves, within certain limits. But perhaps the most common use of catholic is to distinguish, in an honourable manner, a *large* and respectable body of Christians

⁹ Bishop Porteus's brief confutation, page 14.

Christians from a small body who affect singularity in some doctrine or ceremony: to call the large body the catholic church, or catholics, seems to make the small one sink into nothing; as if it only made an exception not worth mentioning.

XI. A *particular church* may be a legitimate Christian Society, but should always regard itself as a constituent part of the catholic church^r. In any nation, it may help to promote civil subjection, and may itself receive support and protection or even honour. This has been more fully explained in the third^s Book.—The definition of our Article seems not wholly unsuitable to a particular church^t.

XII. I know not that any other terms need be mentioned except *militant*^u, as opposed to triumphant. This distinction supposes men *good*, popularly speaking; then, while they are in this Life warring a good warfare, under the banner of the Captain of their Salvation, while they are fighting the good fight, they are called the church *militant*, and after death, when they^x receive their crown of Glory, the Church *triumphant*.

The *Scotch* church calls those whom we suppose good, the *elect*; the church, strictly speaking, (in their

^r Dr. Powell, page 26, alludes to him, “who refused to be made a citizen of Athens, because he was already a citizen of the world.”

^s Chap. xiv.

^t Wheatly (page 394) observes, that our *Church Catechism* was so made as to suit the *Catholic Church*. Any youth in our *particular Church*, according to him, is catechized, or grounded, in no doctrines *peculiar* to that Church. Yet all Christians do not allow of water-baptism; nor that the Death of Christ is a sacrifice, speaking without figure.

^u Scotch Confession, 16. de Ecclesiâ.—Div. Leg. Vol. 4. Svo. page 470. calls the Church triumphant those who accompany Christ at his second coming.

^x See 2 Tim. iv. 7.—2 Cor. x. 4.—1 Tim. i. 18.—1 Pet. v. 4.

their idea) *invisible* to the eye of man, but the *true* church in the sight of God^y.

XIII. We may now best see the connexion of this Article with the one preceding it. Salvation is not to be hoped for out of the *Church*, by the eighteenth Article; agreed, says the Romanist, therefore continue *Catholics*; no, say the Protestants, we may, if we think we cannot lawfully communicate with you, form another *particular* church still conceiving our particular church to make a part of the catholic visible church of Christ: and what we assume to ourselves, we allow to others.

XIV. But let us come to our *Proof*.—We seem to have at least *two propositions*.

1. Christ has formed his followers into one Society.

2. The Romish church “hath erred;” in practical principles, or morality, (“agenda”); in ceremonies; and also in doctrine or tenets, (“credenda.”)

xv. The former proposition has been very lately^z *proved*. To what was said we might add 1 Cor. xii. 5. 10. 12. 29. which shew, that the miraculous powers given to the Apostles, &c. implied religious society: and our Saviour’s various *prophecies* concerning the fortunes of the Church, imply the same thing. He foretells its durability, &c. as *one* body.—Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

xvi. That the Romish Church hath erred in morality, or “agenda,” need scarcely be proved,
not

^y Pet. Heylin, in his *Divinity-Act* at Oxford, put up as a question, “An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?” and determined in the negative.—He was an Arminian.

^z Art. xviii. Sect. xiv.—See also Book III. Chap. xi. Sect. iv.

not only because the Popes and Clergy^a have had amongst them men remarkably immoral and profligate; but because things have been *allowed* and *forbidden* wrongly; this, as well as the Popish errors in ceremonies and doctrine^b, may be left to be proved by the subsequent *Articles*.—Popè *Liberius* favoured the *Arians*^c, *Zozimus* the *Pelagians*, and *Honorius* was condemned as a^d *Monothelite*.

This direct proof seems easy, but the Romanists quote *scripture*; the general answer to all texts expressing the perfection of the Church, is the same with that to all scriptural expressions of the perfection of a Christian; they describe *theory*^e, not *fact*.—This has been already^f hinted in explaining the word “*pure*.”

XVII. The subject before us has been made so intricate by controversy with the Papists, and by the Calvinistic notion, that the Church means the elect and predestinated, that it may be worth our while, in the way of *Application*, to conceive a form of *assent* to our Article.

‘All Christians constitute a Society, the end of which is to attain perfect purity of manners, and unerring religious truth: the means of promoting this end are left to human prudence, so long as the *doctrines* taught are founded on scripture, and the *sacraments* instituted by Christ, are held to be indispensable — Could all Christians agree, they might
act

^a See Sir Edwin Sandys’s *Europe Speculum*, under *Life and Conversation*: though wickedness does not prove indisputably the inculcating of bad moral principles, yet when it is very prevalent it affords a strong presumption: besides that “wickedness is destructive of good principles;” as *Comber* observes, in his tract against Popery, page 35, from Aristotle, *Eth. lib. 6.*

^b *Maclaine’s Motheim*, Vol. 1. 4to. page 278, Note.

^c *Berti*, Vol. 1. page 123.

^d *Forbes*, B. 5. Chap. 10.

^e Art. xv. Sect. xix.

^f Sect. vii.

act under one ecclesiastical authority; but if any number are fully persuaded that they cannot lawfully unite with the rest, they may form a separate society, still conceiving that society to make part of the whole society of Christians, till some general agreement can be effected.'

'When we judge from experience, we must conclude, that unanimity is not at present to be expected; and we must allow, that every particular society of Christians falls far short of perfection.'

XVIII. The remarks and distinctions here made, might be the ground of some mutual *concessions*; but Dr. *Du Pin*, in his negotiation with Archbishop *Wake*^s, about an union between the English and Gallican Churches, gives up the matter in dispute. "Though all particular churches," he says, "even that of Rome, may err, it is *needless* to say this in a Confession of Faith."—It is not more to our purpose that this learned man gives up the *fallibility* of the Roman Church, than that he speaks of it as a *particular* Church.

XIX. In order to promote *Improvement*, I would recommend an attentive perusal of Dr. Balguy's two Consecration-Sermons, and his Charge on "Subscription to Articles of Religion."

^s Mosheim, octavo, Vol. 5. page 130.—It might be worth while to read Archbishop *Wake*'s compliment to Dr. *Du Pin*, page 123.—And what the Archbishop thinks may be *Du Pin*'s own judgment about the English Articles.

The *people* amongst the Papists are not taught, I suppose, according to *Du Pin*'s candid notions; he seems to make a great difference between the *People* and the enlightened.

ARTICLE XX.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same; so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

1. We begin with *History*.

At the time of the Reformation, some of our countrymen were desirous (as we have often occasion to observe) of departing farther from the Church of Rome than we have done, and others wished not to go so far. The Reformers had, on this account, a difficult task to execute. The Puritans hated the Church of Rome, and every thing that seemed to characterize it; but some, though they saw the errors of Popery, retained their prejudices in favour of those things, which implied no error or impiety. The Reformers wished to comply with both, as far as they might lawfully. The difficulties arising in this manner, did

did not relate so much to important matters, as to things indifferent in their own nature, as *ceremonies* and *habits*, or what might be called *ceremonies*, in a large sense.

The aversion of the Puritans to appointed ceremonies, &c. seems to have been on two grounds; as *Popish*, and as profaning worship by the introduction of the fine^a *arts*. Indeed the application of music, painting, &c. to religious worship, is itself rather *Popish*; but independently of that, the Puritans were void of what we call taste and elegance. The three ceremonies they chiefly objected to, were, the sign of the *Cross* in Baptism, the wearing of *surplices*, and *kneeling* at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These have been called the three^b *nocent* ceremonies; only by way of opposition, I suppose, to *innocent*. Indeed all these favoured of Popery; the last, as keeping up the idea of the *Mafs*. But the Puritans always petitioned against *Organs*^c, and were enemies, I think, to pictures and images. The rights of Toleration were not allowed till the Revolution^d; and therefore Puritans, though enemies to the Church of England in many respects, were members of it, and Ministers: they were forced to complain and dispute; separation was not a thing easy to be accomplished; otherwise disputes would have been more rare.

One dispute related immediately to this twentieth Article: the question was, whether the *first clause*

^a Book III. Chap. xv. Sect. x.

^b See John Burges, page 28. mentioned in Hampton Court Conference. Neal. Index.

^c Convocation of 1562; in Neal, I. 119, &c. Strype, and others.

^d Book III. Chap. xiv. Sect. xv.

clause was genuine or surreptitious^c? It is a curious question: to read Neal's account, one would think it must be spurious; yet Bennet, in his *Essay*, has arguments on the other side, which appear to me the stronger. In King Edward's articles the clause is not; but in the fifth of those articles there is something relating to the subject, which is omitted in our sixth; (the corresponding Article). When the Bishops in 1562 were to sign the Articles revised, a copy seems to have been *prepared* for them to sign before they met, from King Edward's; but when they met, they seem to have made several alterations in it, and then to have signed it. Yet, though they signed it, they did not make it a *Record*, because *after* the signature, they agreed upon the *clause* in question: And as it was not a record, the Archbishop kept it in his own private custody, and left it to Bennet College.—At last a fresh paper was signed, which *had* the clause in question; and this was lodged regularly, as a *Record*, in the Register's Court of Canterbury, from whence Archbishop *Laud* had a copy^f on his trial, in 1637.

The Bishops also ordered the Articles with the Clause to be *printed*: yet there are some printed copies which have *not* the clause; but Bennet argues, that such are *spurious*, if in English, and that those in which it is found, are genuine: the
Records

^c See Neal, 1. 118. and Bennet's *Essay*, passim.—Also "Priestcraft in Perfection," Cambr. Bb—10—47. and Bennet's Answer to it in his *Preface* to his *Essay*: addressed to Anthony *Collins*, Esq. the Infidel.

From the *Life of Peter Heylin* it appears, that he kept his act for D. D. at Oxford on the clause, taking its genuineness for granted.—*Strype's Annals*, Chap. 28.

^f *Heylin's short account* (page 19, *Life of Laud*) agrees, I think, with this.

Records were burnt in the^s great Fire of London in 1666.—This question is now merely historical; for by an Act of Parliament made in 1662, all the Clergy are obliged to sign a copy, in which this clause is contained.

The matter about the power of the *Church*, with regard to ceremonies, got mixed with a dispute how far the *Civil Magistrate*^b could enjoin observances for religious societies, in matters indifferent: the Puritans always held, that the Church was *independent* of the state; and few saw, that when the Magistrate used a coercive power in spiritual matters he used it as the Ally of the Church, as far as he acted without any view of securing the State. However in this twentieth Article we have nothing about the Civil Magistrate: nor has the thirty-seventh, “Of the Civil Magistrates,” any mention of rites and ceremonies.

In the time of King Edward VI. there was a great controversy about the *Habits* of the Priests and Bishops. The Puritans found them Popish and sine, others thought them commendatory of religion; and considering the poverty of some of the Clergy, almost necessary for decency. Bishop Hooper had lived at *Zurich*, and perhaps had there contracted a love of plainness and simplicity; and Swiss ideas of Church-government. He refused the Bishopric of Gloucester because he could not be consecrated and appear at Court, and in his Diocese, without wearing some habits which he esteemed to be Popish; but his refusal was not admitted; he was imprisoned some months: either in his own House or in the Fleet Prison, and treated with great rigour; at last a compromise

was

^s Vol. 2. page 209.—Introd. to Book IV. Sect. IV.

^b Neal, 1. 95—98. always quarto.

was adopted, and he became a Prelate. He was a person of great worth, and very instrumental in completing the Reformation.

It is not to be concluded from what has been said, that the Puritans really wished religious society to have little *power*; their view was rather, to prevent those particular ceremonies from being enjoined, which they saw the Church of England was, at the time, most likely to adopt; and to make *Scripture* a guide inⁱ every thing: though, I think, scripture was, at bottom, rather a pretext for refusing, than the ground of making regulations.

The *Romanists*, however, were for requiring an implicit obedience to the Church: such an obedience, as if the Church of Rome was in fact, what the Church of Christ is in Theory, “without spot, or wrinkle, or any^k such thing.” Dr. *Middleton*, in the Preface^l to his Letter from Rome, gives us a passage from a Popish writing called “the Catholic Christian,” which may answer our purpose: the subject is Transubstantiation. “The unerring authority of the Church has declared it to be true, and enjoined the belief of it;”—after such a decision—“it is the part of an Infidel rather than a Christian, to ask, how can this be?”—The Papists have said, that the Church is even superior to^m Scripture: how?—because the Church judges what *is* scripture; there have been many spurious writings pretending to be Scripture; these the Church rejects, keeping only such as are genuine and authentic: but have they any right to settle

ⁱ Warburton's Alliance, 1. 4. page 46, Svo. Edit. 1766. Note.

^k Eph. v. 27.

^l P. lxxvii.

^m Gilpin's Life of Wickliff, page 61, 62.

fettle those as scripture which are *not* genuine and authentic?—and when they have accepted any thing as scripture, does it govern them, or they it?—the moment any writing has an existence as scripture, it is superior to them.—Here we close our *History*.

II. Our first remark in the way of *Explanation*, is, that we should conceive our Article to be divided into *two paragraphs*, the first against *Puritans*, the second against *Papists*. Puritans are opposed as setting aside all use of human prudence in providing the *means* of exercising social religion; Papists, as aiming to advance human authority above the word of God. In this matter, our Church seems to say, let us avoid both *extremes*.

“*The Church*,”—how does this expression suit what was said under the preceding Article? does it mean *visible, catholic, particular*, church? or what?—that is left to be decided by the state of things. If all Christians are united, it means the Catholic church, of one generation; if not, it means any particular church, which can properly be called a church; it means any society of Christians, as far as they constitute a legitimate church.—In what part of such society the government should be lodged, whether it should be of a monarchical or democratical form, is left undetermined.

“*Hath power*.”—*Power* here means *rightful* power; no uncommon use of the word; what is more commonly called *authority*, and perhaps more accurately; for a Tyrant may often have power to do that, which he has no right to do; that is, no authority: but “*authority*” comes immediately afterwards in another sense.

“*To decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.*” Here “*authority*” means only *weight* or *influence*; which is not a wrong use of the word.—This latter influence, here called authority, is much less than the former, here called power. It may be proper for you to respect a person’s judgment, when he has no right to insist on your obedience. The expression, “*in controversies of faith,*”—implies, that you are not expected to give up your judgment to the judgment of the Church, except in doubtful and *difficult* points.

But is the meaning, that your church is to command you with regard to *all* ceremonies whatever?—yes, it seems as if private judgment should comply, in matters *indifferent*: and if so, you are not accountable while you think it right to continue a member. Respectful expostulations might be made; and if at last, *much* folly or superstitionⁿ remained, a separation might be allowed: but the effect of ceremonies depends upon uniformity^o:—and you should be sure you can meet with better ceremonies than those you quit. *Ceremonies* might be taken in a *large sense*, including *Liturgies*, &c.—Though the Governors of the church are not to submit to your judgment immediately, yet *after* you have obeyed, they are *finally* to be *accountable* to the ordinary members, for the use of any *discretionary* power entrusted to them. What follows, limits the power of appointing ceremonies;

“*And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God’s word written;*”—some things that next occur in our Article seem self-evident; but they probably mean to guard against abuse, and against excess of that deference, which

ⁿ See Powell, page 27. top.

^o Book III. Chap. IV. Sect. II.

which ought to be paid to the Church in difficult doctrines.

Indeed, if each private man is to judge whether an ordinance recommended by the Church is contrary to scripture, or whether any doctrine makes one part of scripture to contradict another, or is over and above scripture, there is but little danger of *abuse*:—but the meaning seems to be, that the Church has no *right*, “*ought*” not to decree such things; though, if it does, it should be respected, and perhaps sometimes obeyed; still the rules here laid down might be the ground of calling ecclesiastical governors to account, and, in the end, of proposing and effecting a Reformation.

“*A keeper of Holy writ,*” refers to Rom. iii. 2. and ix. 4.—I conceive them to be allusions; but the only thing of any moment is, that “*besides*” the scriptures, the Church ought “*not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of Salvation;*” ceremonies are generally something “*besides*” the scriptures, and the church can enforce them; but then they are not “*anything to be believed.*”—Some *notions* too may be implied in ceremonies^p, or forms, but then they are not to be enforced as necessary^q to *Salvation*. Puritans would have nothing to be enforced, either to be believed or done, which is “*besides*” the Scriptures.—It should be recollected, that we had a great deal about Traditions under the sixth Article.

III. The next thing is the *Proof*.—We might have three propositions.

IV. Each

^p This seems the meaning of that part of the 5th Article of 1552, which is omitted in our 6th Article.

^q *Necessary to Salvation*; the thing to which this was opposed, seems to be, “*received of the faithful as godly, and profitable for comeliness.*” Article 5 of 1552.

iv. Each society must provide *means* of answering the ends of its institution.—In religious Society the general end is the promoting of religious *sentiments*^r. In *Christian* society some means are prescribed by divine authority; namely, scriptural *doctrines* and *sacraments*: but means are to be devised of using these means; something must at last be left to the wisdom of the Church. I cannot but consider this as self-evident. The puritanical idea, that a church is not like other Societies, or that nothing is to be settled and fixed for a church but what is found in Scripture, seems totally impracticable; no meeting of Dissenters^s could ever be carried on without arranging several things not specified in Scripture. The directions are *general*, as 1 Cor. xiv. 40.—It is impossible that this precept should be obeyed without the intervention of many other observances not mentioned. Tell a set of men to *write* themes for a prize; there must be pens, ink and paper, &c. and the art of writing and spelling must have been learned.—If the *Jews*^t had some liberty, whose religion was confined to one people, and the ceremonials of which made so essential a part of it, what liberty may not Christians expect, whose religion is to be exercised amidst all the variety of customs of all Nations!

v. In *doctrines*, to be *believed*, the judgment of the Church ought to have great *weight*, especially with all its *ordinary* members.—This was insisted on in the second^u book, where men were divided into *Philosophers* and *People*: and it seems unavoidable.

^r Book III. Chap. III.

^s Tucker to Kippis, page 19.

^t Burnet, Matt. xxiii. 23. the things not to be left undone, were not Mosaic: mostly, if not all, traditional.

^u Book II. Chap. IV. Sect. III, IV.

unavoidable. Those who pretend to avoid it, do^x not, and cannot^y.

VI. In doctrines, if anything is imposed by the Church as necessary to salvation, it need not be received as such, if it be not contained in *Scripture*.—This was in the sixth Article.

VII. What remains must be proposed as *Application*.

A new form of *Assent* seems unnecessary:—But mutual *concessions* may be worth considering.—Some Dissenters have declared, that whilst the first clause of our twentieth Article continues in force, there is no possibility of a reconciliation^z: Yet, let not anything be neglected which seems likely to weigh with a man of real *candour*.—Mistakes seem to have been made, both by those in power, and those out of power. The first have taken for granted that things indifferent in their nature might be enforced without difficulty; the second, that because an aversion was real, it was rational and invincible.—But in the first place men in power should be aware of the strength of prejudice; or of association of ideas: to see its force, we need only ask any man whether he should chuse to see any of the vessels which commonly receive the *evacuations* of the human Body, used at a feast to drink out of; or, if he be a man of piety, in the most solemn rites of religion? Yet what more indifferent, as to right and wrong, than shape?—And in the next place, those who are called to comply and obey, are not always without blame: they are too apt to neglect the result

^x Tucker to Kippis, page 43, 44.

^y One chief reason urged by a Fellow of a College, for turning Papist, was, I have heard, that so little respect was paid to the Church of England by its ordinary members.

^z Tucker to Kippis, page 9.

result of experience with regard to curing prejudices which at first feel incurable. To raise a prejudice in favour of anything, associate it with some good. I have hated a certain kind of *food*; in very great hunger I eat of it; my pain was relieved, and that kind of food got associated in my mind with the pleasure of the relief; I have relished it ever since.—Now mutual concessions in case of ceremonies, &c. should consist in mutual *compliances*; those who have authority should be tender about enforcing; those who are to obey, should labour to lessen their aversions; so might the contending parties meet in some middle point.

This is applicable to *fine arts*: those who have a taste for them, ought not to act as if all men had the same: and those who are insensible to them, ought to be aware, that men may differ in imaginations as well as in senses or intellects; and therefore ought in some measure to comply; for the sake of others.

Bishop Warburton, in his *Alliance*^a of Church and State, mentions the judgment of foreign divines in the question about *habits*. It was this. “That the Puritans ought to conform, rather than make a schism: and that the Church-men ought to indulge the others’ scruples, rather than hazard one.”—“A wise decision,” adds Warburton, “and reaching much farther, in religious matters, than to the single case to which it was applied.” He means, probably, that the principles of mutual concessions respecting ceremonies, ought to make men candid in matters of faith.

With regard to matters of faith, Dr. *Du Pin*^b says, that the Church certainly has not “the
power

^a Warburton’s *Alliance*, page 314, octavo, B. iii. Chap. 3.

^b Appendix to *Mosheim*, as before.

power of ordaining anything that is contrary to the word of God; but he says, it must be taken for *granted* that the Church *will* never do this in matters, quæ fidei Substantiam evertant.”

I need not endeavour to suggest any *Improvement*, after what has been said on the subject of improving religious Societies in the last chapter of the third Book^c.

^c Book III. Chap. xv. Sect. XII.



ARTICLE XXI.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

GENERAL Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

1. Our *History* here might be very extensive; I will endeavour to confine it within bounds suitable to our present plan, without omitting anything very important — Nothing is more natural to men, than to consult with each other when they are in difficulties. We are led to consultation both by our reason and our feelings. And we may conceive that, in teaching the Christian Religion, and adapting it to the various customs of different nations, consultation must be frequently desirable. We have a memorable instance in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostle. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were at Antioch; it there appeared, that the Jews who favoured Christianity, or were admitted into it, could not bring themselves to give

give up the religion of *Moses*; it was divine; they had been brought up in it; it had distinguished them from idolatrous heathens; nay, they were not contented with retaining it themselves, they thought that even the Heathen converts ought to conform to it: Christianity, they seem to have thought a new and improved species of *Judaism*.—Now the Apostle saw, that Christianity was intended to supersede Judaism; and that it would be a very great hindrance to the conversion of the Heathens, if they must bear the troublesome burdens of the Law of Moses, in favour of which they were by no means prejudiced. To manage so as to lose neither Jewish nor Gentile converts, required much prudence: it required *consultation*: Paul and Barnabas thought it worth while to travel from Antioch to Jerusalem, in order to consult the “Apostles and Elders, with the *whole Church*,” in so critical a juncture. We have some account of the meeting; *James*, the Bishop^a, seems to have given the final determination.—Here was a *genuine* consultation; the church was not only “assembled with one accord,” but with one accord they attended to their proper business: their minds pure from indirect motives; from pride, ambition, rivalry, and worldly interest. This meeting has frequently been called the first *Council*^b.

As Christianity spread, any assemblies, aiming to collect the sense of Christians *at large*, must consist of members convened from a greater extent of country: but *Mosheim* tells us, that till the middle of the second Century^c, *Churches* acted independently of each other, and did not meet together with any such view. He adds, that there

was

^a Art. VI. Sect. xxv.

^b Held A. D. 47, or near; Cave.

^c Mosheim, Cent. 2. Part 2. Chap. 2. Sect. 3.

was no *general* council till the fourth century^d; yet there was a Council held at *Antioch* in the year 270, against Paul of Samosata, where were present, according to Cave, Bishops innumerable.

In proceeding farther, I will first mention some *facts*, such as a scholar is supposed to be informed of, and then make a few *remarks*. Councils, of one sort or other, have been very numerous; *Baxter*, in his account, mentions particulars relative to 480.—With regard to the number of *general* councils, writers are not agreed; some calling only *seven* or *eight* of the Councils general, others *eighteen*.

II. I will now mention some of the *principal* councils; that at *Nice*, was held in the year 325, by order of Constantine the Great, against the *Arians*; and is always called the *first* general Council: that at *Constantinople* was held in the year 381, by order of Theodosius the Great, against the Macedonians:—the third of those, held at *Ephesus*, was very eminent: it was assembled in the year 431, by Theodosius Junior, against *Nestorius*:—We may add the Council held at *Chalcedon* in the year 451, by order of the Emperor *Marcian*, or, in effect perhaps, by the influence of his Empress *Pulcheria*, on account of the adversary or opponent of Nestorius, *Eutyches*.—These four are called the *first four general Councils*; Gregory the Great compared them to the *four Gospels*.—The reformed are spoken^e of as having a very high respect for them.—I must pass from these to some of much later date. The Council of *Constance*, which began in 1414, was called with the consent of the^f See of Rome, and by means of the Emperor Sigismund; to decide who should be Pope, and against the Reformers,

^d Cent. 4 2. 2. 1.

^e Rhemish Test. on Acts xv. 28.

^f Baxter, page 430, or Chap. 13.

Reformers, John Wickliffe and John Hufs, and Jerom of Prague. Wickliffe indeed was dead, but the Council condemned his doctrines, and ordered his bones to be dug up and burnt.—The Council of *Bafil* began in 1431: it seems to have been agreed upon at the Council of Constance, and to have been assembled by the Emperor and Pope jointly, against the Reformers; particularly against the Bohemians, who had *Zifca* for their head. But the Council were so afraid of their adversaries as to invite them to defend their notions; a measure which had as much success as might be expected.—The Council of *Trent* is not mentioned by Baxter or Cave: but we often refer to the Acts of it. From these we see, that it began Dec. 13, 1545; and from the *Bulla* prefixed, it seems as if Pope Paul III. had relied chiefly on the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France. History says^g, that the Emperor was very desirous to have the Council continued after the death of Paul III.—The Council was held in order to check the Reformation; its suspensions and interruptions cannot be entered into here.

Of the Synod of *Dort* I said something in the History of the^h tenth Article.

III. It seems as if our ideas of the Councils now mentioned will be very indefinite and imperfect, if we do not mention something of the *numbers* of persons who have been said to be present at each; and the *time* of its continuance. These are by no means agreed upon, but I shall satisfy myself with delivering to you the report of any respectable author.—The Council of *Nice* is often called the Council of the 318; that is, of 318 Bishops;

^g Mosheim, Cent. 16. Sect. 1. Chap. 4. Sect. 3.

^h Art. x. Sect. xv.

Bishops; but Lardner shewsⁱ, that this number is not by any means to be depended upon. It probably became the favourite number, because it was the number of *Abraham's*^k servants, by whom he conquered his enemies. But besides Bishops we are told, that there were at Nice an incredible number of Presbyters, &c. At *Constantinople* Cave says, there were only about 150 Orthodox Bishops, and 36 of those Bishops who were followers of Macedonius.—About 200 Bishops are said to have been at *Ephesus*, and 600 at *Chalcedon*.—For the Council of *Constance* I refer to Fox's^l entertaining account; but the Cardinals and Bishops were allowed to consult at their own homes.—Cave does not mention the numbers at *Basil*^m, nor does Baxter; but there are many histories of that Council: it was a confused affair; and the numbers must have varied.—At *Trent* the introduction to the Acts of the Council tells us, that there were 5 Cardinals, besides Legates; 3 Patriarchs, 33 Archbishops, 235 Bishops, 7 Abbots, 7 Generals of Orders, and 146 Divines; and Orators from the Emperor Ferdinand (called Cæsar) successor of Charles V. in 1558, and many European Princes:—but at what time these were present is not said, or whether at any one time.

iv. The *duration* of the above-mentioned Councils was very unequal. The *Nicene* continued only about two months and a few days. That at *Constantinople* was interrupted, and held at two different

ⁱ Works, Vol. 4. page 187.

^k Gen. xiv. 14.

^l Acts and Monuments, Vol. 1, page 785. quoted also by Gilpin in his Lives of Reformers.—*Hume* mentions a larger Council than this, at *Placentia*, A. D. 1096, called by Pope Martin II. in the time of William Rufus, in order to determine upon the first Crusade.

^m Dupin's Compend. gives a short and intelligible account of this Council.

ferent timesⁿ. The *Ephesine* seems to have continued from about the twentieth of June to the beginning of September.—The Council of *Chalcedon* seems to have begun the 15th of October, and to have ended very early in^o November, if not the last day of October.—The Council of *Constance* lasted between three and four years^p; that of *Basil*^q eleven, and the Council of *Trent*^r *eighteen*: reckoning these two from the first Session to the last; taking no notice of suspensions, interruptions, decrees for removals, &c. &c.

General Councils have been of late *discontinued*; probably from their appearing not to answer their purpose.

v. Their *Authority* has been greatly extolled in words^s, chiefly by the Romanists; but when we enter into particular enquiries about them, they seem very disorderly, in fact, whatever they may be in theory; and they seem to have been frequently hostile to the Papal power, and sometimes destructive^t of it in particular Popes.—

And

ⁿ The first meeting seems, from Cave, to have been in May, and to have continued till August: the next, to have been in the next year, with rather fewer Bishops.—Dupin's Compend. says, we should conceive a third Council to have been held.—Cave's Hist. Lit. may easily be consulted on any Councils.

^o Cave: there are 16 Acts; the first on the Ides of October, the 14th Prid. Kal. Nov.—I do not see a date for the 15th and 16th Acts; but the *Histories* of the Council seem voluminous.

^p Cave, as I understand him: Fox says 4 years, Vol. 1. page 782.—It began Nov. 7, 1414, and ended April 22, 1418. Dupin Compend.

^q It began 1431, and ended 1442. Baxter.

^r The first Session is dated Dec. 13, 1545, and the 25th is dated Dec. 4, 1563.

^s See Rhemists on Acts xv. 28.

^t Baxter, page 431. 444. from Acts of the Council of *Basil*. That Council deposed Pope Eugenius IV: and the Western

And Popes have also^u made free with decrees of Councils.

VI. After mentioning these *facts*, I may make a few *remarks*: I mean such as are historical.

The manner of carrying on disputes in the larger Councils, was such as promised no decision. To form, or change, a solid opinion in religion, much nicety of attention is requisite; much candour, and openness to conviction; but no one came to a council to be convinced; every one took for granted that his own opinion was right, and aimed only at convincing others; or at attracting them by eloquence; every one took up every difficult subject with *passion*; he was shocked at the profaneness and impiety of his adversary; he felt more horror than doubt. Yet when he was opposed, he was perplexed; but this only served to irritate, not to soften or conciliate. Inability to answer^x, and clear up a point, never fails to exasperate him who attempts^y it. And thus would arise expressions of indignation, and in the end furious persecutions. “The beginning^z of strife is as when one letteth out water.”

VII. It was a great fault in Councils, that the members of them should be all on one side of a question: called, not so much to *argue* as to *overpower*: considering how absurd this is, its frequency is astonishing: what a number of debates have been held, which were only apparent, or sort of
of

Church was very adverse to the Council of Constantinople, as held in the East; did not reckon it *general*, if at all valid.

^u Baxter, page 261. 450.

^x Some *specimens* of replies may be seen in Baxter, page 101, &c.—105.

^y Baxter observes, that the effect of Councils has been to *exasperate*; page 100.

^z Prov. xvii. 14.

of sham debates! expressing uncertainty, whilst every thing was fixed!

VIII. And yet it seems possible, that, for a time, warm and passionate debates, however unreasonable, might be void of malice, and corrupt design: inexperience, and thoughtlessness, with religious zeal, might be sufficient to produce them. Good Canons of controversy must be the result of much calm observation. But after a few ages, pride, ambition, a desire of rule, or even interest and selfishness, might intinate themselves; and mixing with bigotry, or superstition, might generate malice and corruption: then indirect motives would operate, for maintaining a doctrine, or humbling a rival.—In fact, at the last, through the indulgence and admiration given to Religion by the ordinary people, these faults did certainly grow to an enormous height, and some persons, even in the most eminent religious stations, became, not wicked men, but monsters in human shape.

Nevertheless I am persuaded, that though particular facts may raise our abhorrence, if we take a comprehensive view of all the larger councils together, we must acknowledge, that great abilities were often exerted in carrying them on, and great piety: and that many venerable Prelates and Divines must have exposed themselves to great hardships merely with a view to promote a grand and solemn meeting for the purpose of settling religious truth, and^a unanimity amongst Christian brethren^b.

IX. I will close this History with mentioning a few *writers* on Councils. In the Council of Chalcedon there is a book referred to called “Codex canonum

^a See Baxter’s account of African Councils, page 73.

^b A good panegyric on Councils may be seen in Warburton’s Alliance, 2. 3. 2, or page 198; from Hooker, 1. 2.

canonum^c Ecclesiæ Univerſæ,” which muſt have been a body of the decrees of only general Councils, I fear we have no ſuch book now, that is genuine, at leaſt; but we have very good collections of Councils: that by *Labbé* is an able work, but there is a finer published at Paris in 1644, in 37 volumes folio. This is the largeſt I know; the ſmalleſt, is *Berti's* compendium^d. — Biſhop *Beveridge* has written on the ſubject a work in good eſteem; and I have often uſed a book in one volume folio, by *Long*. I think *Baxter's* book, to which I have now referred, contains ſome acute obſervations, and ſome candid ones; but allowance ſhould be made for each man's particular views and principles.

I have ſatisfaction in conſulting *Cave's* *Historia Literaria*, which gives ſhort accounts of Councils, and at the ſame time refers to others much longer. *Binnius* is an author in good repute, but the original records of Councils were not ſo well preſerved, as to leave no uncertainties or contradictions in the accounts which we have of them at this time. — Some writers you will find, who, though ingenious, are too ludicrous and flipſtant upon the ſubject of Councils, for my judgment; as *Voltaire* and *Dr. Jortin*^e: theſe indulge a boyiſh kind of pertneſs, which ſhews, to me, a want of entering into the circumſtances of thoſe whom they ridicule; that is, in truth, a narrowneſs of mind. And indeed not to diſtinguiſh between the nature of anything and the abuſe of it, is always a ſign of narrow views, or haſty reflexion; of an im-

temperate

^c *Cave's* *Hiſt. Lit.* i. page 386.

^d The writers on *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* *Bingham*, *Cave*, &c. refer to a Book called *Hiſt. Conciliorum*, or nearly that. *Hume*, in his *Hiſtory of England*, only quotes *Council*. Tom. x. There are many accounts of Councils.

^e *Art. IX. Sect. viii.*

temperate love of wit, and a desire to be rather humorous than accurate.

x. Let us now come to the *Explanation*.

“*General Councils*.”—A council, in common language, may signify any meeting of persons who consult with each other; but in church-history it seems always to imply some representation; and the term is never used for any less significant meeting than when delegates are sent from the different churches in a^f *Diocese*. A *Diocese* was once a very small district; but of that another time. If all the *Dioceses* in a *Province* send delegates, or representatives, the Council is *provincial*; and the President is a *metropolitan*; (for some one must preside): if all the *Provinces* in a *Nation*, it is *National*^g; and if all the *Nations* τῆς οὐκράνου, it is *œcumenical*, or *general*; and the President must be elected. In fact, delegates are never sent from all nations of the world; and therefore, according to the strictness of this last definition, there never is, nor has been, a general Council; but people will talk big sometimes; as when a large body of Christians call themselves *Catholics*; and we must sometimes

^f The meeting at *Jerusalem* (Acts xv.) may be called a Council or not, as we follow or not these definitions. If all Christendom, however small, appeared there, virtually, it might, in some sense, be called a *general council*, if it was a council at all.

^g I know no name for the head of a *national church*, taken independently of the state; our *Convocations* have had *Prolocutors*, answering to the *speakers* of the Houses of Lords and Commons. *Primate* may be the name; and, our Archbishop of Canterbury may be *Primate* as head of the *English Church*, and *Metropolitan* as head of a *Province*. The Archbishop of *York* is called *Primate of England*; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Primate of all England*. *York* was once a residence of Roman Emperors: *Union of Nations* may (as in *Aquitain*, &c.) have left a title, which now seems too extensive, though it did not when first given.

sometimes follow them when they quit plain literal language. As we have no council between national and general, if a Council be composed of delegates from several nations, and notice be given to others, who are likely to be interested; it may be called a general Council without much impropriety^h. A general council would be the most regularly formed, if each Church was to chuse a representative for a meeting of the churches in a Diocese; if each *Diocese* was to chuse, out of those representatives, a representative for a provincial council; each provincial council one for a National Council; each national council one (or more, according to its extent) for a general council: then, if all Christian nations sent representatives so elected, one does not see why such general council would not fairly represent the Catholic church.—And if some nations neglected to send, supposing they had proper notice, it would be hard if their negligence could frustrate the undertakings of the rest of the Christian world.

I do not know any difference between Council and *Synod*, except that the latter is Greek, and the former Latin: the Laws of councils seem always to be called *Canons*, though that be Greek.

XI. “*The Will of Princes*,”—supposed *Christian* Princes, opposed probably to *Popes*: in a republic, &c. the *sovereign* power.—Because general councils are composed of national councils, and a prince is the head of a nation. It does not follow (whether true or not) that *Provincial* councils may not be gathered together without consulting Princes: some Christian councils were held before Constantine became a Christian.

XII. “*All*

^h Cave reasons in order to settle whether the Council of Constantinople against images, in 754, was a *general* one: so do other writers.

XII. “*All be not governed with the spirit and word of God;*” — that is, some have sometimes worldly views;—the expressions of our Article are directly opposite to one in the *Rhemish*ⁱ Testament; —“*Holy Counsels*” “*have ever the assistance of God’s Spirit, and therefore cannot erre,*” &c.—And the Council of Chalcedon cry out, “*these are the words of the Holy^k Ghost.*”

XIII. “*May err,*” — a priori;—and à posteriori, “*have erred,*” “*even in things pertaining unto God:*”—it was, in 1552, “*not only in worldly matters, but also,*” &c.; this comparison makes our expression more intelligible; and the change makes our assent more easy: it was a needless trouble to prove that Councils had erred “*in worldly matters:*”—worldly matters are not expressed in the *Latin* of 1552.

Our church respects Councils; though it will found Salvation on the Scriptures:—It says, “*they*” *sometimes* “*have erred:*” and “*things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation,*” must be tried by *Scripture*; but this implies, that in anything short of that, Councils ought to be respected. And accordingly, our Homily on fasting, speaks handsomely^l of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

“*Unless it may be declared,*” &c. this seems rather obscure; or however less clear than the Latin, “*nisi ostendi possint è sacris literis esse desumpta,*”—But if Salvation is to be founded on Scripture, the Councils may seem to have nothing to do with our principles; yet they may suggest, argue, interpret; and their opinion, when they do so, may afford us light; and is to be attended to,
and

ⁱ Rhemists on Acts xv. 28.

^k Baxter, page 101.

^l Page 217, 8vo.—See also Reform. Legum de Summâ Trinitate, &c. Cap. 14. which is more clear and full than our Articles.

and treated with reverence: it may have *weight*, sometimes great weight, with those who are not qualified to judge.

xiv. We come to our *Proof*.

There seem but two propositions to be noticed;

xv. General Councils cannot be called without the consent of *Princes*.

General Councils are made up of Delegates from National Councils; and according to us, the Prince is the head of the national Church. How far the consent of the Sovereign is necessary for a man's quitting his own country, is a matter of *National Law*; but I think moralists deem such consent necessary; either express or *tacit*; at least when subjects travel in any considerable numbers; or for ends affecting the State to which they belong.—The Christian religion leaves the political obligations of subjects in their full force.—(See Matt. xxii. 15, &c.—Rom. xiii. 1, &c.)—If some spiritual Magistrate could call a number of every nation out to a distant region, it must greatly interrupt internal Government: and if people so called out could make what rules they pleased about Religion, including discipline, morals, spiritual Courts, &c. and the Magistrate at home must execute those rules, he would be thwarted and impeded in some very important parts of his administration.

xvi. General Councils have *erred*.—If we give any farther proof of this than has already appeared, it will be for the sake of reflecting on the History of the Church. Indeed it would be sufficient if we proved that Romanists must own general Councils to have erred, for our present Article is only against the Romanists: and in this view, we might repeat what was^m before said about Councils deposing

^m Section v.

deposing Popes, and Popes neglecting Councils. And we might add the instance of Pope *Honorius*, who was deposed as a Monothelite by the general council of Constantinople in the seventh Centuryⁿ. General Councils have *contradicted*^o each other, in which case one must err; that at *Rimini* was^p at last *Arian*. And I fear, if we examined the first four, we should not find them all free from error. Lardner does not find the Council of *Nice* such as he approves; chiefly with regard to toleration.—As I remember, it orders people to *stand* during prayer; a small error perhaps: the *Papists* must think it sets the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch too high.

For the first general Council of *Constantinople* we may refer to Gregory^q of Nazianzum, or to the expostulations of the Bishop of Rome: it was noisy and disorderly, and ambitious to have all church-business done in the^r East.—I do not scruple to say, that the general council of *Ephesus* erred in treating Nestorius^s with too great *severity*.—The riot and warm opposition of John of Antioch; the calling in of a military force; fraud, prison, banishment, all these may be said not to be chargeable upon the *Council*; they were not likely to make the Council free from error; riots in any assembly are always a disgrace to it, and a great hindrance to right decisions, though rioters can

ⁿ Art. 11. Sect. x.

^o Long's Councils, page 266.—Baxter on Councils, page 99. 445, or compare page 98. Sect. 9, with page 100, Sect. 17: and the Council at Constantinople in 754, with the second Nicene Council in 787, about images.—See also Bishop Porteus's Brief Confutation, page 30.

^p Bennet on the Article.

^q Baxter, page 67, 69.—Gibbon, Vol. 3. (contents.)

^r Baxter, page 70. Sect. 11.

^s And see Baxter, page 94. Sect. 20. and Art. 11. Sect. viii.

can never be all on one side.—The Council of *Chalcedon* was a scene of contention, as far as concerned the Eutychians; the claims made at it are scarcely intelligible; and the Legates of the *Pope* protested against the eighteenth canon¹. The Eutychian debate in that Council was curious enough; no one knew how to oppose Eutyches without favouring Nestorius, who had been deposed at Ephesus; nor therefore without condemning the preceding general Council; this difficulty I can conceive to have been the occasion of irritating and exasperating the Fathers, and so, of much riot and disorder, both before and at the Council of Chalcedon. The difference between Nestorius and Eutyches (if any², at bottom) was so subtle and refined, that no one could explain himself clearly upon it.

Here Bishop *Porteus's* chapter^x might be introduced.

XVII. I will carry the Proof no farther, but see what can be said in the way of *Application*.—No new form of assent seems wanting.—And I doubt whether any proposals of mutual concessions would be effectual, so bigotted is Du Pin^y in this matter. Except indeed he means, that supposing a general council such as it *should* be, it would be absurd for a *private* man to set up his own judgment against it; if he means this, we might agree with him. And the chief part of what is said in order to inculcate a veneration for general councils, is derived from their

¹ Cave, 1. 485. Its design was, to make the Bishop of Constantinople equal to the Bishop of Rome, Constantinople being new Rome. The breach this occasioned between *East* and *West* has never been healed to this day. Baxter, page 70.

² Baxter, page 102.

^x Brief Confutation, Part 1. Chap. 6.

^y Appendix to *Mohheim*, as before.

their *nature*, and excludes all supposition of their being *abused*.—But if we speak of General Councils as what they have been in fact, it seems to me that *Papists* have full as much reason to declare them fallible, as *Protestants*.

As to *Improvement*, the *idea* of improving general councils is quite simple; take away their *faults*, and they are improved, and useful. A council of Christians literally *general*, seems scarcely attainable in our age, because the Greek Church must be admitted to it, as also Asiatic and African churches; though anything *might* be done by carrying representation far enough, or, what means the same, by reducing the number of representatives.

Yet we can scarce conceive, that in *fact* a small number of representatives would be allowed to bind the universal Church, without having their acts ratified by their constituents: and such ratification would consume so much *time*, as, in many cases, to render the Councils useless. Indeed the time spent merely in the journeys of very distant representatives *to* the place of meeting would make an insuperable difficulty, What would be the case if we supposed both *America* and *Asia* wholly Christian?

No Council would be so bad now as some were when the Clergy were ignorant and profligate; but we are not yet arrived at a manner of disputing productive of mutual conviction; let controversy then be improved and humanized; by our *writings* let us shew, that we are *fit to meet*: And then, let our councils at first be small; and let them be enlarged as we find them produce unanimity.

If we could thus proceed on till there was a probability of some good from consulting with
our

our most distant brethren, it would be a cheering prospect; it would fill our minds with hope, that the Church of Christ might, in some finite time, become in fact, what it always was in theory, *Universal*.



ARTICLE XXII.

OF PURGATORY.

THE Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrantry of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

I. Although this Article is intituled, “Of Purgatory,” it contains several other subjects. We will make some *historical* remarks on them in the order in which they occur; but it may be observed of every one of them, that it began in a time of Superstition; that it became popular because it flattered or interested mens feelings and imaginations; that it got fixed in the dark ages; that it became lucrative to the sacred orders, or advanced their power; and therefore, as well as because it had become associated with religious principles and sentiments, at the revival of learning, it was not given up.

II. With regard to *Purgatory* in particular, though it may not be founded in either reason or scripture, it is not *unnatural*: who can bear the thought of dwelling in *everlasting* torments^a? yet who can say, that a just God will not inflict them?
the

^a If. xxxiii. 14.

—the mind of man seeks some *resource*; it finds one only in conceiving that some temporary punishment after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it at last acceptable even to a Deity perfectly pure. Hence the notion of the soul's *transmigration*; and hence it is, that the Epic^b Poets represent departed Spirits as uttering complaints at the continuance of their sufferings.—Yet some make a difference between men professedly *wicked*, and such as only are compassed about with *infirmities*; the wicked they give up to punishment eternal; but the weak they hope may be made perfect by temporary sufferings; or, in other words, they conceive, that those who have committed *mortal* sins, and not repented of them, will be punished for ever in Hell; but that those who have committed only *venial* sins, will only suffer for a time in *Purgatory*.—We have already^d mentioned the last Article of 1552 concerning the final salvation of all men; containing Dr. *Hartley's* doctrine; and that of *Origen*^e:—but that relates to all kinds of sins, and to a termination of all kinds of punishment.

Some have fixed upon the element of *Fire* as the instrument by which men were to be purified from their venial sins. That element was little understood, and is exceedingly powerful; which is
 enough

^b Homer, Virgil, mentioned by *Burnet*, who also mentions a *platonick* notion to the purpose; but he refers to no *passage*.—*Forbes*, 13. 2, refers to Plato, Cicero, Virgil, &c. but not to Homer, that I see.

^c Art. xv. Sect. XII. XXI. XXIII.

^d Art. XVIII. Sect. v.

^e Aug. Hæc. 43. “purgationem malorum,” &c. Reform. Legum. de Hæc. cap. 11. See the end of *Somnium Scipionis*. In this 43d Hæc. Aug. says, that he has opposed “diligentissimè” *Origen*, and the *Philosophers* from whom he borrowed his doctrine; *De Civitate Dei*.

enough to occasion mystical and superstitious^f opinions and feelings about it; and even to make its operations to be ascribed to *personal* causes.—The soul has been thought to be itself^g fire; and different^h nations have entertained conceptions of departed Spirits being affected by fire; but we must not go far into such matters at present.—There are expressions of *Scripture*, which may have helped forward the adoption of such an opinion into revealed religion; as Ps. civ. 4.—Mal. iii. 2.—Matt. iii. 11.—Acts ii. 3.—See Cruden's Concordance, under *Fire*.

Some *Christians* seem to have had, in very early times, some notions of a temporary punishment after death, purifying the soul; *Carpocrates*ⁱ and *Montanus* are particularly mentioned. The oriental Christians were disposed to believe the transmigration of souls, from their belief of the impurity of matter. The *Manicheans* in particular, did profess that doctrine^k. Yet the *Greek Church*, though eastern, never held any purification after this life.

Augustin was, in his youth, a Manichean, though only an auditor, never one of the elect. He, in some way or other, had acquired a notion of an *ignis purgatorius*^l;—but he made no article of *Faith* about it; he only went so far as to say, “non *incredibile*^m videtur,” and on other occasions, he expressed

^f Cic. de Nat. Deorum, 1. 15. 2. 15. 3. 14.

^g Cic. Tusc. disp. 1. 9. end, “*vulgò*”—and Sect. 11. “*Si ignis, extinguetur.*” (anima).

^h See Michaelis, Introd. Sect. 101, page 245, quarto.

ⁱ See Fulke on the Rhem. Test. from Irenæus and Tertullian. Matt. v. Sect. 1.—He adds the *Origenists*, Matt. xii. Sect. 6.—Forbes's Instruct. 13. 2. 4.

^k Lardner, Vol. 3, page 476.—Vol. 9, page 421, 422.—See also Append. to Book 1. Sect. 1v. or Vol. 1, page 351.

^l Enchiridion, Cap. 29.

^m Ad Dulcitii Quæst. 1.

expressed great doubtfulnessⁿ; and when he treated of the *Limbus infantum*, in which children, dying unbaptized, were supposed to exist, he proved, in general, that there was *no third* state besides heaven and^o hell:—at least, that of such state we are perfectly ignorant, and that it is not mentioned in the Scriptures.

After the time of Augustin the notion of purgatory kept *growing* in the church; but it was only supposed to purify men from slight^p faults; as immoderate laughing, or inordinate domestic cares, &c.

The *Schoolmen*, as usual, run into minute particulars; *Thomas Aquinas*, for instance, mentions, that it is the *same fire* which torments the damned in Hell, and the just in Purgatory^q: and that the least punishment in purgatory, exceeds the greatest in this life.—But I do not see that he mentions from whence he derives his knowledge.

The Council of *Trent* rather seems to take for granted the doctrine of Purgatory, as fixed by Fathers, Councils, &c. than to define it. In the sixth Session, about Justification, it anathematizes all^r, who say, that sins are remitted in Christ, in such sense as to leave no *temporal* punishment due. And in the twenty-fifth Session^s, it decrees, that
the

ⁿ Vener on this Article refers to passages; Enchir. 66. 68. Quæst. Dulc. 1. —De Fide et operibus, cap. 16.

^o De Verbis Apost. Ser. 14. Hypognost. Cont. Pelag. l. 5. (reckoned spurious).—Fulke on Rhemish Test. Matt. xii. Sect. 6.

^p Fulke, *ibidem*, from Gregory the Great, A. D. 590.—Vener observes, that the 5th Gen. Council, in condemning the Origenists, did not mention any *other* Purgatory.

^q Quoted by Forbes, 13. 1. 5. in 4 sentent. dist. 21. quæst. 1. —Farther subtleties are mentioned by Forbes in the same place.

^r Canon 30.

^s Opening.

the *found* doctrine of Purgatory shall be preached, setting aside all nice and subtle questions; but does not say wherein that sound doctrine consists.—It mentions nothing of *Fire*; perhaps in order to avoid abstruse speculations.—But in the Rhemish Testament, the notion of a fiery^t purgatory seems to be kept up. *Du Pin*, in his negotiation with Archbishop Wake, “observes, that souls must be *purged*; that is, purified from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the Church of Rome doth not affirm this to be done by fire;” &c.

I here close the History of *Purgatory*.

III. The next thing mentioned in the Article is “*Pardons*;” this means the same as *Indulgences*, the Latin being *Indulgentiæ*; but from the Rhemish Testament it seems likely, that *Pardons* was the more common term at the time of the Reformation^u. I have explained the nature of these under the fourteenth Article. We may add here a few instances. Extravagant indulgences, or pardons, were granted to those who would undertake to join in the *Crusades*^x. And in order to encourage men to appear at the Council of *Trent*, the Legates and Archbishop of *Trent*, granted three years and one hundred and sixty days of deliverance from Purgatory, to any one, that should appear at that city at the opening of the Council.—As I am not considering History with the most scrupulous nicety (though I would not willingly make any mistake,) I take the account of Mr. *Voltaire*, who adds, that indulgences are still *sold* very cheap at Rome, so
as

^t On 1 Cor. iii 15.

^u In the Index, we find, “Indulgences, see Pardons.”

^x In the Crusade of Richard I. the expedition was to answer to Sinners instead of all Penances.—Innocent III. was liberal of indulgences. Cave.

as to be re-fold in the Swiss Cantons at *four sols* apiece; but that the great profit made of them is in *Spanish America*, where people are more rich and more ignorant than in the small Swiss Cantons^y.

Jubilees were instituted in order to grant indulgences. *Bower*, in his *Life of Pope Boniface^z VIII.* says, that, in the year 1300, on some rumours of pardons having been granted at the end of the preceding century (year 1200,) the Pope appointed the first Christian Jubilee: and gave public notice, that every man, repenting, confessing, and fully absolved, who should, during the last^a year of any Century, visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul (at Rome) once a day, for thirty days, should have a full indulgence: the extent of which has not always been understood in the same^b sense.—It has been computed, that two hundred thousand strangers, have been at Rome in one jubilee-year; and that the mere brass money, offered by the lower people, exclusive of silver and gold offered by the more opulent, has amounted in one year to fifty thousand florins of gold. Since the year 1300, the Jubilees have been made to return more frequently; there has now long been one every^c twenty-five years.

iv. The History of *Images* might be long; because the use of them is calculated to produce disputes. To contemplate resemblances of persons whom we love or admire, is naturally pleasing and

^y Vol. 10th, quarto. page 151. 162.

^z *Bower's Lives of Popes*, Vol. 6, page 354.—*Chambers's Dict. Jubilee.*

^a Perhaps 99 is most properly the last year, but, if 101 be called the first year, 100 must be the last.

^b Art. xiv. Sect. 1.—See also *Fulke* on 2 Cor. ii. 10. (Rhem. Test.)

^c *Chambers.*

and interesting to the mind. And if persons, who have greatly promoted or suffered for the cause of Religion, are departed out of life, still the Devout may be greatly affected by a lively representation of their appearance and manner. But when the person represented seems to have any claim to religious adoration, the resemblance occasions some danger. The Heathens had images of their Gods; but it is probable that at first each image was only regarded as a mere resemblance; continual association of the ideas of the invisible original, and the visible resemblance, united them in the mind, and took away the distinction between them. Ere long the very sight of the Image raised all those sentiments, those devout affections, which at first seemed appropriated to the original.

This transition of the feelings from the original to the Image, may take place, on different occasions, and in different degrees. Suppose then Images in any place of worship; to remove them, is to take away a great deal of that on which the devout mind feeds, and by which it supports itself: to leave them, is to draw the mind on, nearer and nearer, to Idolatry. What disputes and contentions might not arise on the proposal of such measures!—And disputes of this nature might be forwarded by a conflict between love and hatred for the^d polite arts.—We might give more or fewer examples of these things; but they would suggest only this general observation.

As the *early Christians* had occasion to contend against Idolatry, it seems natural that they should have an abhorrence of images. We may well therefore consider the accounts of the statue of
Christ

^d Art. xx. Sect. 1. and vii.

Christ sent to King *Abgarus*, and the paintings^e of St. *Luke*, as fabulous. The Emperor *Theodosius* forbade all incense, &c. to Idols, (sensu carentibus simulacris), under penalty of forfeiture of the houses or lands where such act of superstition was committed^f.—*Augustin* seems uneasy^g at the multiplying^h of paintings and statues in his time, though the political and historical use of them was not denied. In the fifth and sixth Centuries they multiplied still more; no one had time to lay any restraints, so busy were the leaders of the church with other matters. About the year 600 *Serenus* Bishop of Marseilles began to attack them with violence; Pope *Gregory* half commended him, but rather soothed mens desire for images upon the whole: however, it got fixed for some time, as a compromise, that it was right to *have* images, but wrong to *worship* themⁱ.

We may pass on to the Emperor *Leo* III. called the *Isaurian*; a man of an imperious and violent spirit. Provoked by something of no very great consequence, he published an Edict against Images in 726, and demolished them in great numbers; and in 754 they were condemned at a Council at *Constantinople* called a *general*^k one: in 787 was held the second *Nicene* council, on which the Romanists found their worship of Images: they speak of it

^e See Forbes, 7. 8, and Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, page 173, &c.

^f Leg. 12, page 15, quoted by Middleton, page 158.

^g The *Anthropomorphites* might be mentioned here: Aug. Hær. 50.—Baxter's Councils, page 76, Sect. 39.

^h Ep. 102, (al. 49,) Tom. 1. page 212. Edit. Antv.

ⁱ This seems to be adopted by the *Necessary Doctrine*; as mentioned Art. VII. Note at the end of Sect. XIII.

^k Cave argues for its being called a general one.—Compare, in Baxter's Councils, No. 228, with No. 232.—Partic. page 226, Sect. 55.—Some mention made of this Council, Art. XXI. Sect. x.

it as if it had been the unanimous act of all Christians, and opposed to¹ no other act. Yet it was called by an abandoned Empress, *Irene*, who had caused her husband to be poisoned, and afterwards put out her son's eyes.—The opposition had now caused much effusion of blood, as well as the revolt of the Exarchate of Italy (Ravenna the capital) from the eastern Empire. In 794, Charlemagne held a Council at *Frankfort*, intending to moderate the fury of the contending parties; and he also published some writings.—In 814 there was another Council at Constantinople against images: and one at *Paris* in 825, but in that the adoration of the Cross was encouraged.

In the succeeding centuries, till the Reformation, the passion for Images grew still stronger; but men of sober minds grew to be offended: and that was one cause of the Reformation.

The favourers of Images have been called *Iconolatræ*, and *Iconoduli*; and their adversaries, *Iconomachi*, and *Iconoclastæ*.—Cave calls the eighth century *Seculum Eiconoclasticum*.

John of Damascus, called usually *Damascene*, whom Lardner and Cave place in 730, was a famous writer in favour of images; he was of a great family, and eminent for his learning; but on account of his credulity, which was the fault of his time, he is not always to be depended upon.—Pope *Adrian I.* wrote against Charlemagne, but got no fame^m.

After

¹ Rhem. Test. end of 1 John.—Trent, Session 25, page 202, duodecimo.

^m The *Collyridians* (Epiphan. Hær. 79.) might be mentioned, as it was to the *Image* of the Virgin that they offered their *Cake*, (*κολλυρῶν*, its dim. *κολλυρις*)—(See Fulke on Rhem. Heb. ix. Sect. 4.) And what Forbes relates of *Theodore Eliota* (a new way of preferring sacrifice to Mercy,) might be read in

After the Reformation began, the demolition of Images was considered as part of the destruction of Popery. The Puritans wished the demolition to be total.

Popish countries abound withⁿ Images still.—They have, or have had, Images of the *Deity*^o; but what we hear most of, are those of *Christ*, and his earthly *Parent*, and some *Angels*, and many *Saints*. Some of these are very^p rich, others so mean as to be ridiculous to any but the lowest people.—An image “of Christ upon the Cross, with Mary^q and John standing by,” used to be called, in England, a *Rood*.

At *Lisbon*, as I have been told by one who spoke of what he had *seen*, there is a statue of the Virgin in a large full-bottomed wig, with Jesus, as a Boy, dressed in a Sword and bag-wig, with a Violin in his Hand.—Sir Edwin *Sandys* says, that “Where one voweth to Christ, ten vow unto her,” (the Virgin), “and not so much to herself, as to some peculiar image,” &c.—“for one miracle reported

Latin; if it is, the approbation of Adrian I. and the second Nicene Council, should not be forgotten.—Forbes 7. 2. 30.—7. 11. 33.

Here also might be mentioned “the Doctrine of *School-authors*” (Art. of 1552) from Forbes 7. 2. 26, 27, 28.—And it might be seen, at the same time, how “the *Romish* Doctrine,” (Art. of 1562) differs from the Scholastic.—In the Article of 1552 the expression is, “The Doctrine of *School-authors* concerning Purgatory,” &c.—In ours, of 1562, “The *Romish* doctrine concerning Purgatory,” &c. in other things the Articles are much the same.

ⁿ Middleton’s Letter from Rome.

^o Rhem. Test. on Acts xvii. 29. shews how Images of *God the Father* were made from Dan. vii. 22. also with a *Globe* in his hand, from no scripture; and of the *Trinity*, from Gen. xviii. 2. and defends them.

^p Our Lady of Loretto, &c. Midd. page 154, 155. *Speculum Europæ*, page 4.

^q Neal, *Hist. Pur.* 1. page 102. Holyrood House,

reported to be wrought by the Crucifix, not so few perhaps as an hundred are voiced upon those other Images^r." This traveller speaks from his own observation; and so does Dr. *Middleton* in later times, when he tells us of several women whom he saw sitting before the Altar of a Saint, each a^s child in her lap, "in expectation of his miraculous influence on the health of the Infant."

The Council of *Trent* mention the Romanists as kissing images, and prostrating themselves before them; as well as being uncovered in paying them respect: the images specified are those of *Christ*, the *Virgin*, and other Saints, to whom *due* honour is to be given.—*Due* honour should certainly be given to every thing.

The alteration made by the Romanists in the second *commandment* was mentioned Art. VII. Sect. XIII.

v. There is a connexion or analogy between Images and *Relics*; both deriving their efficacy from association of ideas between the thing and an interesting person. What was said of Images, will, in great measure apply to Relics. It is natural to be affected by a relic of any one loved, admired, or venerated: the sight of it makes our regret, affection, &c. lively and strong: and the place where the remains of any departed friend are deposited, will come under the notion of a Relic. Virgil's Tomb has been visited with a tender interest.—Some persons of our own country would, in the last Century, have very highly valued, and passionately contemplated, any relic of
Charles

^r Sir Edward Sandys's *Speculum Europe*, page 4 and 5.— See also Midd. page 152.

^s Letter from Rome, page 167. if there be no *Image* near this Altar, the instance may belong to Sect. VI.

Charles I. or a twig of the Royal Oak by means of which his son escaped.

But religion, in this as in other things, heightens our feelings. In Mr. Mason's *Characteristics*¹ we find a sentiment excited by Druidical relics. I can conceive a degree of affection or enthusiasm to have arisen from a relic of one of our venerable Martyrs in the time of Queen *Mary*.

It requires meditation and knowledge of Antiquity rather than reasoning, to see what the *early Christians* must have felt on contemplating what they believed to be remains of Saints, Martyrs, Apostles, their blessed Lord himself! agitated by continual danger, harassed by passionate exertions to spread the religion which they professed! — I do not mean, that the *primitive Christians* imagined themselves to be really in possession of remains of Christ and the Apostles; for the primitive times are charged with no weakness of the kind; but when a passion for relics once began to prevail, it spread more easily because of the habitual feelings of Christians, and, we may add, because of the credulity of the times. A passionate attention to the fate of *Martyrs*, and to every thing belonging to them, one cannot wonder at, in Christians of any age. Put yourself into the place of Christians in the fourth century, for instance; conceive how highly they must regard those whom they had seen suffering with constancy to the last extremity; imagine how they must be united together, and how their union must heighten their mutual sympathy; and you will not be surprized, that they should meet at the *Tombs of the Martyrs*, and there offer up their *prayers*² to God and their Lord,

as

¹ Line 236.

² See *Africanus*, in Lardner's Works, Vol. 4, page 306. — Also a quotation from *Tertullian de Coronâ Militis*, C. 1, 2, 3. in Wall's Inf. Baptism, page 480, quarto.

as Christians, and confirm their resolutions of following the noble example of the deceased, in case they should be called upon to so severe a trial.— But it is to be feared, that the scene was sometimes too much for their sober reason: they fancied things without just foundation, they believed without sufficient proof; and some, thinking the spirit good, must have transgressed the bounds of truth in *inventing* what might nourish and enflame it.— If this was the case, any number of false relics might be produced and circulated: any voices might be heard*.

Augustin must have been sensible of a foolish excess in this matter, by the terms in which he abuses the *idle Monks*; some of whom *wandered* about. “*Alii membra Martyrum, si tamen Martyrum, venditant.*”—(De Op. Monach. cap. 28.)

About the end of the fourth Century, the fondness for relics was ridiculed by *Vigilantius*, possibly with too little caution: *Jerom* writes against him, but not exactly as one would wish; however, he is rather to be called over serious and declamatory than extravagant^y, or wrong in his fundamental opinions.

John Damascene, in reasoning on Images, takes relics as a ground^z or axiom.

In

* The word *Memories* is often made use of: Du Fresne gives several different senses of it, but I think not that of what we call *Apparitions*.—*Memoria*—a sepulchre; in pl. a *celebration*, which seems to have been passionate, with some gestures and salutations.—A receptacle of a corpse.—A chapel—a *box* holding relics.—Anything which had been used by the deceased, as his *Staff*, &c.—*funeral rites*—and *Festivals*, such as we call *Saints' Days*.

^y See Fulke on Rhem. Test. Argument to St. Luke's Gospel; and on Acts xix. Sect. 8.

^z Forbes, 7. 2. 27. end. If I am to adore the original Cross, the Spear, the Sponge, why not images of man's making, for the Glory of Christ? &c. in this way.

In dark ages, the passion for relics probably grew stronger, and the veneration paid to them more solemn; but I know of no great events which they produced.

The Council of *Trent* says, that all those are to be condemned who affirm, that “*worship*” (*verenerationem*) and *honour* is not due to relics; or that it is paid unprofitably; or that the *Memories* of Saints are celebrated in vain. It also prescribes rules for the admission of new relics.

The lower ranks of *Romanists* have carried their veneration for relics to such a childish excess, as to give occasion to numberless forgeries; such as bring contempt and disgrace upon Christianity, and by being believed by the superstitious, though incredible to any man of sense, promote *infidelity* in things of importance. Every traveller into Popish countries recounts numberless stories about them, and the miracles^a which they perform.

VI. The last thing to be mentioned, is the invocation of *Saints*: Saints are often invoked by a person present with their *Images*, or their *relics*; but the ideas of their Images or relics, should be kept distinct from that of Invocation. I hope no man is foolish for being affected when he meditates on the manner of existence of his departed friends; or for indulging some indistinct hope of seeing them again: nor any Christian, for feeling an interest in all those, of all ages, who have departed this Life in the faith of Christ; as well as in those of his own generation; or for conceiving, that there subsists between them that degree of intercourse, fellow-feeling, sympathy, which their respective natures are capable of: Such a supposed common interest, is the communion of *Saints*.

Cicero,

^a In the Decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. 25, the word “*beneficia*” is used, not *miracula*.

Cicero^b, speaking in the character of Cato Major, describes every good man as warmly interested, both in those who have departed this life before him, and in those who are to live after him: his, “*divinum conciliū cætusque animorum*,” makes one imagine, that the communion of Saints would have been to him a very pleasing Article of Faith, had he lived under Christianity. In saying this, *Cicero* is seldom considered as foolish or culpable; but had he paid religious honours to any of his worthies; had he made *Images* of them, or procured some forged *relics* as belonging to them; and had he kissed these, prostrated himself before them, *invoked* the worthies, and desired their intercession with Jupiter or Pluto; we should now have different notions of his wisdom, from those which we do entertain. How weak then should we have thought him if he had done such things towards men of no value: or on account of persons whose real character was wholly unknown^c to him!

We are told, that, invocation of Saints was a thing unknown to Christians for at least^d three hundred years; and that none of the Fathers, in plain serious writing said, that *Servitus* was due to Saints, for six hundred years.

How soon Christians ran into excess in worshipping Saints, appears from the second African Council, held A. D. 401, (Cave). In this it is ordered, that the *Altars* which are set up every where in the *fields*, or in the *ways*, to Martyrs, be overthrown by the Bishops, except the Body, or some *undoubted* relics be there. It is also said, that

^b De Senestute ad finem.

^c Middleton's Letter, page 173, 174.

^d Bishop Porteus, Part ii. Chap. 1. and Forbes, 7. 1. 17.

that Altars had been set up by “*dreams and vain revelations.*”

Invocation of Saints probably proceeded much in the same manner with the other abuses mentioned in this Article; it is so intimately connected with them. What *Vigilantius* wrote against *Martyrs*, extends to *Saints*; Martyrs were often fainted; and his reasoning affects the Invocation of Saints; as he affirms, that the souls of Saints were not, as was usually presumed, present with their Bodies; or at their monuments; much less could they be present at every place where their relics happened to be preserved^e.

The Council of *Trent* joins Invocation of Saints with Relics and Images. All men are to be condemned (*damnandi sunt*) who do not own, that the Saints, reigning with Christ, offer their prayers to God for men; and that it is useful to invoke them in order to get their assistance; in asking God for blessings through Christ.

Cardinal Bellarmin says, as we find in Forbes, 7. 1. 12. “*Sanctis angelis et hominibus deberi cultum aliquem religiosum,*” (*de Sanct. Beat. cap. 13.*) but then he explains *religiosum* by “*majorem merè humano.*”

Bishop *Porteus* gives us^f a collection of terms in which Papists address the *Virgin Mary*; and mentions alterations of the Psalms, *Te Deum*, &c. made in order to suit them to her. Forms may be found in the Popish Liturgies, and in Forbes^g; and in Rogers on this Article.

For

^e On this and the preceding paragraph, see Fulke on Rhem. Test. Apoc. vi. Sect. 1.

^f Bishop Porteus, Part ii. Chap. ii.

^g Forbes, 7. 2. 19, — See also Fulke on Rhem. Test.—John xvi. sect. 3. and 1 Cor. ii. sect. 4.

For other instances of modern invocation of Saints, I will refer to Dr. Middleton's Letter from^h Rome; and to books of travels which are in every one's hands. It may be as well not to omit the idea, which some have encouraged, in order to obviate the difficulty arising from the limited knowledge of the Saints; that *Angels inform the Saints* what is addressed to them: *Forbes* mentions this notionⁱ, but he does not say by whom it was held.—It may also be right to refer to the same writer in order to shew, that the Schoolmen held the same with the Romanists; as the Article of 1552 affirms of the *Schoolmen*, what the Article of 1562 affirms of the Church of *Rome*^k.

VII. But I will not pursue this History farther; I will now proceed to some *Explanation*.

Purgatory may be defined, a state, in which the souls of men, popularly called *good men*, (according to what was said under Art. xv.) though not wholly free from *faults* and infirmities, are confined, till they are *purified*, probably by suffering, from all those faults and infirmities, and fitted for an entrance into *heaven*, and the more immediate presence of a Deity of perfect Holiness.

Why the title of the Article should be "*Of Purgatory*," when it includes other Doctrines, might possibly be in some measure explained.—All the things mentioned in the Body of the Article, after *Purgatory*, have been chiefly used as means of shortening the duration of its pains^l. *Indulgences* have that end chiefly and immediately in view. And adorations are offered to *Saints*, through

^h Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, page 176.—The passage, quoted Sect. 1v. might have been here.

ⁱ *Forbesii Instruct.* 7. 1. 20. ^k *Forbesii Instruct.* 7. 2. 4.

^l The Council of Trent mixes these doctrines, Sess. 25.

through the medium of *Images* or *Relics*, chiefly in order to prevail upon them to assist in delivering souls out of *Purgatory*. So that the Article might have been entitled, ‘Of Purgatory, and the means of abridging its Pains,’ were it not that each subject may require some separate consideration.—Indeed, as it is, the whole chain of subjects is spoken of as one doctrine; what the Romanists teach concerning them is called “*a fond thing*.”

VIII. “*The Romish Doctrine*.”—In the Article of 1552 it was, “The doctrine of the *school-authors*”—“*Scholasticorum doctrina*;”—what that was, with regard to the leading subject, Purgatory, has been briefly mentioned in our^m History. If the old expression had continued, the Romanists might have said, we do not defend the doctrines of the *Schoolmen* in every particularⁿ. The present expression confines all dispute to the doctrines which the *Romanists* professed, whatever those were; and it denotes the degree of each doctrine *actually existing*; so that it would not avail for the Romanists to defend *some* regard for sacred painting or sculpture; some respect for real relics; except they could defend what actually appeared in Popish countries relating to one or the other, *when the Article was made*.

IX. “*Worshipping*

^m Sect. II.

ⁿ Bellarmin professes to differ from the Schoolmen about *Images*; see Forbes, 7. 2. 27, &c.—One might say, in general, that the Romanists have, since the complaints of the Reformers, endeavoured to moderate the doctrines of the Schoolmen, in expression, explanation, theory; but so as to leave room for the *people* to be as weak and credulous as their education inclines them to be. Yet from Forbes, 7. 1. 17. we see, that even some schoolmen did not like *Dulia* for worship of Saints; because men are their fellow-servants. Bishop Hurd opposes solemn forms of rituals, canons, and councils, to the private writings of Romish Divines, On Prophecy, page 384.

IX. “*Worshipping and adoration* ;”—in Latin, “*eneratione et adoratione* ;”—these words have by no means so determinate a sense as to prevent all disputes, or even to suggest one invariable idea to the mind of a thinking man. They may express our regards to the Supreme Being, they would not be too strong for our attentions to a sacred human character. “Worship” in modern English seems appropriated to the supreme Being; but at the time the Articles were made, it signified merely respect, reverence, honour: as indeed appears by the Latin word of the Article, “*eneratione*.”—Worshipping seems sometimes to be used in our English bibles for the eastern *prostration*, and may therefore correspond to the expression of the Council of Trent, “*procumbimus* p.” *Adorare* seems to mean to address any one with respect, and with some idea of obtaining a favour. Such address seems to have been conceived to be attended with some bodily gestures of a respectful, suppliant sort: as bowing, &c.—the word was sometimes^o used for addressing an Heathen *God*, which would be called *prayer*; but Tacitus uses^r *adorare vulgum* for, to bow or cringe to the common people, as canvassers would do.

x. *Invocation*, seems to be desiring assistance, intercession; though, in fact, it has occasioned formal *worship*.

xi. The word “*fond*,” is not modern, but the meaning of it appears sufficiently^s from the
Latin

^o This will appear more fully in Art. xxv. Sect. vi.

^p Page 202, Edit. Antv. 1596, Sess. 25, Decretum de Invocatione, &c.

^q Cooper's Thesaurus.

^r Ainsworth's Dictionary.

^s I cannot help comparing *fond* with the French *fou*, *falle*; they seem to have been used much in the same way; to express

Latin "*futilis*." The word occurs in the Rhemish Testament twice'.—"*A fond thing*;"—in the *singular* number: the system of doctrines (as before) is reckoned as *one* single doctrine.

"Vainly invented,"—"*inanitè conficta*."—foolish and unfounded; in the eye of *reason*; this seems contradicting to "grounded upon no warrant of *Scripture*."

XII. "But *rather* repugnant"—immò, which we should now translate *nay*—nay "rather repugnant to the word of God:" we had this word in the thirteenth^u Article, in the same sense.—In our Latin the expression is,—"*immò verbo Dei contradicit*;"—in that of 1552, "*imò verbo Dei perniciosè contradicit*;" though the *English* is the same in both; which indeed might be the reason why the Convocation of 1562 left out "*perniciosè*:" or there might be other reasons.

XIII. We have now gone through the Article, in the way of explanation; but it seems proper to mention the Popish distinction between *λατρεια*, and *δωλεια*, and *υπερωδωλεια*.—As also that between *Image* and *Idol*.—The Romanists, wishing to avoid the charge of Idolatry, have said, that there are different sorts of adoration; *λατρεια* is that which
is

want of *understanding*; and want of *prudence*, and being under the influence of passion, not controlled by reason: the Council of Trent blames those who hold, "*stultum esse*," to pray to Saints, Sess. 25, page 203, bottom.—As this session was in 1563, it might aim at the Article made in 1552: or at some Confession of Reformers to the same purpose.

^t More strictly, the word *ford* occurs in *Fulke* on the Rhemish Testament, folio, 224. I say *folio*, as only every other page is numbered.

^u Art. XII. Sect. xv.—Bishop Hallifax has expressed the same thing in his eleventh Sermon on Prophecy. "All the observances mentioned here are not only not commanded in scripture, but are in direct violation of it." Page 351.

is due to God; *δουλεία* that which is due to man; *ὑπερδουλεία* that which is due to Christ in his human nature, or to his Mother, the blessed *Virgin*.—Augustin has something of the distinction between *λατρεία* and *δουλεία*, and uses *servitus* often; but he does not mention *ὑπερδουλεία*, nor is it in any Greek Author. Augustin was a Latin Father, and might know but little of the Greek language. I do not see any foundation for the distinction between *λατρεία* and *δουλεία*, except that *λατρεία* is more frequently used for *servicing* God than *δουλεία*. *Λατρίς* is a servant, and *Δουλος* is a servant.—I should guess, that the *Λατρίς* was more ingenuous than the *Δουλος*, but they, or their derivatives seem to be used interchangeably^x; and sometimes in scripture *λατρευειν* is used for serving^y men, and *δουλευειν* for serving^z God. But it is proper to mention in what senses the Romanists use these words, whether they be right or wrong.

With the same view, of avoiding the charge of Idolatry, the Romanists blame us for not making distinction enough between *Image* and *Idol*; between *εικων*, I suppose, or *simulacrum*, (the word of the Vulgate,) and *ειδωλον*. It seems the English Testament had once, instead of “Little children keep yourselves from^a *Idols*,”—little children keep yourselves from *Images*^b.—*Ειδωλον* in Greek seems

to

^x Compare Rom. i. 25. with Gal. iv. 8—Compare also the sayings of Tigranes and his wife, in the third Book of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, page 144. 147, 8vo.—Forbes, 7. 1. mentions them, from Valla, and has more on the subject.

^y Deut. xxviii. 48.—Lev. xxiii. 7, 8.—Exod. xii. 16.—*Εργον λατρευειν*.

^z Matt. vi. 24.—Rom. vi. 22.—See particularly 1 *Theff. i. 9* in the Greek.

^a Conclusion of 1 *John*.

^b See Rhemists on the passage.

to be used for any resemblance^c or effigy; but *Idol*, in English, does seem to mean a visible object, which has divine *worship* paid to it: the authors of the Rhemish Testament say^d thus, “*neither every idol is an image, nor every image an Idol.*” That every image, or resemblance, is not an idol, that is, not worshipped, is clear enough; as well as that an image *may* be an Idol: the second commandment forbids making a graven *image*, or the *likeness* of any being^e, in order to *bow down* to it, or *serve* it. But I feel some doubt whether all idols are not *made* for images, that is, resemblances, even though they have no original really existing; there is no such animal as a *Dragon*, yet those who made the *Idol* called by that^f name, might have some rude belief that there was such an animal.

Peter Lombard (from Origen)^g seems to make an *Idol* the copy of something only *fancied*; an *image* he understands to be a resemblance of something *real*: according to this, no image could be called an *Idol*.—The LXX says, *καὶ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον, ὅδε παντος ὁμοιωμα*—if here the *εἰδωλον* is one thing, and the *ὁμοιωμα* another, (which does not seem to me the meaning) then again a *likeness* cannot be called an *Idol*. Yet, in customary speech, any substance seems to be called an *Idol*, which is an object of religious *worship*^h: but in whatever sense we take the words, these observations will have the same tendency to cut
off

^c Or a Ghost: see Greek Primitives under *εἶδω*.

^d On the same place, 1 John v. 21.

^e Exod. xx. 4, 5.

^f Apocrypha.

^g Lib. 3. dist. 37, B.

^h See also abridgment of H. Stephens, under *Εἰδωλον*. In Stephens himself this is the *Ecclesiastical* sense: there are instances of *Εἰδωλον* and *Εἰκων* being used as synonymous.

off disputes, and to prevent the Romanists from blaming us.

xiv. We come now to *Proof*.—This might afford us a number of propositions if we carried it to its utmost length: for we should then have to shew, that the System of Doctrines here mentioned, is not founded on reason; that every text of Scripture produced in its support is invalid, and then, that some texts of Scripture are repugnant to it: and this we should have to shew also of the five particulars; Purgatory, Indulgences, Worship of Images, Worship of Relics, and Invocation of Saints. We will be as brief as possible.

xv. First, concerning the Article *in general*.—‘The *set* of doctrines condemned in it, are not, on a *general* view, founded in Reason, or warranted by Scripture.’

When Religion possesses the mind, so that the devout affections are strong, they are apt, if not very carefully regulated, to draw the mind imperceptibly into folly and absurdity. For a while such folly may be encouraged; but ere long, it will be lamented, by every wise and disinterested person. A good man must indeed venerate, in some degree, every thing that springs from Religion, even to its very faults; he therefore will not restrain even what he cannot approve; nay, he is afraid to destroy religious principles, though erroneous. But when we may judge freely we see, that such folly is a more important evil than some men think it. When it consists in taking presumptions for facts, and acting upon them, we can see, that it is nothing less than man’s taking upon him to be the Author of Revelation; which may produce any evils whatever. When it consists in forming acts of affection into a system of

religious ordinances, we can see, that the effusions of our best passions, though not condemned at the moment, naturally excite an ingenuous shame on a calm review, and are much too frivolous to be collected into a *Code*, and made *Duties*: though, in some cases, their frivolousness can be better felt than demonstrated.—When religious folly consists in enlivening the affections towards invisible objects by the use of visible representations of them, we can see, that the attention gets more and more fixed on what meets the senses, and continually more detached from that which is invisible; till the judgment is perverted, and the mind debased. That Christians should be *Anthropomorphites* without such imitations, may surprize us; but we see plainly, that all attempts to enliven devotion by their means, have a strong tendency to confound the ideas of God and Man in the human mind.

Lastly, When religious folly consists in unre-served dependence on the power of an interested Priest to punish or forgive, we can see, that what might have been a reasonable ground of hope and confidence to a dejected penitent, becomes a temptation to sin.

These observations are calculated to shew, that the *set* of doctrines before us, considered in a general view, are not founded in *reason*; we are next to shew, that they are not warranted by *scripture*.—We find several passages of Holy writ which shew a kind of jealousy of what men might call *improving* upon Christianity.—As 1 Cor. iii. 12.—2 Cor. xi. 3.—Gal. i. 8, 9.—Eph. iv. 14.—Col. ii. 8.—2 Tim. i. 13. or Jude 3.—and Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

And I seem to see many passages, which intimate, that human appointments may be carried so far

far as to disappoint their own purposes. — As Matt. xv. 1—9.ⁱ — Jewish ordinances seemed, probably, *improvements*, at the time they were made.

And particularly we find passages which might guard us against making our Christian *worship* to be performed in any way by means of the *senses*. — John iv. 24. — Gal. iii. 3.^k

I suppose, that if the Jews had made a statue^l of Moses, and, using solemn gestures before that, had invoked Moses, and desired him once^m more to mediate between God and them, they would have broken the second commandment. It seems probable that they were forbidden to make to themselves the likeness of anything in Heaven or Earth, because it would gradually have disposed their minds to idolatry.

xvi. From these general proofs of the Article, we pass on to some more *particular*. — And first of *Purgatory*. That there is such a state of purification, by suffering, after death, appears inadmissible, because it seems unreasonable that we should be expected to allow what is wholly passed over when it was most likely to be noticed. In Matt. xxv. we have only two states mentioned, and they were both “prepared” without any hint of any temporary

ⁱ Art. vii. Sect. iv. one might also consider Art. xiv. about *will-worship*. Bishop Hurd, *Proph.* page 393, speaks of Will-worship as an opprobrious name: not so Dr Hammond.

^k Those who took Notes at Lecture should be informed, that some texts in this Section were omitted for want of time; and the whole of Sect. 13th by mistake.

^l The Melchisedecians are said to have had a statue of Moses, in Arabia, and to have worshipped it. Epiphan. *Hær.* 55. — Rhem. Test. on Heb. ix. Sect. 4. Fulke.

^m Exod. xxxii. 11. 32. — Numb. xvi. 22. 46, &c. — See also Deut. v. 5. and Lev. xxvi. 46. though the two last relate only to mediation concerning the law.

temporary sufferings to the “blessed.”—The same might be observed of other passages.—If such a state as Purgatory is to be allowed by all men, is it not unaccountable, that Christians should have been so long ignorant^a of it? Its being admitted at last may be accounted for, from the notions of the ancients, from its suiting the wishes and alleviating the fears of the People, and from its being lucrative to the sacred orders.

In order to prove that Purgatory is “grounded on no warrant of *scripture*,” one should examine all the texts alledged in support of it: this would be what we have called indirect proof. These texts (out of the *New Testament*) may be found in the *Rhemish Testament*, and all in *Veneer*^o on this Article. But they seem to me to have so little weight, that I may safely venture to omit them, referring to Bishop Porteus^p for a specimen.—Indeed some of them have been explained, in our discussions, or in Bishop Pearson on the Descent into Hell.

The last thing, with regard to Purgatory is to shew, that the notion of it is “*repugnant* to the word of God.”—This we should call direct proof; the negative form of the Article makes here a trifling difference.

Now under the the twelfth Article it was shewn, that what are popularly called the good actions
of

^a See a passage from Bishop Fisher at the conclusion of this Article.

^o Texts for Purgatory copied from Veneer, page 460. on this article; only the order changed: some seem to be false prints.—Exod. i. 15.—Numb. xiv. 32, 33.—1 Sam. iii.—2 Kings i.—Psalms lxvi. 12.—Isaiah ix. 18.—Mich. vii. 8, 9.—Zech. ix. 11.—Mal. iii. 3.—Matt. v. 22.—v. 25, 26.—xii. 32.—Luke xxxii. 42. (qu. 22?)—Acts ii. 24.—1 Cor. iii. 15.—xv. 29.—Phil. ii. 10.—James ii. 25. (qu. 13?)—1 Pet. iii. 19.—1 John v. 16.

^p Bishop Porteus, page 48.

of a Christian, though imperfect, are “pleasing and acceptable to God, in Christ.” If so, there is no need of *suffering*. — That our forgiveness through Christ is *immediate*, the scriptures^a declare; as is shewn by Bishop Burnet on this Article. — I will therefore conclude my proof with 1 John i. 7.—“the blood of Jesus Christ”—“cleanseth us from *all* sin.”

XVII. In the next place we should prove, of the Doctrine of *Pardons*, or Indulgences, that it is unfounded in reason, and has no warrant of scripture, but is even repugnant to it.

In the way of reasoning, it appears, that the doctrine of Pardons is groundless, because their business is to dispense the Treasures of merits amassed by works of *supererogation*; whereas under the fourteenth Article it was shewn, that there are no such works, and, of consequence, no such treasures to dispense. The effect also of Indulgences is to relieve souls out of *Purgatory*; whereas we have just now shewn, that the existence of such a state is not admissible.

This doctrine is not warranted by Scripture, because the passages alledged in its support^r are only those, as I conceive, which appoint the Governors of the Church to be the *Agents* of Christ: now all appointments of Agents must be understood with this limitation, so long as they act in the *Character* of Agents. If an Agent undeniably and grossly exceeds his Commission, his principal is never obliged to ratify his acts.—Being the Agent of God for the sake of conducting religious society, does not make Man to be God; any more than an Embassy makes an Embassador to be a Sovereign.

This

^a Heb. ix. 27.

^r Matt. xvi. 19.—John xx. 23.

This doctrine is repugnant to 2 Theff. ii. 4. without considering that passage as predictive of Popery. Whatever state it foretells, that state is a wrong one.

XVIII. The next subject which occurs, is the worshipping of *Images*. And first we should reason on the subject, in order to see whether it has any foundation: But something has been already^s said on the effect of Images on the mind: the use of them has been shewn to be attended with danger of debasing our religious sentiments and principles. Disputes relating to the use of them are kept up by the various degree of Adoration: but our Article takes the degree actually *subsisting* at the time it was made; this was *cultus religiosus*; to which our former observations are applicable. —The only forcible argument for the use of Images seems to be, that which is contained in the favourite expression, ‘Images and Pictures are the *Books*’ of the unlearned.’—And it is true, that delineations are less arbitrary than words, strike more quickly, convey ideas to more persons; more easily seize a^u reluctant attention. No one will hear me speak anything but praise of Macklin’s Bible,

^s Sect. IV. and XIV.

^t Rhem. Test. on John v. 21.—Comber, in his advice to Engl. Papists, page 85, quotes this as a saying of “Porphyr. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 3.”

^u Mr. Collier, once High Sheriff of the Isle of Ely, told me, that, in order to get the Jail at Ely repaired, he had presented to the Privy Council *drawings* of the Prisoners, loaded with more Irons. &c. than would have been needful to secure them, had the Jail been properly repaired; and expressing their feelings by their countenances and attitudes: without this measure he had despaired of gaining the attention of the Privy Council at that time. It was doubtful whether, the Bishop of Ely was obliged to keep the Jail in repair. The scheme, I have understood, produced an early decision from the Privy Council, to the great alleviation of the sufferings of those under confinement at that place.

Bible, or of the charming west window at New College Chapel; I am sure any reasonable Protestant may receive good from the contemplation of them: but then it is, because they have not the least connexion, in his mind, with *Worship*. The *Papists* use resemblances as *media* in the very act of worshipping. If I was called upon to gaze upon the best statue or picture in the world, as the means of heightening my *devotion* in prayer, I should turn aside from it: a west window cannot well be intended for such a purpose.—Take then the books of the unlearned into their proper place, and there they may be studied with profit, and without danger.

I am happy to find *Augustin* expressing himself in the manner he does, on this subject.—“*Et Idola quidem omni sensu carere quis dubitet? Verum tamen cum his locantur sedibus, honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus attendantur, ipsâ similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis insensata et exanima, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere et spirare videantur: accedente præsertim veneratione multitudinis, quâ tantus eis cultus impenditur.**” This passage finely describes the bad tendency of Images when used as *media* in worship, and would be an answer to all that is urged by the *Papists* about the people being *taught* that there is no Divinity⁷ in them, nor any trust to be placed in them; even suppose no adoration paid them which could properly be called religious.

The

* *August.* Ep. 102. al. 49. (Sid. Y—1—1. page 212.) note 18. In answer to six questions from Pagans, this is the third; about abolishing rites.—It is commended by *Lardner*: Works, Vol. 8, page 239, note.—It gives one a good idea of the conversion of Pagans to Christianity; I mean, that their conversion was made on good grounds.

⁷ *Trent*, Sess. 25, — See also *Rhem. Test.* on Acts xvii. 29.

The Romanists betray a consciousness of something wrong with respect to the worship of Images, by leaving the second commandment out of the Decalogue. This was mentioned under the seventh Article².

Nor is there any warrant in Scripture for worshipping Images, in any sense: the only passage urged which seems at all worth mentioning, is that in the Book of Exodus³, where God commands Moses to make some forms called *Cherubims* on the Mercy-seat: but these were not (as far as is known to Man) Images, but *Emblems*^b: there was no danger of the People's worshipping them, because the people never came into the place where they were; and the High Priest only once a year.—Jehovah never bound *himself* to order nothing sensible to be used in the Jewish worship, he only said, “*thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image.*”—Even under Christianity, water, bread, wine, all objects of the senses, are used in worship; all emblematically, but they are not objects of worship; neither do they contain any *likeness* of any thing in heaven or in earth.

Thirdly, the worship of Images may be said to be even repugnant to scripture. It seems indeed as if the sacred writers could not possibly have the precise case of Popish Images before them; and therefore we can only reason and infer from scriptures intended for cases of like nature; but Deut. xxvii. 15. and Psalm xcvi. 7. should not be of less force under Christianity than under Judaism. They do indeed speak of the Idols of Heathens, immediately; but whether Romish worship of
Images

² Art. vii. Sect. xiiii. end.

³ Exod. xxv. 18.

^b Parkhurst, Hebr. Lex. כְּרֻב, may make the Cherubims to be thought emblems, even by those who do not come into every idea of his.

Images be Idolatry or not, the progress of the mind from worshipping the invisible object, to worshipping the visible image, is so much the same, whatever be the resemblance, or its original, that every prohibition of worshipping images, should be considered as reaching every case in which a resemblance has anything to do with religious worship. If this be just, worship of Images is, at least, discouraged, by a great number of passages in the Old Testament.

In Deut. iv. 12. 15. particularly ver. 16. Jehovah seems to let us into the *grounds* of his prohibitions; and they must be always of force: those who make a likeness of anything, are said ver. 16. to *corrupt themselves*.

And with regard to the *New Testament*, St. Paul's reasoning with the *Athenians*^c seems to imply, that Christians ought not, now that times of ignorance are past, to make use of any sensible *media* in worship, though to an invisible or "*unknown God*;" that using such is not doing all we can to worship God in Spirit:—we may also observe, that whatever only tends to make us change "the Glory of the incorruptible God into an image," or worship "the creature^d more than the Creator," is carefully to be avoided, even on scriptural authority; nay, on the authority of the New Testament.

XIX. The next subject is that of worshipping *Relics*. In the degree in which it prevails its futility is palpable, and its tendency to promote infidelity has been mentioned^e. Whatever associates Christianity with contempt, has some effect in making Christianity contemptible. It seems

Calvin

^c Acts xvii.

^e Sect. v.

^d Rom. i. 23, 25.

Calvin^f proposed that an *Inventory* should be published of Popish relics: no proposal can be more fair: such inventory would be all the proof we could want, that “the Romish Doctrine” “is a fond thing.”

The Romish doctrine about Relics is not warranted by Scripture.—One text alledged is Matt. ix. 22. but the woman cured did not *adore* the hem of our Saviour’s garment; she thought nothing about it; nor was she cured by virtue of any relic; her *Faith* made her whole.

Another text is Acts xix. 12. there is a great eagerness described to get handkerchiefs, &c. from St. Paul; it shewed Faith, or an high opinion of his supernatural power. It might be weak, though natural; it might succeed, on account of the disposition which it implied; and yet such a flight might not be meant as the ground of a perpetual observance: to *copy* such things is silly and childish.—That Paul should perform miracles on those who were at a distance from him, rather surprizes us at first: but if God thought fit that it should be so, distance probably would occasion no additional difficulty; and we can conceive, that such distance would strengthen the evidence in some respects; and then it seems probable, from a comparison with our Saviour’s mode of performing miraculous cures, that the cure would be connected with the person who performed it, by some visible^g tokens. At present *we* believe that miracles have ceased.—Another text is Heb. ix. 4. but the things laid up in that case were *records*; reason and divine authority conspired in dictating that they should be preserved.

^f See Fulke on Rhem. Test Acts xix. 12. folio, 221, from “Calvin’s admonition concerning Reliques.”

^g Mark vii. 33.

preserved.—And the genuineness of the relics is indisputable. I do not suppose that the *Jews* pretend to any relics *now*. If they did, and worshipped them, the case would be a case in point.—The care shewn in scripture to give decent *burial*, to our Lord, St. Stephen, &c. will not, I trust, convert any one to the Romish doctrine of Relics.

As to its being repugnant to scripture, I will content myself with saying, that the texts brought to prove the doctrine of *Images* so, may be applied in such a manner as to be sufficient for any one's conviction.—Saint Paul would probably have said of this error as he does of some others, had he been witness of it; “refuse profane and old wives fables,” and exercise “thyself rather¹ unto godliness.”

xx. The last part of our Proof relates to Invocation of *Saints*. That it is foolish, in the degree in which we speak of it, (according to what was said in the historical part and explanation,) appears from the endeavours of the Romanists to explain² it away.

Saints cannot hear all who invoke them; this has been observed before. As to the notion that the Angels¹ employ themselves in *informing* the Saints of what good Catholics address to them, I dare say you will excuse me if I do not attempt to disprove it: it proves to me, that the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, wants support^m.

Experience,

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 7.

² Compare Midd. Preface, page 50, with page 156 of his Letter, and many other parts.—And see *Bossuet*, quoted by Bishop Hurd, *Proph.* page 386.

¹ End of Sect. vi. from Forbes, 7. 1. 21.

^m I think Epiphanius's reasoning about the *Virgin*, is well worth mentioning: Εἰ γὰρ Ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαί τε θελεῖ (θεός),
ποῦ

Experience, I think, will shew, that the lower the objects of our religious addresses are, the lower will be the turn of our religious sentiments: and the less will they be directed to the all-perfect Being. We may say of the Invocation of Saints as of Purgatory, that its being admitted, can be accounted for, without supposing it to be well founded.

In the next place, the Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints is not warranted by Scripture. Origen thought it possible, thatⁿ “some will be redeemed by the blood of Martyrs.” This does not certainly imply the invocation of them; but it is contrary to an observation of our own in a preceding^o Article.—The texts in favour of our present doctrine are much of the same stamp with those for that of Purgatory; and I shall beg leave to use the same method^p with them all, except those which direct men to intercede for each other, as 1 Theff. v. 25.—1 Tim. ii. 1. and James v. 16.—Now it being allowed, from these, and others, that man ought to intercede for men; and that one man may desire, or call upon another to do so; is it not to be believed, that Saints in Heaven intercede for men, and that men may invoke them in order to beg their Intercession? Bishop Hurd has thought this objection worthy of a very attentive consideration, and he has answered it at length in his eleventh Sermon^q on Prophecy. Bishop Porteus

ποσω μαλλον την απο Αωνος γεγεννημερον; Her. 79. (Collyridians) Sect. v.—In Sect. vii. he says, *Την Μαριαν μηδεις προσκυουσιν*: and near the end of the Her. *η Μαρια εν τιμη, ο Κυριος προσκυουσθω.*

ⁿ Lardner's Works, Vol. 2, page 462.

^o Appendix to Art. xi. Sect. 1v.

^p A specimen collected from Rhem. Test.—Luke xvi. 9.—Acts v. 15.—vii. 60.—2 Cor. i. 11.—2 Pet. i. 15.—1 John ii. 1—Apoc. v. 8.—vi. 10.

^q Hurd on Prophecy, page 386, &c.

Porteus has answered it briefly^r according to his plan. I would wish you to read these answers, and therefore I will only say, if we may conclude, that Saints are incapable of hearing our Invocations, the whole business is at an end: If that be not allowed, I then reason thus; our not being told that we are to promote Intercession among Saints in Heaven, when we are repeatedly told that we are to promote it on^s earth, seems a strong argument that no such thing is expected of us, or proper for us. Still if men are determined to persist, and say that they can reason by Analogy from earth to heaven, the proper analogy seems to me to be this; as Christians are required to intercede for each other on earth, so it is probable that Saints and Angels intercede for each other in heaven: and this notion is confirmed by reasons of utility. It is certainly very useful, in a moral light, that men should intercede for each^t other: it improves the mind of each Intercessor, it promotes mutually beneficent principles, which effect the general good: besides that placing our benevolence before God, viewing it in the light of his countenance, must needs make it of a right sort. But the intercession of one rank for another, has not the same effects; nor can frail ignorant men on earth give their attention to creatures in heaven, in a state quite out of the reach of their knowledge without great danger of a romantic, and superstitious religion.

I will now proceed to the last thing in our Proof; to shew, that the Romish Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, is even repugnant, in some degree,

^r Bishop Porteus's Brief Confutation, page 23.

^s Consider Matt. xviii. 19. in this view.

^t Dr. Ogden on Prayer and Intercession treats this subject.

degree, to the Scripture. It does not seem that the sacred writers had, or could have, the doctrine immediately in their view, and therefore there may be no indirect prohibition of it made in so many words; but the silence being on both sides, is much in our favour: if nothing be said, there is nothing to be done. Especially when we are told, that we may ourselves^u use importunity with our heavenly Lord. The heavenly creatures are called our fellow-servants, Rev. xix. 10. and xxii. 9. and elsewhere.

The Romanists have indeed said, that *Dulia* is nevertheless due to them, from Gal. v. 13. but the *Ἀλλήλων* there mentioned is clearly mutual; and indeed means only mutual kind offices; *δια τῆς ἀγαπῆς*.

Bishop Hurd^x considers, after Mede, the Romanists as guilty of the Dæmon-worship mentioned 1 Tim. iv. 1.—And Bishop Hallifax^y, after Mr. Mede and Bishop Newton, applies to them Dan. xi. 38. according to the marginal reading: Mahuzim (𐤌𐤓𐤕^z) being interpreted Protectors, or tutelary Deities, and considered as including Saints and Angels.—The texts of the New Testament would have an immediate reference to the oriental philosophy, and the spiritual Beings which it supposed; as was shewn at the end of the first Book: but from those texts we may form a tolerable judgment what the Apostles would have said about the Popish Saints. This seems the proper idea with which we should read Col. ii. 18. 23.—
1 Tim.

^u Matt. vii. 7.—Luke xi. 8, 9.

^x On Prophecy, page 386.

^y On Prophecy, page 322.

^z From, *יץ*, or *יץ*: Parkhurst's account is under *יץ*. In Walton's Polyglott the word is not interpreted. Lowth, on the place, prefers Mede's translation.

1 Tim. i. 4. and iv. 1, &c^a.—I conclude with 1 Tim. ii. 5. “There is one God, and one mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ.”

XXI. If we say anything in the way of *Application*, it shall be concerning the *mutual concessions* which might be conceived to take place, supposing the contending parties were perfectly candid: indeed from mutual concessions must of course arise *improvements*. I always wish, whilst I am engaged in controversy, that some respectable adversary were present; in order that personal respect might prevent anything illiberal from being thrown out.

It has not been sufficiently observed in the controversies on this Article, that he who refuses to admit a doctrine, does not of course deny it. It may be wrong, in some cases, either to adopt or reject a^b notion. A man says, you will allow that the Planets are inhabited; the proper answer is, I neither allow it nor deny it. It seems probable from analogy that they may be; and I should think any man narrow-minded who made himself sure that they were not; but the moment you build anything upon such a supposition, I declare your building to be without foundation. We say indeed that Purgatory, &c. are repugnant to Scripture; but we do not mean, to any express declaration belonging immediately to the doctrine. —This might possibly have some effect in reconciling: would *Dupin* have been content with saying, it *may* be needful for our souls to be purified after death? and would our Church say the same? —Might it be said, the Saints in Heaven may possibly

^a Col. ii. 23. will occur again under Art. xxxii.—Indeed it has already occurred.

^b Art. xviii. Sect. ix.

possibly know something of our actions? this would have effect.—What else do we say of particular judgments of God?—How do I know but this event may be a judgment? Such a question is enough to make us think; and to learn righteousness; more would be presumption and superstition.

It seems, at first, a strange thing to have the rituals, canons, councils^c, of a Church, so different from “the private writings of her Divines,” as we find them in the Church of Rome: but this may perhaps be nothing more than that some Romanists are more improved than others: that the ignorant people go on in the old track, which was first made in times of darkness and superstition, and that the enlightened, though they dare not disturb the minds of the lower people, endeavour, in their own persons, to make the old doctrines as little absurd as possible; and endeavour to dwell on what is right, and soften what is wrong.

In our church many a Parish Clerk has readings and customs which we cannot justify, though we let him go on: and the common people have superstitions which are not the Doctrine of our Church: our church was formed by the best and ablest of men, at the revival of learning; and consisted of reformations of abuses, as far as it differed from all others: and all its members who are tolerably educated, must be upon much the same footing.

Now if this be the case, many popish errors will disappear as the people improve; and the Fire of Purgatory will gradually go out. Even Councils, Canons and Rituals, may grow obsolete, and

at

^c Hard on Prophecy, page 348.

at last “vanish^d away.”—We may hope to see this improvement take place first in our Countrymen of the Romish persuasion.

A change might, in case of improvement, take place particularly in what is called *Adoration*. The ceremonies of bowing, kissing things animate and inanimate, and even of kneeling^e, are arbitrary, in a great degree. At this time, or at any other, I suppose English Papists might not use all the same gestures with Italians, though equally superstitious, before Images and pictures.

It has been^f said; that no reconciliation need be attempted between Papists and Protestants in those doctrines which are the occasions of accumulating wealth: but the Clergy are by no means so corrupt as they used to be; and the Pope raises much less from his followers than formerly.—I do not think that the God of this world has so blinded the minds (2 Cor. iv. 4.) of Englishmen, Protestants, or Catholics, as to make them persist long in errors merely because they are lucrative.

As Bishop Fisher confirms, in an artless way, several things which we have had occasion to observe, I will transcribe a passage from his refutation of Luther^g.

“Multos fortasse movet *Indulgentiis* istis non usque adeò fidere, quòd eorum usus in Ecclesiâ videatur *recentior*, et admodùm serò apud Christianos repertus: quibus ego respondeo, non certò constare a quo primùm tradi cœperint: fuit tamen *nonnullus* earum usus, ut aiunt, apud Romanos vetustissimus, quod ex stationibus^h intelligi potest.”

And

^d Heb viii. 13.

^e One of the Canons of the Council of Nice forbids, I think, kneeling at Prayer.

^f Art. xiv. Sect. vii.

^g Art. xviii. (page 496.) in Forbes 12. 8. 31.

^h There is something about *stations* in Bingham, 13. 9. 2. and Forbes 12. 8. 14.

And he adds, “ Nemo certè dubitat orthodoxus an *Purgatorium* sit, de quo tamen *apud priscos nulla, vel quàm rarissima, fiebat mentio*: sed et *Græcis* ad hunc usque Diem non est creditum *esse*: quamdiù enim nulla fuerat de *Purgatorio* cura, nemo quæsit *Indulgentias*; nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio: *si tollas Purgatorium quorsùm indulgentiis opus erit?* cæperunt igitur indulgentiæ postquam ad *Purgatorii* cruciatus aliquamdiù trepidatum est.”

Bishop Fisher was Chancellor of this University, Preceptor to Henry VIII. a principal writer against Luther, a Cardinal, and Bishop of Rochester: he chose rather to suffer death, than to permit any one but the Pope, to make him Archbishop of Canterbury.



ARTICLE XXIII.

OF MINISTERING IN THE CONGREGATION.

IT is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by Men who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

1. It seems needful even for the purpose of offering our historical reflexions, to consider first, in what "ministering" consists. In "preaching," baptizing, presiding at the Lord's supper: these are all particulars mentioned in our Article; but yet we usually include reading prayers, or praying, marrying, and burying.—So that to mention any of these occasionally, will not be thought beyond our purpose. Indeed the Sacraments are treated of in the following Articles; therefore we must endeavour to say nothing of them here, which may with more propriety be introduced hereafter.

Our subject is, the obligation which Christians are under to take *Orders* before they perform any public act of an ecclesiastical Minister; or, as it is somewhere expressed, not to do any such act "*self-ordered*."

In reviewing *historical* facts, we must pass over the conduct of the Apostles and other inspired men; because that will make part of our *Proof*.

II. The *Apostolic Fathers* speak constantly as if those who ministered had received a regular commission to minister. *Clement* of Rome, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, a work always held genuine, is what I should call copious on the subject of Ministers; not proving anything formally about their commission, but taking it for granted.—One sees from this work, that the Corinthian Church had *exalted* some ministers; for which he blames them.—*Polycarp* speaks of the *qualifications* of good Ministers: he mentions also Valens's having been dismissed from the Presbytery. He writes to the *Philippians*.—*Ignatius*, writing to the Church at *Ephesus*, speaks of that Church as very well governed; and says a good deal on the subject of *Episcopal* authority. And to the Church of *Smyrna* he says,

Ἐπεινὴ βεβαια εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἢ ὑπο τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ ἔσα, ἢ ὅ αν αὐτος ἐπιτρέψῃ.

To which we may add, that the distinction between Clergy and *Laity* (Κληρος and Λαϊκοι) was known in the time of Clemens^a Romanus, and expressed in the same words in which it has been expressed ever since.

The *continuance* of a regularly appointed Clergy appears undeniably from the *Roman Letters* concerning them. Concerning their *Revenues*, arising from various successions, contributions, &c.—their peculiar *punishments*, and the modes of life and *employments* which were permitted them; of all these *Bingham* gives an account, in the fifth, sixth, and seventeenth Books of his *Antiquities*.

III. Things

^a Bingham's *Antiquities*, Clem. ad Cor. 1. 5. end of Sect. XIII. ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπος τοι, λαϊκὸς ὡροσαρχμασιν οἰδοται.

III. Things seem to have gone on in much the same train, with some exceptions which need not be mentioned, till the *twelfth Century*. Then the corruptions prevailing in the Church, began to set some men of good minds and simple manners, upon separating from the main body of their Christian Brethren. These were called *Waldenses*: they lived in the Mountainous country of Piedmont, bordering upon France; in the *Vaudois*^b; and seem to have had chiefly in view to bring back the Church of Christ to its *primitive simplicity*. In order to do that they would have a great deal of church power to prune away; and so it is said that they held, that any man might, in some degree, exhort and expound. Yet it is also said, that they had something in the way of our three ranks; I mean of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. In truth, the age in which they lived, and their own obscurity, though they were very numerous, have left many doubts concerning them. Their descendants still remain in the same country, and Protestants have been called upon, not many years ago, to relieve them when under persecution.

iv. At

^b See Maclaine's Note on Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. 12. 2. 5. 11, 12. These vallies were called Vaudois, on account of the Waldenses, or Vaudois coming to inhabit them. Their head, Petrus Waldus, or *Vaud*: Cave says, Petrus Waldius, that is, of Waldi.—Mosheim says, we must *distinguish* carefully between Waldenses and Vaudois; but Maclaine opposes this.

The Waldenses are sometimes called *Albigenses*, but Mosheim makes Albigenses to mean some *Paulicians*, or *Manicheans*, in the 11th Century, from *Albigia*, or Alby in France; see Mosh. Cent. xi. Part ii. Chap. v. Sect. ii, iii. with the Notes of Maclaine, who differs from Mosheim. When differences arise, relative to matters not essential, between persons of character, who have studied those matters; we generally content ourselves with stating briefly the different opinions maintained.

iv. At the time of the *Reformation*, the usual appointments of Ministers continued in the Church of Rome, and in the Church of England; but in some countries abroad, on Bishops^e refusing to ordain those who were separating from the Romish Church, they had recourse to ordination by *Elders*, or Presbyters, which kind of ordination has continued ever since in those countries; and was transferred from thence^d into *Scotland* by John *Knox*.

In the Church of Rome, *Ordo* being made a Sacrament, it will occur under the twenty-fifth Article. The Romanists boast of a regular succession of Bishops, from St. Peter down to the present time; but some Protestants have conceived themselves able to prove^e, that they had full as good a claim to such an honour. The subject is much too complicated for us to meddle with: and may belong to the thirty-sixth Article rather than this; or perhaps not be at all necessary.

v. *Socinus* found a difficulty arising from the Reformation: Some of his friends^f urged, that by that event, the Church (considered externally, as a visible Society) was *collapsed*, or fallen to ruins; and that no less power could rebuild it, than had built

^e Heylin's Tracts, page 228.

^d Baxter pleads for the legality of Ordination by Presbyters; but, in strictness, he does not seem to bring an instance of it, except in cases of necessity. On Councils, page 485. Bishop *Horne* declares against Ordination by Presbyters; and maintains the necessity of a *succession* of ordaining Ministers. Charge 1791, page 23.

^e Baxter on Councils, page 471, Sect. viii. and page 484, Prop. vi. — Burnet on the validity of English Ordinations. — Neal i. page 502, bottom, quarto. — Heylin's History of Episcopacy. — Archbishop *Bramhall* has a work on this subject, which may be good: see the account in his *Life*, Biogr. Britan. note (u); or his *works* in folio.

^f Socinus's third Epistle to Matt. Radecius; Works, Vol. 1. fol. page 380, &c (or Fratres Poloni) page 383, 384.

built it originally:—that is, a supernatural *miraculous*^g power must again be displayed on earth, otherwise no man could ever have the satisfaction of thinking, that he was a member of the true Church of Christ.

This was not a notion to be born by one who was just establishing a new religion, or Sect; Socinus therefore combats it strenuously:—any assembly, he holds, may form themselves into a *Church*; as to succession, and election after any particular mode, they are nothing. Even in the time of the Apostles, men not admitted into Christianity, and no way commissioned, might preach the word of their^h own accord; much more may a Christian expound now, when Christianity is established: general consent is all that is wanted.

As to the *Lord's Supper*, any set of Christians may meet and *break bread* together:—and *Baptism*, may be changed into any other mode of admitting one's name into the list of Christians; or even being *brought up* by Christian Parents, is sufficient of itself. But Socinus does not inform his Friend *Radecius*, how all this is to be carried into *execution* with decency and order;—how competition and confusion are to be avoided; or presumptuous folly prevented from stopping the mouth of modest sense. The same defect is observable in the Raco-vian Catechism: there, innocence of life, and fitness to teach, areⁱ mentioned as qualifications; but it is not said who is to be judge whether any particular man possesses them.

VI. The

^g One objection to Ministers which Baxter answers, is “You work no *Miracles*.”—On Councils, page 472.

^h Socinus refers here to Acts viii. 4. and xi. 19, &c.

ⁱ De Ecclesiâ Christi, cap 2, page 241.

VI. The Popish yoke removed, men found more liberty than they used to any good purpose, *Fanatic* teachers sprung up, and assumed a variety of strange forms. It is not worth while to mention every short lived freak; but, taking all the time between the Reformation and the beginning of this eighteenth Century, there seem to be three leading ideas, besides our own, with regard to the ministerial office:

One, that the authority to execute it was to come immediately from heaven. Another, that it was to be given by a Senate, or Council of *Elders*, or *Presbyters*; both these allowed it to extend to *several* congregations; but the third idea was, that church authority was of a confined nature, and belonged only to one *single congregation*, the members of which conferred it by *Election*.—The first was the idea of all sorts of *Mystics*; of the Familists, or Family^k of Love, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and afterwards of those Mystics who were called *Seckers*^l, and of the *Quakers* in the time of Oliver Cromwell.—The second was the idea of the *Presbyterians*, before^m briefly mentioned; the third was the idea of the *Independents*, who looked upon each separate Congregation as a separate Church. The *Brownists*ⁿ, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, did not make a^o church more extensive; but those commonly called *Independents*

^k See Art. VII. Sect. III. but the *Reformatio Legum de Hæresibus*, Cap. 16. should here be read.—Some held, that any who had a smattering of the scriptures, (“ qui sacris literis utcumque sunt aspersi,”) and said they had the *Spirit*, might teach *any* where, and give Sacraments, and govern the Church; no ministers being settled in any fixed places: might minister without any vocation, imposition of hands, or any act of the *Church*.

^l Baxter on Councils, page 471, Sect. x.—Also page 460.

^m Sect. IV.

ⁿ Art. VII. Sect. VI.

^o Neal, Vol. I. page 253.

dents made no figure till the time of our civil wars^p in the seventeenth Century. We are told, that they do not insist upon Ordination, except for administering the Sacraments^q.—*Imposition of hands* seems to have been used by most or all sects of Christians who practised Ordination^r. The Presbyterians have two *Lay-elders* for each preaching Minister, in the imposition of hands, and in Synods: the Lutherans have *Superintendants* (not unlike Bishops) who perform that Office^s.

Sometimes Fanaticism may confound or suspend the observance of Rules: in the armies of Cromwell, both General and Soldiers^t prayed and preached; but in every thing like a regular society, I apprehend there is at bottom some *commission* for performing every ministerial office.—Wherever I see *Order*, I ascribe it to *Rule*; and order in a *Society*, to *Authority*.—If this be right, those who pretend to have no rule, must have some way of deceiving themselves^u; in common civilities people do things by Rule, which they can fancy are from the mere choice of the moment.

The Methodists, I am told, reckon no Ordination valid except that of our Bishops; those amongst them who have not been ordained and yet sometimes harangue, are said only to give a
“ word

^p Veneer, page 523, &c.

^q Dr. Priestley, Hist. Corr. Vol. 2, page 64.

^r See Dr. Zach. Grey's Preface to Hudibras. Originally the Independents do not seem to have ordained; after their uniting with the Presbyterians, they sometimes did, and then they used Imposition of Hands.

^s Heylin's Preface, Sect. 23.

^t Neal 2, page 252.

^u The *Quakers* are mentioned Mosheim, Cent. 17, Sect. 2. Part 1. Chap. 4, end, (or 8vo. Vol. 5, page 44.) and their silent meetings accounted for.—See also Book III. Chap. xiv. Sect. xii, of this work.

“word^x of Exhortation:” yet they seem to be distinguished in some way; and appearances are as if they were maintained.

VII. The reason why *uninterrupted succession* is so much valued, is, because the incapacity of any one person who ordains, might be supposed, in strictness, to invalidate, or vitiate, all subsequent Ordinations.—On this principle some *American* Bishops have been consecrated in England, and their Consecration regulated by an Act of Parliament.

VIII. Dr. *Priestley*, in his address to the Methodists, lately^y published, prefixed to Mr. Wesley’s Letters, advises the Methodists to form separate Societies with whatever rules they think proper: and adds, “Let any person whom you think qualified, teach and exhort others, whether he be in *holy orders*, as it is called, or not; and if they^z be qualified to teach, they are certainly qualified to administer all the ordinances of the Gospel, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. I know of no exclusive right that any men, or body of men, have to this privilege^a.”

IX. It seems worth while, before we close our History, to observe, that in events which have relation to the doctrine of our present Article, there have happened many cases of *Necessity*.—When people have been sick, or out of the reach of a place of Christian worship, or under persecution, or without tolerably good laws; in such cases,

things

^x Acts xiii. 15.—Heb. xiii. 22.

^y This was written in 1791.

^z The word “*they*” seems to mean the same as “*any person*;” sometimes perhaps *they* is used concerning a *single* person when the *sex* is not specified. Whether Dr. Priestley meant, by *plural* following *singular*, to include, or not exclude, *female* Ministers, I will not take upon me to say. The word “*he*” occurs just before “*they*.”

^a Page xxix.

things could not take their regular course; practice could not correspond to Theory. All that could be aimed at, must have been, to come as near the Theory as possible.—This kind of irregularity has happened sometimes with respect to *Preaching*, sometimes with respect to *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*: it has also affected *Ordination*; and *Marriages*.

Of a case of necessity in *preaching* we have a remarkable instance in the Conversion of *Iberia* to Christianity^b. A female captive converted the King and Queen, who preached to their People, and converted them; but then they sent to Constantine for a Bishop and Clergy as soon as they were able.—Or, not to go so far for an instance, I have known Chapels in the Diocese of Chester, // served by persons not ordained; sometimes, I think, serving them before Ordination, was a condition of possessing them afterwards.

Origen, while a Layman, taught Divinity in the Catechetical Chair of Alexandria^c, even in the presence of his Bishop; the thing was blamed, but not the preacher.

x. The cases of necessity in regard to Baptism, may best come under the twenty-seventh Article: such as Baptism by women, clinic Baptism, &c.

And those relating to the Lord's Supper, under the twenty-eighth; as sacrament without the usual elements; family-sacraments, &c.

xi. We have already^d mentioned, that at the Reformation, foreign Divines, not being able to get

^b Socrates, Hist. Eccles. Theodoret, 1. 24, &c.—Forbes, 16. 6. 21.—Burnet on the Article, page 322, 8vo.

^c Euseb. Eccl. Hist. 6. 13.—Forbes, 16. 6. 22.—Heylin's Tracts, page 294.

^d Sect. 17.

get ordained by Bishops, applied to Presbyteries. —It happened that some English Divines were abroad at the time, and were obliged to have recourse to the same expedient. Their ordinations were allowed as valid^e, in King Edward's time; but in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign legal disputes arose whether they could claim *tithes*, &c.; and in the reign of James the First the validity of such ordinations was denied^f.—In 1644, when the Bishops declined ordaining any but those who were well inclined to King Charles the First, the Assembly of Divines^g, took several steps to have ordination performed without their assistance; but it was only *pro tempore*^h; there were then no Presbyteries in England.

XII. Bingham saysⁱ, that *Marriages* were solemnized by the Christian Clergy for 300 years; but that the mixture of Heathens and Christians made many extraordinary cases. The sacerdotal Benediction got evaded, when the laws became Christian; because they contained no injunctions to support it; possibly Christians, before that time, wished rather, of themselves, to have Christian than Heathen marriage.—But in the eighth and ninth Centuries, the original Christian marriages, by the Priest, were revived.—Sir William Blackstone^k observes, that the intervention of the Priest in the marriage-contract “is merely *juris positivi*, and not *juris naturalis aut divini*.” “In the times of the grand rebellion, all marriages were performed by the *Justices of the Peace*; and these marriages

^e Neal 1. 55.

^f Neal 1. 503, top.

^g See an account of this, Grey's Pref. to *Hudibras*, page xxviii.

^h Neal, Vol. 2, Index, Ordination.

ⁱ Antiquities 22. 4. 2, 3.

^k Vol. 1. see Index, *Marriage*. Marriage in *Scotland* is said to be a *civil* contract.

marriages were declared *valid*," by Act of Parliament after the Restoration.

Our Church is against¹ re-baptizing and re-ordaining. At *Lausanne* a person who appears to be a Layman, reads the ten commandments, in the pulpit; as appears from the letter of a friend of mine written at *Lausanne*. Laymen have usually read *Lessons* in Cathedrals, and other places of worship.

XIII. Let us now proceed to our *Explanation*^m.

The *title* of this twenty-third Article, differs something from that of the corresponding one in 1552: ours is, "Of ministering in the Congregation;" that of 1552 is, "No man may minister in the Congregation except he be *called*."—The word "*called*" does occur in the body of our Article; but it seems best not to have a *proposition* in a *Title*, when it can be easily avoided.

What is to be understood by "ministering," we were obliged to mention before we entered upon our History.

"*In the Congregation*,"—of the word *Congregation* we spoke under the nineteenth Articleⁿ: here it may

¹ Puller's Moderation of the Church of England, page 307.—At Illington, I am told, a Popish priest, turned Protestant, does duty, without any re-ordination. Consult Biogr. Britan.—Life of *Bramhall*, Note (R), for an instance of re-ordination.—In my Parish a woman, who had been baptized as a Dissenter, wanted me to re-baptize her in the Church, as an adult: I declined.

^m I should have thought it would have been better if the 22d Art. had come after this, rather than before it: the order of the subjects would then have been, 19. A Church.—20. Its Authority.—21. A number of Churches acting together.—22. Who has a right to minister in a Church.—23. Of Popish Doctrines.—24. Continuation of Popish doctrines; of having public devotions in a language not known to the unlearned. There was probably some good reason for the present order, though it does not occur to me.

ⁿ Art. XIX. Sect. v.

may perhaps only have its most usual sense, of an *Assembly*; or it may be thus interpreted; an *whole Church*; that is, as large a society of Christians as, in any situation, act together by a common understanding: or a separate *assembly*, considered as *part* of an whole church. But if *Congregation* be taken in the same sense with *Εκκλησια*, that sense was also mentioned.—*Εκκλησια* does indeed, in scripture, though it several times stands for the *whole* church of Christ, sometimes mean merely an *Assembly*; sometimes a small one, such as would be contained in the *house* of a new^o Convert.—Perhaps this use of the word *Εκκλησια*, might give rise to the congregational Churches of the *Independents*.

At the Hampton-Court conference before King James the First, in 1603, the Puritans desired that these words “*in the Congregation*,” might be omitted in this Article, “as implying a liberty for men to preach *out* of the Congregation without a lawful call^p,”

XIV. “*Public*” (“preaching,” &c.)—this must be opposed to *private* (preaching, &c.)—such as reading a sermon to a family: or presiding in family devotions.—Mal. iii. 16.—I apprehend, that teaching would be private in any assembly not under ecclesiastical authority; though there might be good reasons for not encouraging religious harangues to numerous companies who were not under such authority. What is usually called *private Baptism*, as opposed to that which is performed in Churches publicly, is, properly, administered in a *congregation*^q; as is also the communion

^o 1 Cor. xiv. 24.—Rom. xvi. 5.—Col. iv. 15.—Venerer mentions the Athenian *Εκκλησια*, page 526.

^p Neal's Hist. Puritans, Vol. 1, 4to. page 415.

^q “Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy Congregation.”—The prayer containing these words must, I should

munion of the sick; according to Matt. xviii. 20. and Tertullian's maxim, "Ubi tres, Ecclesia^r est."

xv. "Called"—"sent"—"chosen and called."

"Called,"—this is a word frequently used in Scripture: it seems to be the old English for *invited*: and it is used chiefly of mens being invited into the Christian religion. Such invitation, or calling, is often said to come from God: but the meaning only is, that so important an event as a man's being made a Christian, ought to be *referred* to Divine Providence, though we cannot refer it with distinct ideas of the divine agency — Of this referring events to God, we spake largely under the tenth and seventeenth Articles.—One *called*, is sometimes only a name for a Christian; as 1 Cor. vii. 17—21. and in the Parable (or Parables) of the marriage-supper, the invitation denotes mens becoming Christians, when referred to the divine Government of the world. God may call by man, or by human authority. Here, called means, more particularly, invited into the *Ministry*; and in this sense it is used by St. Paul at the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans, and of his first to the Corinthians.

"Sent"—is generally appropriated to *Ministers*. Our Saviour is not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: (our Saviour's being sent, occurs a great number of times)—the *Apostles* take the name of their office from being *sent*: and other ministers are distinguished by their being said to have a *mission*.—See Matt. x. 16.—xxiii. 37.—
Luke

should think, be one of the Collects used at private Baptism; as sanctifying the water.

^r Quoted by Veneer, page 527, "from Tertullian's Exhortation to Chastity," page 457.

Luke iv. 26.—xxii. 35.—John xx. 21.—Acts xiii. 4.—Rom. x. 15.—1 Cor. i. 17.—Some notice also should be taken of the passages which compare ministers to *labourers*, Matt. ix. 38. and xxi. 34. These passages were all in the minds of our reformers when they used the word “*sent*.”

Chosen and “called”—when spoken of together, in scripture, usually seem to mean different *steps* in admission to Christianity: Calling is the first proposal, and choosing the final appointment: some begin the negotiation, but do not complete it: or, more begin it than complete it; or, in the scripture stile of comparison; “*many* are called, but *few* are chosen.”

The word *chosen*, as well as *called*, is sometimes used with relation to the Ministry:—see Acts i. 24.—ix. 15.—xxii. 14.—2 Tim. ii. 4—but there is a variety of expressions for the same thing; *ordained*, *appointed*, *separated*, &c. it might be useful to see the marginal references, Acts ix. 15.—When *chosen* relates to the *Ministry*, it seems to be something *prior* to *called*; but more commonly *posterior*: one old edition of the Articles has *sent*, *called*, *chosen*: (see Bennet’s Collation, page 87).

From this interpretation of the expressions of Scripture it appears, that being called to the Ministry, does not imply anything of such immediate communication with heaven that we must be sensible of it at the time: does not imply any such thing as the Inspiration of the mystics; who seem to mistake the meaning of such expressions.

xvi. I can see one difficulty; it may perhaps be asked how those who propose *themselves* for orders, can be said to be *called*? When a man proposes himself, he only declares, that if he is appointed,

* Called, Art. xvii. Sect. xliv.—Chosen, Art. xvii. Sect. xl.

appointed, he will *accept* the appointment: and the nature of human affairs make this mode necessary. Though it might be the most perfect method, if persons in authority did keep so exact an account of the characters of all men, that they could actually *invite* to the Ministry all those who were likely to do the most good in it; yet if we speak with relation to the present imperfect state of things, we must say, that no ecclesiastical magistrate can know of all who would accept the office of minister; and this method is as inconsistent with self-ordering, as any^t other.

Calling means inviting; now inviting ones self to the house of a friend, does not destroy the essence of his invitation; though the form may be a little changed. But, what is most to the purpose, those of whom it is said in scripture that they were called, did generally, no doubt, propose *themselves* for Baptism. At least, any one who had proposed himself, and had been baptized, would have been spoken of, on looking back upon the
the

^t The Puritans, in Synods, determined, that no one should offer himself for Orders; every one should be really *called* by some Congregation.

Neal 1, page 231. — See also Latimer's Sermon on St. Andrew; Vol. 1, page 160, 8vo. where there are some good things on *Patrons* calling proper Ministers; but his advice to men not to become Ministers except they be called, might perplex a modest man, or encourage an enthusiast. Yet he does not seem to mean more than that no one should take orders from views of mere worldly advantage; or from pride, vanity, &c. for he speaks of that as a man's *vocation* to which he has been regularly "*brought up.*" If therefore a young man were to fix upon the Ministry as his Profession, and go through a course of Education suited to make him fit for it; or was to be invited into the Church by a pious *patron*, he would, I should imagine, come under Bishop Latimer's notion of one *called*. — *Korah*, &c. Numb. xvi. were uncalled; or impious intruders.

the whole of the transaction, as *called*; that is, called by the Providence of God, using what means seemed best to his infinite wisdom.

Baxter, at the end of his *History of Councils*, enumerates some particular acts of the Government of God in calling Ministers.

XVII. “*By men*”—that is by men *immediately*; the call may be *referred* to God, as has been seen. A minister is lawfully appointed, though without *supernatural* powers; without being *inspired*, so that he can be immediately sensible of the inspiration; without having a power of working *Miracles*;—and yet so *called*, he may be called of *God*^u.

I suppose the ministers of our Church have had it objected to them, that they are not true ministers, because they have not the Spirit: and because they work no miracles.

XVIII. “*Who have public authority given unto them in the congregation*”—this seems to leave the *manner* of giving the power of ordaining, quite free: it seems as if any religious society might, consistently with this Article, appoint officers, with power of ordination, by election, representation, or lot; as if, therefore, the right to ordain did not depend upon any uninterrupted *succession*^x.

XIX. “*The Lord’s Vineyard*”—this expression does not seem to be used merely for ornament; but because the Church of God is so frequently called the Lord’s vineyard in scripture; indeed the similitude is so much dwelt upon, that there seems ground for *reasoning* from it, and even deriving *rules*

^u Not seeing this has occasioned a wrong notion of the whole affair of Church-authority, amongst the Presbyterians: see that notion described by Dr. Balguy, Ser. 7, page 114 and 116, referring to page 13, bottom.—See also before, Art. xx. end of Sect. 11.—And Baxter on Councils, page 471, 472. Objection 10. & 12.

^x See Forbes, 16. 6.—Bishop Horne as before, Sect. 1v.

rules for practice. The *Jews* were once the Church of God; and Christians are^y so now.—Consult Psalm lxxx. 8—16.—Cant. viii. 12.—Is. v. 1—7.—Matt. xx. 1—16.—Matt. xxi. 33—41.—The Psalm may relate properly to the Jewish Church; the Prophecy to the Jewish Church primarily, or perhaps to the Church of God in general: Matt. xx. to both Jewish and Christian.—Matt. xxi. to Christian only.

xx. This Article is not to be supposed to make any rules or laws, or any provision for cases of *necessity*. They make provision for themselves; Necessity has no Law.

xxi. We now come to our *Proof*.

I do not see that there need be more than one proposition.

xxii. ‘It is not right to minister in any religious society, without an appointment from that society^z.’

This must be proved from Scripture, though really scripture only speaks, as it were, incidentally; taking for granted that religious society cannot be carried on in any rational or effectual way, without an appointment of ministers.

With regard to the old Testament, there can be no doubt but Priests and Levites, and prophets were distinguished from other men: and severe punishment inflicted when this distinction was invaded: see Numb. xvi. Punishments were of course

^y Taylor on Romans, Key, No. 52. 133.

^z There might be another proposition, affirming, that ordination may be valid, without the intervention (as far as we can discern) of any thing *supernatural*. But as ideas of supernatural powers being given to Ministers, have arisen from a wrong interpretation of those texts, which speak of the Agency of God, and of referring events to his Agency, and as the meaning of those passages has been explained, a second proposition seems needless.

course supernatural where the Government was so. I will therefore only bring passages from the new testament, and that in the order in which they now stand.

The tenth chapter of St. Matthew should be read entire, and studied by every one, who either proposes to be a minister, or is called upon to appoint others.

See next, Matt. xxiv. 45.—xxviii. 18, &c.

John iii. 27.—x. 16.—xxi. 15, &c.

Acts i. 22.—viii. 17.—x. 3—5.—But Acts xiii. 2. the solemn^a separation of St. Paul, must strike as something extraordinary, after his miraculous conversion before related, namely, in Chap. ix. Any one properly attentive, fixing his thoughts on this, would naturally exclaim, ‘it was not enough, then, to authorize Paul to go and preach the word, that he had been struck blind by the immediate and supernatural power of God! that the general design of divine Providence, in teaching men a new religion, had been expressly communicated to him by a voice from Heaven! that Ananias had been sent to him, as to a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his “name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the children of Israel,” to deliver him from a blindness of three days!—this chosen vessel must still be consecrated “*by men*,” men must fast and pray over him, and lay their hands upon him, before he could be a legitimate preacher of the holy Gospel!—nay, that very person must be thus commissioned by the instrumentality of men, who could say of himself with more propriety than any other minister of the Gospel, that he was “an Apostle not of men, neither by man.” (Gal. i. 1.)’

We

^a How inconsistent is all this with Socinus’s notion and Dr. Priestley’s that any man may minister! This inconsistency should be marked now and then, in going through these texts.

We should also consult Acts xiv. 23. and xx. 28, 29. where those measures must be supposed to be enjoined, which are necessary to defend the flock from *wolves*: an end not to be answered without authority.

Rom. x. 13, &c. has been mentioned in the explanation: as have several texts which are to our present purpose.

1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. *Stewards* are not self-appointed.

Chap. xii. 16. 19. 27. 29, 30.—Chap. xiv. in general, but the last verse seems of itself sufficient.

2 Cor. v. 20.—Eph. vi. 20. (“in *bonds*”)—*Ambassadors* are not self-appointed.

Eph. iv. 11.—1 Tim. iii. 1.—2 Tim. ii. 2.—Titus i. 5.—Heb. v. 4, 5, &c. and 12.—Heb. xiii. 17. compare with ver. 7.

One might also venture to bring as Proof, some considerations from the nature of cultivating a *vineyard*. All cannot preside, and direct; all cannot do the nicer parts of the work; some must dig, and do the more ordinary offices, and follow the instructions of others.—This must be the case even if the Lord was present; but when he is away, he must necessarily have officers to represent him, and enforce his authority^b.

With regard to *reasoning* on this subject, Dr. Balguy's two Consecration Sermons are so perfect, without any superfluity, that I need only recommend them to your perusal. If you chuse a specimen, I will take one from the^c latter sermon.—Certainly, if ministers be self-ordained, modest merit will never be called forth; presumptuous vanity will be ever ready to obtrude itself; noisy ignorance will overpower diffident wisdom: and
what

^b Matt. xxiv. 45.

^c Dr. Balguy, Ser. 7, page 122. “On the other hand,” &c.

what will hinder vicious men from rising into power; especially if any considerable emoluments are annexed to the Ministry?—Nay, what can hinder doctrines opposite to each other from being taught; to the utter extirpation of all religious principle? What can hinder different men from officiating in such different ways, as to produce disturbance and confusion, and put to flight all religious affection? And how can it be brought about, that certain appearances, modes of dress and behaviour, shall be so associated with piety and virtue, as instantly to produce good feelings^d in the mind?—Besides, the learning requisite to make a man a good minister of Religion, requires, that the Ministry should be made a separate *Profession*. How much the opinions of that profession should weigh with the *People* has been shewn in the *second Book*.

XXIII. I will here rest my direct proof: some little *indirect* seems proper under this Article.

XXIV. *Socinus*^e produces *Acts* viii. 4. and xi. 19. as proofs, that men could preach in the time of the Apostles without being ordained; nay, preach with success. But those who, in those passages, are mentioned as being dispersed by persecution, and as going into foreign countries, might be only on the footing of the captive^f in *Iberia*, or of the Israelitish maid, that attended^g on the wife of *Naaman*:—they being themselves members of revealed religion, could not but recount, in *conversation*, (*λαλουντες*^h, *Acts* xi. 19.) the wonders be-
longing

^d No stage-players used to be allowed to become ministers; Bingham, 4. 4. 7.

^e Opera, Vol. 1, page 383.—See Sect. v. of this Art.

^f Sect. v.

^g 2 Kings v. 2.

^h The word *Acts* viii. 4. and *Acts* xi. 20. is *ευαγγελιζω*, to tell the good news of; *ευαγγελιζεν λευθειςιαν, νικην, &c.* to tell the
the

longing to it; and might very well be supposed to make converts.—Not but some of the dispersed might have received a regular *commission* to preach; the passages contain nothing to the contrary: at all times there have been many converts made by private conference; sometimes by ministers, sometimes by private persons: this case of spreading the tidings of Christianity during dispersion, occasioned by persecution, does not seem to come up to that of *public* preaching in a *regular* Christian congregation.

xxv. A second objection may be this;

Many of the texts quoted in the Proof just now given, relate to the appointments of the *first teachers* of the Gospel, who had *miraculous powers* committed to them. Such teachers must be limited, as to their number, and commission.

I should answer, that no texts of scripture are proofs, but after some kind of parity of reasoning; as was mentioned several times under the twenty-second Article, and proved in the eleventh Chapter of the first Book: difference of circumstances must be attended to. Let then the texts be read over with this view; let a reasonable man see how many things there are in them not peculiar to teachers endued with miraculous powers. How many things, which would have been said had it pleased God to trust the reception of Christianity to reasoning only; or to prophecies, and such proofs as we now possess.

Baxter (on Councils, page 465) speaks of *two sorts* of Ministers—1. to teach men *new doctrine*, and
2. *standing*

the good news of Liberty, Victory, &c. (see Parkhurst's Lexicon).—Hence an *Evangelist* (2 Tim. iv. 5.) may be any person, Bishop, Deacon, or Layman, employed to act as a *Missionary*, where Christianity was yet *unknown*; *εὐαγγελίζειν λόγον*, or *ἔγγισον*, to tell the good news, of the *Word*, or of *Christ*; any one might do that.

2. *standing* doctrine: but there are as many texts as seem natural, circumstances considered, implying a succession of ministers having no miraculous powers. 1 Tim. v. 22.—Tit. i. 5.—1 Pet. v. 2.—Heb. xiii. as before: nor can we conceive Matt. xxviii. 18. or John xxi. 15, &c. to be temporary; or Acts xx. 28.—Paul's separation Acts xiii. 2. seems a precedent for after times; his miraculous powers, and immediate revelation might have sufficed for him.—John x. 16. looks to after times.—Rom. x. 13, &c. is not restrained in its sense by times.—Nor is 1 Cor. xiv. 40.—The *Fathers* reasoned on scripture thus.—See Heylin, page 242. Sect. 13.

xxvi. I will next take some notice of what has been quoted from *Dr. Priestley*. To me it seems confused, and inconsistent with itself.—*Confused*, as not shewing in what character the Methodists are addressed. Are they addressed as Dissenters, or as members of the established Church? if as Dissenters, and they will acknowledge themselves to be such, I see no great difficulty; let them follow his advice; let them appoint persons to preach and give the Sacraments, in the way they think best; and may success attend them! may virtue and piety be the result! they do nothing inconsistent with our Article: such persons are not self-ordered. Who knows too but in appointing they may use *prayer*, and imposition of hands?—But if they insist that they are members of the Established Church of England, then they perhaps may be addressed as such by Dr. Priestley:—and can members of any society be rightly persuaded to violate the *Laws* of that society? for “the legal designation of particular persons to these offices” (the sacred offices of religion) “cannot but mean,

mean, if it means anything, that all who are not appointed, areⁱ excluded."

Perhaps the main purport of Dr. Priestley's advice may be to induce the Methodists to carry the matter of *exhortation* farther than they do; or shall those who exhort, administer *sacraments*? this might occasion a greater distinction or distance between the Methodists and the Church of England than at present subsists; but that end we must not suppose to be the end particularly desired: and I see no good purpose which it could answer to religion in general. The Methodists in England do not seem to be any way restrained in their exhorting; and they are not, that I ever heard, in want of a greater number of Ministers than they already possess, for the administration of the Sacraments.

The passage before us appears to me not only to be exceptionable on account of its confounding situations, but on account of the *inconsistency* of its different parts; as I understand them. Dr. Priestley first says, "let any person whom you think qualified, teach, exhort, and administer Sacraments:" and afterwards declares (as I understand, for the expression is not totally free from ambiguity) that no set of men have an "exclusive right" to teach, exhort and administer sacrament; but if certain men were appointed by the methodists, in preference to others, to perform these offices, would not they have an exclusive right to perform them?—surely it cannot be said, that Dr. Priestley does not advise the Methodists to appoint: the word appoint is not used, but some persons are spoken of as "*qualified*," in such a manner as to imply that others are *disqualified*; and who are qualified or disqualified, the Methodists

ⁱ Dr. Balguy, page 122.

Methodists are to determine; is not this, in substance, appointing? Nor will it, I hope, be urged, that ministers so appointed have no exclusive right to preach, &c. because they cannot exclude other ministers; they exclude all those from whom they are distinguished and separated; which is all that can be meant. No Papist would say, that ordination, even in his Church, gives such an exclusive right of ministering, that no one can lawfully minister in a Turkish mosque. — But enough.

XXVII. I here put an end to our Proof, direct and indirect; and proceed to the *Application*.

It may not perhaps be amiss here to take a short form of assent.

‘It is contrary to scripture, and to reason, that any man should act as a Minister in an ecclesiastical society, merely from his own choice: he ought to be appointed. And though it may become him *devoutly* to refer his appointment to the Providence of *God*, he is to act upon it as an ordinance of *Man*; and to consider himself as receiving it *immediately* from those, who are vested with *authority* for conferring it, by the religious *Society* to which he belongs.’

XXVIII. There seems also room for a few words on the subject of mutual *concessions*.

Though what has been laid down about the appointment of Ministers, is very *true*, yet it has not an *invariable* force in all cases. Let us take two *extremes*. In a large *monarchy*, with various ranks of men, if there be a church established, self-ordering, in such a church, would be greatly inconvenient and hurtful; for the Church would be a large body as well as the State; and every large body requires a great number of subordinations to reduce it to unity in action; and when there are many ranks of citizens, nice rules are
wanted

wanted in order that each rank may feel the influence of Religion, by means of the Ministry. Ambition and interest too, in the case supposed, offer strong temptations to worldly men to push themselves into the sacred orders.

But take the other extreme, and much fewer rules and appointments are wanted. As in small select companies, and societies, you sometimes see every one know his place, the most accomplished take the lead, and things rightly conducted, by a mere feeling of propriety; so can one almost conceive it possible for a small religious society to proceed, if composed of men unaffectedly pious, and aiming at the general good. Perhaps a state of persecution is most likely to occasion such a society, especially if the people persecuted, are, like the *Waldenses*, of great simplicity of manners. Yet this, I fear, is rather too Utopian: Religious affections want much regulation; and that is not always suspected; so that men are run away with, before they are aware: the pride of teaching religion, sets some men upon teaching it before they are duly qualified; while the habitually modest want drawing out, and compelling to shew themselves, by a judgment superior to their own. Ordinarily then, in practice, no religious society ought perhaps to be left without some regulations determining who shall teach and preside in it; but yet the nearer any society approaches to this extreme, the fewer rules it need be restrained by. In all intermediate cases, more rules will be necessary than in this extreme, and fewer than in the other; and as you approach to the other, before-mentioned, regulations, such as are really wanted, will continually be found more numerous and complicated.

As to those who insist upon it, that all teaching
ought

ought to be guided by immediate and sensible inspiration, we can only leave them to their own^k feelings, if what has been said is ineffectual.

XXIX. If we conclude with any hint respecting *Improvement*, we may say, that a right agreement, and a ready perception about the nature of *cases of Necessity*, and the duties arising from them, might be of considerable use, in a subject where they so often occur. When men act irregularly through necessity, we excuse the past, but expect regularity in future; the return to regularity is to be with as little delay as possible; and restitution and compensation are to be made as far as ability reaches.

It would also be very useful for men to know habitually, and feel familiarly, as it were, how institutions may be ascribed to the Providence of God, without their being less considered as the ordinances of man on that account.

^k See Dr. Balguy, page 116; referred to before, Art. xv. near end.



ARTICLE XXIV.

OF SPEAKING IN THE CONGREGATION IN SUCH
A TONGUE AS THE PEOPLE UNDERSTANDETH.

IT is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

1. The principal part of the *History* of this Article, comes into a small compass. The Church of Christ got divided, as to the part which we are most concerned with, into *Eastern* and *Western*; or into *Greek* and *Latin*: *Constantinople* being the capital of the Eastern empire, became the capital of the Greek Church: and so *Rome* of the Latin Church. *Liturgies* must of course be made in Greek for one country, and in Latin for the other. In both parts of the world, such Liturgies would spread; they would also become venerated and sacred; on that account they would be continued, and persisted in, even when they became unintelligible to the common people. To change them would have been to alter "the universal^a order of God's Church." The ignorance of the people, and their superstition, made barbarous devotions
not

^a Rhemists on 1 Cor. xiv.

not unacceptable to them; the abuse was carried on till it was checked, in the western church, by the Reformation^b.

This is the chief part of our History; but it may be proper to mention a few more facts which have some relation to the subject of forms of devotion in words not commonly understood.

There seem to have been mystical *carmina* in many ages. — *Magicum carmen*: — *Magorum Carmina*. — Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 1. mentions some Heathens, “who thought those prayers most effectual, which were uttered in a barbarous language.” (Comber’s Advice, page 82, 83.)

One *Elxai*, a leader of a Christian sect in early times, is said to have ordered his followers to use an unintelligible prayer. We have the words in Epiphanius’s nineteenth Heresy: as Epiphanius did not understand them, we may conceive it possible, that they were not understood by those who used^c them.

The *Jews* spoke Syriac and Greek, in common conversation, when they used pure Hebrew in their Synagogues^d. It has been thought, that the earliest Christian Liturgies were in Hebrew. (See Brerewood, chap. 26. page 185.)

The *Copts*, or Christians in Ægypt, have service in the old Ægyptian, or *Coptic*, though even the Priests themselves understand very imperfectly what they pronounce. *Arabic* is, as I have been informed,

^b By what degrees the Latin ceased to be a vulgar tongue in Italy, Gaul, &c. how far by incursions of barbarous nations, how far by other causes, is a difficult subject. Something upon it may be found in *Brerewood’s Enquiry*, Chap. 2. 4. 5. — And in *Usher*, cap. 4. — And Wharton’s addition, cap. 4.

^c See Lardner’s works, Vol. 9. page 514.

^d See Locke’s Note on 1 Cor. xiv. 4. page 129. quarto.

informed, the language commonly^e used in Ægypt since the sixteenth Century.

Many Greek Christians do not pray in the Greek which they commonly talk, but in pure Greek^f: and this, in all their Monasteries, though in Africa. The *Romanists* allow the propriety^g of pure Greek when used; and they do not object to Hebrew.

The *Russians* are said to use the *Slavonian*, (which is spoken of as an extensive or general language) in their places of worship^h. — And the Mohammedans Arabic; where it is not the vernacular tongue.

Notwithstanding these instances, it does not appear, that in the Christian Church there was any notion of prayers in an unknown tongue, as a thing settled and defended, for 600 or 800, or perhaps 900 years. Bingham saysⁱ 1000; but must not Latin, &c. have ceased to be vernacular in less than 1000 years?

There is a famous passage in Origen's work against Celsus^k, in which he replies to an objection made

^e Book 1. Chap. 1x. Sect. v. But Brerewood thinks, that the Coptic prayers are in Syriac, or in a second sort of Chaldee.

^f So, I think, Ricaut says.—See Veneer, page 634, and Brerewood, page 106, bottom.

^g Fulke on Rhem. Test. fol. 294.

^h The English Chaplain at St. Petersburg informed a friend of mine in 1790, that the common people understand this Slavonian, but imperfectly.

Brerewood speaks of Russian, as a dialect of Slavonian, page 200: he says too, that Slavonian is the vulgar tongue of more than one third of Europe; that sixty nations speak it.

ⁱ See Fulke on 1 Cor. xiv. in Rhem. Test. Sect. 8. and 15. — Brerewood, Chap. 26, page 185. and Bingham, Book 13. Chap. 4. Sect. 1.

^k Orig. contra Cel. Lib. 8. 13. The God of all languages hears men pray in all languages, as with one voice.—*Bennet* on this Article has this passage: (that is, in his *Directions*, &c.) For Valentinians see Appendix to the first Book, Sect. xv 111.

made to the Christians, as if they addressed *Angels* by barbarous names, and thought their prayers would have no effect if they did not: this might be true of Valentinians, &c. but in clearing Christians in general, he says, 'Ο πασης διαλεκτου κυριος των απο πασης διαλεκτου ευχομενων ακρει.'

Here I will read a passage from our Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments. (page 279, 280, octavo.)

In *Jerom's*¹ works we have an account of the funeral of his Disciple *Paula*, a Roman Matron: multitudes from the cities of Palestine attended it: In order that every one might have a clear understanding of some part at least of the Service, Psalms were sung in four different languages; Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin^m. Dr. Fulke gives a pretty translation of a passage in the Epitaphium *Nepotiani*, ending with, "the savage nature of the *Bessés*," "have now broken their harsh language into the sweet song of Christ."

It appears, that Latin was spoken by ordinary people in *Africa*, in the time of *Augustin*; he says, that he learnt it by hearing his Nursesⁿ talk it; and that he sometimes used expressions, as did other persons, which were rather vulgar, in order to suit himself to the more ordinary people^o: these expressions must be in Latin.

Pope

¹ T. 4. Ed. Ben. Epitaphium, ad Eustochium; Eustochium was the daughter of Paula: see Fulke on Rhem. Test. 1 Cor. xiv. Sect. 8. The Roman Paula, of noble birth, had left Rome, and travelled into Palestine, &c. where she had founded Monasteries, &c. there she died

^m The word *Hebrew* is not in all the MSS.

ⁿ Ad Heliodorum, Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.—Heliodorus was the Uncle, I think, of Nepotianus.—*Bessé*, in Thrace; to the S. of the most southern part of the Danube.

^o Confess. 1. 14. mentioned by Fulke on 1 Cor. xiv. Sect. 14. Rhem. Test.

^p Aug. in Psal. 123. 128. Et de Doct. Christ. 2. 13.—

Pope Leo III. however, as also a Pope Benedict^s, ordered, that the Nicene Creed should be used in Greek, even in the Latin Church; during public worship: lest το γενου της διαλεκτου should give occasion to some *blasphemy*.—Το γενου, &c. is translated (by Usher^r, I suppose,) “idiomatis *angustia* ;” the Greek account of this matter is from a fragment of *Photius*.—At all times, probably, one great reason for not using the Vulgar Tongue, has been the fear of *Profanation*.

Cave^s mentions that Pope John VIII. whom he places in 872, did, in the year 880, when the *Moravians* were converted, allow them “*facra peragere linguâ vernaculâ;*” that is, in the *Sclavonian*.

Innocent III. (the deposer of King John of England) held a Council of *Lateran*, (that is, in a Church dedicated to St. John at Rome, and called *Lateran*, from the Palace^r on whose scite it stands) in 1215. A part of Chap. ninth of the Acts of this Council, is translated by Dr. Fulke^s;
in

Fulke *ibidem*. Here might be mentioned *Justinian*; placed by Cave A. D. 527; (but the *Novellæ* constitutiones after 535.) who ordered Priests to speak so as to be heard and understood. *Novell*, 137, cap. 6. (page 682 of *Corpus*, 8vo. Tom. 2.) this mentioned by Fox, page 9. *Martyrology* (or Acts and Monuments,) and in our Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments; and in *Bingham*.

^q Benedict the *third*, I suppose; though there were several short-lived Popes between Leo and him.

^r See Usher, de *Symbolis*, page 25.

^s *Hist. Lit. T. 2.* page 61, or *Index*, Joannes VIII. Papa. But Dr. Fulke gives this to Pope Nicholas I. (him Cave places in 858,) *Rhem. Test.* on 1 Cor. xiv. Sect. 8.—He does not say *Moravians*, but *Scalvoniens*. Burnet also mentions the fact.

^t Chambers says, in his *Dictionary*, *Lateran* was first the name of a *Man*, then of the *Palace* where he lived; then of the *Church*, &c. built from that *Palace*.

^u On *Rhem. Test.* on 1 Cor. xiv. Sect. 8.

in which it is ordered, that in those places where men of different nations mix, proper persons should be provided to celebrate divine service in their different *languages*, and according to their^x different ceremonies. Yet this same Pope opposed the people of Metz (Metenses) about their having the *Scriptures* in their Vulgar Tongue; but not in any Council: In this Council of Lateran, Cave says, there were many Orators from foreign Courts.

It seems as if the *Schoolmen* might be reckoned amongst the *adversaries* to Prayers in an unknown tongue. Archbishop Usher (de Scrip. et Sacris vernaculis, page 235,) has something to the purpose. Thomas Aquinas owns, that prayers were in the vulgar tongue in the time of Christ. I see also, he says, that though Christ *could* have spoken different languages, he spoke only one; because he spoke only to one nation. Dr. Comber tells us, that Gabriel Biel pleads strongly for having prayers in a known tongue. (Advice, &c. page 84.)

The authors of the Rhemish Testament shew no reserve in defending the use of prayers, &c. in Latin; I mean, by those who do not understand it: they use many arguments in favour of their opinion; such of those arguments as seem to have any weight, may be examined by and by.—We have in the margin, “The Peoples’ devotion nothing the less for praying in Latine.”—And, “It is not necessary to understand our prayers.”

The Council of Trent is more guarded; it orders frequent *explanations*^a to be made by the Pastors, of what is said at Mass; these are to be made

ON

^x Brerewood mentions this, page 189.

^y On 1 Cor. xiv.—Fulke’s Sect. 13 and 14.

^z Here one might read Sir Edwin Sandys’s *Speculum Europæ*, page 7.

^a Sess. 22. Cap. 8.—Also Canon 9.

on Sundays and Holidays:—And that, lest the *sheep* of Christ should be hungry, and the *babes* want bread.—Yet those are anathematized who say, that Mass ought to be celebrated only in the vulgar tongue.

Dupin “allows that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary^b :” yet he “excuses the Latin and Greek Churches for preserving their ancient language;”—and “alleges, that great care has been taken that every thing be understood by *translations*.”

We may lastly mention collectively some eminent Romanists who favoured our opinion :

Cardinal Cajetan, who died 1534, and Nicholas of Lyra, who died 1340, go so far as to prefer prayers in the vulgar tongue, as Comber mentions^c. Gabriel Biel was spoken of just now as being of the same way of thinking. More may be seen in Usher de Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis, cap. 10^d.

Brerewood also would furnish more instances of different languages amongst Christians; but these may be sufficient; so here I close my History.

11. The *Explanation* need not be long.

The difference between our present Article and the
the

^b Mosheim, Appendix, as before.

^c Comber's Advice, page 84.—See also Veneer, page 635, who mentions Mercer the famous Hebraist. In the present age the celebrated Financier Necker wishes his Church would give up the use of unknown tongues in public Devotions.

^d By Wharton, '690, 4to. this seems to contain a great deal of learning, but more about the people's reading the Scriptures, than about Sacra being vernacula, in ancient times. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. page 235. is the passage lately referred to —Bingham, 13. 4. gives the title of this Book more fully; *Historia Dogmatica, &c.*—He has also, I perceive, several of the same instances, which have been here made use of.

the corresponding one of 1552, is so distinctly marked out by Bishop Burnet, that I refer to him.

The word "Speaking," in the *title*, is explained in the body of the Article, to mean praying and administering Sacraments; *preaching* is not mentioned, because, I suppose, Sermons are every where in the vernacular language: they are so in *France*, and, I doubt not, the case is the same in other^e catholic countries.

"*Public prayer*"—so that here is nothing of *private prayer*;—this however is spoken of as being sometimes in an unknown tongue, (unknown to him who prays) as well as public: by the Rhemists^f, and in our Homily^g, "Of common-prayer and sacraments."—Private prayer in any tongue understood by him who prays, is allowed in the second Preface to our Prayer-books.

Topics of reason and utility are omitted in our Article, but they are used in our Homily:—and rightly: especially as scripture could not treat the precise question before us.

"A tongue not understood of the people," includes, in the reason of the thing, a voice that is not *audible*.—I believe it is common in the Roman service for the Priests to perform Masses in such a voice: these may be what are called private Masses:—the French Dictionary of the Academy calls this sort "*basse messe*."^h

I know

^e Sir Edw. Sandys, speaking of the Roman religion in general, opposes the Sermons to the Service, when he calls the latter "a *Lampe put out*," &c. page 8. *Speculum Europæ* — And it is implied in the directions to Pastors given by the Council of Trent, just now mentioned, that the explanations which they are to give, must be in the vulgar tongue.

^f 1 Cor. xiv. Sect 13. (Fulke). ^g Page 277, 8vo.

^h In the 9th Canon, lately mentioned, of the 22d Session of the Council of Trent, those are anathematized, who condemn the rite of the Romish Church, *quo summissâ voce pars canonis et verba consecrationis proferuntur*.

I know not whether the meaning of the words “*primitive Church*,” is quite agreed upon. Bennet, in his directions, gives the above-mentioned passage of Origen as a proof, that the primitive church allowed the use of different languages: but, literally and properly, the primitive church should mean the *first* church; or the Church of Christ in the *Apostolic age*. Indeed Bennet might reason, asⁱ Wall does, thus;

Origen was born about 80 years after St. John died^k: consider when his grandfather might live;—he might know from his grandfather if the practice of the primitive Church strictly so called, favoured such a scheme as worshipping in languages not understood:—thus the writings of the Fathers of the three first Centuries afford good probable proofs of customs in the Apostolic age.—But yet the Church of England, at the Reformation, was jealous about allowing any authority but scriptural; therefore the best explanation of “the custom of the primitive church,” seems to be, the *customs* mentioned in *scripture*.—And consequently, “the word of God *and* the custom of the primitive church,” together, should mean, the directions and practices recorded in the scriptures.

But those who wish to go farther down, may consult Bingham’s Antiquities, Book 13. Chap. 4.—And Usher’s “*Historia Dogmatica controversiæ intra Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis*.”—Especially the fourth and fifth Sections of his eighth Chapter. The title of the fourth Section is, “*In Ecclesiâ Primitivâ, commune officium vulgari linguâ celebratum fuit*.”—But his authorities are only the Apostolic Constitu-

tions,

ⁱ On Infant-Baptism, Preface.

^k Origen is placed by Lardner in 230; he was born in 185.

tions, which though ancient, are not now esteemed genuine: and a Liturgy called St. James's, but probably not to be depended upon as composed by an Apostle. These seem to be his only authorities that pretend to belong to the Apostolic age: he quotes from Jerom, Clemens Alexandrinus, Augustin and others; and uses the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysoftom; but if these give us the custom of the primitive Church, strictly so called, we can only believe, that they do so on such probable grounds as have been lately explained.

111. We now proceed to *Proof*.

According to what was last explained, we need but make one proposition. — 'It is contrary to directions recorded in Scripture, to have Liturgies in any language which is not generally intelligible where they are used.'

This matter could not be directly discussed in Scripture, as has been¹ observed of several others; but the fault mentioned 1 Cor. xiv. of using the gift of tongues through ostentation, when it would perplex instead of informing, is open to the same arguments and expostulations with that of which we are speaking, having Liturgies in unknown languages^m. We may therefore apply, almost immediately, the passages of that chapter to our present purpose. The whole chapter might be read, but we may distinguish some verses as particularly apposite; 2. 5. 6. 9. 11. 16. 17. 19. 20. 23. 26. 31. — From these and several other passages, it is very clear, that those who had authority in conducting religious

¹ Art. xxii.

^m See Warburton on the Spirit, page 21. — See also Locke on the 4th verse, where he mentions, that Lightfoot looks upon the *unknown* tongue to mean *Hebrew*. Now if any Jew, turned Christian, used Hebrew in Christian Assemblies because it was a *sacred* language, that case comes nearer our present one than speaking with tongues, in general.

religious assemblies, were to adapt their rules and laws to the moral and religious *improvement* of the generality, as also to their *comfort*.

The *unlearned* are mentioned repeatedly; and all are enjoined to act like men of *mature understanding*.—One can scarcely read this chapter to any purpose, or even attend to its meaning uninterruptedly, without some idea of what was meant by the gift of *Prophecy*. Mr. Lockeⁿ understands it to include three things: predicting some events, singing inspired hymns, and interpreting mystical and difficult parts of scripture by inspiration:—this interpreting is distinguishable from interpreting what was said in an assembly by those who had the gift of *Tongues*.—Prophecy was carried on in the *vulgar* tongue; St. Paul magnifies its worth, in *comparison* of speaking with tongues; but then he meant in assemblies where no foreigners required information.

That the scriptures look upon the lower ranks of men as important, appears from many places both of the Old and New Testament. The parable of Lazarus might be mentioned in particular. Connect that with John xxi. 15, &c. and with Acts xx. 28, 29. and neglect in edifying the poor and unlearned, will seem no trifling matter.—And if St. Paul insists so strongly on our attending to principles of Utility, it may be considered as a scriptural argument to urge, that the better prayers are understood, the more good they do; especially if well composed, so as to comprehend brief and plain expressions of the most important doctrines; and that it is in vain to compose them well, if, at last, they are unintelligible.

But we should say a word or two of scriptural *practice*.—Christ spoke no unknown tongue: St. Paul

ⁿ Locke on 1 Cor. xii. 10.

Paul avoided it, and only permitted^o it, as it were, at home. The office of Interpreter was appointed in order to prevent anything from being finally unintelligible.—The Church of Christ sometimes prayed collectively, as related in Acts iv. 24. and elsewhere. We may add, that no Liturgy was ever originally composed in any language not familiar to the people by whom it was to be used.

iv. So much for direct proof; some arguments of our adversaries may seem perhaps to require an answer, or proof of the indirect sort.—Their arguments in favour of their opinion, are so many objections to ours.

1. It has been urged, that the chapter on which we^p build, does not relate to public worship, but only to private *conferences*. But it seems to me to relate to *any* meetings *whatsoever*, which could tempt men to display their powers by way of gaining admiration: “*when ye come together,*” wheresoever it may be; to sing, pray, give thanks, prophecy, hear revealed interpretations of Scripture; where the people may be required, or induced, to say *Amen*.

The word *church* occurs five times in the chapter, and is opposed to “*home*;” the larger the Assembly, the greater the absurdity of puzzling them: the Romish argument seems to suppose the contrary.

2. It has been said, that a general language is most convenient for *strangers*. The number of learned strangers is very small, in comparison of that of unlearned natives: besides, as each stranger is at home sometimes, he receives most benefit upon the whole, from the rule of having Liturgies in the vulgar tongue: I should have thought it a
great

^o 1 Cor. xiv. 1, (with Locke's note) and 39.

^p 1 Cor. xiv.

great pity, when I was at Church in Holland, that a Dutch congregation should lose the edification of a Dutch Liturgy, for any good I should have got from their using a Latin one.

3. The Romanists are ready to say, that their Latin Liturgy is made intelligible by translations, *explanations*, ceremonies⁴: but translations are not used in church; I mean, by the Ministers; the mind does not go with the words by means of a translation only published, not publicly read.—Those who cannot read, are as much at a loss in that case as without translation. Explanations may give a general idea; but that is very imperfect work: ceremonies make but little impression on those who do not understand the words which accompany them. An unconnected word may be explained, such as *Amen*, *Hallelujah*, *Hosanna*; or such short sayings as *Κυριε ελεησον*, *Dominus vobiscum*; but a sentence is quite a different thing; what must a series of sentences be!

4. We are told, that we might submit to unintelligible prayers, because, in any vulgar tongue, many things occur, which are not understood, in the Psalms, for instance, and Prophecies. It may be so; our knowledge is imperfect, and so are our understandings; we must labour to improve ourselves; but that is not to be done by purposely making things obscure, where obscurity can be avoided.

To impose ignorance by choice, in matters of revealed religion, is to counteract revelation; which must be a good, however men may have it in their power to pervert or misrepresent it.—The faculty of speech is a good, though the imperfections in language are great: no one would be willing to lose the faculty on that account; yet to pray in

⁴ Dupin as above.—Rhem. Test. &c.

an unknown tongue is to deprive many human beings of one important use of it. But when Psalms, Prophecies, &c. are the most difficult, all people receive *some* benefit from them; some religious ideas, some pious feelings.

5. Sometimes dispute has been carried so far, that it has been said, there is *good* in the common people's not understanding Liturgies. If Christ had thought so, he would have only given us the Lord's prayer in Phœnician, or in Hebrew: and would have forbidden its being used in any other language. The people may doubtless want instruction, and, deprived of it, may attach wrong ideas to religious expressions; but every day's teaching may lessen this evil, and, at the same time, mend the *heart*, as well as the understanding, of both those who receive instruction and those who give it.

6. Lastly, It has been held, that men are more devout for being ignorant: or, according to the proverbial expression, 'Ignorance is the *Mother of Devotion*.'—That ignorance may occasion some kind of rude, barbarous emotions in the mind, when attending to superior beings, will scarcely be denied; but what kind of devotion is that! the savage trembles at an Eclipse, the ignorant attributes the effects of electric fire to the immediate agency of Satan[†]; but this is very different from the devotion arising from religious "truth and soberness." Fanatical terrors have very little effect in giving the mind steady and rational principles of action: Ignorance may be the Mother of Superstition or Enthusiasm; it may even conceive and bring forth Hypocrisy; but it will
never

[†] Art. x. Sect. L. where is a paragraph from Doomday-book of St Julian's Shrewsbury.

^{*} Acts xxvi. 25.

never give birth to that *Love* of God and man; which, the better informed it is, has the greater tendency to make the Christian uniformly and effectually virtuous; “steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.”

I will mention no more arguments, or objections; you may think I have already mentioned too many, in so plain a case; but it has sometimes seemed, that objections might lead to profitable observations, when they are not formidable to any important truth.

v. What little I shall say, in the way of *Application*, may be placed either to the head of mutual conciliation, or to that of Improvements: in the present case what conciliates, improves.

An ancient dead language, it must be confessed, has, by being fixed, some advantages for religious worship: it is venerable, free from vulgarity, nay it is sometimes, as we find from our Latin Articles, even more perspicuous than an obsolete vernacular tongue. If such language be *general*, it has still more advantages; as Latin is amongst learned Europeans, French amongst the polite; and the lingua Franca amongst the mercantile that have any connexion with any shore of the Mediterranean. The Hellenistic Greek used to be very general in our^t Saviour’s time.—If there could be such a thing as a *sacred* language, that would have strong effects; in the same manner as a sacred edifice; set apart entirely for purposes of religion. And if such sacred language could be *fixed* and *general*, it might be worth while to have *Liturgies* composed in it, for the use of the more improved in all different nations of the Globe. The intercourse of Nations with each other increases daily, and will increase as the world improves^u.—I do

^t Book I. Chap. vi. page 77.

^u If. xi. 9.—Hab. ii. 14.

do not see any impropriety in using Latin Prayers in Universities; Dr. Heylin speaks of their being used at Christ Church, Oxford, at early service, when only members of the University are supposed to be present: and he says, he does not understand that, at the Reformation, it was "meant but that the morning and evening service might be used, in Colleges and Halls of either University, in the Latine Tongue, where all may be supposed to understand it."—Private prayers are expressly allowed to be "in any Language that they themselves" (the persons who pray) "do understand*."—Whatever may be permitted or contrived, of this sort, should be calculated, not to promote pedantry or ostentation, but spiritual improvement. "Let all things be done^y unto *edifying*." This must be the universal principle; and, in any state of which we can have the least conception, it cannot fail to lead us to provide, in every nation, a Liturgy in the vernacular tongue. However, it is one thing to say, that a thing ought to be done, and another to say, that people have always been unpardonable for not doing it:—there have been times of such gross darkness, that, when we look back upon them, we feel almost in a state of indifference about the language in which the people prayed; it occurs to us, at the moment, that they might have been improved; but then again we recollect that the Clergy were little more enlightened than the people: and we apply to the church the words of our Saviour; "if therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"—Now, however, better prospects begin to dawn upon us:
 though

* "Concerning the service of the Church."—Prefixed to Prayer-books, in Sparrow's collection, page 201. Q. Eliz. mentions, that the colleges had petitioned for leave to use Latin Prayers.

^y 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

though some Popish countries may be slow and sluggish in advancing towards civilization, yet that which is nearest to us, has, of late, taken ample strides; and it is firmly to be expected, that, if the rage of *philosophizing* leaves any substance of revealed Religion, any Christian Church, of magnitude and importance, there will not, ere long, be any objection to making the forms of public worship intelligible to the people^z.

^z 1797, I leave this as it was written at the end of 1791, to take its chance of seeming groundless and chimerical.



ARTICLE XXV.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

SACRAMENTS ordained of Christ, be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather, they be certain sure witnessles, and effectual signs of grace, and God's will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures: but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about; but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

1. We

I. We have now before us seven Articles upon the subject of Sacraments; this twenty-fifth treats of Sacraments in general, and of those which we reject. It is always difficult to make general observations before those particular ones of which they consist; in the analytical method the particulars would come first, but it is most usual to give reasonings to the world in a synthetic form.—The consequence, however, of treating first of Sacraments in general will be, that several parts of our present Article may be passed over, without either history, explanation, or proof; I mean those which, though expressed in general terms, relate only to Baptism, or the Lord's Supper.

II. Our *History*, according to this, need only be of the *seven* Romish Sacraments, collectively, and of the *five*, taken separately, which we reject.

I seem to have a general idea of the manner in which the seven Romish Sacraments might acquire and lose their celebrity. Men of religious characters begin with obeying the injunctions of Christ, and following the example of his Apostles and their immediate successors; a sacred regard for every observance grows stronger and stronger; new particulars shew themselves, in which zeal may be manifested and exerted; one pious man tries to go a step beyond another; a third is determined to surpass them both; ordinances, at first simple, get to be clogged with a multitude of ceremonies, and adorned with splendor^a and magnificence.—Reason makes no opposition, or when it makes any is disregarded, or contemned;—and thus, what was originally rational and plain, runs into excess and folly.—Some at length see this with the eyes
of

^a Something of this sort is described in Mosheim, Cent. 13. Part 2. Chap. 4. Sect. 1. page 107, 8vo. Vol. 3.

of common sense, and labour to impose restraints and contrive regulations; others encourage themselves in disgust and love of novelty, and, either through passion or affectation, throw the whole aside.

But to be more *particular*.

We are told, that Justin Martyr and Tertullian speak of no more^b sacraments than two.—The same is said of Ambrose^c, who wrote concerning Sacraments.—Theodoret speaks of some Christians who were^d called *Euchitæ*, because they were for Prayer without Sacraments: and of some, who conceived so highly of the *spiritual* nature of Christianity, that they would allow of no *matter* or element whatsoever. They had the name of *Ascodrutæ*, *Ἀσχοδρῦται*, and they are the more worthy of our notice, as their notion seems to be the same with that of our modern *Quakers*; though the *Quakers* are said, by Mosheim, to have had their rise about the middle of the seventeenth Century. The etymology of *Ascodrutæ* is not well understood: even Theodoret (Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 10.) seems at a loss about them; and I have consulted

^b Vener on the Article, page 641.

^c By Bp. Bramhall; quoted by Fuller, page 274.

^d See Rogers on the Art. he refers to no part of Theodoret's works.—*Euchitæ* (*Ευχίται*) occur Hæret. Fab. Lib. 4. cap. 11.—They were sometimes called *Messaliani*, *Μεσσαλιανοί*, and sometimes *Ειβησιασμοί*: they said, that *Baptism* was no more useful than a *Razor*; it *cut off* sin, but did not *extirpate* it; Sin grew again; so they were for *Prayer*: I see nothing about the *Eucharist*, in the account of them; they were great *Enthusiasts*: They were tried, and, I think, banished, by *Flavian* Bishop of Antioch; and written against chiefly, by *Amphilochius*.—One *Helvetic* Confession, Chap. 19. refers to these *Messaliani*, under Sacraments in general: and we see from that passage, that the ideas of our *Quakers* were in being at the time of the Reformation. Syntagma, page 67, of Part 1. The Reformers seem to have liked to refer recent errors to old times—See Synt. part 2, page 13. *Donatists*.

sulted a number of books about the name, without obtaining any satisfaction. They seem to have made this their fundamental principle, that *invisible* things are not to be completed by *visible*. Of course they *baptized* not; but moreover they had no *Θεία μυστήρια*, no divine *mysteries*. This I understood as a general expression, though the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has sometimes the name of *the mysteries*. Theodoret next speaks of some called *Archontici*, *Αρχοντικοί*, with whom a knowledge of God, of the mystic sort, seems to have been all in all: these went so far as to *anathematize* Το λειτρον, και την των μυστηριων μεταληψιν:—*Baptism*, and the receiving of the holy *Mysteries*.—The word *απολυτρωσις*, which is translated *redemptio*, means only, a mode of *Baptizing*; and so Wall seems to have understood it.—On Infant Baptism, 2. 5. 1.

Augustin is said, by the Rhemists on Gal. iv. 3. to have spoken of the *seven* sacraments which are held by the Romanists; and passages are quoted from different parts of his works in order to shew this; but Fulke seems to me to answer the Rhemists completely.—The opening for dispute in this matter, is, that we find *Sacramentum* used in different senses. It seems to be used for any *emblematical* action of a sacred import; or, according to the expression of our Homily^e, for “anything whereby an holy thing is signified.”—*Washing of feet* has been accounted a sacrament; and in the Greek Church there was a Festival called *Νιπτηρ*^f (and probably is at this day) in which the Patriarch, or Abbot, or whoever was the head person at the place, personated our Saviour, and washed the

^e On Common Prayer and Sacraments, page 276, 8vo.

^f See Cave's Lit. Diff. *Νιπτηρ*.

the feet of twelve poor persons, who personated the twelve Apostles: in Monasteries these were poor Monks; and the Steward, or Burfar, took the part of St. Peter, and acted his reluctance; and the Porter was Judas Iſcariot, and underwent much ridicule and many insults.

In ancient times there was also a Sacrament^z of Catechumens, in which *salt* was given them as an emblem of purity and incorruption, with reference, probably, to Matt. v. 13. and Mark ix. 50.—In this extended sense, all the typical acts of the *Jews* were sacraments; and accordingly, *circumcision*, eating the *paschal Lamb*, &c. have been called Sacraments of the *old Law*. In this extended sense of the word sacrament, it has been disputed, amongst Christians, whether there were not *thirteen*^h Sacraments; and, as *Images*, of Christ, Virgin Mary, &c. mean something beyond the visible figure, it has been asked whether they might not be considered asⁱ Sacraments.

I will give you the passage of Augustin's Letter to Januarius^k, as it is made the beginning of King Edward's Article. It is translated in our Homily, and in Fulke's answer to the Rhemists on Gal. iv. 3.

Archbishop

^z Bingham, 10. 2. 16.

^h Forbes, 9. 3. 2.

ⁱ See Forbes, 9. 1. 26. The Trent Catechism, Part 2. Sect. x. proves that such a question has been asked, by answering it in the negative.

^k Ep. 54. or, in a different way of reckoning, Ep. 118.—*Primò itaque tenere te volo, quod est hujus disputationis caput, Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, sicut ipse in Evangelio loquitur, leni jugo suo subdidisse, et sarcinæ levi: unde sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur, &c.*

Archbishop Bramhall says¹ concisely, “Our church receives not the septenary number of Sacraments, being never so much as mentioned in any Scripture, or Council, or Creed, or Father, or ancient author; first divided by Peter Lombard in 1439; first decreed by Eugenius the Fourth 1528; first confirmed in the Provincial Council of Senes 1457; and after in the Council of Trent.” Here the number mentioning the time of Peter Lombard, must be wrongly printed; Cave places him in 1141;—I suppose the number belonging to Eugenius is put to Peter^m Lombard; and so on.

*Forbes*ⁿ says, that Hugo de Sancto Victore, (Hugh of St. Victor) whom he places in 1130, and Cave in 1120, seems to him to have first mentioned seven sacraments, though Peter Lombard agrees with him.—The Abbot of St. Victor at Paris probably knew Peter Lombard, who lived there, though not as Bishop of Paris till after Hugo’s death. However, it is still more probable that Peter knew the person and writings of Hugo.—At the Council of *Florence*, in 1438-9, it seems to have been debated between the Greek and Latin Churches whether the seven Sacraments were to be observed “secundum^o usitatam in Ecclesiâ Romanâ formam.” Whoever first fixed on the number

¹ Quoted by Puller, page 275. A Counsellor to the French King, Mr. de la *Militiere*, wrote to Charles II. King of England, before the Restoration, inviting him to profess Popery, as a likely means to get restored: Bramhall answers him, in the Address from which this passage is taken: Bramhall was then abroad, I think, as well as King Charles; but see his Life; the Life of Archbishop Bramhall, in the *Biographia Britannica*.

^m This conjecture is right; in Bramhall’s Letter the three years are put in the margin, all together.

ⁿ Forbes, 9. 3. 1.

^o Cave Hist. Lit. Tom. 2. page 233.

number seven, was probably an happy man; so powerful and mystical a number^p as it is!—The Trent Catechism dwells upon^q it.

The number *seven* was not one of the things first changed at the *Reformation*; indeed the five ordinances which the Romanists call Sacraments and we do not, are fairly to be *distinguished* from all others which have been called sacraments in the extended sense, in respect of their importance, if we take extreme unction for visitation of the sick. —*Wickliffe* did not reject them; but then his definition of a sacrament was only, “a visible token of something invisible^r.” In the *Necessary Doctrine*, &c. which bears so hard upon some Romish abuses, seven sacraments are explained, calmly and practically; not in any way of controversy^s. In the time of Edward VI. “If sick persons desired to be *anointed*, there was a provision^t for compliance in some degree.”—*Heylin* tells^u us, that four of the five sacraments which we now reject, were “retained under the name of *Sacramentals* in our publick Liturgie,” extreme unction being changed into visitation of the sick. But not rejecting the five, might, with our Reformers, amount to little more than not making a separate class of our *two*.

The *Romanists* are very tenacious of the number seven. In the seventh Session of the Council of Trent, Canon the first, we are anathematized if we make either more or fewer than seven: We must not make thirteen any more; nor take in the Νίπτηρ of the

^p See Cruden's Concordance under the word *seven*.

^q Part 2. Sect. xviii. about sacraments in general, page 137.

^r Wickliffe's Doctrines may be found in Collier's Eccles. Hist. but I am not sure where I saw this definition.

^s Yet many things in these explanations, differ from the Romish doctrine.

^t Neal, 1, page 37. in 1548.

^u Life of Laud, Introd. Sect. xii.

the Greeks, or some which the Fathers took in, when they used the word Sacrament in its large sense: neither must we say, that the five are Sacraments in some *lower sense* than the other two; they are all seven to be allowed *verè et propriè* Sacramenta.—We must not say, that sacraments are only constituted to “confirm^x our Faith;” this may aim at our Article.—We must not deny, that sacraments *give* grace “*ex opere operato*;” translated in the Articles of 1552, “*of the work wrought.*”—John Fox blames the Romanists for saying, that Sacraments “*give* Grace,”—and not only do *signifie*, but also “*containe* and exhibite that which they signifie, to wit, Grace and Salvation^z.”—The Trent Catechism says, “they have in them an admirable and *sure* virtue to cure our^a souls.”

The Romanists say, that three sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation and Orders, impress a *mark* or *character* (χαρακτήρ) upon the *soul*, and also give an *outward* distinction; that this mark or impression, or sealing, external and internal, is *indelible*; and therefore, these sacraments cannot be *reiterated*:—(See Trent Catech. Part 2. on Sacraments in general, Sect. 29, &c.)

This seems only to mean, that a person *once* baptized, confirmed, ordained, is *always* baptized, confirmed, ordained:—which is against *re-baptizing*, *re-confirming*, and *re-ordaining*: that is, supposing a man *really* once baptized, &c.—but *re-baptizing*, &c. have always proceeded on the supposition,

^x Canon 5.—John Fox says, Sacraments are “*to excite our Faith:*” Vol. 1. page 36. excitare is the word of our Article.

^y Canon 8.—This will be mentioned under Art. xxix.

^z Vol. 1. page 36. Acts and Monuments, or Martyrologie.

^a Page 145. or last Sect. 32. of Part 2. on Sacraments in general.—Sect. 10. is mentioned in the ninth Section of this Article.

supposition, that a man's first baptism, &c. were improperly called such.—(Like our Divorces a vinculo matrimonii).

If priesthood be indelible, a Church can never withdraw its Commission from a Priest: can never degrade him.

The Rhemists soften nothing, but^b maintain the seven sacraments in the fullest and strictest manner. I have already referred to Gal. iv. 3. where, I think, the arguments on both sides are sufficiently displayed, by them and their answerer Dr. Fulke; but other places may easily be found.

Even Dr. Dupin^c “insists, that the *five* Romish sacraments be acknowledged as such, whether instituted immediately by *Christ*, or not.”—In the Acts of the Council of Trent, Canon first of Sess. 7. we are told, that it is wrong to say,—“non fuisse *omnia* à Jesu *Christo* Domino nostro instituta.”

The author of “Principles and Practices of Methodists^d,” mentions as a popish doctrine, “that the use of sacraments, accompanied only with an imperfect sorrow, so finishes and completes these religious acts, that they will be sufficient to justify us.”—*Sacramental justification* is the term used by Divines.—The Trent Catechism mentions this^e.

Those whom we call the *Sectaries* have, several of them run into an opposite extreme to that of the Romanists. The *Reformatio Legum*, in the part de *Hæresibus*, speaks against the same persons
with

^b This question about the efficacy of Sacraments, was much agitated between the Romanists and the Reformers. Limborch calls it *Acris questio*, Theol. 5. 66, 21 & 22, page 604.

^c Mosheim's Appendix, page 131, 8vo. Vol. 6.

^d First Letter from Academicus, to Mr. Berridge, page 73.—This author is supposed to have been Bishop Green, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

^e Page 142. or Sect. 16. Part 2. on Sacraments in general.

with our Article, who would have the Sacraments to be taken “*pro nudis signis, et externis tantum indiciis,*” — “*quibus, tanquam notis, hominum Christianorum religio possit a ceteris internosci:*” — But in a separate Title, *De Sacramentis*, we have first a definition of Sacraments, and an account of their efficacy; then the marks of a Sacrament, and a declaration, that those marks are only found in Baptism and the Eucharist. After an account of these two, we have something concerning Ordination, Matrimony, Confirmation, and visiting the Sick. In other titles we have something concerning ecclesiastical punishments, and excommunication.—But I see no names of any *Seets* mentioned.

Abroad, the followers of *Swenkfeldt* are said to have set aside all external ordinances, in favour^s of internal revelations; which is like what the *Quakers* have done since the time of Oliver Cromwell^h: the pretext used was, that Sacraments are *Judaical*.

Mr. Gloster Ridley, in his *Life of Bishop Ridley*ⁱ, tells us something of the *Seets* alluded to. The *Anabaptists* and others, through abhorrence of the Romish worship of the *Hosia*, and the Lutheran high notions of the Sacrament, ran so far into the opposite extreme, as to use low and scurrilous expressions concerning it; and to fix up Bills, or papers, against the door of St. Paul's Cathedral, containing such expressions.

We

^f Reform. Leg. de Hæresibus, cap. 17.—See also in *Synagma confessionum*, the Confessions, or Articles, of Augsburg, and Scotland, and Switzerland, page 61. 96. 153. And in the second Part, page 15.

^g See Rogers on the Article, page 153.

^h Mosheim, Index, *Quakers*.—Bennet's Confutation of *Quakerism*.—Barclay's Apology, Prop. 11. Sect. 2.

ⁱ *Life of Bishop Ridley*, page 216.

We have, in Strype's^k Life of Archbishop Whitgift, a paper signed by one Anthony *Randall*, Minister of Lydford, of the *Family of Love*, dated May 31, 1581, containing the assertion for which he was deprived by the Bishop of Exeter: amongst other things it is said, "He never thought the Lord's Supper and Baptism to be Sacraments, because he had not read the word Sacrament in the Holy Scripture. He alloweth the Administration of Sacraments because the Magistrate hath established it."

I will conclude this History of Sacraments in general with mentioning, that the *Socinians* allow^l but *one* ceremonial præceptum of Christ, to break bread:—how this is to be obeyed, will best appear hereafter.

III. Having finished our History of the Sacraments taken collectively, we come to make some historical remarks on those *five*, taken separately, which we reject. These five still remain interesting to us, though we reject them as Sacraments, because they are changed into *offices* which we esteem to be of great importance. *Confirmation, Absolution, Ordination, Matrimony, and Visitation of the Sick*: a right knowledge of these has a great tendency to make the *pastoral* duties useful to the public, as well as comfortable, or pleasing, to the Pastor himself.

First of *Confirmation*. In the primitive age of Christianity it appeared to the generality of thinking Christians, that Baptism included ideas both of *water* and the ^m*Holy Spirit*. John iii. 5.—Titus iii. 5. of which more hereafter. Persons of inferior rank

^k Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, page 93.

^l Racov Catechism, page 143.

^m Cave's Hist. Lit. T. 1. page 131. 2. Anon. de Baptismo non iterando, A. D. 253.

rank in the ministry, were competent to baptize with *water*, but it was observable that those of the *highest*ⁿ rank made use of *prayer* and *imposition* of hands for the obtaining of the *Holy Ghost*; and it was granted to their petitions. It shewed itself at first in some *supernatural* effects, otherwise the grant might have been incredible; but the *Comforter* was to be sent to Christians in all ages; to guide them into all truth, to reprove^o and inspire them, to work in them both to will^p and to do: yet he was to be asked^q for; what more natural *mode* of calling down the Holy Spirit could be adopted, when his gifts became *ordinary*, than one which was some *imitation* of the mode used by authority when they were *extraordinary*^r?—It suits this account, when *Jerom* calls what has now the name of *confirmation*, by the terms *imprecatio*, and *invocatio spiritus sancti*. —“ Non abnuo hanc esse Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longè in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et *Diaconos baptizati* sunt, *Episcopus*, ad *invocationem* sancti Spiritus manum impositurus, excurrat.” Dial. contra Lucifer. cap. 4.—And a little after, “ Alioquin, si *Episcopi* tantum *imprecatione*, Spiritus Sanctus desluit, lugendi sunt qui in villulis, aut in Castellis, aut in remotioribus locis, per Presbyteros aut *Diaconos baptizati*, ante dormierunt

ⁿ The authorities seem well collected in *Wheatly* on Common Prayer, Confirmation—beginning, page 397, 398.—In *Cornelius's* case, Acts x. 47. The Holy Ghost *precedes* Baptism, and is the *cause* of baptizing.

^o John xvi. 8. 13.

^p Phil. ii. 13.

^q Lnke xi. 13.—See also 2 Cor. i. 21, and parallels.—And

^r John ii. 27. might be considered.

^r Whatever is in *Scripture* must be in an age of *Miracles*; but according to our reasoning about the difference between a first *ministry* and an established one, we might conclude with regard to any particular ordinance.—See Art. XXI. Sect. xxv.

dormierunt, quam ab *Episcopis* inviserentur." The latter passage refers to cases of *necessity*^s

When Churches increased, a *ceremony* would be wanted. *Unction* would readily occur, as suited to notions of Jews^t, and Gentiles, and to many climates where Christianity was professed. How soon it was used in what we call *Confirmation*, is not agreed: some learned men think very soon; but Bingham^u does not allow any proof of it before the time of Tertullian: however, we may look upon this ceremony as arbitrary, arising from particular circumstances, and therefore as one, which may be *omitted*, though enjoined by the Council of Laodicea, in the year 367.

Some scholastic writers own, that confirmation as a Sacrament, was not instituted by Christ, or used by the Apostles; but that it was made a Sacrament at the concilium Meldense^x: Cave mentions two; one in 845, the other in 1201;—but he says nothing of Confirmation in his account of either.

One of the Scholastic writers was the famous Alexander *Hales*, the Doctor Irrefragabilis of our own country; called in Latin Alexander^y *Alenfis*.—The *matter* and *form* were distinctly expressed by Pope Eugenius IV. in the Council of Florence, in the year 1438.

It would seem very doubtful how soon Confirmation should *follow Baptism*. In the Baptism
of

^s These passages are quoted by Bingham, 12. 1. 1.

^t Exod. xxx. 22.—Psalm cxxxiii. 2.—1 John ii. 20. 27.—
See also Pearson on Creed, Art. 2. beginning, &c. page 80. 93.
And for Gentiles, page 99, folio.

^u Bingham's Antiquities, 12. 3. 2.

^x Confilium Meldense was the Council of *Meaux*.—See Bingham's Index of Councils, Ant. Vol. 2. page 519.

^y Forbes, 9. 4. 4. and Cave calls him Alexander *de Hales*.

of Adults the sooner the better; delay would only be owing to the necessary avocations of those superior ministers, who were to confirm; that is of Bishops^z.—In case of Infant-baptism there would be more difficulty; those who thought that the Eucharist should be administered to Infants, would be for having Confirmation follow Baptism immediately; but others would wish to have Confirmation deferred till any one was fit to have been baptized as an Adult. This distinction between adults and infants, is not marked out so plainly as might be wished^a. In cases of infant-baptism it is probable, that the necessity of confirmation must have appeared particularly strong, as obviating objections incident to a contract, in which a contracting party had not perfect understanding^b.

The *name* of confirmation was not common in ancient times. Cyprian^c uses *consummation*, or the verb *consummate*, but not as a technical term. The Greeks had different names; but I will speak of the Greeks separately.

The Greek Christians use unction in confirming: the ointment is made by the Patriarch or Bishop alone, on the Thursday in Passion-week, of precious ingredients, and with a sacred apparatus; it is used for some other purposes, but chiefly for confirmation; which always, in the Greek Church, follows Baptism immediately. It has the names of Χρισμα, unction; Χειροθεσια, imposition of hands; and σφραγισ, the sign or seal of the Lord. In the Ευχολογιον, or Greek ritual, there is an Office, called the Office of the Holy ointment, or Ακολουθια

78

^z See authorities from the Ancients, Bingham, 12. 1. 1.

^a However, see Bingham, 12. 1. 2.

^b This is confirmed by Limborch, 5. 77. 3.

^c Cave's Dissertation under *μυρον* says, that Cyprian uses the word *Consummation non semel*.

τὰ ἁγία μυστὰ, where are the ceremonies and prayers, and the mode of preparation. The vessel in which this ointment is contained, has the name of ἁγίον τὸ μέγαλον μυστὸν. But the Greeks do not call confirmation a *sacrament* ordained by Christ^d.

The *Romish* notion of Confirmation is easily collected from the acts of the Council of Trent, and the Catechism composed by order of that Council. In the seventh Session of the Council there seem only to be three Canons on the subject, without any argumentation: the first declares Confirmation to be a proper Sacrament, and not a mere ceremony, or catechetical examination. The second condemns those who allow no virtue to the Chrism. The third says, that not every Priest, but only a Bishop, can confirm; ordinarily. In addition, we find in the Catechism, the form of words made use of; "I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and confirm thee with the *Chrism* of Salvation. In the name of," &c. It is also affirmed, contrary to the Schoolmen here mentioned, that Christ was "the *author*" of this Sacrament, and "appointed the Rite of *Chrism*, and the *words* which the Holy Church uses," &c. The authority for this assertion is not *Scripture*, but the second Epistle of S. *Fabian*^e, Bishop of Rome: which is sufficient to those that believe Confirmation to be a Sacrament, because all sacraments are mysteries, "above the reach of human nature, nor can they be instituted by any but by God himself." As curious an instance of reasoning in a circle, as you shall meet with. This Catechism proceeds to inform us, that the *matter* of this sacrament is *Chrism*;
the

^d This is chiefly from Cave's Dissertation, under *Μυστὸν*: see also Bingham, 12. 1. 1.

^e Cave mentions no such Eccles. writer.—Ladvocat places him in 236.

the *Form* was given before; that one confirmed ought to have a *Godfather*, as a “*Monitor*,” a “*Captain*,” a “*fencing-master*;” for he has now put on the whole armour of God; but that there must be no *marriage* with this fencing-master: that confirmation is not to be given till young persons have “the use of *Reason*,” and *therefore* it must be deferred till they are *eleven* years old, or however till they are^f *six*: that Confirmation gives spiritual *strength*, as appeared from the conduct of St. Peter, who deserted his cause *before* the descent of the Holy Ghost on the great day of Pentecost, but *after* it suffered with constancy.

The Catechism lays down, that Confirmation is one of those Sacraments which imprint a *χαρματη*, as before-mentioned, and *concludes* with explaining the parts of the Romish ceremony; the unction why on the forehead; the sign of the Cross, the *blow* struck by the Bishop on the breast^g, the giving of the *Pax*^h. The taking of *Whit-suntide* for a festival or season of Confirmation, may be understood from what was just now said of St. Peter.

I should imagine that *Presbyterians* have no confirmation, (though they have Penance, Ordination, Matrimony, and Visitation of the sick) as I see nothing relating to it in their *Directory*, or in their

^f The Bishop of Lincoln, at his Visitation, 1791, desired that none might be brought to be confirmed under fourteen years of age; which, I think, agrees with Archbishop Secker. See his Sermon at the end of his Lectures on the Catechism.

^g Wheatly says, on the *cheek*, page 410.—Limborch calls it *alapa*.

^h A Paten which serves for the top of a Chalice, which is given by the administering Priest to the assistant Priest to kiss, just before the offering; so I understand the French Dictionary of the Academy.

their Form of Church-Governmentⁱ; and as it is rejected in the Helvetic confession:—yet the objections made by the Puritans, as described by Neal^k, do not seem sufficient to justify a total abolition; being only, that children *might* come too young to the Eucharist, and that an expression in our Bishop's Prayer has an appearance of ascribing a *sacramental* effect to the Institution.—Yet Puritans used infant-baptism.

Those who set aside Confirmation, must conceive both water and spirit to have their full effect in *Baptism*. The Helvetic confession says, *Confirmatio et extrema unctio inventa sunt hominum, quibus nullo cum damno carere potest Ecclesia. Neque illa nos in nostris Ecclesiis habemus; nam habent illa quædam quæ minimè probare possumus.*

The Church of *England* retains the office of Confirmation; and confines it to the *Bishop*; it closely imitates the Apostles in using no Chrism, only prayer and imposition of hands.—It defers the ordinance till young persons are arrived at years of discretion, that they may themselves ratify their baptismal covenants. It does not consider confirmation as a Sacrament; the reason will best come into our Proof. In *Theory* it uses a *Godfather*, as a *witness*; but not in *practice*.

The *Baptists* are said to be much divided on the use of Confirmation^l: Inasmuch that those who have held confirmation to be a necessary qualification for the Lord's Supper, have separated themselves,

ⁱ Published in Append. to Neal's History of Puritans.

^k Vol. 1. page 159, quarto.

^l Wheatly speaks on this subject; see his Work on the Common Prayer, page 406. Also Wall on Infant Baptism, page 447, quarto; or 2. 8. 6. 15. I do not perceive that the Confession of Augsberg declares anything concerning it.

selves, in celebrating that ordinance, from those who have held the opposite opinion.

An incident mentioned in the accounts of the Hampton-Court conference, may lead us to what may, in fact, have been the principal difficulty relating to Confirmation.—That difficulty might be thus expressed; ‘ If confirmation be necessary, is not *Baptism imperfect?*’ King James the First, who might be prejudiced, as a Scotchman, in favour of the Scotch Church, expressed a scruple of this sort, but Archbishop Bancroft, “ on his knees replied, that the Church did not hold Baptism imperfect without Confirmation;” that “ it was of Apostolical institution, Heb. vi. 2. where it is called the doctrine of the *laying^m on* of hands.”

—Indeed in that place (taking in the preceding verse) it seems described as one of the fundamental *principles* of Christianity, and as following Baptism.

—With regard to the difficulty, it is of a sort which often occurs amidst the imperfections of human transactions. King James might have recollected, that the accession of a King is completed by *Coronation*: I suppose that if a King purposely neglected or refused to take the coronation-oaths, his neglect might shake his title to the Crown; but it, without any culpable neglect, it happened, that he was not crowned till he had begotten a son, and was to die, such posthumous son would probably inherit as if the accession was complete.

Baptism then may be complete without confirmation, if confirmation is not to be had; and yet confirmation may be requisite when it can be had.—This seems to agree with the two sentences lately quoted from Jerom.

IV. But

^m Neal, Vol. 1. quarto, page 412.

IV. But we must now proceed to the second Romish Sacrament which we reject, viz. *Penance*.—A good deal was said on the efficacy of Repentance under the sixteenth Articleⁿ; I will endeavour not to run into repetition. It seems as if we could not stir a step without distinguishing *private* repentance from penance considered as a part of ecclesiastical *discipline*; though the Latin word *pœnitentia* may stand for both. Peter Lombard speaks, as do others, of *pœnitentia exterior* as opposed^o to *interior*. His idea might be the same with ours: private repentance is visible only to God; whereas penance is visible to the Church, and may be considered as some evil undergone in order to avoid *excommunication*: yet though these two ought to be kept distinct in the mind, they sometimes run into one another. A private man may be guided in his repentance by a minister of the Church, as it might, without some regulation, be too light or too desperate; and a person under ecclesiastical censure, or penance, may inwardly repent; and his penance may be, and is meant to be, the occasion of his repentance. Also a private penitent may impose penance upon *himself*, or even apply to the Church to impose it upon him; independent of any restitution or compensation which he may think it right to make.

Whatever relates to Penance, properly so called, should be deferred till we treat of the thirty-third Article: the Romish *Sacrament* seems to me to relate to private repentance, as conducted and regulated by a Minister of the Church; but let us proceed in order.

Before we come to the Romish Church, let us just take notice of the Greek *Μετανοια*. It was a part

ⁿ Art. XVI. Sect. I. II. III. XVIII. XXXII. XXXIII.

• See Forbes, 9. 5. 19.

part of the *Ευχολογιον* before mentioned, and itself consisted of many parts; amongst others we find the following mentioned in^p Cave.

1. *Ευχη επι μετανοουτων*, a prayer over the penitents;

2. *Ακολουθια τῶν εξομολογημενῶν*, an Office for those who confess.

3. *Ευχη επι των επιτιμιων λυομενων*, a prayer over those who are absolved from Penance.

4. *Ακολουθια εις λυσιν αφορισμῶν ιερευς*, a service for dissolving the excommunication of the Priest; containing, as I understand, many prayers. λ

From the Greek Church we^q are told, that the first penitentiary formularies were brought into the Latin, by one of the name of *Theodorus*, who was of *Tarsus*, a Monk, and afterwards, in the year 668, an inhabitant of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury.

That the Romish Sacrament of Penance is most properly an authoritative regulation of *private* repentance, will appear from dividing it into its constituent parts. These are *Contrition*, *Confession*, *Satisfaction*, *Absolution*.—But the whole is sometimes called by the name of a part. Our Homily^r on Common Prayer and Sacraments, seems to mean the whole by the word *Absolution*; and that word is used in the same sense in the *Necessary Doctrine*^s, and in the works of *Duns Scotus*^t.—And the *Form* of the *Sacrament* is, according to the *Trent Catechism*, “*I absolve thee*;”—though indeed the *matter* is said to be *Contrition* and *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*^u.

“*Contrition*

^p Hist. Lit. Dissert. page 31.

^q Cave, i. 593.

^r Homilies, 8vo. page 276.

^s Nec. Doctr. is not paged: near the begin. of Penance.

^t See Forbes, 9. 5. 26.

^u Trent Catech. on Penance, Sect. 17, 19. page 245, Engl.

“*Contrition* is the grief of the soul, and a detestation of sin committed, with a purpose to sin no more for the time^x to come.”—Its place is sometimes supplied by what is called *Attrition*, which is sometimes defined imperfect contrition; the difference seems to be, that *Contrition* is grief for sin *as sin*; or *moral* sorrow and abhorrence: *attrition* is grief for sin as producing bad *consequences*; one might call it *prudential* sorrow and abhorrence: however, if this latter turns the *will* from sin, it is deemed efficacious.

Attrition is called by its *name* in the fourteenth Session of the Council of Trent, Chap. 4. but the naming of it seems sometimes to be *avoided*; it is well and artfully *described* in the fifth Canon of the same Session, but not named; neither do I see it named in the Trent Catechism, though it is described in Sect. 37.

The next part of the Romish Sacrament of Penance, is *Confession*: the word *auricular* is generally added to *Confession*, in order to distinguish it from public and general confession, such as we open our Service with (after a short sentence or two and an Exhortation to confess;) and because it is made in the *ear* of an invisible Priest^y.

Bishop

^x *Ibid.* Sect. 30, or page 250.

^y The French Dictionary of the Academy says, the confessional is commonly *shut*; and that two penitents kneel at one time on different sides; these penitents cannot be supposed to communicate with each other: and I have understood, that the Priest is not seen during Confession: or not always. To confess, in French, often means to confess a *Penitent*; that is, to receive his confession: consequently the Priest, who confesses penitents, is a Confessor: but in English to confess, always means to confess *sins*; so that the penitent would be the confessor in English, keeping up the analogy; but we rightly comply with Popish expressions in Popish business.

Bishop Porteus^z says, as to “private confession in all cases, it was never thought of as a command of God, for 900 years after Christ; nor determined to be such till after 1200:” whereas the Council of Trent^a say, “a sanctissimis et *antiquissimis* Patribus, magno *unanime* consensu, secreta Confessio sacramentalis, qua *ab initio* Ecclesia sancta usa est, et modò etiam utitur, [fuerit] *semper* commendata.”

The opposition here seems strong; yet Bingham does^b a good deal towards reconciling the contending parties, by observing, that though there were, in ancient times, several sorts of confession in some sense private, and though there was such an Office as that of penitentiary Priest, yet private negotiations had always relation to public discipline, and made a part of it; notwithstanding some things might be occasionally concealed, for fear of scandalizing weak brethren.

I have already observed, that the private penitent might be desirous to submit his offence to the Church, in order that he should be properly punished, in this life; neither too slightly nor too severely: and this seems no unwise plan to gain satisfaction and peace of mind: now this was the very business in which Penitentiary Priests were employed. And we may see, that such a plan would make private penitence and church-discipline coincide; or at least would form an intimate connexion between them. In the whole affair of Penitence, the great difference between ancient and modern times seems to lie in this; that in ancient times

^z Brief Consultation, page 47.—See also Comber’s Advice, page 16.

^a Sess. 14. Cap. 5.

^b Bingham, 18. 3. 11.—See also Wheatly on the Common Prayer, page 459.

times private repentance was more intimately connected with church-discipline, than in modern.

The *εξομολογησις* of the ancients (taken from James v. 16.) Bingham shews to mean the whole of public confession and Penance, considered as ecclesiastical discipline.

Daille has written a very good Book on auricular Confession; the contents of which may be found in Bingham, 18. 3. 4. which are well worth reading; but I would wish any one not by any means to excuse himself, if he is seriously studying the subject of Confession, from reading the conclusion of the third chapter of Bingham's eighteenth Book.

In the Romish church, *young* persons are called upon to confess. The Trent Catechism mentions this, and describes the very humble^c posture in which Confession is made; it also mentions, that confession must be *unreserved*; of evil thoughts, words and actions; or of offences against the *tenth* commandment, as well as against the other nine. It sets forth the provisions which are made for the *security* of the Penitent who opens^d his heart: yet *Comber* shews, that^e some cases have dispensation for divulging secrets: as when a fault concerns the Church: this must give great latitude.

It seems strange that so much stress should be laid upon confession, and yet that it should be insisted on by the Church only *once*^f a year: could any one make a confession of all the sins, in thought, word and deed, which he had committed during a whole year?

Whatever

^c Page 261, Sect. 56.—See also Dict. Acad. Confessional.

^d Sect. 64, and 74.

^e Advice, page 37.

^f Trent Catechism, Sect. 59.—French Prayer-book, page 16.

“ I. e. commandemens de l' Eglise.”

Whatever good some kinds of private confession might do, yet the Romish is said to have been in fact productive of much evil. This is described by Sir Edwin Sandys^g: Comber^h and Bensonⁱ speak of the evil resulting from the Clergy knowing the thoughts of men's hearts.—Indeed if we consider, that among such a numerous body as the Clergy some may be expected to be vicious and corrupt, we shall be shocked at the thoughts of their being intrusted with secrets capable of being turned to bad purposes.—Yet the Romanists seem still to value private confession as much as any part of their religion^k.

To me it seems, that private confession, under ecclesiastical *Laws*, is bad even in *theory*; that is, mischievous not through mere *abuse*; at least not through any abuse but such as must be expected. —Why not confess to God himself? to lean on inferior confidences, to be tried by narrow-minded judges, must tend to lower and debase the religious sentiments; as was said of worshipping Saints and Angels; and must hinder a man from looking up to his heavenly Judge. And what can be expected from reducing indeterminate duties to determinate laws, but a mechanical religion, coldness and evasion? What man pays with generous fervour what he is obliged to pay by law? What can be expected from requiring towards strangers, or persons of bad character, that confidence, those effusions of sincerity and contrition, which every delicate mind reserves for a few intimate friends, but hypocrisy

^g Speculum Europæ, page 10.

^h Advice, page 37.

ⁱ On James v. 16.

^k I collect this from what I heard an eminent English Lawyer of the Romish Church say, when he was soliciting an Act of Parliament for those, who have since been called *protesting Catholics*.

crisy or self-deceit!—but our present business is *History*.

The church of *England* may seem, from some things, to approach towards Romish Confession: “Repentance,” says Bishop *Sparrow*¹, “consists of three parts, as the Church teaches in the Communion; 1. *Contrition*, or lamenting of our sinful lives; 2. *Knowledging* or *confessing* our sins; 3. An endeavour to bring forth fruits worthy of Penance, which the ancients call *satisfaction*.” thus Bishop *Sparrow*; and, of the fourth thing *absolution*, the Church of *England* affords several instances.

Confession, in some sort private, is often commended^m by our Divines, and even in our Liturgy: we may instance in the first Exhortation to the Communion, and in the Visitation of theⁿ Sick.—But, in the first place, let me observe, that I look upon it as always a mark of good sense, when men are avoiding anything, not to do it rashly, and through mere disgust; but to take every good they can find, though mixed with evil which they disapprove:—In avoiding one extreme, it shews rational moderation, not to run precipitately into another.—And with regard to particular regulations, there is a great difference between requiring a constant, *ordinary* confession of *all* sins: and recommending it to an unhappy man, who wants much to unburthen his mind, in one or two extraordinary situations, and to have his difficulties solved; to apply to one, who must of course be better informed than himself, and may be supposed free from religious melancholy. The ordinary language of our Church is, “confess yourselves to Almighty God,” and it is found even in our first

¹ *Rationale*, page 17.

^m *Bingham*, 18. 3.—*Bishop Porteus*, page 46.

ⁿ See *Wheatly*, page 460.

first exhortation to the Communion; but when the mind is tormented with scruples, or debilitated by sickness, advice is wanted: and the weak should be “*moved*” to get over their reserve, and solicit spiritual “*comfort or counsel.*”

The real purpose of our Church, in quitting the laws of auricular confession, and at the same time recommending some confidential intercourse between a Minister and those troubled in conscience, was, probably, to throw off a yoke hard to be born; to give liberty where the sensible and delicate mind most longs for it; to substitute affectionate exhortation in the room of penal laws, and mechanical observances; and thereby prevent hypocrisy and evasion; without dissolving the pastoral connexion and relation, or weakening the mutual confidence and mutual kindness between Minister and people.

The next part of the Romish Sacrament of Penance, after confession, is *Satisfaction*. The Church of Rome seems desirous to have the Penitent suffer something in consequence of his offences; seeing, probably, that some suffering would be good for him, and might be made profitable to the Church: But how to manage, is the difficulty; for the system gives complete forgiveness to the penitent, even of mortal sins, without such suffering. It is therefore said, that God is sometimes spoken of as forgiving sins, when those who are forgiven, have some partial, temporary *punishment continued*; and that, in a Christian, even after penance and absolution, there are some *Embers*, as it were of sin, some remains of vicious *habits*, from which *danger* is to be apprehended: both, then, for the continuance of some punishment, and for the counteracting of these remains of evil in the mind, it is judged proper to set some kind of *tasks* to the

the

the Penitent, to be performed after his Absolution. —To this it is added, that when the Church has been witness to a man's offending, it should be able, for its satisfaction, to see some sufferings submitted to as marks of amendment: and that such marks will serve as a warning to others, and make them cautious of offending. Lastly, it is laid down, that such actions as are prescribed as satisfactions, ought never to be intermitted.—The satisfactions enjoined by the Confessors, are to be *Prayer, Alms, and Fasting*; these having a respect to God, our neighbour, and ourselves. But it is also held, that if *God* is pleased to inflict punishment himself, those will be the same in effect as satisfactions enjoined by the Priest.—The quantum of Alms, &c. is to depend on circumstances; as on the fortune of the offender, &c. like *damages* given by a Jury: this is trusting a good deal to Confessors.

It is held also, that “one can satisfy for another,” —on account of the *communion of Saints*; with some *limitation*, which I do not understand: indeed the whole of this satisfying by proxy is to me obscure; —it answers some purpose, no doubt: indeed one can see that it tends to promote a circulation of wealth in the Church: but the *moral* good of it does not strike me at present. Acts of mortification and self-denial, undertaken in order to break and extirpate vicious habits, are right and reasonable; but here they appear to disadvantage by being cramped up in a bad system.

The last part of the Romish Sacrament of Penance, is *absolution*.—In order to have an idea even of the historical part of the subject, one must attend to the distinction between *ministerial* and *judicial*:

* It means, I believe, that if a person satisfies for another, the benefit arising usually to the *mind* of the penitent, is lost.

judicial: a person gives *ministerial* absolution, when he acts as a *Minister* or *Agent*, under God as a principal; *judicial*, when he acts in the capacity of a *Judge*, from whom lies no appeal.—Nor can we proceed rightly without remarking here, that all judicial absolution must consist in releasing offenders from punishments inflicted by religious society amongst *men*, or from Church censures: and that all anticipation of the day of Judgment, in absolving, must be ministerial; its end, to warm and comfort; though every decision of a minister or agent will undoubtedly be ratified, if the Agent acts in his proper^p character, and is rightly informed; which he cannot be, except the repentance, in any case before him, be sincere: and as he can only pronounce absolution on supposition of sincerity in his penitent, his absolution must be, in some sort, *conditional*. This premised, we proceed with our *History*.

All Absolution given in the Christian Church to Christians as individuals was at first ministerial^a: there was not for many centuries any mention of the Church claiming to forgive as God.—Though, in cases of judicial absolution from church censures, prayers were offered that God would forgive the offender, as the Church had done. The forms of absolution which have been in use, are four: the *precatory*, the *optative*, the *indicative*, and the *declarative*; they differ as do the following expressions—‘O God forgive this penitent;’—“*may* God pardon and deliver you from all your sins;”—“I absolve thee from all thy sins;”—‘God pardoneth all them that truly repent; wherefore, as I presume, your repentance is sincere, I advise you to be

of

^p Art. xxii. Sect. xvii.

^a See Bingham, 10. 1. 1. &c, and Wheatly on the Common Prayer, page 465, &c.

of good comfort, and not to distrust the divine mercy.' The most ancient of these forms was, I believe, the precatory; the optative is precatory as to its meaning: the indicative was not used till about the middle of the twelfth Century[†]; within a Century after that, the Priest's indicative absolution was looked upon as equivalent to the forgiveness of God.

There is one exception to ancient forms being precatory, which comes so near the case of our absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, that it seems worth mentioning. Even in the primitive Church, we are told that the *clinical* absolution[‡], or absolution given to persons on a *sick-bed*, was in the indicative form: only certain religious exercises were enjoined in case of recovery, which, when the absolution was given, it was taken for granted would be faithfully performed. Perhaps it might be thought, that as persons on a sick-bed are apt to be dejected, and their dejection is apt to increase their disorder, that form suited them best, which was calculated to inspire the greatest confidence[§].

The Romish notions of absolution are to be found, as before, in the Acts of the Council of Trent, and in the Trent Catechism. The Romish Testament might carry us into too great length.—It was in the fourteenth Session, that the subject was treated: we find it mentioned in the sixth chapter and the ninth Canon: the wish of the Council seems to be, to declare even private absolution judicial; but the difficulties are so striking,

[†] Wheatly, page 467.

[‡] See Dr. Marshall's Penitential Discipline, page 104, quoted by Wheatly, page 468.

[§] On this subject we find recommended, Archbishop Usher's Answer to the Jesuit's challenge; and Dr. Marshall's Penitential Discipline.

striking, that they are obliged to soften the expressions. However, in the Canon the matter stands thus; any one is to be anathematized if he says, “*Absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis, non esse actum judiciale, sed nudum ministerium pronuntiandi et declarandi remissa esse peccata,*” &c. —Where I can conceive some *evasion* to be derivable from the word *sacramentalem*; for any man who believes there is such a thing as *sacramental* absolution, will believe it to be *judicial*; and what is affirmed is affirmed of no other. —But in the Chapter, we have still greater caution; the absolution of the Priest is owned to be, *alieni beneficii dispensatio*; it is called, *ad instar actus judicialis*. —In the “*Catechism*, made for the instruction of the *People*, we find, that when the Priest uses the words, *Ego te absolvo*, he pronounces that the sinner *has* obtained from *God* the Pardon of his Sins. —Nay this is said of a penitent who has not confessed, but only has had the *wish* of Confession; though by the ninth canon any one is anathematized who shall say, *non requiri Confessionem Penitentis, ut Sacerdos eum absolvere possit.* —In some cases, still farther relaxation is allowed: for the Priest is directed to absolve his penitents, if he only finds, that diligence in reckoning up sins, and grief in detesting them, have not been “*altogether wanting.*”

We come, in the last place, to Absolution as it is practised in the Church of *England*. —Our Church uses three of the four forms already mentioned; the declaratory near the beginning of the service; the optative, which is in sense precatory, in the communion; and the indicative in the visitation of the sick. But Bishop Sparrow rightly observes,

“ On Penance, Sect. XIX. page 246.

observes*, that “these several Forms, in sense and virtue are the same;” and illustrates his observation by the instance of a Prince commissioning an Officer to set at liberty all well-disposed Prisoners: it seems immaterial which form of words he uses. The indicative form was once, by the Rubric in the office of visiting the sick, directed to be used in all^y private confessions when men had scruples of conscience; but now, in the first exhortation to the Communion, though absolution is promised to the scrupulous, the form of it seems to be left to the Priest, only it is shewn to be ministerial; and to be built, not so much on private judgment, as on “God’s holy word.”

I will close this account of Absolution, with observing, that though our expression in absolving the sick, “I absolve thee from all thy sins,” sounds as if the absolution were purely indicative; yet, if we take all the expressions of the form at once into our minds, we must perceive, that the absolution is expressly called ministerial; and that it is also declarative, and optative; and therefore, that the concluding expression cannot be rightly understood but as consistent with those forms to which no member of the Church of England objects.

Having now gone through the four parts, we may conclude by taking notice, that in the Romish Sacrament of Penance, the *matter* is, the part of the *Penitent*, (Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction); the *Form* is, the part of the *Priest*; Ego te absolvo.

In the *Directory* of the Presbyterians I do not see Absolution mentioned; but the Minister is to

comfort

* Rationale, page 19.

^y See King Edward’s first Liturgy, Rubric in the Visitation of the Sick. Or Wheatly on Common Prayer, page 469.

comfort the sick, to *declare* God's mercy to penitents, to hinder the indisposed from being too much cast down, &c.—and in case of *scruple*, “instructions and *resolutions* shall be given to satisfy and settle him.”

v. The next Romish Sacrament, after Penance, which we reject, is *Orders*: but on this we need not dwell very long. Indeed our principal concern is with the Romish Church, as we have already, under the twenty-third Article, given some account of church-ministers in general; and as we shall have occasion to speak of the English Ordinations in particular under the thirty-sixth Article.—However, if any particulars occur, which have not been mentioned before, and which throw any light upon the Romish Orders, they may be admitted.

Bingham gives² an account of several sorts of Ministers in the ancient churches, which in our church are not used. As *Deaconesses*, that is, elderly widows, attending on Baptism and other offices relating to *females*. *Subdeacons*, ὑπηρέται, assistants to Deacons, &c. in the ceremonies of the Church; a sort of agents or messengers, and at the same time Pupils, to the Bishops.—*Acolythists*, (or Acolyths, or Acolytes) attendants for lighting candles, and providing wine for the Eucharists.—*Exorcists*, whose business it was to attend the *Ενεργυμῆνοι*, or Demoniacs, or possessed, and pray with them. This office of Exorcists seems strange to us, nor do I perfectly know the nature of the disorders under which the *Energumens* laboured, and were conceived to labour: religious fervours have frequently disordered the intellects, especially in a new religion, when opposed by friends

² Bingham, 3. 3.

friends who could raise the affections, and occasion great agitation in the mind: in the plans of ancient churches we see, that two sides of the cloysters of the outward court were occupied by these *energumens*^a. — As to the Exorcist's driving away the unclean spirit at *Baptism*, that might be partly emblematical; and partly owing to the notions of men not free from superstitious weakness, concerning the nature and end of that Institution.

There were also, in the ancient churches, *Readers*, who read the scriptures aloud in some elevated place or reading desk: all these were probably in training for higher offices. Even the *Ostiarium*, or doorkeepers, had a kind of ordination from the Bishop, as far as that name could be applied to a ceremony of solemnly delivering to them the *Keys* of all the sacred things with which they were to be entrusted^b. — Besides these, there were *Catechists*, and several inferior clerical Officers; but I need not describe any more: indeed there is no end of the different modes in which men may worship God; and scarcely any of the different officers who may be employed in very large religious assemblies, where the ceremonies are complicated and conducted with a magnificence calculated to strike the eye and warm the imagination.

Cave, in the alphabetical Dissertation before-mentioned, has an article *Χειροτονια*, or office for *ordaining* different clerical ministers. He informs us, that the *Ostarius*, *Exorcist*^c, and *Acolythist*, are not

^a Frontispiece to Wheatly on the Common Prayer. I have been concerned with several persons who would have occupied a place in one of these Cloysters. While the Gospel was spreading, most, or many mad people would take a religious turn.

^b The *Ostiarium* were not considered as Laymen.

^c When the disordered in mind were not supposed to want prayer, &c. one who had the care of them would only be like
a keeper

not now held clerical in the Greek Church: but that there are rituals in the Euchologion for ordaining Bishop, Priest, Deacon, Subdeacon, Reader, &c. He mentions *Morinus* as a learned writer on such subjects.

The Romish church try to keep up a connection between the ideas of Priesthood and *Sacrifice*, with a view to their mass. They have five orders below that of Deacons; which are enumerated in the twenty-third Session of the Council^d of Trent; Subdeacons, Acolythists, Exorcists, Readers, and Door-keepers. These are the same *names* which we have found in ancient churches; but we are informed, even by Cardinal Bona, that, in reality, the ancient offices had ceased in his time; and that the persons called by these names, were chiefly *boys*, and men *hired*, but initiated by no^e kind of *Ordination*.

In the acts of the same Council, *Order* is declared to be a proper *Sacrament*, instituted by *Christ*; but the *unction*, though declared requisite, does not seem to be expressly called the matter of the Sacrament: imposition of hands is mentioned, and the Grace of God; but only from the Epistle to Timothy: and no scriptural Form of words is produced.—Order is said to be one of those sacraments^f which impress an indelible χαρακτηρ.

In the Trent *Catechism* the proof that Order is a proper sacrament, seems^g very lame: it informs us, however, that by the *shaving* of the crown, an entrance is opened into the Sacrament of Order, and

a keeper of a mad-house: he need not have any spiritual or clerical character.

^d Cap. 2.

^e 1. 25. 18. Bona, Rer. Liturg.—Quoted by Bingham, 3. 3. end.

^f Sect. xi.

^g Sect. xx.

and that the shaven *circle grows* with ecclesiastical dignity. It also sets forth “the dignity of door-keepers^b,” gives us the usual forms, by which they and other inferior Clerks are ordained, or appointed: and mentions, that *Bastards* and persons *deformed*, are disqualified for Ordination.

It seems reasonable that there should be a number of ecclesiastical officers in any place, proportioned to the greatness of the congregations in that place, and to the number and grandeur of the ceremonies. In our Cathedrals we have Precentors, &c. which we have not in our inferior churches; not to mention Vergers.

VI. We now come to the Romish Sacrament of *Matrimony*; but of this some History has already been givenⁱ under the twenty-third Article: We need only speak of Romish *Matrimony* and our own.

The Council of Trent declares^k *Matrimony* to be a sacrament instituted by Christ himself, but mentions neither *matter* nor *form*; nor uses any argument, that I should call such, besides that passage^l of the Vulgate, erunt duo in carne unâ. *Sacramentum* hoc magnum est.—It seems^m there have been great disputes amongst the Romanists whether *all* marriages could come under the notion of a Sacrament.—The Church of Rome is not only against *Polygamy* but *Divorces*. As *Matrimony* is with them a Sacrament, it is *indissoluble*; not that it is one of those which stamp a $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\tau\eta\varsigma$, because, though indissoluble for life, it may be dissolved by death: nor is it inconsistent with *separation*,

^b Sect xxxi. Margin.

ⁱ Art. xxiii. Sect. xii.

^k Session 24.

^l Eph. v. 31, 32. See Sect. ii. of this Article, about Sacramentum.

^m See Limborch's Theology, 5. 77. end.

ration, a mensâ et toro; but only with divorces strictly so called; a vinculo matrimonii. Yet any marriage not consummated, is dissoluble by one of the parties going into a Convent or Monastery, or entering into any religious order. The prohibitions and disqualifications, from consanguinity, &c. are numerous; more so than those in Leviticus; and the Romish Church claims a power of adding; but ease is to be procured by means of *Dispensations*. Now the greater strictness there is, the more frequently must dispensations be sued for.—I will only observe farther, on Romish Matrimony, a seeming singularity; I mean, that an institution should be deemed a sacrament only by those, who most commend abstaining from it!—to commend abstinence from a *sacrament*, would appear to us somewhat strange.

It is natural here to take some notice of *our own* customs concerning the institution of Matrimony.

We seem to go on this principle, that a society formed in order to bring up youth in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, ought to be formed with some solemnities of a religious sort. And whatever inspires religious sentiments, will refine the sexual appetites, and hinder them from degenerating into gross brutality: will tend to meliorate love by a mixture with friendship; and sensual desire, by esteem of moral perfections.

It is of course that we reject unlimited intercourse of the sexes; but moreover, we reject *concubinage*; not only in the modern sense of the word, but that kind of unequal marriage between master and slave, or servant, which used to be called concubinage in very ancient times. We place the husband and wife in *one rank*, and make their reciprocal claims on each other's person and

property to be equal—We reject also *Polygamy* entirely.

We adopt the prohibitions and impediments, in respect of consanguinity, &c. which are mentioned in the Mosaic law: but, it may be, they are such as would result from the *moral* principles of Incest, applied to the prevailing customs of the part of the world which we inhabit^a.

We look upon Adultery^o as dissolving the marriage contract, and therefore, on proof of it, allow of *divorce*; but we take all methods to encourage honouring the wife as the weaker vessel; and we inculcate not only gentleness and courtesy, but patience: of which our *Homily* is a respectable proof: the composition of some one who well knew, not only scripture, but human life.

In our Service, the Union between Christ and his Church, is set in the right light; and becomes, instead of a foolish argument for a *Sacrament*, a rational and affecting inducement, both to Christian piety, and conjugal love.

One objection to this account, with respect to the equality of husband and wife, is striking; the wife contracts to *obey*; which the husband does not. And it is true, that no *society* can be carried on without *authority* lodged somewhere; but such authority

^a See Wheatly, page 425. Lev. xviii — The table was drawn up by Archbishop *Parker*; who infers from one sex to the other. The Romanists had too many impediments from consanguinity, &c. we wanted to lessen their number; what way more unexceptionable, or less likely to be excepted to, than for us to take the *Levitical* impediments? Extending them to both sexes made them seem more numerous; and therefore nearer to the Popish; but the Jews must have extended them in like manner, by parity of reasoning.

^o This does not mean the Law of England, as it stands; that allows *no* divorce, (see Blackstone, Index, Divorce); we mean those principles on which a new Law may at any time be made; and on which new Statutes are framed occasionally.

authority as is lodged with the husband, is only for the sake of *unity*; in order that education, &c. may not absolutely stop: conjugal authority would be *abused*, according to our principles of marriage, if it gave any honour, privileges, accommodations, to the husband, above the wife: the wife of a *Duke* is a *Duchefs*, of a *Peer* a *Peerefs*, and so on: though in ancient times some sorts of wives were little better than slaves; having little or no claim on the person or property of the husband.

It may be said, why could not conjugal authority be *divided*, and given to the husband in some things, to the wife in others? It seems probable, that if that had been done, the wife would not have had an influence so great, or so suited to her powers, as she now has: the conjugal society is formed so much upon sentiment, that the exercise of its authority may be left more indeterminate than that of other societies. The Magistrate ought indeed to have a power of protecting a wife from personal danger, or from what, in her rank, would be called indigence; but to make general laws that the wife in all families (and only general laws could be made) should have so much conjugal authority, and no more, might be probably, in effect, preventing the husband and wife from governing tacitly according to their respective powers of governing to good purpose.

The *American* Liturgy omits our expression, "*with my Body I thee worship*;" the omission makes the form appear to me very blank: *worship* is an old word for honour^p or respect; and by the formula used in our Liturgy upon putting on the ring, the husband engages to treat his wife as an *equal*;

iii

^p Art. xxii. Sect. ix.

in *person* and *property*; that is, not as a *concubine*, such as *Hagar* was to Abraham. Now to change a form which does this, so as to make it only engage for respectful and honourable treatment in regard to *property*, is surely to cut off a material part; especially if we consider what St. Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 4. I do not say that American husbands do not treat their wives with personal respect; I speak only of the propriety of a verbal *Form*. Yet I think the English Liturgy was formed by a wisdom superior to that which dictated the American.

The *Presbyterians* seem only to *simplify* the rite of Marriage; whether with good effect, I should much doubt. The account of the marriage-ceremony ordained in the *Directory*, as given in the preface to Grey's *Hudibras*, might not be too long for me to read to you.

VII. We come, lastly, to the History of the Romish sacrament of *Extreme Unction*.

The primitive anointing of the sick has been generally accounted the gift of *healing*; though Papists must maintain also a sacramental unction. — In the seventh Century, we are told, Christians practised unction with a view of curing their bodily diseases. This was not merely a medicinal application of oil; it was religious, or rather superstitious: superstitious people, in different ages and countries, have run into a kind of religious^a quackery. — But in the twelfth Century the bodily cures failed so often, that it was thought best to hold the anointing to be beneficial to the *Soul*, rather than the *Body*; and to the *Body*, only when bodily health would do the *soul* no harm. — When
this

^a See injunctions of King Edward VI. in Sparrow's Collection, page 9. — Fulke on the Rhemists, fol. 433, mentions a custom of carrying home water, after it had been used for baptizing, in order to apply it to bodily sores.

this came to be the notion, those parts of the body were anointed which are considered as instruments of *sin*†.

Cave gives‡ us an account of an Office or ritual used in the Greek Church, and called *Ευχελαιον*, or prayers for the ceremony of extreme unction; it is part of the *Euchologion*, and is titled more fully, The Service of the Holy Oil, to be sung by *seven* Priests, collected in the *Church* or *House*: that is, the sick man was to be brought to *Church* to be anointed if he was strong enough to bear it; but if he was very weak indeed, “*graviter afflictus et prostratus*,” the *seven* Priests were then to sing this service at his house: many mystical reasons are given why the number should be seven; and therefore we may suppose that it was never less.—Extreme unction, though practised in the Greek Church, is not there reckoned a *Sacrament*: nor was it of old, by Chrysostom; or indeed in the Latin Church by the venerable‡ Bede.

In the fourteenth Session of the Council of Trent, we find three chapters and four Canons upon extreme unction. It is called, in the chapters, a proper *Sacrament*, intimated (*insinuatum*⁴) by Christ in St. Mark’s Gospel, and recommended and published by St. James. From a *tradition* concerning the passage of St. James, Chap. v. 14, &c. the Church has learnt what that Apostle teaches; namely, that the *matter* of this Sacrament is *Oil*, the *Form*, these words, “*Per istam unctionem*, &c.—the *effect*, to *wipe off sins*, and to promote

† This from Wheatly, page 475, &c.

‡ Hist. Lit. Diff. page 28.

‡ See Fulke against the Rhemists on James v.

⁴ This word *insinuatum* was a *correction* in the council:—a thing *might* be intimated in one place, and instituted in another; but, in that case, the Institution would be the thing mentioned.

promote the health of the *Body*, when that is expedient for the *Soul*.—The *Elders* mentioned by St. James, mean *Priests*. This Sacrament is to be administered to persons who seem to be “*in exitu vitæ*;”—from which it is sometimes called “*Sacramentum exeuntium*.”—The *Canons* are not content with saying, that this Sacrament was “*insinuatum*” a Christo; they say it was a Christo Domino “*nostro institutum*.” In other things they only repeat what was said in the Chapters, annexing Anathemas.

The Trent Catechism tells us moreover at length what is the *Form* of this Sacrament; “God indulge” (or pardon) “thee by this holy unction, whatever offence thou hast done through the fault of thy *eyes*, or *nostrils*, or *touch* :”—And says, that the Institution “*came from Christ*,” and afterwards was *published* by St. James: it was *rather* to heal the *Soul* than the *Body*. This Sacrament is to be administered to such as are “*grievously sick*,” but before they lose their senses.—Besides the parts of the *Body* mentioned in the *Form*, some others are to be anointed: the *ears*, the *mouth*, the *hand*, the *feet*, and lastly the *reins*, (only in men, not in * *women*,) “being the seat, as it were, of pleasure and lust.”—And the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, are to be received as a *preparation* for that extreme unction.—This Sacrament is said to require great *Trust*, and to be sometimes less effectual than it might be, through want of *Faith* in him who receives it.

The *Necessary Doctrine* says, that extreme unction (which it calls a *Sacrament*) is to be ministered to
such

* I do not see this distinction in the Catechism, but it is mentioned in *Limberch*. 5. 77. 21. where the account of the Romish notions is concise, and seems accurate.

such as *require* it; that it is called extreme, or *last*, because it comes after *other unctiōns*: it may be administered more than *once*, and ought to be, “in the *entrie* of sickness;” and the Eucharist ought to be received *after* it.

King Edward VI. retained^y the custom of anointing for some time, as a *temporary* indulgence to the *prejudices* of those, who had been brought up in Popery: but in his *second*^z Liturgy it was omitted. Wheatly gives us the form, out of King Edward’s first Liturgy, in which the Priest addressed the sick person, when he anointed him, “upon the *forehead* and *breast* only.” He also observes, that this unctiōn might be considered as the remains, not of the primitive, but partly of the ancient, and partly of the Popish unctiōn.

In our Liturgy, as it has stood ever since the publication of the second Book of Edward VI. we have no unctiōn; but we have a Visitation of the Sick. Of this I may be expected to say something; but my observations have been anticipated, either under the subject of *Confession*, or under that of *Absolution*. I seem now only to have to read to you the sixty-seventh Canon, which leaves the whole *method* of instructing and comforting the sick to the *discretion* of the Minister, if he be a *licenced preacher*: if he be not one, he is then “to *instruct* and *comfort*” the sick “in their distress, according to the order of the *Communion-book*.”

P. S. In

^y Mentioned Sect. II.

^z See Neal, page 37, Vol. I. 4to. and Wheatly on Common Prayer, page 471. 477.

^a See the Canons of 1603; and Wheatly, Introd. to Visit Sick.—He says, it may be *questioned* whether “by the Act for *Uniformity* of publick prayers, we be not restrained from *private Forms*.”

P. S. In Wall's Infant Baptism it is said^b, that the English *Baptists* use extreme unction, though rarely, and in hopes of recovery.

VIII. At length we have finished the *History* of this twenty-fifth Article, and we come now, in course, to the *Explanation*.

Our present Article has that for the first paragraph which was the last in the Article of 1552; and has that for the last, which was the first, after a sentence^c from an Epistle of Augustin to Januarius: in the middle it has a rejection of five popish sacraments, which in King Edward's Article were not mentioned.—It has omitted one sentence of the former Article, concerning the effect of the Sacraments being “*ex opere operato*”—in the English, “*of the work wrought:*” retaining the *sense*, in the rest, but dropping the *phrase*, with the remark upon it.

The first paragraph of our Article contains a *definition* of a Sacrament; which it is no very easy matter to give: we have one in our short Catechism; to those who find one of these intelligible, the other will be so too.—It seems to me a good way to get at the meaning of our Church, to consider what opinions she wishes to *avoid*.—With regard to the nature of a sacrament, she wishes first to avoid the notion, that it is a mere *badge*, by which Christians are distinguished from Heathens; and next the notion, that it acts *mechanically* upon the Soul, as a powerful *medicine* does upon the Body. If the inquirer finds any space between these two notions, the Church of England seems willing that he should range in it freely. We must suppose some outward *sign*, and some inward meaning; this meaning must imply some

^b Part 2. Chap. viii. Sect. 11. page 446, quarto.

^c Sect. 11.

some *good* affecting our *minds*, and the *future* happiness of our Souls; and *appropriated* to ourselves by our own voluntary acts; and then other particulars, if any there be, may be left unascertained. —My own idea of a Sacrament is, a ceremony, which expresses by *visible words* (as Augustin^d calls them) some great *Benefit* bestowed by God on Man; which may be some beneficial *state* or condition, leading to great good: a ceremony immediately enjoined by divine authority:—It is called an outward “sign of an inward and *spiritual* grace,” or *favour*; but *inward*, is only opposed to *outward*; and means, the *benefit* shadowed out by the ceremony: and any benefit (or grace, or favour) may be called *spiritual*, which relates to the future happiness of our Soul or Spirit, or to the improvement of the *mind*: *spiritual* is opposed to the *material* sign; and its sense best got by taking it so.—If it appears to any Christian, that God’s Holy Spirit must be concerned in a sacrament, he may satisfy himself thus. When we come to consider attentively how great and wonderful a thing it is, that *God* should institute a ceremony for *us*: and how grateful we ought to be for the benefit which it shadows out, and how diligent we ought to be in securing and rightly applying that benefit, we must feel very great moral *improvement*^e: and all such improvement it is our duty to *refer* to the assistance of the *Holy Spirit*. The nature and manner of such reference belongs to the tenth Article.—This moral improvement, this dispelling of our weaknesses, this warming of our sentiments, and confirming of our good principles, is called, with respect to the Lord’s Supper, “the *strengthening* and *refreshing* of

^d Contra Faustum, 19. 16. cited by Forbes, 9. 1. 32.

^e P. S. I think our Reformers had much the same idea: See Reform. Legum, de Hæresibus, cap. 17.

of our souls.”—I should think, that this might serve as an Explanation of the first paragraph: to me it makes that paragraph intelligible.

The second paragraph needs no explanation.

In the third some expressions may be noticed.

“Those five *commonly* called sacraments”—we should not express ourselves so *now*, but the *five* were very commonly called sacraments when the Articles were made.—“Sacraments of the *Gospel*;”—this is opposed to *Sacramenta* in the *large* sense, as meaning any *emblematical* actions of a sacred nature.

In the remaining part of the Article we have several instances of the *plural* number being used when only *one* single thing is meant.—The *Puritans*^f objected to this, at the Hampton Court Conference; making confirmation to be included in both expressions “*corrupt following*”—and, “*allowed*”—at least that is the best sense that I can make of the objection. *Corrupt imitation*^g of the Apostles, may relate to confirmation, orders, and extreme unction, or it may mean only the last; but “*states of Life allowed in the Scriptures,*” seems to mean Matrimony alone: our *Homily*^h says, “*godly states of life,*” meaning the same thing.—Afterwards, “*Sacraments*” are not “*to be gazed upon,*” &c. is applicable to the Lord’s supper only: “*duly use them,*” may indeed include Baptism, because consecrated water used to be carried home and given to the *diseased*ⁱ. But St. Paul’s^k passage
about

^f See Neal, Vol. 1, quarto, page 415.

^g Art. ix. “*following of Adam.*” Sect. xvii.

^h Page 277, octavo.

ⁱ Fulke on Rhemists, fol. 433, top: As in Sect. vii.

^k 1 Cor. xi. 29.—Yet Augustin treats of the efficacy of Baptism as depending on the worthiness of the receiver.—Forbes, 10. 1. 20.—10. 2. 14;

about unworthy receiving, relates to no Sacrament but the Lord's Supper.

In excuse for this using plural where only one thing is meant¹, we may say, let any one try to use the singular number, and yet keep to the subject of Sacraments in general. Several other little things may be said. — “*They*” is sometimes used, when the meaning only is, to keep the expression general, and not determine whether *He* or *She* or *several*, be meant. ‘*They* whom I shall employ in this business, will do it well, You may depend upon it:’ a person who said this might employ *one* man, or *one* woman; as well as *several*. — We affirm concerning anything in the plural when we are speaking of it as being some *species*, or *class*. — Your *Voltaires* are dangerous people. — *Forbes*^m says, “*Patres aliquando, de uno Sacramento loquentes, utuntur vocabulo numeri pluralis.*” — And in the Epistle to the Hebrews we find something which seems to be of the same natureⁿ; “subdued kingdoms,” &c. &c. predicated of a few particular men; Gedeon, Barach, &c. every *one* of whom did not perform *all* the exploits there mentioned; though they were performed by the persons named.

We cannot well say more in the way of Explanation without incroaching on some of the subsequent Articles.

ix. Our *Proof* must be directed solely against the *five* Popish sacraments which we reject; all the rest belongs to other places. — In disputing whether different things can be called by the same name, we are apt to run into trifling propositions, by using that name in different senses; but here we
 seem

¹ Archbishop Usher keeps this mode of expression in his Irish Articles.

^m Forbes, 9. 5. 6.

ⁿ Heb. xi. 33.

seem secure from that snare; for the Romish Church defines a Sacrament much as ours does; and without that, it would be enough if we proved, that the Romish five, are not sacraments in the same sense with Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In the Trent^o Catechism a sacrament is defined, "a thing subject to *sense* which, by *God's* appointment, has vertue both to *signifie* and to *work* holiness and righteousness."—"God's appointment" cannot signify the course of *nature* or *providence*, for all Sacraments are held by the Romanists^p to be appointed by *Christ*. In this definition there are *four* parts corresponding to the four parts of ours.—1. An external part.—2. An appointment of Christ.—3. A signifying, or sign, or pledge.—4. An invisible efficacy.—This settled, we may briefly remark on the Romish *five*.

Confirmation seems sufficiently authorized as an holy ceremony, but it has no external rite appointed by Christ. Imposition of hands is not peculiar to it, and *Chrism* is of human invention.

Penance, or penitence, public or private, is an important thing; but it has no tolerable pretensions to institution of Christ as a visible ceremony. The confession mentioned James v. 16. is, in some way, *mutual*. And the *effects* of Popish penance may be expected to prove such as are described, Ezek. xiii. 10.

Ordination, or *Orders*, is very well authorized; but *Christ* never ordained with any visible sign, nor ever instituted any for his Apostles: they used imposition of hands, but not for ordaining only.

Matrimony was not instituted by Christ, in any sense; he *confirmed* it as a contract, but not even as a *sacred* contract: nor did he appoint any *rite*

for

^o Page 131, or Sect. x. of Sacraments in general.

^p Trent sess. vii. Canon 1.

for the execution of the contract. And it is one in which the Supreme Being is no *Party*. As to Eph. v. 32. — the marriage of Christ and his Church is certainly a *mystery*, *μυστηρίου*, which in Latin is rendered *sacramentum*; but the meaning only is, that Christ is not *literally* married to his Church, but only *metaphorically*, or mystically.— This is only an argument in one language; translate it, and it vanishes into nothing.

Extreme unction, if enjoined at all, was enjoined not by Christ, but after his Death.—Mark vi. 13. relates cures merely of a bodily sort; and even in bodily cures oil was not always used by Christ.— James v. 14, &c. seems to me to mean nothing beyond the compass of ordinary practical piety and benevolence; as I will endeavour to shew more at large.

Our *Homily*^a on Common Prayer and Sacraments shews these *five* to be no Sacraments in about one page.

How different are they from those two which we retain! instituted for the most important situations; for a change of life on *entrance* into the Christian covenant; for a prospect of *eternal* happiness, to be attained by the Christian sacrifice: confined to no rank or order of Christians; instituted, both as to their external rites and their influence on the heart, with a plainness wholly incontrovertible^r!

x. As the Romish Sacrament of Extreme Unction is founded on one single passage of Scripture, James v. 14, 15. I think our end will be best answered if I give you my idea of that passage.

I found

^a Page 276, 277, octavo.

^r St. Paul seems to me to make quite a separate class of Ordinances, of our two Sacraments, in 1 Cor. xii. 13.—See *Locke's* Paraphrase.—The Rhemists take no notice of it.

I found I had not a satisfactory notion of it, and therefore I set myself to consider it without consulting commentators. It appeared to me to have the following meaning.—‘I am giving you (St. James is supposed to speak, or write) miscellaneous moral and religious directions, as is usual at the close of an Epistle; let me direct what is to be done in cases of *sickness*: Is any one indisposed amongst you? he will of course take all *human*^s means of recovery: *that* need not be advised; but let him not neglect *religion*: sickness is favourable to piety, and should always be considered, though with due modesty and diffidence, as the *visitation* of God. And it is He who must give a *blessing* to the best judged *medicine*, before it can be effectual. (Plain cxxvii.) Let then the sick man act as is most likely to promote piety in himself, and to draw down the blessing of Almighty God upon his endeavours.—Man was not made to be *alone*; as little in sickness, and as little in Religion, as in any thing else: let the sick man then invite some grave elderly Christians, amongst whom will naturally be some of sacred characters; and let them form a little *domestic religious society*. As a society cannot proceed without some *ceremony*; let some one of these respectable persons, as by commission from them all, make some *application* of something usually esteemed *mild and lenient*, to the *Body* of the indisposed: this is to be done *religiously*, or “in the name of the Lord:” and the ceremony will dispose the company properly for what is the *principal* thing, *domestic prayer*, and *Intercession*.—“O how amiable” must such devotion be! how improving to the minds of all! how likely to draw
down

See in Sparrow’s *Rationale*, page 300. a decree, that Physicians shall direct their patients to send for Divines. The same in Wheatly.

down the *bleſſing* of “the Lord!” Surely he will hear the prayers of his *faithful* ſervants; ſurely there is ground for *confidence*, that he will raiſe up the dejected!—and as our Lord joined *forgiveness* of ſins with bodily *healing*, the whole of one of his bleſſed cures will be accompliſhed!—Perhaps the indiſpoſed may be troubled in *mind*; O, let mutual confidence, in all ſuch caſes, open the *heart*, to ſo venerable a fraternity! that muſt needs give new ſtrength to interceſſion. Think not that I direct you thus without reaſon and example; I have juſt now mentioned the “patience of *Job*,” let me, in like manner, ſuggeſt to you the ſucceſſful Interceſſions of *Elijah*.’

As this interpretation is not the ſame with that given by Commentators, they generally taking St. James’s unction either for a ſacrament, or for an exerciſe of the miraculous gift^t of healing, it may be proper to offer ſome reaſons for my own opinion.

1. The word *ἀθενῆς* does not ſeem to denote any *grievous* or *dangerous*^u ſickneſs; nothing which could give occaſion to the name of *extreme* unction, or require the help of a *miracle*: the ſick man is ſuppoſed well enough to *invite* the Elders.

2. It ſeemed to me, that *Elders* might mean *elderly Chriſtians*, whether in orders or not: the Apoſtles *ordain* Elders; but that does not ſeem to prove that elderly *Laymen*, or elderly men *as ſuch*, were *never* called *πρεſβύτεροι*.—In *Fulke’s* answer to the Rhemiſts on James v. I ſince find, that *Bede*^x, rendered *πρεſβύτεροι*, “the elder ſort:” and I find other remarks in ſupport of the interpretation.—Dr. Powell ſays^y, that it is not known exactly,

^t 1 Cor. xii. 9. 28. 30.

^u Lex. Steph. quotes Cyrop. Lib. 8.

^x A. D. 701; Lardner.

^y Page 364. Theſis.

exactly, what was the nature of the Presbyters in the Apostolic age.

3. The use of *Oil* seems to prove nothing, as to any cure being *miraculous*: it is used Mark vi. 13. in miraculous cures; but it was only as the *clay* and *spittle* which Christ used in curing the blind. Sometimes imposition of hands was used, and sometimes all externals were omitted. Oil may be used in any emblematical ceremony, as well as imposition of hands in Ordination; it was so used in early times of the Christian Church, as we saw under Confirmation².

4. It is not the Oil, but the *Prayer* which is said to *save* (σωζειν) him who *labours* under infirmity. (καμνοντα.)

5. The expression “*shall save the sick,*” looks at first as if a *miraculous* cure was meant; but “*shall save,*” cannot be taken literally; because something is spoken of which is to be done to *all* sick Christians, and if “*shall save,*” was to be taken literally, or the cure was *miraculous*, none would *die*. — Why, in that case, should the example of *Elias* be brought as an argument, or as a persuasive? Besides, is prayer never unsuccessful? the instance could only prove that prayer *may* save.

6. The *Lord's* raising up the sick man, implies nothing miraculous; in the language of Piety, the Lord raises up *every one* who *recovers*.

7. As to *forgiveness* of sin, it is in so many places joined with healing, some of which have nothing³ miraculous in them, that I look upon it
as

² Sect. 111.

³ See Psalm ciii 3. with Bishop Lowth's note on Isaiah xxxiii. 24. and liii. 4. — See also Matt. ix. 5. (with proverb in Whitby's note) and its parallels, Mark ii. 9. — Luke v. 23. — Matt. viii. 17. — Hammond cites more texts, and mentions the case of Hezekiah. — In the Old Italic version *remittitur* is even translated *ut remittatur vobis*. (Michaelis, Introd. Lect quarto, Sect.

as a kind of Jewish phrase to express a *cure*.— Under the tenth and seventeenth Articles we mentioned, that the phraseology of the Jews refers all sorts of events to God.— And on a footing of natural religion we may say, that *all evil is punishment*; though God may in this life punish men *collectively*: *sufferings* may fall upon *mankind* for the faults or negligence of *mankind*. Were it easily admitted that all evil is punishment, it must follow, that the removal of evil, is forgiveness.

8. In order to have the example of *Elias*, we must see that the fifteenth and sixteenth verses are on the same subject. This appears sufficiently from the word *ιαθῆτε*: but in two^b good MSS. the word *εἰ* shews also a connexion.— *αλληλοῖς*, and *ὑπερ αλληλων*, may mean, *in turns*; that is, when any one is sick, let him open his mind, and let his pious friends intercede for him. If this was made a custom, each Christian, (in case of recovery) would be sometimes the visited, sometimes the comforter and intercessor. First it is said, if any one is sick, the Elders should, if invited, pray by him. The inference is more extensive; ‘open *then* your hearts to one *another*, when *by turns* you labour under sickness; and pray *mutually* for sick neighbours.’

All these remarks occur in reading the passage itself; others arise from some extraneous circumstances.

1. There is no probability, that a custom of miraculous healing, or a sacrament of perpetual obligation, should be instituted at the conclusion
of

Sect. 62.) Our church, in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, speaks of sickness as certainly God’s visitation; and as what *may* be sent to correct and amend what is offensive to God.

^b First New Coll. and first Steph.

of an Epistle, in the midst of moral directions, with every thing ordinary and natural, with nothing similar before or after it. I should imagine, there might not be found an instance of anything but moral directions at the close of an Epistle. Nor can we conceive, that anything supernatural could be instituted in *so few words*, without any mention having been made of it *by Christ*; or by *St. Paul* when treating of miraculous gifts. Had *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* been founded on only one text each, I should think they rested on weak foundations.

2. Those who have attended to the conduct of *St. James*, will not think it like his usual *prudence* to institute supernatural observances in the slight and sudden manner here supposed.—I refer chiefly to what is called the Council^c of Jerusalem.—Acts xv. 13.

3. The *ceremony* supposed in my interpretation, does not seem an *unlikely* one to take place, nor contrary to the customs of early Christians. Their throwing *ashes* on the head of a Christian on Ash-Wednesday, was of a similar nature^d.

4. We must not be understood to say, that no Elder, when *St. James* wrote, had that *Gift of healing*, which is repeatedly mentioned by *St. Paul*. In the case before us, whatever might be the efficacy of the religious act, it should be ascribed to *prayer*.

5. Without determining the nature of *St. James's* injunction, we might inquire, how far it admitted of *change* in after times.—It seems as if the *Oil*, on any supposition, must be changeable; for miraculous cures were not always performed with *Oil*; and in mere ceremonies, oil was
accidental,

^c Art. XXI. Sect. 1.—See also Art. VI. Sect. XXIV.

^d Bishop Bramhall, cited by Fuller, page 275.

accidental, depending upon local customs or the produce of the earth. Oil seems to have been an established^e, mild remedy in surgery; as appears from the application of it by the good *Samaritan*; and therefore any other established mild remedy might be^f substituted for it. Nor does the opinion, that St. James's unction was miraculous, make much difference; since a natural practice of an ordinary sort, has been shewn, in several instances^g, to follow a similar extraordinary supernatural one, without interruption.

XI. Such is our direct proof; if we aimed at any indirect, we might answer the weak *objection* of *Anthony Randall*, that *Sacrament* is not a^h *scriptural term*: it is in the Latin, and in the Latin only; it could not be in the original.—But it is not necessary that when Scripture institutes a *thing*, it should also give it an authentic *name*; and yet when Christians have occasion to speak frequently of that thing, they must give it *some name*, as they do to other things: and they are most strongly induced to do so when there are several observances which want a *common name*.

The word *μυστηριον* is more confined in its meaning than *Sacramentum*. Every emblematical action has an outward meaning and an inward one: *Sacramentum* includes both; but *μυστηριον* expresses only the inward meaning.—Hence *Sacramentum* is not a good translation of *μυστηριον*; more especially as *μυστηριον* neverⁱ, in Scripture, is used about external

^e What say *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, of Oil?

^f The Oil would be called a *Tradition*, in Art. xxxiv.

^g In Ordination, Art. xxiii. Sect. xxv. in Confirmation, Sect. 111. of this Article.

^h The Quakers think this argument worth adopting: see *Barclay's Apology*, Prop. 12. sect. 2. beginning.

ⁱ *Limborch*, 5. 66. 10. For mysteries in the *Church*, see *Bingham*, Index, mentioned beginning of Sect. 11. of this Article.

external rites. The *Church* got to call several things mysteries.

XII. In the way of *Application* much need not be said.

If Dr. *Dupin* would not give up the five as Sacraments, would he (or his successors) agree to make two *classes* of Sacraments; and let us use *Sacramentum* for any sacred emblematical act, as the ancient Fathers did, without determining whether it was of *divine* or *human* appointment?—the Romanists themselves make a difference between their Sacraments in point of rank.—Still extreme unction would remain unsettled. Might we adopt some ceremony, in the visitation of the sick, *analogous* to that mentioned by St. James, according to the idea of it here given^k?

For my own part, I know not whether such an alteration would not seem to me an *Improvement*. A fomentation, or something of that sort, might be substituted for unction: some tasks, penances, exercises, might be imposed in case of recovery, after the manner of the ancient clinic^l absolution; any good resolutions recorded in the presence of respectable witnesses^m, would be the more likely to be kept on that account. Surely a meeting of pious, discreet, elderly neighbours, some clergy amongst them, forming a domestic religious assembly, praying together, under due regulation, in the house of a sick man, if it became generally customary, and was held at different houses interchangeably, might be the means of promoting mutual benevolence;

^k Sect. x. beginning and end.

^l Wheatly, page 468.

^m Wheatly seems to favour the idea of *Witnesses*, page 468.

volence ; and might in time produce a great *increase* of *Piety* and *Virtue*ⁿ.

ⁿ For the reasons mentioned in former instances, I again mention, that those who took notes during the Lectures, will not find every thing in their notes, which they find here. Want of time obliged me to omit the tenth Section entirely, and the greatest part of the eleventh.



ARTICLE XXVI.

OF THE UNWORTHINESS OF THE MINISTERS,
WHICH HINDERS NOT THE EFFECT OF THE
SACRAMENTS.

ALTHOUGH in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own Name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

1. The *History* of this Article seems to lie chiefly in the age of the Reformation; when those who were heightening every evil of Popery, and painting

painting it, to themselves and others, in the darkest colours, amongst other things, suggested and maintained, that such wicked ministers as the Popish Priests were, must shock every serious man by their preaching, instead of amending his heart; and must vitiate even the Sacraments themselves.—Our Church shewed its moderation and good sense in not running the lengths of such reformers, being soon aware of the difficulties to which their notion must lead.—But before we refer to any authorities, let us look to *early* times, and see whether anything similar appears.

The *idea* that sacraments administered by Priests of immoral character, debauched, drunken, “lovers of pleasure more^a than lovers of God,” should be something different from what they ought to be, and were intended to be, seems not unnatural.—A sacrament must appear to the mind, an holy ordinance, administered to devout Christians, by a sacred officer still more devout: whatever deranged this conception must seem, at first, to destroy the vital spirit of the whole ordinance.—And though *reason* might suggest what is urged in our Article, yet the *feelings* and prejudices would scarce ever be reconciled to a Sacrament given by a bad man: nay difficulties would arise on all sides, and would continue to harass the mind. Is this, (a communicant would always ask himself) the representative of God? of Christ? or even of the Church? No; they must all disclaim him! can the wicked be attended to by Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity? by him who knew no sin? or can any man be considered as bearing the commission of that Religious Society, whose sanctity he profanes? Such arguing, I say, is not unnatural: it has, in truth, occasioned the
difficulties

^a 2 Tim. iii. 4.

difficulties which have made it worth while to compose an Article on our present subject.—But our immediate business is with the History of early times.

Cyprian, who is placed in 248, Bp. of Carthage, a man of an excellent character, fell into disputes with other Christian leaders, about *re-baptizing* those, who had been baptized in any *sect*, out of the main body of Christians, or according to the language of the times, out of the communion of the *Catholic Church*. These disputes must be about the effect of Sacraments being hindered by some imperfection or *unworthiness* in those who administered them; for there seems nothing peculiar to Baptism in the question. *Cyprian* was of opinion, that the sacraments, in this case, were *ineffectual*; or, in other words, he was for the re-baptizing of those, who had been baptized by *Heretics*. His chief opponent was Stephen Bishop of Rome, whose opinion, in all its particulars, is not exactly^b known.

The *Donatists* are placed by Lardner in 312. Their separation from the Church was owing to no difference about doctrine, but at first to a contest about the appointment of a Bishop of Carthage. This appointment was made by some *Africans* (the inhabitants^c of Africa Proconsularis) without consulting the churches of Numidia: these latter, thinking themselves ill used, made all possible exceptions to the appointment, and then disputes arose about the reasonableness of such exceptions. The Numidians, amongst whom were one or two leading

^b Lard. Cred. *Cyprian*: or Works, Vol. 3, page 137.

^c In Africa there were six Roman Provinces: one of which was *Africa Proconsularis*, another *Numidia*: Bingham, Ant. q. 2. 5.—*Carthage* was the Metropolis of *Africa Proconsularis*

leading men of the name of *Donatus*, excepted particularly to the new Bishop (whose name was Cæcilianus) as a man of immoral character, in some respects; and they excepted to his consecration, as having been performed by a Traitor, or *Traditor*, that is, one who had through fear delivered up the scriptures, in the times of persecution, to those who meant to destroy them. A church governed by such persons, they said, could be no true church; all its ordinances, even the sacraments themselves, must lose their proper effect under such administration. Nay, when heated with dispute, they went so far as to re-baptize those Africans, who came over to their party, if not Europeans who had communicated with them; which was professing, in the most open manner, the invalidity of the sacramental forms when used by their adversaries. The Donatists were very numerous, so as to be governed by 400 Bishops. (Mosheim.)

They had also a very formidable force amongst them; a large band of Fanatics, called *Circumcelliones*, who used *violence*, and were guilty of extensive and numerous *massacres*: these were also so wild as to fancy, that they suffered *martyrdom* if they destroyed themselves, or compelled others to destroy them.

The writings of Augustin and Optatus seem to have had great effect on the Donatists; which shews, that they had some good principles.

This affair of the Donatists being similar to that in which Cyprian was engaged, and both happening in Africa (in the larger sense) the latter renewed the idea of the former; and the writers in the controversy with the Donatists, become expositors of Cyprian and Stephen.—The chief writers on the side of the Donatists were Parmenianus, Petilianus,

Petilianus, Crefconius, &c. Their adverfaries were Auguftin and Optatus, whose writings muft be ftudied by any one that wifhes to be fully informed on the fubject. He would find them rational and fpirited, and agreeing with our^d church.

Now it does not appear to me, that thefe two celebrated cafes are exactly parallel to ours; becaufe in both, the Minifters are fuppofed difqualified *ab initio*, whereas our Minifters, in the prefent Article, are fuppofed to be regularly ordained.— But yet thefe cafes would produce arguments which would affect the fubject now before us; efpecially as Cæcilianus was accused of immoralities, though perhaps unjuftly. It would thence come to be argued generally, whether *vice*, in a minifter, hinders the effect of his minifterial acts.

11. But not to detain you longer from the age of the *Reformation*. I have not the works of Wickliffe at hand, but I fufpect, that, inveighing againft the wickednets of the Romifh Priests, he ufed, as one topic, the notion, that their profligacy muft vitiate the Sacraments; or he faid fome thing which his enemies might represent as meaning that. The council of Conftance made decrees againft him, and determined to dig up his bones on account of certain propofitions:—One of them was, “If a Bifhop or Priest live in mortal fin, he^e ordaineth not, baptizeth not, confecrateth not.”—Another propofition faid to be taken out of Wickliffe, as to the *fum*^e, is, “The ill Life of a Prelate

^d Take a fpecimen in Forbes, 10. 1. 8. from Aug. de Unico Baptifmo contra Petilianum.

^e Thefe are the words in Baxter’s Hift. of Councils, page 431.—Thofe in page 438, are there faid to be “charged on John Hufi,” but in page 439, “taken out of Wickliffe.”

^f Page 438; fee alfo page 439.

a Prelate subtracteth the subjects acceptation of orders, and other sacraments;”—“and yet in case of necessity,” &c. But the Council of Constance might misrepresent the sayings of the Reformers.

In the *Necessary Doctrine*, &c. we have a passage to our purpose, on the subject of the Romish Sacrament of *Orders*^z, in which mention is made of the Donatists, and the opinions of some ancients introduced, as Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Gregory of Nazianzum. This work agrees with the doctrine of our Church.

The Anabaptists, at the time of the Reformation, ran into this error, that the vices of Ministers must annul the force of Sacraments; as might be expected from their unthinking severity and moroseness. Luther says of them^h, (Anabaptistæ) “propter hominum vitia vel indignitatem (“unworthiness,” the expression of our Article) damnant verum Baptisma.” And *Forbes*ⁱ, in his tenth Book and second Chapter, speaks of the old controversy, “de fide et probitate baptizantis,” being renewed by the Anabaptists at the Reformation; whose fundamental principle I judge (from *Mosheim’s* account of them) to be, that the visible church of Christ, must be *perfect* in *fact* as well as in *Theory*. In the *Reformatio Legum* (de Hæresibus, Cap. 15.) the Anabaptists are charged with seceding from the Church, and *Sacraments*, saying, that they are kept away, “vel ministrorum improbitate, vel aliorum fratrum.

The Council of *Trent* anathematizes those who say, that a Priest living in mortal sin, cannot confer a Sacrament. The Catechism is expressed not
unlike

^z About three pages from the beginning of the subject.

^h Works, Vol. 2, fol. 503.

ⁱ Forbes, 10. 2. 1. and 10. 4. 11.

unlike our own^k Article.—Those who follow the confession of *Augsburg*, “*damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere populo uti ministerio in Ecclesiâ, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax^l esse.*”—The *Helvetic* says^m, that the perfection of Sacraments does not depend on the worthiness or unworthiness of those who give them. And the *Scotch*, that for the right *use* of Sacraments, it is requisite that their end and design should be rightly understood by Minister and people. The presbyterians do not seem to condemn the error heartily.

Heylin, in his introduction to his Life of Archbishop Laudⁿ, says, that the Church of England joins with the Church of Rome in several points, in opposition to *Sectaries* of various kinds; amongst other Articles, he mentions that “of hindering the effect of the Sacraments by unworthy Ministers.”—And *Du Pin*, in his commonitorium^o, makes no objection to our twenty-sixth Article.

Barclay, in his Apology for the *Quakers*, treats the distinction used in our Article between the *Man* and the *Minister*, as frivolous; and seemingly runs into the notion lately mentioned as held by the first Anabaptists, that because the Church of Christ is perfect in Theory, it must be so in *fact*:
that

^k See also Catech. on the *Eucharist*: Sect. LXXIV. page 232. —Acts of the Council, Session vii. Canon 12; on Sacraments in *general*.

^l Syntagma, Aug. Conf. Art. viii. or page 13. of second part.

^m The Helvetic Churches were founded by *Zuinglius*; the *Dutch* have much of *Calvin's* notion in their doctrine: the French Protestants are called *Calvinists* in France. (*Voltaire*, Louis XIV. *Calvinisme*).—*Calvin*, Intt. 17. 16. agrees with us: See a passage in *Bingham's Works*, Vol. 2, page 565, from Archbishop *Whitgift*, expressing the opinion of *Calvin*.

ⁿ Page 37.

^o Append. to *Mosheim*.

that is, no imperfect church must be allowed to be a true Church. One sees what the scope of the reasoning is; to depreciate all sacraments, by heightening the defects to which they may be liable in some particular cases, in the present faulty state of things; in order to draw men from externals, and bring them to trust only to the internal *light*.—The idea was not new in Barclay's time. In the Helvetic Confession are these words; *Neque eos probamus, qui propter invisibilia, aspernantur in sacramentis visibilia, &c. quales Messaliani^p fuisse dicuntur.*

III. But though we may agree with the Church of Rome as to the perfection of sacraments administered by imperfect men; yet there is another thing, very nearly allied to this, in which we oppose them: that is, the effect of the *Intention* of a Priest when he administers Sacraments.

Intention is not the same with *Probity*; because a man of a general good character, might not *intend* to give a sacrament, as such, on a particular occasion, or he might be *absent* in mind, &c.—and a bad man might intend it. But yet these are connected^q: ordinarily, a good man will have the purest intention in all offices of religion. The Romanists mention worthiness and intention together^r. And they describe their meaning by saying, that a Minister must intend, in order to have his acts effectual, what the *Church*^s intends; the Church, I suppose, from which he receives his

^p For Messaliani, or Euchitæ, see Art. xxv. Sect. 11. where there is mention of the Quakers, and of this passage: for some half converted Quakers, see the sixth Section of this Article.

^q Forbes, 10. 1. 18.

^r See Council of Trent, Sess. 7. Can. 11, 12.—And Catechism, Part. 2. Sect. 23, of Sacraments in general.

^s Council and Catechism, *ibid.*

his commission: but the Romanists conceive only one true church.—This idea of what the Minister is to intend, was delivered by Pope Eugenius^c in the Council of *Florence*, in the year 1438.—And, though the Council of Trent adopted it, yet Caterini^u argued, in that Council, as a Protestant would now argue^x.

We must not, however, think that the question about the intention of the Minister, was first started even in the Council of Florence. So long ago as the time of *Athanasius*, it was discussed.—*Athanasius*, when a Boy, at Alexandria, baptized^y some Boys, in the way of boyish imitation; by way of *playing*, as we should say, at christening. But Bishop Alexander, by the advice of his Clergy, held the Baptism to be *valid*: and would not have the boys re-baptized.—Amongst the *Schoolmen*, our countryman *Duns*^z speaks of a distinction between *actual*^a and *habitual* intention, as established, and proposes an intermediate sort, which he calls *virtual*.—Cardinal *Bona*, in his Book on the Mass^b, says, of the Priest's intention, "*habitualis* sufficiens non est; *actualis* optima atque laudabilis; sed non necessaria: sufficit enim *virtualis*, illa nimirum quæ ab actuali proveniens et non revocata adhuc remanet secundum suam virtutem."—I give this sentence at length in order to shew what niceties the subject of Intention admits of. Indeed it is so far from being limited to *three* sorts, that it contains

^c Forbes, 10. 1. 14.

^u Forbes, 10. 1. 27.

^x See Trent, Sess. 14. Chap. 6. about a *Confessor* not having a due Intention.

^y Forbes, 10. 1. 15. from *Ruffinus*, *Sozomen*, &c.

^z *Duns Scotus*.—See Forbes, 10. 1. 22.

^a *Locke's* distinction between actual and habitual knowledge, is similar to this; on the understanding, 4. 1. 8.

^b Card. *Bona* died 1674, Æt. 65:—*De Missâ*, cap. 1. Sect. 5. page 180, col. 2.

contains an infinity of degrees, and an endless variety of mixtures.

If all the Romanists said no more than that a Priest ought to intend what the *Church* intends, it might be taken as meaning only, that whoever acts by *commission*, ought to follow the intention of his *principal*; but in some writings composed for the *People*, the business of Intention is much abused. We need not a stronger instance than the Rubric produced by Bishop Burnet, on the Article.— Bishop Porteus's account also is worthy to be read.^c—And in the year 1788, a French Protestant Clergyman told a friend of mine, that the then Archbishop of Paris “had given great offence to the generality of his Clergy by reviving, in a note on one of his *Mandemens*, the doctrine, that the efficacious Grace of the Sacrament was divided into *three Portions*; one of which was for the officiating Priest, one for his assistants, the third for him who received: but that the Priest might, if he thought proper, by his *Intentio*, and the private act of his mind, take the last portion to himself, and cheat the communicant of it.”

IV. I will trouble you with no more History.

Let us now see what may be wanted in the way of *Explanation*.

In this twenty-sixth Article we must conceive the subject of Sacraments in general, to be continued. Though what has now been said may seem to relate to one or the other Sacrament in particular, yet it ought to relate to one only as a Sacrament: if it does that, it may be affirmed of sacraments *in general*.

The *title* is expressed in terms which were usual at the time: the passages cited may shew that;

^c Brief Confutation, page 70.

that; particularly the margin of the Trent Catechism.

In this Article it is *supposed*, that the Ministers spoken of, are though real, yet *unworthy* Ministers; and that those who receive a Sacrament, are worthy receivers: whereas in the twenty-ninth Article, we shall find the Ministers are supposed worthy, the receivers unworthy.

For “visible church,” see the nineteenth Article, Sect. IV. “Have chief authority”—in Latin it is only “*præsent*,” which might seemingly have been translated *preside*. The English, as it stands at present, directs our views to the highest *Prelates*, but the Latin, to any Minister who happens to preside in giving Sacraments.

The latter paragraph seems intended to obviate an objection which might be made to the former. Men might say, you esteem the wickedness of Ministers too lightly: no, says the latter paragraph (in effect), the evil of wicked Ministers is very great and important; but if you apply a wrong remedy to it, you make it still greater.—Punish the guilty, not the innocent. Proceed against the Ministers, but do not prevent the people from benefiting by those institutions, which are intended for their Benefit. Let no man be hindered from doing his part; whatever stumbling-blocks may lie in his way, every man will be sure to get good if he does his best to proceed in the paths of duty.

The idea of the efficacy of ministerial acts, has been confounded with that of the duty of Ministers; certainly it is wrong for Ministers to be vicious, but if they continue to act by commission from Heaven, benefits may be received
through

through their agency^d. It is *wrong* for any *Magistrate* to be vicious, but yet the people may receive redress and protection from warrants signed by him.

When we speak of “the effect of the sacraments,” we should distinguish between their effects as such, and their *accidental* effects; a sacrament given by a good Minister, will have more effect in raising pious affections, than given by a bad one; but this I call accidental: its effect as a sacrament, that effect which no sacrament can fail to produce when intire and regular, will be produced, though the Minister be not a good man. This distinction, between accidental good effects, and such as may be called essential, Augustin seems to have been master of^e.

v. It does not seem as if our *Proof* need run into any great length.

‘Sacraments are not to be neglected by the People, because they think Ministers blameable.’

We may look at Matt. vii. 22.—Acts iii. 13.—1 Cor. iii. 5.—or we may, with Bishop Burnet, use the *reductio ad absurdum*, and say, if faults of Ministers vitiate sacraments, a man can never know whether he has been *baptized* or not, or whether he has received the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; he cannot even know whether he be a Christian.—We may add, that as all men are faulty, there can be no true Church of Christ. But the Article itself contains sufficient Proof of what it asserts. If an Article contains only propositions which are assertions, our business is to give

^d Trent, Sess. 7. Can. 11. we have, “*requiri intentionem* :” now Intention may be required as *Duty*, or in order to *efficacy*; does the Council mean at all to leave such an ambiguity?

^e See passages quoted in Forbes, 10. 2. 14. and 10. 3. 6.

give proofs; but when the propositions which an Article contains, are themselves arguments, or proofs, all additional arguments are superfluous.

Bishop Burnet also reasons, in the same form, on the other point, of the *Intention* of the Priest being necessary towards the complete effect of a Sacrament. If the secret acts of the Priest's mind can prevent admission into the Christian Covenant, no one can tell whether he be a Christian or not. Nay, who can tell whether he who acts as a Priest be a Christian?—Salvation at the discretion of Priests, not only good but wicked, is not conceivable.—More need scarce be added on such a notion.

VI. We come then to our *Application*.

A form of Assent does not seem necessary; but something may be said on the subject of *mutual concessions*.—If we take in the subject of *Intention*, which does not properly belong to our Article (if it did Du Pin would scarcely be silent,) we have two adversaries; on the subject of unworthiness, some Dissenters; on that of Intention, the Romanists.

1. To such Dissenters, or Sectaries, we might grant, that they have good *motives* for ascribing great evil to the unworthiness of Ministers; and that, in one sense, the good effects of Sacraments are really hindered by vicious Clergy; that is, sacraments ill administered, make a weaker impression on the heart than when well administered. And their “spiritual Grace” does partly consist in their good effects on the mind according to the natural course of things^f.

But then we must expect to have it granted, on the other hand, that no man is to *absent* himself from any sacramental institutions under pretence

^f Art. xxv. Sect. 11.

of the wickedness or unworthiness of Ministers. — That every man is to do his own part in the best manner possible. — And that a person, as an *Agent*, or under a commission, may do *valid* acts, though he be of an immoral private^s character.

2. To *Romanists*, with regard to *Intention*, we may grant, that a mere casual, jocular sprinkling, though with a sacred form of words, does not constitute a *Baptism*. That the receivers of Sacraments should have reason to think, that those who administer, act under commission from God, or Christ, or from a religious Society. Whence we are led to call the boyish sprinkling of *Athanasius*, no Baptism, because he could not, whilst a boy, have any commission to administer Sacraments.

But we must expect the *Romanists* to grant, in return, that the people *have* reason to think a man regularly commissioned, who appears in a sacred place, habited for sacred purposes, under authority. — We must expect to have it allowed, that Salvation, laboured for by Christian obedience, cannot be capriciously put out of the reach of the pious and virtuous, the faithful and diligent, by those, who are perhaps more frail than themselves.

Lastly, as to *Improvement*, it seems as if some might be drawn from observing cases in human life, in which men act by commission, where the same

^s Charles Leslie has a discourse intitled, “who they are that are now qualified to administer Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.” (Works, Vol. 2. fol. page 719). — He says some Quakers, after reading on Baptism, “stand chiefly upon the *personal holiness* of the administrator:” he means *private* virtue; for he says, that besides *personal* holiness, *sacerdotal* is required: — these half-converted Quakers thought, “that the spiritual effects of Baptism cannot be conveyed by means of an un sanctified instrument.” — This is to our purpose, but the Discourse is chiefly to prove, that Ministers *ordained* by *Bishops*, are the persons duly qualified. The fifth Section, however, page 735, is upon our question.

same difficulties occur, but occasion no dispute.— An *Ambassador* acts for his Sovereign; if he be a worthless man his vices do harm, but his acts are *valid*.— They are not valid without some kind of *intention*; and he must intend what his *Sovereign* intends; yet he may be *absent* in mind while he is signing a treaty; nevertheless his inattention will not make his signature of no force.

Improvement might also arise from reflecting how very *practical* subjects are, which are treated as speculative. Who maintains any doctrine about unworthiness or intention of Ministers, but with some farther view?—Let then Practice be professed, and then we can urge, do your best; endeavour to prevent unworthiness of every kind; to prevent men from depending on mere external acts, done without any intention or meaning of virtue or piety. But judge no man.—Indeed it must not be denied, that when men do use their best endeavours to attain the highest good, they are liable to great obstructions and hindrances from others, even in things of a moral and spiritual nature: but yet if they act with honesty and diligence, they may assure themselves that nothing which they do, will be lost on him to whom they look up for a reward.



ARTICLE XXVII.

OF BAPTISM.

BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of Regeneration, or New Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

I. The *History* of this Article might be very long, and might draw us into a number of Controversies; I will endeavour to select what is most material, and best founded. We should nevertheless divide our *History* into *two parts*; the first relating to Baptism without any regard to the *Age* of the person baptized: the second relating to the Baptism of *Infants*.

II. First of Baptism without regard to Age.—
 Βαπτω signifies to tinge, or wash; βαπτίζω much the same; βαπτίζομαι, in the middle voice, is reflective, and implies washing one's *self*. Washing,
 as

as a religious rite, is not confined to Christianity; it has been practised both by *Heathens* and *Jews*; and probably takes its rise from the *natural* principles of the human constitution. I know not that the natural principles of cleanliness, purity, delicacy, and their opposites, nastiness, filthiness, &c. have ever been philosophically analyzed; but men act upon them continually, and recognize the sentiments which they are adapted to produce.—Mr. *Hume*, in his *Essays*, (*Principles of Morals*, Sect. 8.) speaks of cleanliness as a quality agreeable to *others*, but he says nothing of its effects on one's *self*; which nevertheless seem to be very powerful. Every one makes cleanliness a part of merit and excellence: but there is certainly a great connexion between bodily cleanliness, and purity of *Heart*. No one ever thought that purity was not acceptable to superior Beings; and those who have worshipped different ranks of Deities, have always been the more exact in their *Purifications*, the more noble they conceived the Deities to be, to whom they had occasion to address themselves.

Perhaps acts of Purification have generally, or always, been *emblematical*; they have been performed as *signs* of internal cleansing from vice: but yet the natural connexion between external and internal purity, makes the representation to operate as a reality: whatever expresses purity, promotes it.—Hence it appears natural, that different sets of men, in different ages and countries, should have agreed in the practice of ablutions and purifications^a.

Any one who wishes to see a short account of the
the

^a Some reasoning of this sort was made use of in the Appendix to the first Book, Sect. v — ix.

the *Lustrations* of the Greeks, may consult Potter's *Antiquities*^b.

The distinction between clean and unclean, was very strongly marked in the Law of *Moses*. And the Jewish traditions carried it still farther. The sixth *Order*, or great division, of the *Talmud*, or *Misna*, is the Order of *Purifications*; in which the rules are very numerous^c and complicated. But we are most concerned with the Jewish manner of admitting Profelytes into their Religion; they used circumcision, if it had not been used before, but always^d *Baptism*.

It is worth while to observe, that when a Profelyte was baptized and admitted into the Jewish Religion, he was said to be *born again*; his Baptism was *regeneration*^e.—And there was something of the same sort amongst the *Heathens*; a person who had been considered as dead, on account of long absence, &c. went through an emblematical *new-birth*, before he recovered his *rights*, or was admitted to certain holy *ordinances*^f.—Nay, Tertullian says, Persons were baptized in the mysteries of Apollo and Ceres, with a view to regeneration and impunity.—(Idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem perjuratorum suorum agere præsumunt.—Ter. de Baptismo, C. 5)^g.

III. In the Christian religion, Baptism was used

^b Vol. 1. page 219.—Justin Martyr tries to account for the Lustrations of the Heathens by some notion relating to true Christian Baptism.—Apol. 1. page 91.—Thirlb. quoted by Middleton, in Letter from Rome, page 139.

^c See Wotton on the Misna, Vol. 1. page 160.

^d Introd. to Wall on Infant Baptism.—Wotton on the Misna, Chap. 8.—But see also Lardner's Works, Vol. 11. page 320.

^e See Authorities in Introd. to Wall, Sect. 6.

^f See Potter, Vol. 1, page 223; Δευτεροποιμοι, or ὑστεροποιμοι. The Authors of the Greek Primitives make the latter to mean, one whose funeral pile was built in his life-time.

^g Wall, page 25, quarto.

used from the beginning. “The Law and the Prophets were until John^h.” When John began to preach and baptize, the Christian religion began to be published; but the Baptism of John seems only to have been preparatory: he preached, in a very awakening manner, *Repentance*; and he made his disciples go through a ceremony of purification, expressive of Repentance; but all by way of preparing them to acknowledge the great Personage who should come after him. He did not pretend to confer the gifts of the Holy Ghostⁱ.

Christ himself followed. There are several places of Scripture, in which it is said, that Christ^k baptized; but John iv. 2. shews that, in some way, it might be said, and at some time, that “Jesus himself baptized *not*, but his disciples^l.” Whoever performed the office, converts were admitted into Christianity by Baptism, and such Baptism may be called the Baptism of Christ.—As far as we can judge, it was wise to adopt a custom generally received; and one falling in with the natural feelings of all mankind. The Baptism of Christ differed from that of the Heathens as being the Seal of a contract; for whatever admits any one into a Society, must imply conditions and contracting. Nay, this contract was to mankind, of boundless extent, and of endless duration.—Christ is repeatedly said to *baptize with the Holy^m Ghost*; possibly we may not see the full force of the expression; it might be, that

^h Luke xvi. 16.—Lardner, in the place above-mentioned, thinks, that Baptism was *first* used as an initiation rite, in the Christian Religion, Works, Vol. 2. page 320.

ⁱ Acts xix. 1—6.

^k See Matt. iii. 11.—John i. 33.—iii. 22, 26.—iv. 1.

^l This expression might perhaps bear to be interpreted as a *comparative* phrase; like Matt. ix. 13. and parallels. If so, it would mean, that Jesus baptized *less frequently* than his disciples.

^m Matt. iii. 11.—John i. 33.—Acts i. 5.

that the Baptism of Christ was immediately attended with spiritual gifts; as distinguished from that of *John*, which was only an emblem of Repentance; or from that of succeeding Christians, which seems to have been followed by gifts of the Holyⁿ Ghost, but not always immediately.

Under the subject of Confirmation^o, we saw something of the manner in which the gifts of the Holy Ghost followed Baptism at a distance, as described in the Acts of the Apostles.—St. Paul has been thought^p rather to disclaim the office of baptizing; he does not seem to me to do that; he only mentions that preaching was his department; and speaks of baptizing in such an easy way, as if he had always baptized when he had had leisure, and occasion had served, and as if he had never taken any exact account of those whom he baptized. But yet the number of those he had baptized at *Corinth* when he wrote his first Epistle, seems to us very small; and puts us upon thinking how, from the nature of preaching and baptizing, they must interfere much more with each other according to primitive, than according to modern customs: certainly many could baptize, who could not preach, or govern.

The Baptism by *Fire*, Matt. iii. 11^q. does not seem to mean any particular kind of Baptism to be described by an Historian, or Antiquarian. The expression, “He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with *Fire*,” seems of the prophetic kind, and not intended to be understood at the time of speaking it. It would excite a sentiment of dread, immediately after—“hewn down and cast into the *fire*;” —but it might predict the
fiery

ⁿ Acts ii. 38.

^o Art. xxv. Sect. III.

^p 1 Cor. i. 14. 17.

^q Καὶ πυρὶς is omitted in several Manuscripts.

fiery tongues which fate upon the Apostles: compare Acts i. 5^r.

The Baptism of Christ, and that of his followers, seem still *emblematical*.—This is well described by *Cyprian*^s, where he says, there is no need of “soap and other helps, and a large pool,” &c,

iv. The early Fathers seem to speak as if Baptism had been always, that is, in all ordinary cases, in ancient times, performed by *immersion* of the whole body; performed any where, at any Pond or River; till Baths were made for the purpose, in buildings on the outside of churches, which were called *Baptisteries*.—If we consider how very short and general the directions of scripture are with regard to Baptism, and how few circumstances are related in the narrations, we shall not wonder if we find very great variety in the ancient rites of baptism before Churches were regulated by civil Laws.—Irenæus’s account of the Valentinians is translated by Wall^t; but, without repeating their extravagances, we may mention, that frequently Baptism used, amongst sober Christians, to be preceded by *Prayer* and *Fasting*^u:—that the Head of the Person in the water, was put under water three times, in which case writers use the expression, *trine immersion*: it seems, at first, as if this ceremony had arisen from the Form of baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but yet, for some reason or other, a custom of immersing three times, has prevailed,

^r Those who are most conversant in oriental idiom might inform us, whether Holy Ghost *and* fire, could mean the same as the Holy Ghost assuming a *fiery* appearance?

^s Wall. page 464, quarto, from Ep. 69.—This is applicable to the subject of *sprinkling*, Sect. x.

^t Part 2. Chap. v. Sect. 1.

^u Wall, Part 2. Chap. ix.

prevailed, both amongst the Heathens^x and the Jews^y. The trine immersion afterwards got into disrepute, on account of some Heretics who used it, and was ordered to be left off, by a Council held at Toledo^z.—After Baptism, a mixture of *milk and honey* used to be given, and a *white garment* put on; all these were emblematical. Some *unction* used to be practised: and the ceremony was never performed without an abrenunciation of the *Devil*, and some profession of *Faith*.—I mentioned Exorcism under a former Article, and how soon Baptism was sometimes followed by Confirmation.

It used to be reckoned, that *Martyrdom* supplied the place of Baptism; that is, that if a convert, who had not been baptized, suffered Martyrdom for the Christian religion, his martyrdom would complete his admission into the Church of Christ, as much as Baptism would have done: and particular reasons and analogies were urged in favour of the notion.—As the person baptized is wetted with water, so is the Martyr with his own blood^a: &c.

v. The rites of Baptism used in the *Greek Church*, may be found in Sir Paul *Ricaut's*^b present State, &c. and an account of their grand annual Purification may be seen in *Cave's Appendix*, before referred to, under the word *ἀγιασμος*:
and

^x Potter's Antiquities, Vol. 1. page 221. 223. *Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ, Æn. 6. 229.*—*Terque senem flammâ, ter aquâ, ter sulphure lustrat.* Ovid Metam. lib. 7. cap. 2.—In the latter passage the word *flamma* reminds one of the scriptural baptizing with *fire*; though no way probably connected with it.

^y See Wall's Introd. page lxi. and page 488.

^z See Sparrow's Rationale, page 260.

^a Wall, Part 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 2. page 466. quarto.

^b Chap. 7.

and one chapter in Bingham's History of Lay-baptism, is about the Greek Church.

VI. The *Romanists* profess, that pure *water* is the only proper^d matter of Baptism; yet by rules built on tradition, they use holy *Chrism*: they also use Exorcism, Salt, Spittle, the white Garment, and burning the wax-light: and sign *eight* parts of the body (reckoning the eyes *two*,) with the sign of the^e *Cross*.—They consider Baptism as valid by whomsoever^f performed, Layman, Jew, Infidel, Woman, &c. but only in cases of necessity; that is, they had rather have a person baptized irregularly than not at all. Heretics who administer baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and who *intend* what the Church intends, are held to baptize effectually, without any consideration of necessity^g.

VII. The *Reformed* churches shew their abhorrence for Popery by departing more or less from the Romish customs. Those who think that the Church of England has not carried Reformation far enough, speak with a kind of horror of any Baptism whatever performed by^h Women. And direct the ceremony not to be performed where Popish Fontsⁱ used to be superstitiously placed; they also omit the sign of the *cross*, and are much scandalized by it in others. The *Lutherans* are said, on the other hand, to use exorcism; the *English*, according to their usual moderation, dropped most popish ceremonies by *degrees*, (see Wall, page 470.—Puller, page 281.) and probably sooner than

^d Trent Catech. Sect. 11. or 7.

^e Ibid. Sect. 61, &c.

^f Ibid. Sect. 22.

^g Council of Trent, Session 7, 4th Canon on Baptism.

^h Scotch Confession, Chap. 22. in ò, quod magis est horrendum, fœminis baptizare permittunt. Syntagma, page 154, second paging.

ⁱ Directory.

than they would have done, had all their Divines staid at home, or none of them gone to *Geneva*, &c. but they still use *Fonts*, with the sign of the Cross.

VIII. Charles *Leslie*, a celebrated writer against the Quakers, says, that no one spoke against water-baptism before *George Fox*, whom he places in the year 1650^k.—And Archbishop *Secker*ⁱ says, that a “Sect (meaning the Quakers) sprung up amongst us within a little more than 100 years, deny” the sacred appointment of water: But it seems to me, that some of the ancient heretics had the same turn of thought with our modern Quakers; the same way of understanding, or rather, of feeling, the Scriptures^m. For there is a sort of *temper*, which, in any age, if not corrected, will bring men to aim at being all spirit. *Quintilla* seems to have had this quakerish turn; and was a self-commisioned female teacherⁿ: a great rarity, I fancy, in ancient times.—The Council of Trent has a Canon against the deniers of Water-baptism; such therefore existed^o.

IX. The *Socinians* have been mentioned before as allowing but one ceremonial præceptum of Christ, an injunction to break bread^p.—They consider

^k On Water-Baptism, end of Sect. 11.—Works, Vol. 2, page 679. Charles Leslie was a protestant adherent to the Pietender in 1714; and would have converted him from Popery.

ⁱ Lecture 35. page 222.

^m Compare Barclay's Apology, page 386, Edit. Birm. with what was said in Art. xxv. of the *Ascodrutæ*, &c.—See also Aug. Hær. 59.—Wall, 2. 7. 7.—But with regard to the Manichean Baptism, Wall, 2. 5. 3. and Lardner, Vol. 3. page 490, are of contrary opinions.

ⁿ See Wall, Part 2. Chap. 5. Sect. 2.

^o Canon 2. of Sess. 7. (de Baptismo.)

^p Art. xxv. Sect. 11. from Racovian Catechism, page 143.—And Ep. to Radecius in Socinus's Works, fcl. Vcl. 1. page 380, 383, 384.

sider *Baptism* as a visible ceremony, admitting men into Christianity, when they have been Jews, or Pagans; but not to be used in a *Family already Christian*.—Fauftus Socinus has written a treatise on Baptism⁹.

The *Jews* had a notion like this of the Soci-nians^r.

x. I will only mention one thing more before I proceed to the History of Infant-Baptism; and that is, the custom of *sprinkling* or *pouring* water on the person baptized; or the custom of partial immersion, as supplanting, in some countries, that of total immersion. The Baptists do distinguish between sprinkling and pouring, but to no end that I can perceive. Indeed more attention has been paid to the distinction between dipping and sprinkling, than it appears to me to deserve: two modes of performing an emblematical act, may be equally good, if they be equally adapted to circumstances.

Wall says, that Mr. *Walker* has studied this subject of aspersion, affusion, &c. more diligently than any other person^s.

In early times of Christianity, Baptism was performed by immersion, ordinarily, but *clinic* Baptism was always, probably, performed by affusion, or pouring: though it was reckoned to leave a man in some respects less qualified for some public offices.—Wall quotes a good^t instance out of *Cyprian*: he also mentions the case of a *Prisoner*.

But

⁹ See Vossius de Baptismo.

^r See Wall on Infant-Baptism, Introd. Sect 3. and 5. or the last chapter of the Book, page 524, quarto.—Introd. page 1.

^s see Wall, page 470, quarto, the title of Walker's Book is, "Doctrine of Baptisms."

^t Part 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 2. page 464, quarto: quoted Sect. x.—It is scarcely needful to say, that *clinic* Baptism is Baptism of those who keep their beds.

But so far, affusion was only allowed in clinic baptism, or in cases of necessity.

Near the end of the fifth Century, *Gennadius* of Marseilles^u speaks as if it was an *indifferent* matter whether a man were wetted with water, or plunged into it; but he is the first who does so. Indeed the custom of immersion was first left off in France, and last in England; in the time of Queen Elizabeth.—But still it is said, that all Countries continue the practice of immersion, except the Western or Latin Church; except those, who are, or have been, under the Government of the Pope.—It is natural that the custom of sprinkling should gain ground, as being more commodious than immersion, especially in cold^x Countries: some very eminent men of our own country, have however been desirous to restore the practice of immersion, in ordinary cases^y. It is favoured by our Rubric.

XI. We come now to the History of *Infant-baptism*.

As the custom of baptizing in general, so that of baptizing Infants in particular, seems to have had some foundation in the Nature of man.—Parents are anxious that their offspring shall be secured from dangers, and put in a way to obtain advantages, as soon as possible. And the same motives which impel parents to admit their children into the Family of a Master, in the way of Apprenticeship, or into any literary Society for the purpose of education, impel them to make their children members of Christ, in order that they may

^u De eccles. dogm. cap. 74.

^x In Russia, it is said, Children are bathed in cold water; yet, generally speaking, Immersion may suit the warmest climates best.

^y Wall, Part 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 2. page 474, quarto.

may be inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.—By the Law of Nature, a Parent makes any engagement for his Son, during minority, which his Son would make for himself, if fully informed of the benefits resulting from it: and if any bond or security is to be given, it must be given by the parent. Would then a youth, if for the moment enlightened, and informed of all the benefits resulting from Christianity, and of the hazards of neglecting it, be baptized or not? on the answer depends the rectitude of baptizing a youth during his minority^z.—But these moral remarks must not here be pursued farther than is requisite to set the *History* of Infant-Baptism in a right point of view^a.

Amongst *Heathens*, there was such a thing as Lustration^b of Infants: which was accompanied, both amongst Greeks and Romans, with the giving of a *name*.

Amongst the *Jews*, circumcision was performed on the eighth day after the birth, and a *name* was given^c at that time—And what was before mentioned, from Wall's Introduction, about their baptizing Profelytes, may be extended to Children; as Wall proves from Jewish writings^d: the Jews had moreover, a reference to our moral principle, the good of the child^e; and they expected
Jews

^z Minority, in any one affair, if not fixed by Civil Laws, must mean the time, from birth, during which a person is unable to judge for himself, in that particular affair.

^a This was farther explained in my Lectures on Dr. Balguy's Moral Syllabus, Part 2. Chap. 3. Sect. 1. Subsect. 1. 35. and Subsect. 2. 3.—But both the Syllabus and the Explanation are in MS.

^b See Wheatly on the Common Prayer.—Office of Baptism, page 360.

^c Gen. xxi. 3, 4.—Luke i. 59, 60.—ii. 21.

^d See Introd. Sect. 3. 5. and Sect. 11. of this Art.

^e Wall's Introd. Sect. 3.

Jews to be baptized on the coming of *Elias* or *Christ*^f.

XII. But the most difficult matter to settle is, how the *Christians* acted, in early times, with regard to the baptizing of infants. Wall's History of Infant-Baptism seems to me an excellent book; clear, learned, rational, candid, unaffected; and I should add, speaking from my own experience, lively: I sincerely recommend it; not only on account of the information it gives with regard to infant-baptism, but as laying open Christian Antiquity in general, and treating, in a masterly way, many subjects useful to a Divine^g. Nevertheless I do not pretend that it removes all doubts whatsoever, even on its principal subject.—With regard to the *Scriptures*, what can be deduced from them lies in a small compass. On the one hand, they mention *no instance* of infant-baptism; on the other, they afford no instance of baptism being *delayed*. Some *Families* are spoken of collectively, as being baptized, but the *children*, are not mentioned particularly^h.

XIII. How soon any accounts of infant-baptism, appear in reputable writers, is a matter in dispute. Some Pædobaptists have, in their candour, allowed a longer time before any appear, than

^f This is affirmed at the conclusion of Wall's Introduction, but I see no proofs: they may be in Selden, Lightfoot, &c. however, the notion makes the message of the Jews, John i. 19—25, intelligible. Who art thou that baptizest *Jews*?—*Jews need* not be baptized till Christ, or at least *Elias*, come: art thou then the *Christ*? or art thou *Elias*? or who art thou?

^g This Book was before recommended, at the opening of the Pelagian Controversy.—Art. 1x. Sect. viii.

^h Acts x. 48. and xvi. 15. 33. and 1 Cor. 1. 16.—See moreover Acts ii. 41. and viii. 12, or 16; where numbers are baptized in which must probably be some children.

than others have approved of.—Binghamⁱ begins his evidences from the earliest times; so indeed does Wall; but the first proofs are only by implication^k. To these writers I must refer you: the substance of the proofs is well collected in a short popular dialogue done by Wall from his larger work, and intitled, “A Conference between two Men that had doubts about Infant-Baptism.”—From this I may read a few words about the first centuries^l.—What I shall attempt is to give you some of the most remarkable things in the History, and such as have had the most influence on mens opinions.

XIV. 1. No dispute or controversy was ever held in ancient times concerning our subject; all the passages produced in evidence, are incidental^m.

2. Several persons are spoken of in History as having been baptized *late in life*: now when it appears, on examination, that such persons were themselves converts from Paganism, there is no great difficulty; but when they appear to have been born of *Christian Parents*, it is not so easy to account for the delay: however, there is another thing to be inquired into; whether the parents were baptized before the children were born; if not, one may see, that such as were unbaptized themselves, would scarcely baptize their children in infancy, if they

ⁱ Book 11th.

^k The manner in which Wall *investigates* the practices of the Apostolic Age, has been already mentioned under Art. xxiv.

^l Conference, page 72.

^m Augustin says, that the Doctrines of the Trinity and Repentance, and Baptism, and Unity of the Church, were never fully opened till they were controverted; (see Art. 1. Sect. iv.) we may observe, that the reason why the practice of Infant-Baptism was never fully opened, was, because it was never controverted:—And we call every mention of Infant-Baptism incidental, which occurs when that subject is not the point in dispute.

they could avoid it. That some converts did delay their Baptism, is clear from Martyrdomⁿ being thought equivalent to Baptism; and from Gregory of Nazianzum preaching against such delay:—but it seems as if our adversaries spoke of some instances without sufficient proof^o.

3. One thing which makes passages in ancients seem less to our purpose than they really are, is the variety of names by which Baptism is called; as, *Regeneration*, *Renewal*, *Sanctification*, *Illumination*, the *Seal*, the *Grace*, &c. and the originals of these words are sometimes translated by other English words:—these are mentioned in Wall's Preface; in Theodoret I find *απολυτρωσις*^p: Wall quotes it from Irenæus^q.

4. Justin Martyr, who lived about forty years after the death of St. John, discourses “of baptism being to us instead of *circumcision*”:—Irenæus near forty years later, mentions infants as “by Christ *born again* unto God.”—Origen, about fifty years later still, “does, in several places, speak of infant-baptism as a known and undoubted practice: and (in one of them) as having been, according to a *tradition*, ordered by the Apostles^s.”

5. The greatest difficulty arises from *Tertullian*, who is placed about 100 years after St. John's death, and therefore before Origen. He, in his Book de Baptismo, cap. 18. dissuades (and he is the only Father who does dissuade) from early baptism, though he seems as much afraid of any one's *dying*

ⁿ Sect. iv.

^o The notion results from reading Wall's Book.—Gregory of Nazianzum preaches against delaying Baptism, Orat. 40. or, de Baptismo, for which see Wall, Part 1. Chap. 11.

^p Hæret. Fab. 1. 10.

^q Part 2. Chap. 5. Sect. 1.

^r Conference, page 72.

^s Wall, page 27, quarto, or Part 1. Chap. 5. Sect. 3.

dying unbaptized, as any writer: that is, he advises putting off Baptism till the age of *Reason*; but only on this supposition, that there is no danger of death. By dissuading he acknowledges the *practice*, however difficult it may be to account for his dissuading; and the opinion of a single man, who in several things was excentric, is not of so much consequence as the practice. But it seems odd he should not know, as well as Origen, of the Tradition, that infant-baptism had been ordered by the Apostles.—Many things are said, with great good sense as it appears to me, to account for this singular phænomenon; and it is shewn how much better opportunities Origen had of learning what the Apostles had said, than Tertullian; but what occurs to me does not seem to have been mentioned by others, and therefore I am diffident about it.—He seems to me to be, when he advises putting off Baptism to the age of reason, *growing* a *Montanist*; the followers of Montanus “did not allow the Church the power to forgive great Sins *after* ‘*Baptism*;” — Tertullian himself held *mæchia* to be “*immundabile vitium*.” Now the only reason for which he dissuades from early Baptism, seems to me to be an horror of sin after baptism: and he particularly dissuades single persons, and young widows, as being most likely to yeild to carnal lust. The austere temper of a Montanist seems likely also to make a man dread any one’s *dying* without baptism, at the same time that it makes him dread baptizing: such inconsistencies are apt to attend excessive passions; not less those of a morose kind than any others.

We may here mention *Fidus*’s application to Cyprian, (who is placed in the year 248,) though
it

† Art. xvi. Sect. 11.—From Lardner’s Works, Vol. 9. page 489.

it is only the misrepresentation of it which has occasioned any difficulty. Fidus desired to be informed whether he might, in any case, baptize a child *before the eighth day*; the answer was, yes, if it be in *danger*; if there be *necessity*. This is represented as if no infant, even *after the eighth day*, was to be baptized except in cases of *necessity*.—Whereas Fidus had had no difficulty *after the eighth day*; he had baptized commonly; but the rite of circumcision, corresponding to Baptism, having been delayed till the eighth day, together with the objection or disgust which some might have to giving a very young child the Kiss of Peace, and other reasons, not very forcible, made him doubt, whether, even supposing there was some danger, he should baptize. Children though in danger, had not been circumcised, that he knew of, sooner than the eighth day.

6. *Augustin* lived about 200 years after *Tertullian*; he very *frequently* speaks of infant-baptism, though incidentally. And says, that he *never heard* of any “Christian, Catholic or Sectary, who taught any other doctrine but that Infants are to be baptized” [for pardon of sin].—The Pelagians (incidentally) allow the same*.—It seems strange, that neither they nor *Augustin* should ever have seen *Tertullian’s* Book de Baptismo. I do not see that *Wall* solves this difficulty. I can conceive, that *Tertullian* might not *occur* to *Augustin* when he made his assertion; and for this reason; because the ruling idea in *Augustin’s* mind was not infant-baptism, but the danger of suffering from original sin; about which danger *Tertullian* was no adversary.

7. The case of *Gregory of Nazianzum* is not free from difficulty. He says, in an Oration about
Baptism,

* Conference, page 48.

* *Ib.* page 48, 49.

Baptism, that if infants are out of all danger of dying, his *own* opinion is, that they should be baptized when they are about *three years* old. An opinion, as Wall remarks, “which would please neither the Pædobaptist nor Antipædobaptist.”—The Pædobaptist however sees, that the custom of baptizing infants, is here allowed, as a *fact*; and urges, that a child is no more capable of contracting when he is three years old, than when three weeks old. All objections of any force are against a child’s being baptized during what may be called its *minority* in religious matters. This is what occurs if we consider Gregory’s sentence by itself: but it should be considered with the context.

There is certainly something extraordinary in this private opinion of Gregory’s; something which has a *solution*, if one could but find it out.—The Oration is a forcible harangue against *deferring* baptism; the *pretences* for deferring it, are answered; and with regard to *children*, the preacher urges, Νηπιον εστι σοι; μη λαβεται καιρον η κακια, εκ βρεφους αγιασθητω, εξ ουυχων καθιερωθητω τω πνευματι:—and then he proposes to Mothers the example of *Hannah*, who made *Samuel* holy immediately, as soon as he was born, (γεννηθεντα ιερου ευθυσ ποιει): and immediately after delivering his notion about three years, he speaks of the sudden dangers to which an human being is subject, and advises securing infants against them by means of Baptism.—How is it then that this peculiar notion comes in amidst directions which seem inconsistent with it? Wall considers it as a compliment to the preacher’s Father^y; which, from certain circumstances, seems no groundless conjecture.—We know so little of the minutiae of Gregory’s History, that we seem unlikely to go farther than to see

^y Wall about *Cæsarius*, page 306, quarto.

see an *inconsistency*; from which one may venture to conclude, that the notion of three years had some *extraordinary* origin: that it was not a natural conception, agreeable to the scope of the discourse, not the genuine offspring of Gregory's unbiaſſed underſtanding^z.

To dwell on more particulars, would exceed our *limits*; I have laid before you every thing (as far as I know) that ſeems *againſt* the cuſtom of baptizing infants; the *historical authorities for* that cuſtom are too numerous and extenſive to be given: for them I muſt refer to Wall; I believe you may conclude all the numerous authorities which I have not mentioned, to be *in favour* of Infant-Baptiſm. In general, it may be mentioned, that infant-baptiſm was never ordered or enjoined by any *Council*; was never inſerted in any *Creed*; and that all eſtabliſhed *national Churches* have practiced it.—Peter *Bruis* (perhaps Bruce), a Frenchman, whoſe followers were called *Petrobruſſians*, is thought by Wall to have been (with one *Henry*) the firſt Antipædobaptiſt teacher who formed a *Church* about A. D. 1030. The German Anabaptiſts are placed in A. D. about 1420: theſe were mentioned formerly: if there was any continuation of doctrine from the Petrobruſſians to them, it was obſcure, and held by a few men. The aim of both was to *reform*: to improve religion, and make the Church of Chriſt perfect in practice as well as in theory.—The Anabaptiſts were ſlow in getting footing in *England*: Neal places their
firſt

^z *Robiſon* ſays, this Oration was delivered to an audience in which were many perſons *unbaptized*: that muſt be true; at leaſt there muſt have been enow to make it worth while to perſuade to Baptiſm: but yet by far the greateſt part of thoſe Parents who were themſelves baptized, might baptize their children in infancy. If Infant-Baptiſm was unuſual amongſt ſuch, Gregory could not have uſed the language he does.

first congregation or Church, in England, in the year 1640. Probably Cromwell found them of use, and encouraged them. Mr. *Tombs* is reckoned their best writer.

Servetus, who suffered death at Geneva in 1553, on the prosecution of Calvin, censured infant-baptism "with the utmost severity." (Mosh. Cent. 16. 3. 2. 4. 5.)

Here it may be proper to mention the subject of *Sponsors*. Suceptores, or Sponsors, have been used in Baptism for a great length of time; Bingham (11. 8. 1.) divides them into three sorts.

1. Those who answered for Infants.
2. Those who answered for infirm persons, unable to answer for themselves.
3. Those who attended at the Baptism of Adults, as *witneses*, and thereby received a commission to remind them of their baptismal vow.

In the Baptism of Adults, the Sponsors with us are used as witnesses only; and as persons authorized to remind the newly-baptized of his baptismal vow.—It does indeed seem improper that such a solemn act as Baptism, making such a change in a man's condition, should go unattested, or be left to casual testimony: and as reproof or advice to adults, though they constantly want it, is impertinent from those who have no authority to give it, there is an evident utility in the Church's commissioning some friend to suggest occasionally a friendly admonition, in spiritual affairs.

Wall shews that Sponsors were in use amongst the *Jews*, when they baptized Profelytes.—(See Part 2. 10. 17.)

I do not recollect whether the *Puritans* had any Sponsors:—In the Comedy called *the Puritan*, amongst Shakspeare's works, they are called "*Un-godmothered varlets.*"

And

And now, what is the *result* of the facts here stated?

1. Could they have happened on a supposition that Christians always baptized infants? or, that there never was a time, since Christianity was published, when some infants were not baptized? yes, they might:—the silence of Scripture, considering how very small its^a records are, is consistent with the practice: thousands must have been baptized at one age or other, whose baptism is never mentioned: more important events demanded the pen of the Historian, than the Baptism of the infant-children of those converts who had been themselves baptized.

2. Could the facts have been as we find them, supposing all Christians had been plainly and positively commanded, by written edict, to baptize their children in infancy? I think not. Neither Tertullian nor Gregory of Nazianzum would, in that case, have presumed to occasion any delay.

3. Are the facts consistent with the supposition, that all Christians might baptize infants if they pleased? yes; I see no marks of any prohibition, or discouragement.

4. Lastly, could the facts have been as we find them, supposing that as many Christians left infants unbaptized, as baptized them? I think not; the evidence shews the *majority* of those who baptized infants, to be very great.

On the whole, it is probable, that many parents, &c. baptized children, in all ages of the church; very many, in some: but that none were compelled to baptize them in any age.

In speaking of infant-baptism we have paid no
attention

^a In Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, we find several instances of events relating to the Apostles, which are not recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

attention to the difference between immersion and sprinkling; but as what was said before on sprinkling related to Baptism in general, or without regard to age, it must relate to all particular sorts of baptism.—Therefore we may content ourselves with observing, that there has been a *trine sprinkling*^b as well as a trine immersion; and that sprinkling may be more easily justified in baptizing Infants, than Adults; because immersion has an effect upon the feelings and sentiments of adults, but no mental effect upon Infants.

xv. I will here insert an observation or two on what may be called *irregular* Baptism; such as occasions a doubt whether a person shall be re-baptized.—We said something allied to this, under the twenty-third Article: and under the present, when describing the notions of Romish Church and the reformed churches. The subject is very copious, as any one finds, who reads Bingham's History of Lay-baptism.

Some ancient Christians used to re-baptize those persons, more than once, whose first baptism they themselves accounted valid; these were the most strictly Anabaptists: the Christians whom we call Anabaptists in modern times, baptize those over again who were baptized in infancy; but it is because they look upon infant-baptism as not valid. Hence they chuse to be called not Anabaptists, but *Baptists*.—The followers of Marcion used to baptize, in their own way, more than once: and we now see old people who wish to be *confirmed* repeatedly.—Wall says, he knows of no other ancient Christians besides the Marcionites who reiterated their own Baptism.—(Part 2. Chap. 5. Sect. 5.)

Irregularities

^b Wall, page 468, quarto.

Irregularities may arise from *place, time, matter,* &c. but those seem most attended to, which arise from the want of due qualifications in the *persons* who baptize. These may be inferior orders of Ministers, as Deacons; or the assistant Ministers mentioned Article xxv. Sect. v. Subdeacons, Readers, Acolythists, &c.—or degraded Priests, become Laymen; or confessed Laymen, or Women. The validity of Baptism may also become doubtful from its being administered by heretical Ministers, though that is because such are deemed no ministers at all^c.—In our own country, Midwives have been allowed to baptize, in cases of necessity: Neal^d gives us a Form of a Licence for that purpose, and says, with some surprize, that notwithstanding such licences were given, Bishop Whitgift affirmed, “that Baptism by Women and Lay-persons was not allowed by the Church.” The case was, that an ambiguous Rubric had divided the learned^e, and Whitgift probably spoke his real opinion.

As a full History of irregular Baptism would detain us too long, I must content myself with a few general remarks; the result, as it were, of History.

But we must distinguish between authorizing certain persons beforehand to perform any sacred act in certain extraordinary cases, and confirming acts on looking back upon them, which have not only been irregular, but have been performed without any previous authority. Acts authorized must be

^c Marcionites and Pepuzians are mentioned by Rogers, page 141, with reference to Epiphan. Hær. 52, in regard to Baptism by non-ministers.

^d See Hampton Court Conference in 1603.

^e See an account of this Rubric in Bingham's History of Lay-Baptism, Chap. 3. Sect. 5.—Works, Vol 2, page 567.

be confirmed, however irregular; but doubt may arise about a person having gone beyond what he was authorized to do. The greatest difficulty, however must arise in debating, 1. Whether any act is to be authorized; 2. When an unauthorized act is to be confirmed.

1. When we debate about authorizing certain persons to baptize in extraordinary cases, our inquiry must turn on this; which is the *least evil*; to let a man infringe the rights, and intrude into the province of the sacred ministry; or to let men die unbaptized, in original sin.—The Scotch Church is shocked at the idea of Women baptizing; the Directory forbids all private Baptism^f; if they feel no shock at the thoughts of an human being not becoming a Christian when he might, they act consistently; but ought they not to allow that others may be as much shocked at the latter evil as they are at the former? if a case is really one of necessity, there is no alternative but irregular baptism, or dying in a state of Heathenism chosen voluntarily.

2. When sacred acts have been performed without authority, people are apt to reason as if they could lay down rules for necessity: but necessity knows no law. Whoever acts in cases of necessity, according to the best of his judgment and with an honest intention, must act rightly; and what he does, ought to be confirmed. Men may dispute historically about Baptism in cases of necessity, in order to determine what has been done: but if

men

^f *Puller* says, “the Directory did forbid very uncharitably all private Baptism: notwithstanding most of its followers nowadays admit only private Baptisms.”—*Moderation of the Church of England*, London 1679, page 285.—The Directory was approved by the Assembly of Divines in 1645.—For the Scotch Church, see *Syntagma*, page 154, cap. 22.

men under necessity act bonâ fide for the best; if they return to rule as soon as they are able, and make what compensation they are able for damage arising from their acts; it signifies nothing to them what the Romanists, or what the Calvinists have settled; they are right; and those who annul their acts, are wrong.

3. But as disputes may arise about the effects of Baptism in cases of necessity, would it not be best to have some ordinance for admitting those, who have been irregularly baptized, to regular Baptism? such ordinance need not assert that the former baptism is invalid; but only say, that *if* it be so in any degree, there is now a completion given to it; we have such a Form in the Church of England when it is not sufficiently proved that private Baptism has been performed. Indeed the whole reception of one privately baptized into the Church, may be considered as a completion of an irregular baptism. And in our civil government, when a measure has been taken during a recess of Parliament, enjoined only by Proclamation, &c. I believe it is always confirmed by parliamentary authority at the ensuing Session^s.

xvi. If I have seemed too prolix on this History of Baptism, it must be considered that History here

^s Dr. Burn, under *Baptism*, says, from Bishop Fleetwood, that there has been no law in England to forbid, or invalidate *Lay-Baptism* in cases of necessity: he supposes it good, and understands that a person so baptized is not to be re-baptized.—After the Restoration he supposes there might be in Wales two or three hundred thousand persons who had received only Lay-baptism.

Neal gives (1661), as one of the things settled by the Commissioners for reviewing the Common Prayer, (page 612, quarto) —“ 10. Private Baptism is not to be administered but by a lawful Minister.” —History of Puritans, quarto, Vol. 2. page 614.

here answers two purposes; it not only relates facts, but it contains arguments. Besides, the History of Baptism has been, of late, in my opinion, much misrepresented; and in a manner likely to do harm. I mean by the late Mr. *Robinson*, Baptist teacher^h at Cambridge. It came in my way, on a formerⁱ occasion, to shew how he misrepresented Augustin; something of the same sort may be expected now. But, in truth, Wall has already answered him; and to see his misrepresentations, nothing more is needful than to look into a book to which he himself refers.—I have mentioned the cases of those who were baptized^k late in life, that of Cyprian^l with Fidus, of Tertullian^m, Augustin'sⁿ ignorance of Tertullian's advice; and the case of Gregory of Nazianzum^o; these are the strongest things against Infant-Baptism that I know of in Antiquity, and these are specimens sufficient. Let any one then who wishes to study the History of Baptism, compare Robinson's account of these, with Wall's; I desire nothing more. But what are we to think of a person who proposes, in an earnest way, arguments to which he himself has read complete answers?—I speak only to those who, with myself, think them undeniably such;—we must accuse no one of wilful falshood:—misrepresentation is indeed falshood; but there may be things

^h In the History of Baptism, quarto, London, 1790.

ⁱ Book III. Chap. XIV. Sect. XIV.

^k Robinson, page 218. 250.—Wall, 2. 3.—See also Bingham, 11. 4. 12.

^l Robinson, page 184. 193. partic. 195.—Mentioned page 219.—Wall, 1. 6. 1.

^m Robinson, Chap. 21.—Wall, 1. 4, 5.

ⁿ Robinson, page 218.—Wall, 1. 19. 17, page 174, quarto.

^o Robinson, page 249.—Wall, 1. 11. 1. &c.—One might compare what Wall and Robinson say about Pelagius: Wall, page 210. 218.—Or what they say about the Council of Milevis, in 310; Wall, page 197. 220.—Robinson, page 216.

things to make men think differently from ourselves, of which we have no conception: this however I may be permitted to say; that it is totally above my comprehension how any honest candid lover of truth, could use the arguments which Robinson has used, after reading what Wall has written. This is by no means denying Robinson the character of an honest man; for many conclusions of reason, and dictates of wisdom, may be above my comprehension. — I myself have a poor opinion of Robinson's reasoning powers; whether his understanding or his education may have been the cause, I know not; or a pursuit of eloquence; or an indignation at the prosperity of his adversaries; or any thing else. I suppose his verbiage, and his quotation, will keep him from contempt; but those who are able to see no farther than I am, if they allow him to be a man of good abilities, must read his great work, his elaborate History of Baptism, if a love of *Truth* be uppermost in their minds, with disgust and abhorrence^p.

You may say, I am prejudiced; I should certainly be more upon my guard against prejudice than I am, if I had ever had the least dislike, either to the man, or to his doctrines. I never heard the least harm of the man; and, though I prefer the practice of our Church, yet I think I could live upon terms of the most intimate friendship with one, who preferred the custom of delaying baptism to the age of maturity.

xvii. Our History then being finished, we come to *Explanation*.

“Baptism is not *only* a sign of profession,” &c. this is affirming the same of Baptism in particular,
which

^p See the conclusion of Wall's last Chapter but one.

which in Art. xxv. was affirmed of Sacraments in general. Saying it is “not only” a sign, implies that it *is* a sign; or that there ought to be something *external* in Baptism; contrary to the notion of the *Quakers*.

Our Church holds as “essential parts of Baptism,” Water, and the form given in Matt. xxviii. 19.—See Rubric, end of Private Baptism, or of receiving into the Church.

“It is also a sign of regeneration”—the term *regeneration* occurred in the ninth Article, and was there explained⁹. From what has been said under the present Article, it appears to be a term borrowed, or adopted, from the Jews (if not used by Heathens,) denoting what we call Baptism: Now a name of a thing consisting of Parts, is often taken from one part; so Baptism denotes the whole sacrament, though strictly it be only the name of the external washing; and in like manner *Regeneration*, amongst the ancients especially, denotes the whole sacrament, though strictly it be only the name of the internal benefit¹⁰, or improvement; the “spiritual grace;” that is the favour, or benefit accruing to the *mind* or *spirit*; in this life or the next; which benefit may always be ascribed, with humble gratitude, in an indefinite manner, to God’s *Holy Spirit*.—Nor is it inconsistent with this, to understand the Spirit, in the Sacrament of Baptism, as the *meaning*¹¹ of the outward sign, and as explained by being opposed, or contradistinguished to the visible sign—The meaning of the sign is
the

⁹ Art. ix. Sect. xxiv.

¹⁰ An instance of the general observation here made, was explained Art. iii. Sect. iii.

¹¹ See Dr. Balguy’s last charge, page 302.—Also Art. xxv. Sect. ii.

the spiritual benefit annexed to it: all the expressions seem to come to the same thing.

“Whereby”—per quod, by which *sign*, the promises of God are sealed, &c. or, in one word, regeneration is enacted, executed, sealed.

“As by an *instrument*”—I know not, that any explanation of this word instrument is wanted: it signifies means, or a deed: here it is the means of grafting and of signing and sealing.

The particulars which follow, seem to be component parts of *regeneration*: if so, we have, in this Article, the notion of the Church of England, of Regeneration, given by itself: which, to the members of our Church, is an authentic definition. The first part, or ingredient, of Regeneration, is being admitted into the Society of Christians, or “*grafted into the Church,*” — the Catholic church.—The second is, remission of sins committed before baptism, or afterwards, upon repentance: or a promise “Of the *forgiveness* of Sin.”—The third is, *adoption* as “Sons of God, by the Holy Ghost.”—The fourth is a confirmation of *Faith*; the fifth an increase of *Grace*, or of such holy, pious, virtuous dispositions and principles, as are most particularly to be ascribed to the divine assistance.—Indeed *Faith* was shewn, under the tenth Article, to be rightly ascribed to God’s Holy Spirit.

We might here ask, whether John Wesley’s conception of Regeneration is the same with that set forth by the Church of which he professed himself to be a Member, the Church of England?—His Regeneration is subsequent to Baptism; which makes his Brother say, that with him “Baptism
was

† Art. x. xxxvi.

was nothing^u.”—If it was not more than a mere “sign of profession” his idea of Baptism must be contrary to that of our Church.

Adoption “by the *Holy Ghost*,”—is a reference to *Scripture*.—See Rom. viii. 14. 16. but that may occur better in our Proof.

“By virtue of *prayer*”—this is *true*, but is it not making Prayer essential to Baptism? In the Reformatio Legum there is the same idea^z;—Verbo Dei quod intercedit, &c.—erudiuntur fideles, &c.

“*Young children*,” parvulorum: this seems definite enough: but the age of the Infants here spoken of, seems still farther defined by the Rubrics of our Office for baptizing Adults. From them it appears, that a person may be baptized as a child, who happens not to have been “baptized in his Infancy.” Indeed this Office for Adults is comparatively modern, having been made in the year 1661, after the Restoration, in order that any who had been brought up Quakers or Baptists, might, if they pleased, be received into the established Church: and with a view^y to Missionaries: But the divines who composed it must be considered as very able expofitors of the Church’s meaning and intention.

“In any wise,” rather obsolete; the Latin, however, is *Omnino*.

XVIII. “To be retained in the Church;”—that is, not given up. This expression seems free from austerity and preciseness. A rite may be retained in a Church, even though every one be not compelled

^u Samuel Wesley, after Mr. Hutton; see Wesley’s Letters, page 72.—See also page 116. 65. 70.—Wall contends, that the word Regeneration is “never used by the Ancients but when they speak of Baptism,” page 354. 520.

^x De Hæresibus, cap. 17.

^y See Preface to the Common Prayer-book made in 1661.—Also Wheatly on the Common Prayer, octavo, page 31.

pelled to use it. And the declaration is easy and liberal with regard to the particular circumstances of Infant-baptism, as age, &c.—Our office for public Baptism of Infants speaks the same liberal language; the Sponsors are exhorted to believe that God favourably *alloweth* Infant-baptism; which plainly acknowledges an imperfection in it: it is called a “*charitable work*,” and so distinguished from an indispensable duty of a kind perfectly determinate. The next expression of the Article is in the same spirit.

“As most agreeable with the Institution of Christ:” there is more latitude in doing anything as suitable to an institution, than as enjoined by positive command: in the former case, you may reason from analogy, follow your common sense, and feelings; in the latter case, you only obey orders; you do not think for yourself.

Dr. *Priestley* (*Hist. Corr. Vol. 2, page 93.*) seems to think our Church not very candid; at least, he represents it as saying in its public forms, “that Baptism is *necessary* for Salvation.”—Perhaps the office to which he alludes, may be that for the Baptism of Adults; in which, the Exhortation, after the Gospel, does say something very like it: yet it clearly excepts extraordinary cases, by the words, “*where it may be had*:” so our catechism; “*generally necessary* to Salvation.”

Our Church is certainly against all *neglect* of Baptism; the exhortation to Adults consists chiefly of practical scriptural exhortations to Baptism, and scriptural reasons for them. It does not enter into speculations.—Moreover, our Church takes no part in the question about Infants dying unbaptized, (except so as not to *bury*: *Wall, page 377.*) though it pronounces (Rubric, end of Private Baptism) those to be “undoubtedly saved” which

die baptized: a sentence in which ancient Christians were unanimous. In such a case, what can hinder Salvation? The truth is, that we hold the necessity of Baptism as *Agents*, but not as *Judges*.—We think, that we do not do our part if we neglect what seems ordinarily a means of Salvation; and we think it the *preferable* measure to procure good for *children*, as far as lies in our power; in things spiritual as well as temporal: But we judge no one. Three heads of our Church have published this opinion.—Archbishop Whitgift, Archbishop Laud, and Archbishop Secker: [See Wall, 2. 6. 8, page 377.—And Secker's thirty-fifth Lecture, near the end.]

XIX. Let us now come to our *Proof*.

There seem to be seven propositions in our Article, and one more seems wanted, in order to justify the modern practice of partial immersion, or *sprinkling*, or pouring, which prevails in our Western Church.

1. Baptism implies an *external* ceremony.
2. It is the instrument by which men are *grafted* into the Church of Christ.
3. It marks God's promise of *forgiveness* of sins.
4. It marks God's promise of *adopting* us for Sons.
5. It confirms our *Faith*.
6. It increases *Grace*.
7. *Sprinkling*, or pouring, is not unlawful, when used instead of immersion; (especially in Infant-baptism.)
8. Baptizing *infants*, is to be *preferred* to leaving them unbaptized till they are able to answer for themselves.

We need only undertake here to give *sufficient* proofs, not such as might be given by those who made the subject of Baptism a separate study.

xx. Baptism

xx. Baptism has an *external* part, or contains an external ceremony, in which *water* is used.

This seems sufficiently clear from the word Βαπτισμα, which signifies to *wash*.—We may consult Matt. xxviii. 19.—John iv. 1.—When a person is said to do a thing *more* than another, the thing must be of the same nature in both cases. Now John's Baptism was confessedly by water.—The Minister of the Æthiopian^z Queen waits for Baptism till some water appears.—*Cornelius's* Baptism depends on water; “can any man forbid water,” says the Apostle, “that these should not be^a baptized?”—The Quaker's Baptism, by the Holy Ghost, was just over.—More passages will occur under the following propositions.

xxi. Baptism is the Instrument by which men are *grafted* into the Church of Christ.—This may appear from the texts already quoted, as they all shew, that the end of baptizing, was to make men *Disciples*. Μαθητευσατε παντα εθνη, means make *Disciples* (μαθητας)^b of all nations; the two cases above-mentioned are plain. We may add 1 Cor. xii. 13.—Gal. iii. 27.

It will follow from this proposition, that all benefits which arise on any man's becoming a Christian, may be spoken of as accompanying Baptism.

xxii. Baptism marks the divine promises of *Forgiveness* of Sins.—Acts ii. 38.—xiii. 38.—xxii. 16.—Eph. i. 7.—Col. i. 14.

xxiii. Baptism marks the divine promises of *adopting* us as his Sons.—Rom. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17. (here the *Holy Spirit* is mentioned.)—Gal. iii. 26, 27.—Gal. iv. 5.—Eph. i. 5.

xxiv. By

^z Acts viii. 36.

^a Acts x. 47.

^b See Wall, Introd. Sect. 5. and page 13, quarto, or i. 2. 6. —Also page 519.—Conference, page 15. 28.

XXIV. By Baptism our *Faith* is confirmed.—It must be so, in the natural course of things. You cannot take a measure proposed for your good, by those who have a power of promoting it, without feeling your confidence strengthened. Whatever seals promises, must confirm faith. Any person, by enlisting himself in the service of *Christ*, and receiving promises made on his account, must feel a greater Faith in *Christ*.—It has been just now observed, that such Faith may, on scriptural authority, be referred to the agency of God's *Holy Spirit*; according to Gal. v. 22.—if therefore we receive the *Holy Spirit* through Baptism, we strengthen *Faith*.

XXV. By Baptism our *Grace* is increased.—This, in the language of our Church, means, good dispositions and principles; as in 2 Pet. end.—It is inconceivable that good dispositions should not be increased by any worthy receiver of Baptism. A solemn act of self-dedication to a religious society; to a society carried on under the immediate protection of Heaven itself; for the institution of which all mankind had been in a course of preparation from the beginning of the world; for which the greatest things had been done, the greatest evils suffered; such a solemn act must correct, regulate, meliorate, the heart and principles, if anything can. Conceive the amendment of the heart and actions to be ascribed to the *Holy Spirit*, and then study the expressions of *Scripture*.—John iii. 5.—Rom. vi. 4.—1 Cor vi. 11.—Eph. iv. 22, 23, 24.—Eph. v. 26, 27.—Col. ii. 10, 11, 12.—Titus iii. 5.—Heb. x. 22.—1 Pet. iii. 21.—The proof of this proposition shews, that Baptism is “*not only* a sign of Profession,” &c. but a sign of a spiritual good also.

The

The metaphor of *putting on*, used in the texts, arises from dressing after Baptism; it seems connected with the ceremony of the *white garment*; nay, was probably the cause of that ceremony.—The metaphor of being *buried*, was probably the effect of the custom of immersion.—Men were as it were buried in the water, and rose again to newness of life; or new birth.—All *renewing* is supposed to take place on the change made at Baptism; the idea is that of new birth, varied a little in the expression. And Col. ii. 11. should be remarked, as justifying our reasoning by Analogy from Circumcision to Baptism.—Whence we may apply Rom. ii. 28, 29.—These metaphors must not be *confounded*; but each may be used. And being aware of them is a great help to understanding some passages of scripture.

We have now gone through the several parts of Baptism, external and internal; only two propositions remain, which regard the *manner* of it, and the circumstances which sometimes attend it.

xxvi. Though Baptism was at first administered by total immersion, its validity is not destroyed, if safety or great convenience, requires its being administered by *affusion*.—The *mode* of performing an *emblematical* ceremony, as was before observed, cannot well be a thing of the last importance.—The word βαπτίζω does not imply total immersion^d only: and if it did, we seem in such a case, to be at liberty to consult our *safety*, from Matt. ix. 13. and xii. 7.—or even our great convenience: it signifies to *wash*: βρῶν signifies a *spot*: a spot is partial; conceive first that the Jews used to wash their hands by having water *poured* upon them, and then read, in the Greek, Luke xi. 38. read also Mark vii. 4.—Heb. ix. 10.—Besides
what

^c Sect. iv. v.

^d Wall, page 433, quarto.

what we call baptizing, is not always expressed by βαπτίζω, but sometimes by λουω, which is certainly used for ordinary washing; generally of the whole body; but not always: Acts xvi. 33. could not be total immersion:—See Eph. v. 26.—Titus iii. 5. in the *Greek*.

Archbishop Secker introduces Isaiah lii. 15.—Ezek. xxxvi. 25. and some other passages which mention sprinkling^f; but the word sprinkling in Heb. x. 22. does not seem to me to mean the external part of baptism, but the internal, metaphorically^g; the external being expressed by the following words; “and our *Bodies* washed with pure *water*.”

In general, I have felt some reluctance to admit the passages cited by Archbishop Secker in support of sprinkling in Baptism. There are various sprinklings enjoined in the Law of Moses, as those with ashes, water, oil, blood; and with some mixtures, such as ashes and water; blood and hyssop, &c.—and some of these are alluded to in the New Testament; but I feel unwilling to apply to the external part of Baptism any allusions to the sprinkling of *Blood*; they seem more applicable either to purifying the *Heart*, or to the death of Christ, and the Doctrine of Atonement. If there were, in the *New Testament*, allusions to the sprinklings with *water*, I should be willing to adopt them; and I think

^e Properly, ἵπτω signifies to wash *hands*; (sometimes to wash feet):—πλυνω—to wash *cloaths*; λουω—to wash the whole body.—Βαπτω does not, I fancy, make one feel, so strongly as the others, the idea of aiming at cleanness; only as cleanness comes of *course* from immersion: but it seems applicable to a greater number of things than the others.

^f 35th Lecture on Catechism, page 226.

^g The sprinkling corresponds to those sprinklings which were intended to *purify*, (see Lev. viii. 15.—Heb. ix. 18–22). these were made with *blood*.

think the Prophecies, Is. lii. 15. and Ezek. xxxvi. 25. may be applicable; but I do not recollect any allusions to sprinklings with water: Heb. x. 22. may seem to be one, as blood is not mentioned; but of that I have spoken.—Nevertheless there certainly are, in the *old* Testament emblematical purifications by water, both in the way of bathing and sprinkling^b; and as that is the case, there seems some degree of scriptural authority for our using both methods in our sacramental cleansings: the case is such as to admit of all kinds of arguments and authorities: especially as it is not easy to understand how some baptisms mentioned in the New Testament, could be performed by total immersion¹.

XXVII. Baptizing *Infants* is *preferable* to leaving them unbaptized till they are of age to answer for themselves.

1. This seems to follow from reason, and from the principles of natural law^k already mentioned: if an Infant was enabled to judge for himself, a Christian, (and it is of Christians we speak), must conclude, that he would chuse to be admitted into Christianity.—One good effect of Infant-baptism is, that it precludes the painful question, ‘when shall I be baptized?’ and prevents that procrastination which Gregory of Nazianzum laboured so much to prevent. One may conceive a young person to *delay* baptism, sometimes through fear and scruple, sometimes deferring it to a “convenient season” with a view of enjoying an illicit gratification a little

^b Numb. xix. 19—21. and “diverse washings,” Heb. ix. 10. (*διαφοροι βαπτισμοις*;) seem to include both sorts: will not our *βαπτισμα* therefore allow of both sorts, bathing and sprinkling?

¹ Secker’s Lect. 35, page 227.

^k Sect. xi. beginning.

little and a little longer.—And why should not infants enjoy the benefits of Christian society, as well as worldly rank and property? Those who refuse them the privilege, mean well; but they act like a formal and precise, though well-meaning servant, who would stand still and be useless, though much wanted, rather than do any thing which his Master had not *ordered* him to do.

2. The Religion of *Moses* obviates the great objection to our plan, which is, that an Infant cannot enter into a Covenant. Whereas circumcision admitted children into the Old Covenant by Divine Appointment¹.

3. The practice of the first teachers of Christianity seems to me, upon the whole, to be much in favour of Infant-baptism. I should imagine with the learned Lightfoot^m, that as the Jews usually baptized the children of Profelytes, they would, when they went out to be baptized by *John*, take their young children to be baptized with them. This is not mentioned, but the baptism of children seems to be taken for *granted* in scripture, as are moralⁿ duties of the greatest importance.—When we have not words to judge by, we must judge by actions or customs. As the children of converts to Judaism were always baptized, the order to convert and baptize all nations, would, of course, be understood^o to include children.—Suppose the order had been, ‘go ye and *circumcise* all nations;’—would not the circumcision of children have been included?—If one of our *Baptist* congregations was to send out a Minister, with the commission,

¹ Deut. xxix. 10, 11, 12. with Gen. xvii. 12, 13. and Lev. xii. 3.

^m Horæ Hebr. on Matt. iii.—See Wall’s Introd page lvi.

ⁿ Dr. Balguy, page 87, beginning of 6th Discourse.

^o Wall’s Introd. page xlvi. and lvi.—Conference, page 28, 29.

commission, 'Go and baptize the Indians or Gentoos,' I should think he grossly perverted his commission if he baptized children. But if one was sent from the Church of *England* with the same commission, 'Go and baptize the Gentoos,' I should think he grossly neglected his commission if he did *not* baptize children. When a custom was once settled, which the sollicitude of parents would strongly impel them to continue, not to check such a custom was, in a manner, to encourage it, and give it a sanction.—And such a custom prevailing, it is difficult to conceive that *Households* would be baptized, and the children omitted.

4. Besides the practice of the first publishers of Christianity, thus gathered, there is a particular passage, or perhaps two, of the New Testament worth considering.

1 Cor. vii. 14. shews, that if *either* parent of a child was a Christian, the child might be brought up a Christian, and called *holy*, or of the peculiar^p people of God: Christians have often in Scripture the name of *Saints*, or *Sancti*. Now Wall contends, that *holy*, ἅγιος, means, or implies *baptized*; and this he seems to support^q with great force of argument.

Mr.

^p Locke on the place.

^q Wall, quarto, page 67. 99. 175.—Conference, page 40, &c. — 46. &c.—The idea seems to be this:—'I (Paul) am now giving you prudential advice of my *own* (ver. 12.);—do not leave your husband (or wife) because he is an Heathen; for the *fact* is, it hath often happened, that the Christian wife hath converted her Heathen husband, so that the man hath been baptized (ἡγιασται), or *sanctified* (a word often used for Baptized) through his wife; and vice versâ.—Besides, if you leave your husband, what will become of your *children*? live together, and though he continue a Heathen, you may prevail upon him to let your children be brought up Christians: (or *made saints*, sancti).' Now no one, says Wall, is called *Saint*,

Mr. Locke's expression is as if the child must be a Christian^r if born of Christian parents; but he only takes the Baptism for *granted*: he only compares Christians with Jews; (see his Note) and though a child might, in some sense, be said to be a Jew born, all things being supposed to go on regularly in their ordinary course; yet circumcision, was, in strictness, necessary to make a Jew; and so Baptism, to make a Christian. As Mr. Locke took the Baptism for granted, so might St. Paul.

I will only farther mention, Mark x. 14. or the the four verses which make the *Gospel* in our office for the Baptism of Infants.—“They brought young children to Christ” — perhaps an Antipædo-baptist would say, why did he not baptize them? Because their parents did not bring them for that purpose; the parents were not yet Christians; Jesus was not a professed *Baptist*; perhaps his Disciples might afterwards baptize some of these. Whatever argument this scripture may be for the Baptism of Infants, it shews plainly how eager parents were, at the time, to gain every spiritual benefit for their young children. They desired that their children might be^s *touchèd* by an Holy Man; not thinking he would take them up in his arms.—

From

or holy, who was not *baptized*.—How can we conceive that a child, whose Father was an Heathen, and mother a Christian, could be made a Christian any *other* way but by being baptized? — Gal. iii. 27.—Augustin says, (see Wall, page 175.) that whatever is meant by the text, no one can be made a Christian without the *Sacraments*.

^r This may be the ground of the Socinian notion: see Sect. ix. but if our reasoning here is just, that notion is not to be admitted; it is to be considered as unscriptural, if not dangerous: and as probably arising from prejudice against the doctrine of the Trinity.

^s Compare touching for the King's evil.—Woman touching the hem of Christ's garment.

It appears from the accounts of the other Evangelists, that Christ took a child in his arms as an *emblem* of innocence, in order to teach his Disciples how simple and free from guile they ought to be; children in *malice**, though men in understanding: but St. Mark's account gives more idea of our Saviour's attending to the children *themselves*: why might not our Lord *both* feel a kind concern for the children, and take occasion from them to inculcate godly sincerity and simplicity? if his feelings were lively, his moral would be strong.—He admitted them to no *covenant*, but he *blessed* them affectionately; holding them in his arms: his benediction, surely, must be some *spiritual* good.—My reason dare scarcely make an argument from this interesting scene; but, when I contemplate it, I always wish myself a painter, that I might give a lasting representation of it. What an attitude might not that of Jesus be! what a countenance! looking down, with a mild and gracious benevolence, on the Infant in his Arms! expressing a deep knowledge of what was in man! other children of different ages and characters, grouped in various employments; the officious Disciples, with ill-grounded apprehensions, and needless importance, endeavouring to disperse them; the mother of the child in our Saviour's arms, near him, expressing, as one principal figure, in her face and gesture, suspense and hope, not without some degree of fear; joy, refined and meliorated with parental affection and piety: other parents; some mildly triumphing in the benediction already received, others gently pressing forward to attain it. — Though reason may scruple to draw an argument from this scene, yet who that performs
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* 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

the ceremony of Baptism, does not feel its efficacy? the Infant in one's arms excites a sentiment of tenderness; the Gospel has been just read; the ceremony becomes, to the Imagination, an Imitation of the^u benevolence of him who appointed it: and then this Scripture pleads to the *heart*, more forcibly than any coarse audible eloquence; it even convinces more intimately than the logic of any precise reasoners, who, by too great stiffness in adhering to what is minutely right, are often found substantially in the wrong.

xxviii. We here close our direct proof: let us see whether any *objections* occur, of weight enough to induce us to dwell upon them.

Objections may come from *Quakers* (ancient or modern), or from *Baptists*.

With regard to *Water-baptism*, we have only such objections as are made by those whom I call ancient Quakers, the Ascodrutæ, &c. and by the Quakers of modern times.

The ancient Heretics would have our religion to be intirely *spiritual*; but can we throw off our earthly tabernacle in this life? are not our minds affected by means of our senses? are not the generality of men affected chiefly by their means? nay, amongst those who reflect, are not ideas of reflexion allowed to have their first origin in sensation^x?—And can Christians set aside matter, one of whose peculiar articles of Faith, is, the Resurrection of the Body?

xxix The modern Quakers produce passages of Scripture in support of their spiritual notions; but without a sound interpretation: when they have seemed to follow Scripture, it has been because

^u “ This *charitable* work of ours.”

^x Locke on the Human Understanding.—Book 2. Chap. 6. and Chap. 1. Sect. 3. 24.

because they took it in a *literal* sense; which is apt to strike the *people*, though often grossly wrong; so wrong as to be universally thought so, in a little time. Wall, apologizing^y for Irenæus's book against early Heresies, and for writers who were obliged to confute "such idle and enthusiastick stuff as seems to us not to deserve three words;" adds, "So any book written now in answer to the reasonings of the *Quakers*, &c. will, in the next age, seem to be the work of a man that had little to do^z." Such books however have been written, by *Bennet* and Charles *Leslie*: and to them I will refer you: contenting myself with a short specimen. St. Paul, exhorting to unity, says^a, "there is one Lord, one Faith, *one Baptism*:" how then, says *Barclay*, can there be *two* Baptisms?—one by water, another spiritual?—This argument is not mentioned by *Barclay* in passing, but it is insisted on^b: yet to say, there is only one Baptism, therefore it has no water; seems the same thing as to say, one thing is never composed of *Parts*; the King of England is but one *man*, therefore he has no *Body*, or he has no *Soul*. That is but one *tree*, therefore it has no *root*, or it has no *branches*.

Several

^y Page 43, quarto.

^z I would not be thought so far to adopt the observation of Wall as to say, that any one may at first sight, perceive the fallacy of *all* the arguments of the *Quakers*; they have by some been thought perplexing, even when not convincing.—Mr. E. told me once, coming from one of my Lectures, that he had been in more danger from *Barclay's* Apology, than from any Book written against our Religion.—And Rev. John Norris, of Bemerton near Salisbury, who died in 1711, said, "that he would rather encounter ten Cardinal Bellarmines, than one David Barclay."—So the Newspaper says; but without referring to the part of Mr. Norris's works where the saying is to be found.

^a Eph. iv. 5.

^b Barclay's Apology, Prop. 12. Sect. 3.

Several arguments of the Quakers turning upon *one form* of expreffion, it may be mentioned;—I mean the fcriptural negative form of *comparifon*: fuch as we find 1 Cor. i. 17. and 1 Pet. iii. 21.—“Chrift fent me *not* to baptize, *but* to preach the Gospel Baptifm”—“*not* the putting away of the filth of the flefh, *but* the answer of a good confcience,” &c.—But there are a multitude of fuch comparifons; fee Matt. ix. 13. and Col. iii. 2.—One might add, Matt. vi. 19, 20. and xxv. 33. and 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. according to Fordyce.—And, according to Archbishop Sharp, Matt. xii. 31^e.—Who will make all thefe to be abfolute negatives?—if not all, why the two firft?

xxx. But, to drop the enemies to Water-baptifm, as our Church holds^d it effential to Baptifm, that a perfon be baptized “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghof,” it may be proper to mention an objection of the *Baptiffts*; that, in the Acts of the Apoftles, converts are fometimes^e faid to be baptized in the name, or *into* the name of *Chrift*, or of *the Lord*.—But this feems to mean only admiffion into *Chriftianity*, by Baptifm; it might be, in the ufual form. Baptifm in the name of *Chrift*, feems contradiftinguifhed to the Baptifm of *John*; or of the *Jews*; or to Heathenifm: fuch an expreffion would not preclude the farther inquiry, by what *Form* was fuch a perfon baptized into the name of Chrift? probably, by the ufual form^f. For the expreffion,

the

^e Art. xvi. Sect. iv.

^d Rubric to private Baptifm, at the end; already mentioned, Sect. xvii.

^e See Acts ii. 38.—viii. 16.—x. 48.—xix. 5.—P. S. See Wall. page 435, quarto.

^f This may be right reasoning, though fome ancient Chriftians did fometimes baptize in the name of *Chrift* inftead of baptizing in the form prefcribed, Matt. xxviii. 19. they might mifunderftand

the *name* of Christ, we should read Acts iv. 12. which was introduced into our eighteenth Article.—There is no other *name* under Heaven whereby men may be saved, but that of Christ; the names of *Moloch*, Remphan, &c. are insufficient and impotent.—When we were accustomed to this language, being baptized into the *name* of Christ, would only convey the idea of *becoming* Christians, without implying any particular form^g.

With regard to *Infant-baptism*, several objections have already occurred: I will therefore now mention only two.

xxxI. If infants are to receive one sacrament, why not *both*?—it used to be a custom, for many centuries, to give Infants the Lord's supper; nay, it is now with the Greeks, and with "near half the Christians in the world^h."—But to make them *Members* of Christ, was more necessary on account of original sin, than to make them go through a ceremony in *commemoration* of his death.—Those who receive the Lord's Supper, renew their baptismal vow, broken by actual sin; but Infants have committed none, and it may be doubted whether, regularly,

misunderstand Acts xix. 5.—See Art. 1. Sect. xviii. Vol. 2. page 273.

^g Gal. iii. 27. "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ."

Acts xix. 2.—Some persons at Ephesus told St. Paul, that they had not heard of the *Holy Ghost*; he immediately asked, "unto what were ye then *baptized*?" does not this seem to imply, that if they had been baptized as Christians, they must have heard of the Holy Ghost? that is, they must have been baptized according to Matt. xxviii. 19.

^h Wall, page 517, 4to. or 2. 9. 17. He adds, that probably the Western Church would have continued the practice, had it not been for the Doctrine of Transubstantiation: this may be just, though Sir Edwin Sandys says, that the Greeks hold Transubstantiation.—Speculum Europæ, page 233.—But see farther Art. xxx. Sect. 111.

regularly, *Confirmation* should not precede a partaking of the Lord's Supper. We have reasoned from the Jewish to the Christian law: amongst the Jews, children were initiated by circumcision, but did not partake of the Paschal supper, which is analogous to the Lord's supper with us; so at least it is supposedⁱ.—Infants cannot receive in remembrance of Christ.—But if any church is, at last, of opinion, that Infants ought to have the Lord's Supper; let such give it them: our reasoning in favour of Infant-baptism remains unaffected.

xxxii. Baptism consists of two parts, external and internal; persons baptized are accordingly said to be born again of water and the spirit^k.—Children may be born of water, but how of the *Spirit*? how can their Faith be confirmed, or their grace increased? It does not seem necessary that all the benefits of Baptism should belong to every person baptized; it is enough if the Sacrament has both an external and an internal part. An infant cannot have faith^l, or good principles; but it may be "*grafted into the Church*" and *adopted*; and it may even have *forgiveness*, though not of actual sin; it may have remission of the penalties inflicted on the human^m race. Our Saviour was baptized; but he who knew no sin, of any kind, could have no forgiveness. He who was, from the first the Son of God, could not receive *adoption*.

xxxiii. Here

ⁱ Exod. xii. 26. does not prove this:—Bingham quotes it, 15. 4. 7. end, and gives some reasons.—Wall, at the end of Chap. 9. (Part 2.) mentions the Passover twice; as understood not to be for children: but quotes no text.

^k John iii. 5.

^l The Lutherans allow them Faith; and the Pelagians used to ascribe to them actual Sin, in order to avoid original.

^m This may seem less strange or harsh to those who have considered what was said under the ninth Article.

XXXIII. Here we put an end to our Proof, direct and indirect; and therefore proceed to our *Application*. I have been in doubt whether a new Form of Assent is wanted, and have tried one; but on the whole, I do not think it worth while to detain you by giving it here.—We come therefore to mutual *concessions*.

XXXIV. Here, again, we have to deal with *Quakers* and *Baptists*.

Concessions to Quakers, of the ancient or modern sort, we have none to make.—Nor to the Socinians: some Baptism we think clearly appointed in the scriptures; but, at the same time we disclaim all judging of our Brother; “to his ownⁿ Master he standeth or falleth.”

XXXV. As to *Baptists*, they differ from us, both with regard to *sprinkling*, and to baptizing *Infants*. But if they agree with us in other things, there seems nothing in these, which need hinder us from uniting.—At some^o times the Baptists have professed to think, on most subjects, with the Church of England: but sects are apt to veer about “with every wind of Doctrine^p” (preventing which, is one great good of an established church):—the Socinians are now labouring to unite^q all sects of Dissenters against our National Church: an union which could answer no *religious* purpose. It is indeed ridiculous to think of the Baptists and Socinians favouring each other, merely because they both oppose Infant-Baptism, when they do it from principles so different, that they should rather dispute than unite; one holding Baptism to
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ⁿ Secker's Lectures, Lect. 35. near the end.—Rom. xiv. 4.

^o Wall, page 551.

^p Eph. iv. 14.

^q See Dr. Priestley's Address to the Methodists, prefixed to Wesley's Letters.

be necessary, the other to be unnecessary.—But as to immersion and sprinkling, a Baptist need not quit the Church of England; because according to our Rubrics, I do not see how a Priest could refuse immersion if it were required. Our Fonts have indeed grown less and less suited to dipping, but that surely is not to be mentioned in arguing about Doctrines.

Nay our baptizing *Infants* does not seem to lay the Baptist under an absolute necessity of separating from us. Suppose a Baptist was to try the experiment: would he be compelled to bring his *children* to Baptism? does not our Church provide for baptizing at any age?—But if a Baptist was called upon to subscribe to our xxxix Articles, could he subscribe to our present Article?—to every part of it, except the last clause, Baptists *have* subscribed.—But the clause, “the Baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church;” —could he subscribe to that?—if he could not, it might be altered; ‘the Baptism of young children is to be *permitted* to those who prefer it,’ would do as well for our church.—But some might be contented with this sense; ‘I desire and wish that the Baptism of young children may be “*retained in the church,*” and I think it ought to be, in order that those who think it their duty to bring their children to Baptism, may not be deprived of an opportunity:’ but on the other hand, ‘as I think it right to afford my Christian brethren, who differ from me, an opportunity of baptizing in their
own

† I do not see that he would, by the *Canons*.—Burn mentions an Act of 3 Jac. ordering the children of *Pepish* Recufants to be baptized within a month.

§ Wall, page 551.

own way, I hope they will grant me the same Liberty.'

Limborch is of opinion, probably after *Grotius*, that all Christians might, consistently with the Scriptures, follow their own notions with regard to the manner and circumstances of Baptism; including in these, the age of the person baptized.^c—But he thinks, of course, that Infant-baptism ought to be deemed *valid*, and therefore he blames the Anabaptists for re-baptizing. And he thinks infant-baptism valid, not only because every one should have liberty, in such a case, to act as he pleases; but because it is agreeable to the *Genius* of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ.—An expression not unlike the concluding one of our Article^d.

Dr. Priestley^e concludes his History of Baptism with giving his opinion, that those who are called *rational Dissenters* baptize children more from the influence of settled *custom*, and through a desire of avoiding all disturbance, than from any fixed persuasion that they are under an obligation to baptize them.

Even Mr. *Tombs*^f, the best, as well as the most candid, of the Baptist-writers, who continued an Antipædobaptist all his Life, wrote against separation from the Church, and “continued in communion with the Church, till he died.”

What

^c *Limborch*, Theol. Christ. 5. 68. 25.—Wall somewhere says, that *Grotius* was the first who represented it as a matter of *indifference* whether a man was baptized in infancy, or his Baptism delayed.—He blames *Grotius* as *disingenuous*.

^d *Limborch*, Theol. 5. 69. 9.—“*Doctrinæ Jesu Christi genio optimè convenire.*”

^e Hist. Corr. 2. page 94. There is afterwards an *Appendix*, to both Sacraments.

^f Wall, page 454.—Also 429, 430. 528.—See also 2. 2. 15.

What greater encouragements to Unity can be had?

xxxvi. I have frequently finished my Application with some hints of *Improvement*; but none occur to me at present, except such as the preceding remarks cannot fail to suggest.



ARTICLE XXVIII.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: inasmuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation, (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

I. The *History* of this Article might be made very extensive; but I will endeavour to confine myself to such incidents as seem likely to be most useful.—As all incidents are built upon the scriptural

tural account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper, it will be proper to give that, before we proceed; in full, or in substance. All the passages of Scripture which mention it, might be soon read; but that account which is contained in our Prayer of Consecration, and makes a kind of *harmony*, seems sufficient.—“In the same night that he was betrayed,” &c.—The things principally to be noticed are the metaphorical expressions: But we should not suffer ourselves to be hindered by the familiarity and commonness of the sounds, from observing, how strange a thing it is to be commanded to eat the flesh of our teacher and Lord^a; and how much more strange to be commanded to drink his Blood; though it were only in an emblematical way: especially considering, that the persons who first received the command, were Jews, to whom tasting blood was prohibited.—This strangeness will naturally make us go back to the Old Testament in order to see the nature of the Jewish Sacrifices, to which allusion is made: *sin-offerings*^b, *peace-offerings*, *Passover*.

The *sin-offering*; *blood, shed, sprinkled*, called the blood of the *Covenant*.—Loaf *broken*, part *given* to God (or his Priest); Animal *broken*, or divided into pieces.—The *Peace-offering*; for benefits past, or future; “in remembrance” of Mercies.—Animal partly *given*, partly made into a *feast*, eaten with

^a This command does appear (take, eat, this is my Body) independently of John vi.—though when I read that Chapter as *prophetical*, and consider what Bishop *Cleaver* says of the Analogy between John iii. and John vi. I am of opinion it does relate to the Eucharist.—It is not so plain as a narration; and it contains obscure intimations in the way of reproof, like John iii. but I feel satisfied with that Interpretation, which refers it to the Sacrament.

^b These were mentioned, Append. to Art. xi. Sect. 11. and xxvii.

with friends. *Drink-offering*, implying *Cup*.—The *Passover*—a *Lamb* slain, eaten “in remembrance” of *redemption*. He who reads these things will be aware also (Hammond on Matt. xxvi. 26.) of the Jewish custom of *breaking* and distributing *Bread*, as an act of *kindness*, and of putting round a *Grace-cup*, or cup of *blessing* or *Salvation*: And will know, that the Heathens had *sacrifices* and *feasts* upon them, with *libations*, or *cups* of *blessing*.—(Cup of *Salvation*, Psalm cxvi. 13.): these things considered, we shall perceive, that our Saviour’s commands would appear natural and *intelligible* to Jews; unless they should think, that, in the new Institution, the different sort of sacrifices were oddly mixed and confounded together.

II. No such notion, nor any other, hindered the institution from being universally adopted by Christian converts. They might see, that the Death of Christ, taken as a sacrifice, resembled, in different points, *different* sorts of offerings; and therefore, that they *all* had *prefigured* his Death.—(Appendix to Art. XI. Sect. xxvii.) At first the ordinance was probably *simple*; but afterwards it became more varied and complex; as well as more animated, or *passionate*; and more *adorned* and magnificent. — When persons had great dangers to encounter in the profession of Christianity, it naturally heated their imagination and passions; and led them to do every thing with earnestness and fervour^c.

The idea of the *Ascodruta*, and others of the same turn, would have place here^d, as well as in Baptism.

We

^c This was said of Sacraments in general, but the remark is wanted here.

^d Art. xxv. II. and xxvii. VIII.

We meet with the expressions, *Missa Catechumenorum*, and *Missa^c Fidelium*, to denote certain parts of divine service, in ancient times.—The *fideles* were mature, complete Christians, who staid in the place of worship, and received the Communion, after the Catechumens were *dismissed^f*.—I do not think, that our knowledge is perfectly clear about all the particulars of these matters; but it is probable, that *Missa Catechumenorum* meant the service before the Communion, and *Missa Fidelium*, the Communion-Service: and that the word *Mafs*, with its connexions, *missal*, &c. had this origin; (*Messa*, *Messe*): *Mafs* continued to be the name for the Lord's Supper^g in England during part of the reign of Edward VI. but was probably odious.

III. Whoever came to the Communion (and all the *faithful*, except penitents, communicated at first) brought some *offerings*, proportioned to their respective fortunes; chiefly of *bread* and *wine*; out of these the Priests took as much as it was necessary to *consecrate*. The bread was common leavened bread, such as was ordinarily used. The Romish *Wafers*, which are unleavened, and very thin, and round, like a coin, and so small that each person can take an whole one in his mouth without danger of letting any of it drop, did not come into use till the eleventh or twelfth Century.—Some chose to use unleavened bread, as what had been used at the Jewish *Passover*, the type of the Lord's Supper; and that occasioned a long dispute between the Greeks and the learned of the Western Church^h. Attempts were made at different

^c Bingham, Book 15.—Wheatly, page 328.

^f Catechumens are called, in our Homily, "*Learners in Religion*," page 356, 8vo Hom. 27th on the Sacrament.

^g And the Augsburg Confession (said to be like ours) will not allow, that it abolishes the *Mafs*.—Syntagma, page 30.

^h In the 11th Cent.—Priestley's Hist. Corr. 2. page 56.

ferent times, to introduce *water* instead of wine, and *water mixed* with wine; and *milk*, and *honey*: *Grapes* also, and even *Cheese*, had their Advocates.—Those who avoided wine were called *Encratitæ*, as avoiding it on principles of abstemiousness: if they were for pure water, they were called *Aquarians*; and those who used bread and cheese, were called *αρωτοφειται*.

Mixing some water with the wine, seems to have been a prevailing custom amongst rational Christians for a great length of time; it arose from a notion, that the *Jews* used to mix water with their paschal cup, on account of their wine being strong; and it descended even to the time after our Reformation in England.—See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, page 289. 292.

iv. In the earlier part of the *Ceremony*, it was thought a proper thing (as in Baptism) to follow the advice of the Apostle literally, “salute one anotherⁱ with an holy kiss;” but the different sexes did not salute each other.

The ancient Christians rose gradually in their devotion, till they came to the most solemn and animated giving of *thanks*: that was called *Ευχαριστια*, and thence the solemnity got its^k name of *Eucharist*. In this part was the *Trisagium*, a short Hymn so called from its having the word *αγιος*, Holy, repeated thrice: it was much the same with ours, “Therefore with Angels,” &c^l.

v. After the communion, part of the consecrated elements, was sometimes *preserved* in the Church, for such as had not been able to attend:
and

ⁱ Rom. xvi. 16 and parallel places.

^k See Wheatly's account, page 302.—Bingham, Book 15.

^l For the Greeks see Cave's second Appendix. They seem to have been quite enthusiasts about this Hymn. *Allix* has written an History of it.

and part was sometimes allowed to be carried to the Houses of the *sick*; but this last custom got abused, and was left off: *children* had a part: and sometimes a part was *burnt*; (Lev. viii. 32.)

A good deal, I suppose, of the offerings remained unconsecrated. The Priests had a portion of them, and the rest furnished the repast called *Αγαπη*, or *Love-feast*; an entertainment^m originally of a truly Christian sort, at which the rich and poor met together. Pity that any *scandal* should ever occasion its being left off!

These things, or most of them, may be found in Bingham's Antiquities. He mentions such a thing as a *Family-Communion*ⁿ.

VI. For many *hundred* years after the publication of the Christian Religion, though *we* now find it the more rational the more we consider it, Reason was on the decline. Passion had, on that account, the freer scope; and religious passion, when not regulated by reason, becomes superstition, mysticism, enthusiasm. In the dark ages, men ran into all these.—Though no form of speech is more natural than *Metaphor* when an emblematical rite is intended to express a fact of great importance, yet nothing is more obvious to fanaticism, than to seize upon a metaphorical expression, in things grand and awful, and raise its sense to every height that it will bear; indeed the most extravagant sense of a metaphorical expression may be its *literal* sense. Thus we may conceive that, when
high

^m See Lardner's account of Pliny's Ep. to Trajan; where he mentions *Hallett* as treating on the subject.—Lardner's Works, Vol. 7. page 311.—See also Lardner, Vol. 8. page 71.—Lucian's account of Peregrinus, and the Christians having a good supper together; and being brethren.

ⁿ Bingham, 15. 4. 3.

high and lofty things had been said, for a long^o time, in a declamatory way, of the necessity of eating the *flesh* and drinking the *blood* of Christ, and men kept trying to surpass each other in flights of devotion, they might at last come to profess, as a *Doctrine*, that the consecrated bread and wine were *really*, without a figure, turned into the body and blood of Jesus Christ!—This Doctrine is usually called the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; because those who hold it, say that, on the consecration, the bread and wine lose their own *substance*, and are changed or transmuted into the substance of the Body of Christ.—Yet as the bread and wine *appear* to be still the same, this Hypothesis is helped out by another; that though the *substance* be changed, the *accidents* remain unchanged; accidents are *hardness*, colour, and in short all the qualities by which we know one substance from another.—The discovery of this doctrine of Transubstantiation, is ascribed to one *Paschaise*, in Latin *Radbertus Paschasius*^p, a French Monk, who had afterwards the magnificent German Abbey of Corbey, with the Sovereignty annexed. But the term,

^o *Chrysoptom* is said to have written and spoken some very declamatory expressions on this subject: as, that the *Lips* were *tinged* with the *blood* of our Lord, &c. but Collier, (Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. page 369, or near it,) distinguishes between the *Oratorical* works of Chrysoptom and his reasoning works. Of the reasoning sort is the Letter to *Cæsarius*, which the Papists are unwilling to allow genuine.—By the way, Collier takes the *tinging*, &c. in an higher sense than I do: when we *drink* the blood of Christ, our lips must be *tinged* with it: it is only fixing the *attention* on the *same* metaphor.

^p Cave, Hist. Lit. Paschasius, or Vol. 2, page 2. opening of the 9th Century: that it was not known during the Nestorian and Eutychian Controversies, appears from a passage quoted by Bishop Pearson; on Creed, page 328. 1st Edit. or page 162, fol.—from Gelasius (Bishop of Rome in 490) de duabus Naturis Christi.

term, or *name*, was not given till the thirteenth Century; and in the same Century the Doctrine first received the support and authority of a *Council*⁹. *Laufrauc* (Archbishop of Canterbury at last) was the person who first brought the Doctrine into *England*; about the middle of the eleventh Century.—(See Fox's Mart. Vol. 2, page 457.)—Strange as this Doctrine seems, it has been found to seize and affect the mind, so that even improved nations have been unwilling to give it up: a crucified *Deity* present to the *senses*! not through Incarnation, but *Impanation*! what an idea! enough to fill the mind with sacred horror, (no *doubt* intervening) and to make every ordinary sentiment appear insipid!

VII. It must not be concluded, from what has been said, that all those who professed what is commonly called the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, explained the particulars exactly in the same way: where there was so much room for supposition, it would have been a wonder if several hypotheses had not appeared; they may, however, all come under the general notion of *corporal presence*^r. And so may the hypothesis of *Consubstantiation*, of which by and by.

VIII. *Opposition* was soon made to the doctrine of Transubstantiation; particularly by *Bertram*, or *Ratram*, a Monk of *Corbey*^s, and *John Scot*, called *Erigena*, because he was a native of *Erin*, or *Irin*,
that

⁹ In 1215, at the third Lateran Council; See Cave's Hist. Lit. under Innocent the Third.

^r See the Disputation at Oxford in 1554, before Latimer, &c. suffered: Collier, Vol. 2, page 368, or Fox's Martyrol. (by the *date*). or Syntagma, p. 120. Angl. Confessio, from Jewel's works.—*immutari, &c. somniarunt; neque adhuc potuerunt unquam fati inter se de suo somnio convenire.*

^s Cave's Hist. Lit. Vol. 2. page 2. conspectus, or opening of 9th Century. (for *Berenger*, see Sect. x.)

that is, of *Ireland*. Scot's book is lost, but Bertram's remains.

IX. This Doctrine comes under the general observation made on all the Popish Doctrines contained in the opening of the twenty-second Article. And we should now see in what way it has "given occasion to *many superstitions*."

Some *superstitions*, to which the Doctrine of Transubstantiation gave occasion, will be the subjects of some of the following Articles; a few others may be mentioned.—It occasioned the custom of *sopping* the bread in the wine;—of *reserving* the wafer with a view to performing cures, and stopping public calamities;—of burning the elements to ashes;—of making *processions* in the streets, during which every one present is to *kneel*:—of *elevating* the *Hostia*, that every one may see and *adore* his God.—This Doctrine has also occasioned the multiplying of *Altars* in churches; and has drawn the attention of the Romanists from every part of public worship which we look upon as valuable.—The Romish casuists very gravely determine what punishments are to be inflicted on a *mouse*, that is to unfortunate as to gnaw the consecrated elements: and how things are to be conducted in case a sick Priest should vomit them up.

On the other hand, the doctrine of Transubstantiation is thought to have put a^u stop to the custom of giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to *Infants* in the Western Church, They used to have it given by the Priest, who dipped his finger in the chalice, and then put it into the
child's

^r See the original passages in Bennet's Directions, under this 29th Article.—See also Mosheim, Cent. 13. 2. 4. 2.—And the thing is mentioned briefly in Fulke's Rhemish Testament on 1 Cor. xi. 29. opposite to folio 288.

^u Wall, page 516, 4to. or 2. 9 16.

child's mouth. But the moderns mix the bread with the wine, "and put to the child's lips a drop or two of that mixture quickly after his Baptism; after which he receives no more till the age of discretion^x."

x. But let us come to the age of the *Reformation*. The doctrine of which we are speaking, was one of those which were objected to by the *Waldenses*^y: But yet it was not decidedly opposed for some time: even *Luther* only changed transubstantiation into *consubstantiation*^z. *Wickliffe* had, in some parts of his works, expressed himself strongly against this abuse, but *Melancthon*^a complained, that, on comparing different parts, he found him confused in the question about the Holy Sacrament. Of the forty propositions of *Wickliffe's* which the Council of *Constance* condemned, the three first relate to our present subject; (see *Baxter* on Councils, page 431, or Chap. 13. Sect. 2.) And the third is against the *Bodily Presence* in general; and therefore against what *Luther* afterwards called *Consubstantiation*. I think *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* did not differ from *Wickliffe* in this, materially, if at all.

Consubstantiation meant, that the substance of *Christ's* Body and Blood were present in the Holy Sacrament *with* the substance of the bread and wine. *Luther's* persisting in this notion caused an unhappy

^x Wall, page 515. 517.

^y Wall, 2. 7. 3. page 386.

^z This may just be mentioned here, as *Luther* is said to have borrowed his *Consubstantiation* from *Berenger*, in 1035: see his *Recantation* in *Cave's* *Hist. Lit. Conspectus* sæc. xi.—But *Berenger* made several *Recantations*; they are not to be depended on. What *Fox* gives as his (*Berenger's*) real sentiments, out of a *Book* of *Lanfranc's*, seems most worthy of notice. (*Mart.* Vol. 2. page 458).—*Berenger*, from that, seems to have thought much as we do now.

^a *Gilpin's* *Lives of Reformers*, page 65.

unhappy division amongst the reformed Churches, which, I believe, continues to this day.

Luther explained his consubstantiation by saying, that in *red-hot iron*, two substances are united, *heat*^b and *fire*: he supported it, by what was called *Ubiquity*; by affirming, that the Son of God was *every where, ubique*;—or thus; God is every where; Christ sits at the *right hand* of God; therefore Christ is every where^c.—Yet *Luther* was, in general, a good and forcible reasoner: but when a man is determined to maintain by reasoning a doctrine totally unintelligible to reason, he must take the appearance of argument for the reality. What led him, probably, to change transubstantiation for consubstantiation, was, what is urged in our Article, that Transubstantiation takes away the essence of a Sacrament^d.

The *Romanists* make the ordinance of which we are speaking, very complicated and gaudy; and they profess the doctrine of Transubstantiation without reserve^e. I may use the present tense, as they have made no material changes, that I know of, since the age with which we are now concerned, the Age of the Reformation. The acts of the Council of Trent, and the Catechism made by its direction, will supply us with any particulars of which we may want to take notice.

The

^b Maclaine's *Mosheim*, Cent. 16. 1. 2. 21. and note (2).

^c *Luther* is said to have given up this ubiquity as a proof of Christ's corporal presence in the Eucharist; but rigid Lutherans were still Ubiquitarians.

^d "Necessitas ipsa veritatis sacramenti exigere videtur," &c. —Confessio Wittemb. de Eucharistiâ, Syntagma, page 159, 160.

^e See Art. 1. Sect. xviii. Vol. 2. page 275, Note (c), where is an expression from a French Prayer-book: after Communion the communicant is directed to say, "Seigneur, &c. je vous ai reçu avec joie." This order is also given;

Ton Créateur tu recevras
Au moins à Paques, &c.

The thirteenth Session of the Council, is upon the Eucharist. The first chapter declares, that there is no contradiction between Christ's body being always naturally at the right hand of God, and *sacramentally* in other places: where ideas are wanting, how useful are words! Yet such manner of existence, we are told, is not expressible by words, but is possible to God. Afterwards we are told, that, in the sacrament, the *real* Body of Christ exists sub *specie panis*, &c.—Nay, that the *whole* body of Christ exists in every *particle* of the bread, and in every particle of the wine: and there is a *conversion* of substance, which is aptly (*propiè*) called *Transubstantiation*.—That the same worship of *Latria* is due to the consecrated elements, which is due to the *true God*. That *processions* are proper, as a *triumph* over Heresy, and to make it *pine* away, or be ashamed. That the custom of *reserving*, is ancient, and that of carrying the Sacrament to the *sick*, necessary. That the proper preparation for receiving is sacramental Confession.—The *Anathemas* are eleven, the second against Consubstantiation.

The *Catechism* has the same things; with reasons; and some things more minute. The Sacrament is to be taken *fasting*. The bread ought to be *wheat*; it ought to be *unleavened*, but may be leavened.—“The Church of God *always* mingled *water* with the wine;” for several “weighty” reasons; so that such mixture “may not be neglected under *mortal sin*.” The Eucharist is to be judged of “by *Faith*, not by sense.” Our senses tell us “nothing at all but the *Species* of bread and wine.” “*They* will judge that there is only bread and wine in the Sacrament.” “One may see indeed all the *accidents* of bread and wine, which yet are inherent in no substance”—(what would Mr. *Locke* say to this?)

this?) “but they consist of themselves.”—“We are not too narrowly to inquire into Transubstantiation.”—If the Romanists had been “seen to eat” their “Lord under his own Species,” they could not easily have avoided the “reproach of Infidels,” as feeding upon human flesh and blood, “the most *horrid* thing in the world!”

Though these things were settled by the Council, yet we must not conceive that they were settled without debate or dissension: The *Cordeliers* and the *Jacobins* were opposed in their methods of solving the bodily^f presence.

The Festival of *Corpus Christi* or the *Holy^g Sacrament* is said to have been founded on a Revelation, which one *Juliana*, a devout woman of Leige, declared she had received. Her pretensions were supported by the Bishop, (in 1264) and afterwards by Pope Urban IV. and, in 1311, by Clement V. —The Festival is to be looked upon as *in fact*, the *cause* of Transubstantiation, as a settled and popular *Doctrine*. It seems to be held the Thursday after Trinity-Sunday:—It is sometimes called *Fête de Dieu*.

Dupin^h is willing to give up the word transubstantiation; but still it must be professed, “that the Bread and wine are *really changed* into the body and blood of Christ,” &c. The word *substance* is dropped.

After the Romanists, let us look at the *Reformedⁱ* churches.—*Luther's* opinion of the *presence* of

^f Voltaire, Vol. 10, 4to. page 156.—Du Concile de Trente. Probably from Fra. Paolo. (aliàs Sarpi).

^g Mosheim, Cent. 13. Part 2. Chap. 4. Sect. 2. octavo, Vol. 3. page 108.

^h Append. to Mosheim.

ⁱ I mean here all those Churches which separated from Rome. Abroad, those Churches are called *reformed*, which separated

of Christ in the Eucharist was mentioned just now; as well as the separation occasioned by his persisting in it. This separation consists of a number of particulars; but it may suffice for us to be aware, that the great opponent to Luther, was *Zuingle*, who formed the Churches in Switzerland; and afterwards, *Calvin*. *Zuingle* looked upon the Sacramental Bread and Wine as only *signs* and *symbols*^k; but it does not appear to me, that he did not look upon the sacrament as a commemoration of a *sacrifice*.—The greatest difficulty arises from the History of *Melancthon*, about whom we are interested as the divine on whose judgment very great reliance was placed in the forming of our own Articles. The truth may be, that, as he was of a very mild temper, and a singular lover of peace, and as he had sense enough to see, that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, is a thing intirely above human comprehension, and one that does not immediately affect practice, or virtue, he might speak undecidedly, and endeavour to pacify each of the contending parties, as much as possible, by respectful attention and candour.—He was connected with Luther, and in conference^l appeared as one of his company; and he is sometimes said to have been of his opinion; but sometimes he is said to have thought differently from him: I mean on the subject now before us^m.—It is certain,

from the *Lutherans*, under *Zuingle*, *Calvin*, &c.—See Mosheim, Index, or Vol. 4, 8vo. page 54. 62.—And, if I mistake not, they are sometimes all together called *Calvinists*.

^k Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Sect. 3. part 2. 2. 4.—Also Cent. xvi. Sect. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 21.—And compare the Helvetic Confession, page 71, with that of Wittenberg, page 159.

^l At Marpurg, in 1529.—Mosheim, Cent. 16. 1. 2. 28.—Also Cent. 16. Sect. 3. Part 2. 2. 4. note (y).

^m Compare Mosheim, Cent. 16. 3. 2. 1. 27. with Mac-laine's Note (r).

certain, that the confession of *Augsburg*, which, was drawn by him, favours Consubstantiationⁿ; but in that Confession he is thought to have complied too much for the sake of peace. From what has been said, we know what to expect in the Confessions of the Reformed. Corporal presence is the most fully professed in that of Wittemberg^o, and the most avoided in that of the Helvetic Churches.—The opprobrious name given to those who denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, was that of *Sacramentarians*^p, or *Sacramentaries*.

XI. Let us now come to our own Country.—In the reign of Henry VIII. very great stress was laid upon the corporal presence; nay, several people suffered *death* for opposing it. *Cranmer* was, at that time, a Lutheran^q, and the King himself raged against Sacramentaries. In 1539 the act was passed which made a kind of regrest of the Reformation; it was called, *The Statute of the six Articles*, the first Article affirmed the corporal^r presence; and if any persons preached or wrote against it, they were to be burnt, and their estates forfeited. In 1543 the “*Necessary Doctrine*,” &c. was published; it maintains, in conformity to the statute, the Law of the Land, that in the “most high sacrament of the Altar,” the bread and wine are “turned to the very *substance* of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ.” Yet when we have

ⁿ Syntagma, page 14. x.

^o Syntagma, page 159. for *Helvetic*, page 71. 73.

^p Neal's Hist. Pur. Vol. 1. page 20. 4to. A. D. 1538.—Mosheim, Vol. 4. 8vo. page 87. Maclaine's Note.

^q Cranmer's progression was the natural one; giving up Transubstantiation he kept some belief of corporal presence: giving up that, as untenable, he became a Sacramentarian.—He was famous for resisting, in Parliament, the statute of the *six Articles*: see his *Life* by Strype.

^r Neal, A. D. 1539.

have taken it, it “is not turned into *our substance* :” there are several other things mentioned, but they are only popish; and therefore they have occurred already: As, that the sacrament is to be received *fasting*, &c.—But when a church, which had been trying to reform, could accept or retain the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, we need not wonder at its retaining anything else⁵.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. it is not so easy to give an account of the doctrine of the English Church. In his *First Book*, (that is, of Common Prayer) the *Wafer* is continued⁶, only it is to be so large that it may be *broken*; but “men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole; but in each of them the *whole body* of our Saviour Jesus Christ.”

Afterwards both *Transubstantiation* and all ways of bodily presence, seem to have been decidedly *rejected*: this appears from our Article of 1552, and from the *Reformatio Legum*.

In the *Reformatio Legum* we find a pretty long *chapter*⁷ against both *Transubstantiation* and *Consubstantiation*, and against corporal presence in general. The expressions are much the same with those of the Article of 1552. We also find a Chapter⁸ against *ubiquity*; saying, that Christ, in his *divine* nature, might be every where (*ubique*) even after his resurrection; but that in his *human* nature he could not: his body, if human, must be in some *one place* at one time: this chapter also agrees exactly with our Article of 1552.

Latimer,

⁵ The profaneness of the *Anabaptists*, mentioned in Art. xxv. Sect. 11. might be here recollected. Indeed it would have suited our present Article full as well as that about Sacraments in general.

⁶ Wheatly, page 332. A. D. 1548. the second Book was in 1552.

⁷ De Hæresibus, cap. 19. ⁸ De Summâ Trinitate, cap. 4.

Latimer, in the Disputation at Oxford in 1554, (or in the *Paper* which he gave in,) said, that he maintained the *real* presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but not the *corporal* presence. (See Fox, or Collier, A. D. 1554). Archbishop Secker, (Lect. Vol. 2. page 251.) says, the Church has always acknowledged the *real* presence. Yet Wheatly, (page 320.) says, it (real, essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood,) was not allowed at first, in the time of Edward VI. it seemed to approach so near Transubstantiation. — Fulke on Heb. i. 6. denies *reality* of Christ's *corporal* presence.

Queen *Elizabeth* seems to have been willing to *comprehend* as many as possible in the new English Church; and with that view to have endeavoured to use a language, which all might adopt, who did not profess Transubstantiation¹ in the strictest sense, and which might nevertheless be used by those who did not admit any presence of Christ in the Eucharist perfectly corporal. Such language would comprehend all Lutherans, and some Papists². I think this remark will be sufficient to account for the change of the expressions in the twenty-eighth of our present Articles; (on which Bishop Burnet speaks judiciously) and for the language in the second Book of Homilies; both as to the word "*Incorporation*," and the insisting on *Faith* and *spiritual* eating of the Sacrament.

There

¹ See Wheatly, end of Communion-office.—Mosheim, Vol. 4. Svo. page 37 or, Cent. 16. 3. 2. 1. 27.

² See Sect. XI.—See also Mosheim, Cent. 16. 3. 2. 2. 6. or page 70, 71, Svo. Vol. 4.

³ Homily: on worthy receiving of the Sacrament, page 350, Svo. and 351. The language now is very like *Calvin's*; see Institutes, 4. 17. 32.—"*Incorporate*," occurs in the next prayer before

There was published, in Latin, in the year 1560, a very short office for a Communion at *Funerals*, if the friends and neighbours of the deceased^b chose to attend. The *Collect* is the last Prayer in our burial-service; "O merciful God," &c.—And there is an Epistle, and a choice of two Gospels. I suppose the rest would be taken from the Communion-service; beginning, probably, at the Lord's Prayer.—Indeed if the Priest began there, some Collect, Epistle and Gospel would be wanting.

Of the *Familists*, we said enough under the twenty-fifth Article; and so of the *Socinians*: and in general of those, who, near the time of the Reformation, spoke of the sacraments in general as *mere signs* of unity amongst Christians—I doubt how near those moderns come to them, who make the Lord's Supper a *mere Commemoration*.

The chief part of the Doctrine of the *Quakers*, with regard to the Lord's Supper, seems to be this; they look upon what was done by Christ in the institution, as a *shadow*, intended to vanish, or cease; the *substance* being *internal*^c, and intended to remain.—Col. ii. 16, 17. applied to the Lord's Supper, might express their mind.—This doctrine is generally, I believe, considered as invented in the last century; but those *Petrobrussians*, who were just mentioned before^d, seem to have been *Popish Quakers*, as it were, in the eleventh Century, when Transubstantiation was taken for granted. Their preachers said, that the Clergy deceived the People "notoriously; for the Body
of

before Gloria in excelsis. Alluding to 1 Cor. xii. 27, and parallels.

^b Sparrow's collection, page 200.

^c Barclay's Apology, prop. 13.

^d Art. xxviii. Sect. xiv.

of Christ was only *once made*, by himself, at the supper before his Passion^e: and was once only, viz. at that time, given to his Disciples. Since that time it was never made by any one, nor given to any one.”

In *Wesley's*^f Letters we have an account of the notions of the *mystics*; they need not “the Lord's Supper, for they never cease to remember Christ in the most acceptable manner.”—“Love is your end.” “Different men are led in different ways” (to Love): “You must judge for yourself. Perhaps fasting may help you for a time, and *perhaps* the holy Communion.”

XII. Those whom we commonly call *Dissenters*, in England, *sit* at the table on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated. The Minister presides, according to the *Directory*^g, breaks the bread, with prayer and benediction, and gives it to some one, but not to every one: and so of the Cup.—The ceremony may be grave, decent, and edifying, for anything I see.—Dr. Priestley mentions^h a Mr. *Henry*, whose treatise on the Sacrament is much read, and he refers to a chapter, intitled, “*Sights to be seen at the Lord's Table.*”—This Title has a mystical sound, and Dr. Priestley says, that *experiences* are sometimes examined into before admission to the Sacrament.

The *Baptists* also receive the Sacraments *sitting* “at a common table,” “and handing the Elementsⁱ one to another.”

XIII. Early

^e Wall, end of Chap. 7. Part 2.

^f Page 60. 62. 13th Letter.

^g See *Directory*; and Preface to Grey's *Hudibras*. I have been told, that one kind of *Dissenters* will receive a Teacher or Pastor, from another kind; but will not *sit down* with him: that is, will not receive the sacrament with him.

^h *Free Address*, page 53.

ⁱ See Wall, Part 2. Chap. 8. page 446, 4to.

XIII. Early in this eighteenth Century Bishop Hoadley contended, that the Lord's Supper is a *bare memorial* of the Death of Christ. Bishop Warburton, that it is a *feast on a sacrifice*. This last seems the most *approved* opinion, and is ably defended^k by *Bishop Cleaver*. Dr. *Balguy's* seventh Charge amounts to the same thing.—But if Bishop Hoadley looked upon the *Death* of Christ as a sacrifice, a memorial of his death, considered *in that light*, would not perhaps differ materially from a Feast on a sacrifice; where no real sacrifice is performed^l: and would agree with the expressions of our^m *Catechism*.—Nay, when the modern Socinians make the Sacrament a bare memorial of Christ's death, and throw out all notion of a sacrifice, I do not regard the difference as one belonging to the *Sacrament*; but to the nature and efficacy of the *Death* of Christ, or the doctrine of *Atonement*. Each party commemorates the Death of Christ as what he imagines it be.

XIV. We next come to the *Explanation*.

The *Title* is taken from 1 Cor. xi. 20. The Article consists of four Paragraphs.

XV. The first thing it does is, to affirm, of the Lord's Supper in particular, what was before affirmed of Sacraments in general, that it is not a mere *badge*. Yet it *is* a Badge; and the way in which it is a badge, is by denoting Christian social kindness, such as would be shewn by an *Agape*, or feast of Charity, which meant only to bring those

^k Two Sermons, Oxford, 1789.—Warburton's Sermon is called a *Rational* account, &c.—Hoadley's a *Plain* account, &c.

^l Maclaine thinks, that Bp. Hoadley's notion is the same with that of *Zuingli*. Mosheim, Vol. 3. 8vo. page 331. or Cent. 16. 1. 2. 21. Note (a).—Had they the same notion of the death of Christ as a sacrifice?

^m "For the continual remembrance (memorial) of the *Sacrifice* of the Death of Christ," &c.

those of the same community together, in a way likely to produce cheerfulness, good humour, and benevolence. The Lord's Supper used to be called *the Sacrament of Peace and Charity*: (Trent Cat. page 159. bottom.)

XVI. "But rather"—*verum potius*—this does not *exclude* the notion of a Badge, but only declares the Lord's Supper to be something *more*; to have, as a Sacrament, not only an external, but an internal part.

XVII. "A Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's Death." In Art. XXIX. those who take the Lord's Supper, are said to "eat and drink the *sign* or *Sacrament* of so great a thing" (as the body and blood of Christ.)—From this comparison it appears, that "*Sacrament*," in our Article, means much the same as "*sign*;" which agrees with the account beforeⁿ given of the most literal or proper signification of the word Sacrament. *Redemption* was explained in the Appendix to the eleventh Article^o.—The Lord's Supper then is an emblematical representation of our being redeemed from spiritual evil, or bondage, by the *Death* of Christ: but in what *way* has the Death of Christ any efficacy to free us from spiritual evil? by being a *sacrifice*: (that it *was* a sacrifice, has been proved before^p :) therefore the Lord's Supper is a *sacrifice-feast*; or a feast *upon* a sacrifice: in some respects a *paschal* supper.

XVIII. If this be understood, all the rest follows naturally; as is implied by, "*Inasmuch that*:" In all such Feasts there was a *Communion*, that is, a *Communication*, or a *partaking in common*^q, (*in common* with the *guests*; in common, in some sort, with the

ⁿ Art. xxv. Sect. 11.

^o App. to Art. xi. Sect. xvii.

^p Append. to Art. xi. Sect. xiv. xxii. xxvii. xxviii.

^q Dr. Balguy, page 312.

the *Being* to whom the sacrifice was offered[†]) of all the *benefits* at which sacrifice aimed; as pardon, favour, thanksgiving.—Should not this be satisfactory, the remainder of our paragraph is a proof of it, from scripture; expressing indeed, at the same time, what might always be a tacit condition, the *worthiness* of the receiver: that he who partakes, must not be wholly unworthy, is so plain, that the Scripture, may, at any time, take it for granted; we shall have occasion to speak of it under the next Article. The passage introduced, in proof or confirmation, is 1 Cor. x. 16. the word in the English Article is *partaking*, but in the Latin Article it is *communicatio*; which is Latin for either partaking, or “*communion*,” that is, partaking *in common*: *Communion* is the word in our English Bible. In the Vulgate there is first *communicatio* and then *participatio*; these must have the same meaning, the Greek to them both being κοινωνία[‡]. —To be sure, a single, unconnected sentence of Scripture in an Article, would make a kind of identical proposition; for in every Article we mean only, that each thing affirmed can be proved by scripture; and therefore when the thing affirmed is itself scripture, we say, in effect, scripture may be proved by scripture:—However, in difficult subjects, we had perhaps most of us rather subscribe to a sentence of scripture than to an human interpretation of it. And a sentence of Scripture may reasonably be introduced, to confirm something else which is not Scripture. But let us now come to the second paragraph.

XIX. “*Transub-*

[†] Damascene has both these connexions, Trent. Cat. Sect. 5. or page 195.

[‡] I am not sure that the scope of this reasoning will be immediately perceived, except the reader finds, that the concluding expressions of the first paragraph of the article, might, without it, give too little feeling of a *social* partaking.

XIX. “Transubstantiation” was explained in the History. It “cannot be proved by Holy writ;”—this expression will occasion what may be called *indirect* proof; that is, answering the arguments of the Romanists, which to our doctrines, are *objections*. But that which follows will bring on direct proof; it “is repugnant to the plain words of scripture.”—“*plain words*”—all sides talk of *plain* words: we will only observe, that some words are more plain when used metaphorically, than literally: as, a *Plagiary*, in English; *prævus*, in Latin; *Saisissement*[†], in French.

“Overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament”—by confounding the outward and visible sign, with the “inward and spiritual Grace:”—the figure, with the thing figured[‡]. Transubstantiation makes the bread (the sign) to be also the Body of Christ, (the thing signified).—Explanation here, is proof.

The “superstitions” to which this doctrine hath given occasion, were mentioned in the History[§]; and no farther proof can be wanting, that the Doctrine “hath given occasion to many superstitions.”

xx. The third paragraph is not more easy to explain than that in whose room it was substituted.—It mentions only the *Body* of Christ; but that is for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity. What is said

[†] Dict. Acad. says of *saisissement* “il n’est pas en usage au propre, mais seulement au figuré. There are many such words. *Candor* is never used for whiteness. I never knew any sense of *unwarrantable* but the figurative, till a Keeper in a King’s Forest told me, certain *Venison* was *unwarrantable*; that is, could not be sent in return to the *Warrants* issued by the Officers of the Crown

[‡] Fulke on Rhem. Test. Luke xxii. Sect. 7.—Heb. i. Sect. 1.

[§] Sect. ix.

said of the Body may be extended to the *Blood*, by parity of reasoning.—Let us, in order to explain it, read, in addition to what was read before¹, John vi. 48—58.—And compare Heb. x. 5—10. From these two scriptures, one may get some idea, how, by eating the sacramental Bread, or Bread in a sacrifice-feast, one may be said to eat the Body of Christ. Whether John vi. relate to the Lord's supper, has been disputed; I think Bishop Cleaver proves, that it does as a *prophetic* intimation; but we are sure that many people have so understood it; and so probably did they who compiled our Article². In that chapter something is meant, which is not intended to be expressed with perfect clearness. It may, as a prophetic intimation, be interpreted by the Institution of the Sacrament, as an *event*; and by a comparison of Christ's reasoning in the sixth Chapter, about the Lord's Supper, with his reasoning to Nicodemus in the third, about Baptism. The difficulty lies in giving a meaning to such expressions as that in our Catechism, "*verily and indeed taken*," when used by those who reject both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation; and deny, in general, the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. It is a difficulty which seems to have occasioned some unsteadiness of language, some expressions seemingly inconsistent in those, who have departed both from the Romish and the Lutheran Church³. My own
idea

¹ Sect. 1.

² Bishop Cleaver says, that the *Reformers* were *against* applying John vi. to the Sacrament. He excepts (in some degree) *Cranmer*. Two Sermons, page 25.

³ Barclay observes this in his *Apology*, Prop. 13. Sect. 3 & 4. *Reality* (of Christ's presence) seems to be the most unsteadily used; sometimes with *Body*, sometimes without—See Sect. xi. about Latimer, &c. We *eat* Christ's body *really*; we cannot

idea is this; when I say, that, in the Lord's Supper, the inward part, or thing signified, is, "The Body and blood of Christ, which are *verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" I mean, that, though I may not know precisely what may be intended in Scripture by our eating Christ's Body and drinking his blood, yet I believe, that *whatever* is meant, a worthy receiver comes up to *that meaning*: he performs that action which is prescribed; he obtains that good which is annexed to it.

If this be admitted, great *latitude* is allowed, when scripture speaks of eating the Flesh of Christ and drinking his blood, to different notions, and conceptions, or imaginations about particular *means*; or intermediate steps: and in things above reason why should latitude be denied? One man thinks, that eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood, means only a bare *commemoration* of his death: another thinks, it is emblematically *accepting* the benefits of the Christian *sacrifice*: a third thinks, that it is eating, in some inexplicable way, the *substance* of Christ's Body, into which the Bread has been *changed*: a fourth, that it is eating the *substance* of Christ's body *along with* the sacramental bread. These are but different *fancies* or conjectures of *men* about the particular *means* of bringing about what is called in Scripture^b *eating the flesh of Christ*: still therefore I say, whichever of these is right,

eat that really which is not *present*; thus men seem to have been led to acknowledge the *real presence*, even of Christ's *body*; though they deny the *corporal* presence.

^b The Romanists and Lutherans would not deny, either that eating Christ's Body is a *commemoration*, or a partaking of the benefits of a *Sacrifice*; nor should we *Calvinists*; but still, every thing *between* the precept "take eat," and the *obedience* to it (including the *reward*, or benefit), is *human*.

right, or if *none* of them be right, the *worthy* communicant, *does* that which is really *meant* in scripture by eating the flesh of Christ, and drinking his blood; and he gains all the benefit which God intended should arise from such eating and drinking. He does that which God hath commanded; and he obtains that which God doth promise.

I could wish any one, who enters into what I have said, to try whether the paragraph before us, would *exclude* the *Lutheran*, or even the *Romanist*. The Romanist, who professed Transubstantiation in the strictest sense, could not subscribe to the *preceding* paragraph; but would he not own that even *his* eating the Body of Christ is a *spiritual*^c eating? he does not mean to satisfy his *hunger*; and he professes, that what he eats does not *mix*^d with his *bodily* substance. And as to *Faith*, he professes that “we must judge of the Eucharist by^e Faith;” nay, in the form of consecration he calls it “*the mystery of Faith.*” And as all must own, that the eating of the flesh of Christ is a spiritual and not a carnal^f eating, all must likewise own, that Faith is more properly the instrument, than the Jaw is. The Trent Catechism says, “what food is to the Body, that the Eucharist is to the^g *Spirit.*” Romanists speak of Faith chiefly with a view to their
incredible

^c It is called “our *spiritual meat,*” Trent Catech. Sect. 5. or page 196 — *Spiritual* eating is distinguished from *sacramental* eating, and both are required. Council, Sess. 13. Cap. 7. and Canon 8. but sacramental eating is not ordinary eating.

^d Trent Catechism, Sect. 19, or page 220, bottom. — Sect. XI. of this Article. This might be held, in order to obviate the charge of *Stercorianism*. (Motheim, Index).

^e Trent Catech. Sect. 23, 24. or page 206, 207.

^f Panis cibus mentis est, non cibus ventris. — Cypr. See Synt. page 121.

^g Sect 49 page 220.

incredible conversion of bread into Flesh; we, of Christian Faith in general; yet they sometimes use it in our sense.

When I think in this train, and consider how transcendent and astonishing a thing the Eucharist must, on *any* supposition, appear to one who fixes his thoughts fairly upon it; how solemn and affecting the first Institution, especially when opening the sense of the prophetic intimation recorded by St. John; how strong the declarations of the necessity of eating the Flesh of Christ and drinking his blood: I seem to be in the place of those persons of our^h persuasion, who have scarcely known how to express themselves, so as to deny the corporal presence of Christ, and yet not let down the Ordinance, nor give the Romanists and Lutherans a pretence for charging them with want of veneration for it. I feel inclined to use the same expressions, though sensible of the same difficulties. Though their expressions seem to vary, yet they always speak so as to be consistent with my idea just now stated: they *may* always mean, by receiving *really* the Body and Blood of Christ, receiving the Sacrament according to the *real meaning* of Scripture, be that what it will: in *opposition* to, mere bread, vain ceremonies, empty signs, unfeeling formality. They are all words explaining by opposition, or attempting to give the force of scripture.

As I doubt not but the high and strong expressions which those of our persuasion use, have given offence or disgust, or caused perplexity, to many, and made them prefer Popery, Socinianism,
or

^h I include, in this case, the Calvinists, and all who have departed from the Romish and Lutheran churches; (except Socinians and Quakers, &c.)

or Quakerism; I will refer to some places where they are used; in hopes that, in the light in which I have placed them, they may be thought natural, and such as arise from right notions and feelings. I will, at the same time, refer to some passages in which our idea of the Lord's Supper is illustrated by opposition andⁱ contradistinction. Dr. *Balguy* defends "*verily and indeed,*" by the *context*.

XXI. The *practices* mentioned in the fourth paragraph have been explained in the History.—The expression "*By Christ's ordinance,*" may be observed, because by the ordinance of some ancient *churches*, some elements were^k reserved. Bishop Burnet accounts for their being so^l: circumstances, at some times required it; but ancient churches did not reserve their *God* in any sacarium, nor expose him to the inroads of mice; for they did not believe in Transubstantiation. Nor does it seem as if they had encouraged superstitions.—Generally speaking, they considered circumstances; they left off carrying the sacrament to the sick, because of some abuses, and so of the *Agapæ*: and I doubt not but anything, not quite essential, would

ⁱ See the prayer preceding the prayer of Consecration.—And *Reformatio Legum, de Hæresibus, cap. 19.*—Maclaine's Note, or Mosheim, Cent. 16. 3. 2. 2. 12. (and 6.)—Calvin's *Institutes*, 4. 17. 32. and Barclay's mention of it, *Apol.* 13. 3, 4.—Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (or *Martyrology*), Vol. 3. page 82. col. 2. disp. in April 1554, at Oxford.—*Syntagma* page 120, part of the English Confession, from Bishop Jewell—Fulke on the *Rhemish Testament*, fol. 152. (comp on Heb. i. 6)—*Homily* on the worthy receiving of the Sacrament, Part 1st. (every word must be attended to, in some places:) "*incorporation*" occurs twice (John vi. 56) the latter time near the end. The scriptural *Metaphors* of Head and Members ("incorporation") vine and branches, &c. are well introduced. This is the 15th Homily of the 2d book, or the 77th of the whole number.—Dr *Balguy's* 7th charge would illustrate the Article, if the expressions were carefully compared.

^k Sect. v.

^l Page 429. 8vo.

would have been left off, if it had given occasion to superstitions or scandals. But we are only *explaining*, the expression, “by Christ’s Ordinance.”

XXII. Come we now to our *Proof*.

The Article seems to contain *six* propositions.

1. The Lord’s Supper has an *external* part, or *Sign*.

2. It has an *internal* part, or “*spiritual Grace*;” that is, it denotes or represents our *redemption* by the *death* of Christ.

3. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ.

4. It is repugnant to Scripture.

5. The Body of Christ is, in the Lord’s Supper, eaten *spiritually*; by *Faith*.

6. Christ has not ordained that the Sacrament under consideration, should be *reserved*, *carried about*, *elevated*, or *adored*.

XXIII. That the Sacrament of the Lord’s supper has an *external* part, is sufficiently proved by the *institution*.—Matt. xxvi. 26.—Mark xiv. 22.—Luke xxii. 19.—1 Cor. xi. 23. with the practice mentioned 1 Cor. x. 16. made perpetual, 1 Cor. xi. 26.—What better proof could be required?

This external part of the Ordinance being visible, and peculiar to Christians, must be a *Badge*. And whatever is a badge of Christians must be a sign of mutual *affection*: see John xiii. 35.—1 Cor. x. 17.—mutual love must also result from what is urged 1 Cor. xii. 13.

XXIV. The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, denotes, or represents, our Redemption by the Death of Christ: and so has an *internal* part, or “*spiritual Grace*.”

If it be intended to commemorate Christ’s Death, and his death be a *Sacrifice* for the Sins

of the world, it must be an application to one's self of the benefits of such sacrifice.—That it is intended to commemorate Christ's *Death*, appears from the Body broken, the blood shed, and from 1 Cor. xi. 26.—And also from 1 Cor. x. 16. In the institution also we are told, that Christ's blood was shed for us, and for the remission of Sins: these things are there connected with the Lord's Supper; and we are told of a *διαθηκη*, sometimes translated *testament*^m, sometimes *covenant*, in the blood of Christ; which being the word used for the Old Covenant, (Deut. iv. 13.—Exod. xxiv. 8.) implies, at least, some great benefit, arising from the shedding of the blood of Christ. Which is confirmed by Heb. viii. 8, &c.—And it is said, that *διαθηκη*, and the Hebrew *ברית*, are connected with *sacrificing*: because, it is thought, solemn *leagues* and contracts used to be sealed, as it were, by sacrifices.—But I see nothing about sacrificing in Henry Stephens's account of *Διαθηκη*, or *διατιθημι*, &c. for this, consult Parkhurst under *בר* and *διαθηκη*. Potter (Antiq. Vol. 1. page 252.) mentions sacrifices at solemn covenants. If we allow that John vi. relates to the Lord's Supper, the benefits of it must be endless. And all *virtues* naturally

^m *Διατιθημι* is to dispose; in various ways; by *Will*; Christ might be conceived as both *Testator* (or *Dispenser*, author of a Dispensation,) and *Victim*: different characters, as well as different *types* meet in him: perhaps we do not see the *full force* of *διαθηκη* and *διατιθημι*, Heb. ix. 16. if we have not these *different* ideas in mind.

But what led our Translators to use *Testament* for *διαθηκη*? perhaps *διατιθημι*:—*διαθηκη* is classical for a *Will*, (as a mode of *disposal*); but the LXX always use it for *ברית*, as *foedus*; *Aquila* puts *συνθηκη*, a compact.—Christians use *Testament* and *Covenant* *promiscuously*; so that *Testamentum* in scripture often means *pactum viventium* (Stephens Greek Lex.). God *covenants* with those who are called his *inheritance*; yet God's *covenants* are gifts, dispensations.

naturally resulting from a worthy receiving, make a *part* of the “*spiritual*” Grace.”

XXV. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ. This must be deferred to the indirect proof, for the reason mentioned in the Explanation.

XXVI. Transubstantiation is *repugnant* to scripture. The *Jews* did not use *blood* for any sort of victuals; and the scriptures have made some sup-
 pose, that *Christians* ought not. It is not therefore *likely* that Christ should mean drinking his blood in a *literal* sense. Christ calls the wine the *fruit of the vine* after consecration, Matt. xxvi. 29. In John vi. Christ ascribes the same effects to eating *Bread of Life*, and to eating his *Flesh*: and the Papists own John vi. to belong^o to the *Sacrament*: Christ’s body may therefore as properly be *bread*, as *flesh*; but eating the *bread of Life*, and eating *Christ’s flesh*, must be both proper, or both figurative expressions: they cannot be both literal, therefore they are *both figurative*. Acts iii. 21. excludes any corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which can properly be called such. 1 Cor. xi. 26. “*till he come,*” shews, that Christ is *not* come in the *Sacrament*: this last was Bishop *Ridley’s* argument in the day of his trial: more may be found in Fox’s account of the *Disputation* at Oxford in 1554, and that at Cambridge in 1549.

XXVII. The Body of Christ is, in the Lord’s Supper, eaten *spiritually*, by *Faith*. The arguments just now used must tend to prove this; the
 Body

ⁿ See of Sacraments in general, Art. xxv. Sect. 11. Our Homily calls these virtues *Graces*, and describes them well: if *graces*, they must be *spiritual* *graces*, (page 350, bottom, and 351, top) they cannot be corporeal.

^o Rhemists on John vi. 53.

Body of Christ, in the Eucharist, is eaten in *some* sense; if not *really*, it must be *spiritually*.

After what was said in the Explanation, about the paragraph from which this proposition is taken, it seems almost needless to give a proof of it.—Every emblematical ordinance (or Sacrament) must be executed by Faith.—John vi. 35. is a Key to the whole discourse.—And the gross, carnal notion of the inhabitants of *Capernaum* in ver. 52. with the reception of it by Christ, shews, that carnal eating could not be meant.

XXVIII. Christ has not ordained that the Sacrament called the Lord's Supper should be *reserved*, carried about, elevated, or adored.—It rests upon our adversaries to prove that Christ has ordained these things; if they offer any arguments worthy of your consideration, they must appear under our indirect proof.—The words “take, eat;” —“as often as ye eat this bread,” &c.—seem to prove the Romish superstitions here mentioned, to be even *repugnant* to Scripture: as they seem to prove the design of Scripture to be, that the sacred Bread should be *eaten*: eating it would cut off the rest.—Besides, all the four practices here mentioned are grounded on *Transubstantiation*; that being disproved, these are disproved by consequence.

I may close this direct proof with a passage from Dr. Middleton's Preface to his Letter from Rome; page lxxv. &c.—He says, that it was too *absurd* a thing even for Heathens, to worship that which they^p eat. Yet in fact, the *elevation of the Host* is so striking a ceremony, and so affecting to the devout, through the help of sympathy; besides pomp, shew, music, sometimes military exercises, and

^p Referring to Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. 16.

and “a *present*^a *Deity*,” that calm reason seems unable to abolish it.

XXIX. Having finished our direct proof, we must see what indirect may be wanted: Or what *objections* there are, which it may be worth our while to consider.

Those of the *Quakers* come first in our way.—The chief of what they urge seems to turn upon this; if we make a perpetual Sacrament of breaking bread, why do we not make a perpetual *Pedilavium*, or washing of feet? one is as much enjoined as the other.—This was mentioned in the eleventh Chapter of our first Book^r.—*Pedilavium* is a ceremony in the *Greek*^s Church; and the *Pope*, I think, goes through the ceremony of washing some people’s feet. But let any one compare the institution of the Lord’s Supper, with John xiii. 14. and the general importance of the Lord’s Supper, with that of the other ceremony, only mentioned by one Evangelist; let him compare the customs in Judea, of travelling, &c. with those in our own country; let him compare the practice upon the one ceremony, with that upon the other; and he will find many reasons for establishing the rite of the Lord’s Supper, which will not apply to the washing of feet.—This was once a Sacrament, and may now be called so by the Greek Christians, in the extensive sense of the word; but the *five Popish* Sacraments which we reject, seem more important than this, and more adapted to general use; yet they fall much below our two Sacraments. Our Saviour’s washing his Disciples, was probably only emblematical *teaching*; it was indeed followed by a verbal precept, (John xiii. 14.) but that might be only the explanation of the action; or the moral of the Parable.—After
all,

^a Dryden’s Ode on St. Cecilia’s Day.

^r Book I. Chap. XI. Sect. VI. The Lord’s Supper is Sect. VII.

^s Cave, Diss. 2. Ν.π.τ.η.ζ.

all, if our reasons seem to any one insufficient, let him imitate our Lord; he will do no harm. If the ceremonies must be adopted or rejected together, it is a much less evil to adopt the *Nupties*, than to reject the Eucharist.

xxx. It may be objected, that the Gospel-Institutions are not to be made complicated and abstruse unnecessarily. Is not the "*Simplicity* that is 'in Christ,'" best observed, by taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a *mere commemoration*? Bishop Cleaver answers this objection in his first discourse; and Dr. *Balguy* answers it, in effect, in his seventh Charge. If you make the Lord's Supper, as it was instituted by Christ, a mere commemoration, you make it a strange and unintelligible rite: for what can be more "strange than eating the flesh and drinking the blood of one, who is to be regarded only as an instructor and benefactor? if we had been ordered, in the Sacrament, to kill an animal, and shed its blood; or only to break bread, and pour out wine; the rite would have been intelligible, as a simple memorial; it would have represented Christ's *Death*, merely as a death; but it would have been a *different* rite from ours. Now conceive it as a feast on a *sacrifice*, and all is easy and simple. We indeed are not in the habit of sacrificing; but what is that? who could not understand, that when sacrifices were in use, part of the victim was served up at a religious *feast*; and all who partook^x of the material feast

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 3.—See Dr. Priestley's expression before.

^u Before, Sect. 1.—Dr. Balguy, page 309.

^x See Potter's Antiquities, Vol. 1. page 145. which though about Heathens, is worth our notice. Heathens, deliberating about Christianity, must have had their minds full of ideas of heathen sacrifices. And these ideas must have affected both their conversion, and their Religion after conversion; besides making it easier to them to conceive and celebrate the Christian Sacrifice.

feast were understood to partake of the spiritual benefits of the sacrifice^y. Christ was our victim; on his body we do not feast literally, because it is in Heaven; but he appointed bread to represent it; on that we can feast, and so partake of his Body; that is, feast upon the *victim*. Such bread is "*the Bread of Life*," because, by his own appointment, it represents his *Flesh*. This appears to me plain and *simple*.

XXXI. We must now take some notice how the Romanists prove *Transubstantiation* from scripture. They have several weak arguments which, as I said in the case of Purgatory and Invocation of Saints, it would be no Improvement to consider. Such as John ii. 9. the transubstantiating of water into wine; (it did not, after the change, *appear* to be water); and 1 Cor. xi. 29. not *discerning* the Lord's Body; by which St. Paul means, not making a religious meal of the Lord's Supper, but a profane one; and that with excess and intemperance, with violation of the rules of^z *sobriety*. — Their chief argument lies in the words, "*this is my^a body*;" plain words, as they contend: Archdeacon Sharp rightly replies, yes, they are plain words, for they are a very *plain figure*^b. Many exceptions may be taken

^y 1 Cor. x. 18. "Are not they which eat of the *Sacrifices*, partakers of the *Altar*?" — Lardner, speaking of food, says, (Works, Vol. 11. page 332.) "The Worshipper, as well as the Priest, partook of the Altar, excepting in the case of whole burnt-offerings."

^z Suppose a large room, many Christians met; the rich making separate little parties, having a good supper and good wines; (a feast on an Heathen sacrifice was a jovial thing): the poor obliged to merrit as they could; feeling mortified and insulted by those, who ought to be as their *brethren*, and make with them one company, one party. — Small select parties of great persons in the midst of numbers, generally mortify, if not made by some useful Rule.

^a Matt xxvi. 26.

^b Sermon on the Sacrament, preached at York Cathedral. — Sect. XIX. of this Article.

taken to their being used in a literal sense; but I shall content myself with the context. If the bread, in the hand of Christ, was literally his Body, what was the Cup? "This cup is the New Testament in my blood"—Was the Cup a Testament? was the Cup in Christ's blood? And if we may not take words figuratively, was Christ really and literally a *Vine*^d and a *Door*?—It seems odd, that the Papists should insist upon setting aside metaphor here, and yet understand *Bread* metaphorically in John vi. 48. and 51.—For they do not allow that *Bread* is ever eaten in the Sacrament^e.

XXXII. Our Article affirms, that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not, by Christ's Ordinance, *reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.*"—We might therefore have arguments to examine on these four points. But (besides that they must all be built upon Transubstantiation) I do not see any which are likely to detain us.—

Something

^e Luke xxii. 20.

^d See Appendix to Art. XI. Sect. XXVII.

^c If I was a Papist I would say thus;—The passages in which Christians are ordered to eat the Flesh of Christ, are very strong; they strike, amaze, almost terrify; I cannot wonder when devout people think, that, in some way or other, they *ought* to eat Christ's Flesh: they have no way of doing it but in the Sacrament, God must therefore contrive some way that they shall do it there: but how?—all things are possible with God: he could change the bread which we eat into Christ's Body; surely then he *does*: he would not command things impossible. Thus I might argue if I was a Papist: as a candid Protestant I add,—This hypothesis might go down in an ignorant age; it might get associated with religion in general; it might influence the whole praxis of Religion, and therefore might become very difficult to extirpate. There might be an appearance that it could not be removed without a total overthrow of a great religious establishment; one splendid and opulent, nay, without total destruction of Christian principles in those who professed it.

Something is said by the *Rhemists*^f, of paying distinguished *honours* to Christ's Body, and of doing officious things similar to *spreading garments* in our Saviour's way, when he entered Jerusalem in triumph: They also would make an application of those passages in which *Christ* is said to have been^g *adored*, to the adoration of the *Host*: But I see nothing urged by Romanists from *Scripture*, which relates to the peculiar nature of the elements in the Lord's Supper, after consecration.

Here ends our Proof, direct and indirect.

xxxiii. In regard to *Application*, I will only observe, that, on this Article, there seems great room for *mutual concessions*. But we have been already led to enter into these, in what was said of Queen Elizabeth, and in the explanation of the third paragraph. Queen Elizabeth seems to have followed a right plan, and *Melancthon*^h seems to have had the same idea with her Ministers.

What canⁱ seem more desperate, at first, than Dupin's insisting on its being still professed, "that the bread and wine are *really* changed into the Body and Blood of Christ?" Yet if that had been said by a protestant, and perhaps put in a shape a little different, we should have made no objection to it. Might not a Protestant Preacher, addressing that part of his congregation, who would attend the Communion, and exhorting them to pay due reverence to the sacred elements, say, that he who should eat of them *now*, would eat only
simple

^f Rhemists on Matt. xxi. 8.—Mark xi. 3.—1 Cor. xi. 29.

^g Rhemists on Matt. ii. 11.—viii 8.—Heb. i. 6.

^h Mosheim, 8vo. Vol. 4. page 37. or Cent. 16. 3. 2. 1. 27.

ⁱ Bishop Cleaver observes, that there are three notions of the Lord's Supper, all allowing to it "what our Church considers as essential to a Sacrament, an outward visible sign and an inward spiritual Grace."

simple *bread and wine*; but that he who received them properly after consecration, would “*verily and indeed*” receive “the Body and Blood of Christ?”

Ambrose has a similar expression, which the Papists would have us take in their sense, but I fully believe that it was meant in ours. I take it as I find it in the Trent¹ Catechism—“There is *bread* before the consecration, but after the consecration, the *Body* of Christ.” Now, how could this be, if the Bread were not *changed* into Christ’s Body? But suppose it was proposed to Dr. Dupin to say thus? ‘The Bread, after consecration, is changed into what is *meant in Scripture* by, the *Body* of Christ:’ who could refuse his assent? and whose purpose would not this answer?—Something of this sort might effect an agreement; but it is idle to use words, and, by limitations to take away their customary meaning. As words are arbitrary signs, they depend for their meaning on custom wholly. What signifies talking of a *Body*, not present as to *Place*^m?—That which is not present in such a sense as to occupy a place, is not *Body*, in human language. And so that which is without the qualities, or accidentsⁿ, of substances, is no substance: *Man* has no idea of such

^k Catechism, of Church of England.

¹ Trent Cat. page 210; or Sect. 27.

P. S. I have looked into *Ambrose*, Edit. Paris 1603.—The passage appears page 306. tom 2. in his 4th Book and 4th Chapter *De Sacramentis*. The Books and Chapters are very short, and the stile very declamatory.—The subject of the Chapter is, *Christus est Auctor Sacramentorum*; the passage is, *Tu forte dicis: Mens panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit Caro Christi.*

^m Trent Catech. page 218. or Sect. 43.—Locke, Hum. Und. 2 13. 11.

ⁿ see Locke, Hum. Und. Book 2. Chap. 23, Sect. 2. & 4.

such a thing: nor could the notion have been admitted in any but an ignorant age°.

° The Romanists are very *tender* about this, as one sees by their care to exclude *sense* from judging of transubstantiation; and their cautions about explaining it, and inquiring into it. (Trent Cat. Sect. 39. 41.—also 24.) What right has any human being to set aside the judgment of the *senses*?



ARTICLE XXIX.

OF THE WICKED, WHICH DO NOT EAT THE
BODY OF CHRIST IN THE USE OF THE LORD'S
SUPPER.

THE Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth, (as Saint Augustine saith,) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

1. In the way of *History*, we may observe, that people have always been much inclined to provide themselves with Charms, Amulets, &c. in order to drive away evils. Often, to use a thing which was *ordinarily* efficacious, if rightly managed, as *mechanically* efficacious. Sometimes indeed things used as Charms, may seem to be no way naturally efficacious; but to use such is the extreme of superstition; and such things may originally have been esteemed natural medicines. We have already mentioned, that people have taken home the water used in *Baptism*, and applied it to bodily sores; in like manner, consecrated bread^a and wine have

^a See Fulke in answering Rhemists on John vi. 58. where he mentions from Tertullian a superstitious woman keeping the Sacrament in a chest, to eat fasting. — Also Art. xxv. Sect. vii.

have been given to Infants, have been kept for medical purposes, and even buried with the dead^b. *Heathens* and *Jews* have^c run into similiar superstitions. Such folly ought to be opposed; but our present Article was aimed chiefly at the Romanists; who are accused of saying, that the *mere receiving* of the Lord's Supper, merits *remission* of sins, *ex opere operato*, (translated in the Article of 1552, answering to our twenty-fifth, "Of the work wrought,"^d) that is, *mechanically*^d; without any good disposition of the communicant^e.—What was said of Sacraments in general, at the close of the twenty-fifth Article, is applied here to the Lord's Supper in particular. This Article is not in the set of 1552; from whence one may presume, that the early Reformers did not think such particular application necessary.

What the Romanists say of the efficacy of Sacraments in general, was stated under the twenty-fifth Article; what they say of the efficacy of the Eucharist in particular, must be mentioned here. The Rhemish annotators say, "Ill men receive the Body and Blood of Christ, be they infidels or ill livers:" their answerer Fulke says, "Wicked men receive *not* the body and blood^f of Christ."—But the Romanists have three ways of receiving. The first, *sacramental*, the second *spiritual*, and a third

^b Bingham, 15. 4. 19.—It appears from 11. 5. 8. and 16. 5, 6. that care was taken to prevent such follies.

^c Potter speaks of *φαρμακα σωτηρια*, Book 2. Chap. 18, or Vol. 1. page 353. Amulets, page 355.—The Jews had Phylacteries. These are mentioned together in the Saxon Confession, Syntagma, page 104.—Heathen and Christian *Holy-water*; Middleton's Letter from Rome, page 136.

^d Some author says, *magically*; but I do not recollect who.

^e Saxon Confession, page 103, Synt.

^f See Rhemists on 1 Cor. xi. 27. and Fulke's answers on the same; and on John vi. 27.

third made up of these two *conjoined*^s.—They who receive only sacramentally, only *eat* the consecrated wafer, without due preparation or disposition.—They who only receive after the second manner, spiritually, do nothing but what we should call *hearing* Mass, or in the words of the Trent Catechism, eat the “heavenly bread *in desire* and *wish* ;” that is, as I understand, they do not eat it *at all*. But they who *both eat* the wafer, and eat it with a good *disposition*, after sacramental confession, receive in the third way.

It is possible that our church, by *inserting* this Article here, might intend it as an argument against *Transubstantiation*, in the way of a reductio ad absurdum; for if all who eat the consecrated wafer eat Christ’s Body, then mice and flies, any animals or insects, eat Christ’s Body, as much as the most pious Christian.

Our Article might be aimed also at the *Lutherans*; because according to the Doctrine of *Consubstantiation*, all receivers of the Lord’s Supper, receive the Body of Christ: and Dr. Bennet^b argues, that Archbishop Parker could not be a Lutheran, because he subscribed this Article; and that the reason why other Prelates did *not* sign it, was, probably, because they were Lutherans.—I do not, however, perceive anything in the Lutheran Confessions, which our Church would wish to oppose, as bringing on the same evils with the Romish Doctrine of Transubstantiation; indeed I see nothing allied to the Romish Doctrine, either in the Confession of Wittemberg, or in that of Augsburg. The Saxon Confession calls it “*portentofum*

^s Trent Catechism, page 224, or Sect. 77, of Eucharist.—The Council, Sess. 13. Cap. 8. Canon 8.

^b Essay on the Articles, page 187.—Bishops Gess and Cheney did *not* sign.

tentofum errorem Monachorum.”—These are all the historical remarks which it seems necessary to make.

II. Nor need the *Explanation* be long.

The *title* sounds more like *French* phraseology than English. *Le voilà qui vient*, see he is *coming*. We should commonly express the meaning of the Title thus; ‘Of the Wicked not really *eating* the Body of Christ.’ The Latin is, *De Manducatione Corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare*. The *Wine* is not mentioned; probably for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity¹.

The chief part of the Article is expressed in the words of *Augustin*, as a Father much venerated by the Romanists. The passage is in his twenty-sixth Tract on St. John.—It is quoted at length by Bennet^k and Welchman.

As all men are “wicked” in some degree, it may be proper to observe, that *worthiness* is here opposed to the *opus operatum*, or the supposed *mechanical* effect of the Lord’s Supper.—“The Wicked” who eat “to their condemnation,”—are the *decidedly* wicked, the abandoned, “such as be void of a lively Faith.” The meaning is, to *oppose* the notion, that a man eats the Body of Christ how wicked *soever* he be.—A lively, or living Faith was explained under the twelfth Article^l.

III. We have here but *one proposition*. ‘Christians do not get the benefits annexed to what in Scripture, is called eating the Body of Christ, merely by partaking of the Lord’s Supper.’

For

¹ Art. xxviii. Sect. xx. the same.

^k 1794. Mr. Porson, page 229, calls this passage of Augustin *spurious*; that should be inquired into.—It is in the Catholicus consensus prefixed to Syntagma, page 207.

^l Art. xii. Sect. xiv. xxiv.

For Proof, I will only cite Hab. ii. 4. with the New Testament applications of it^m; John vi. 35. 54. and 1 Cor. xi. 29. which last is alluded to in the Article; and 1 John i. 7. which intimates, that we must walk in the Light, before the Blood of Christ cleanses us from Sin.

IV. Our *Application* may be confined to *mutual concessions*. And for these I think there is greater room in this Article than in any other. The dispute between the Romanists and the Reformed is merely ⁿ *verbal*; I mean about the present Article as separated from all others. They say, the Bread after consecration, is the Body of Christ, even in *substance*; it follows, supposing this true, that *whoever* eats that substance, eats the Body of Christ; that is, it is not *desecrated* by one mouth more than by another. We say, that the bread continues bread after consecration, and therefore, that every receiver eats bread; but that he who does what the scripture requires, may be said, in the prophetic, strong, figurative language of Scripture, to *eat the Body* of Christ; as he eats what is appointed to represent that Body, and what the Scripture calls briefly that Body itself. — The Romanists, therefore, and we use a phrase, eating the Body of Christ, in two different senses; and we use this proposition, ‘*The wicked eat Christ’s Body,*’ in two different senses: consequently to dispute about its truth, is idle and childish. They too use it as a corollary from a proposition which we think false, though we own the corollary to be rightly deduced. Now it must always be trifling to dispute about such a corollary, as if it were an independent proposition. — We both require *preparation* for

^m Art. XIII. end of Section II.

ⁿ Might this be the reason why Cranmer made no Article on this subject?

for the Sacrament, indeed Romanists more than we; we both say, that unworthy receivers may draw *punishment* upon themselves; we both quote the passage of *Augustin*^o which is in our Article. In short, we both mean; that the consecrated Bread is not defecrated by the unworthiness of the Receiver; and that worthiness is required in order to obtain *benefit*.

Dupin says^p, that the Body and blood of Christ “are truly and really received by *all*, though none but the *faithful* partake of any *benefit* from them.” What can we dispute here? The former part of his affirmation is true, upon his supposition, of Transubstantiation; but that we think false; yet we might use the same *words*, with a different idea. The latter part agrees with our opinions. The former is the same thing as if he had said, ‘*Supposing* Transubstantiation, the Body and Blood of Christ are received by all communicants.’ This could not be disputed; why then should not the Romanists now express themselves so, if it comes to the same thing? why should we discuss a doctrine an hundred times over, in an hundred consequences deduced from it?

I am apt to think, we take the Romanists too strictly about the Sacrament producing *Virtues*^q or *Graces*: that which is to be *expected* of course, is spoken of, in human language, as a consequence, and no uncertainty is expressed about it.—Luke xvii. 1.—1 Cor. xi. 19.—What Protestant teacher would scruple to tell his hearers that attending the Sacrament would *make* them better men? Our Homily^r describes the Graces and Virtues “*wrought*”
(operatæ)

^o Trent Catech. Sect. 57.—See also Sect. 58, 59.

^p Third Append. to Mosheim.

^q “An admirable and *sure* virtue to cure our souls.” From Trent Cat. page 145.

^r On worthy receiving, page 350, 8vo.

(operatæ) by the Sacrament; and I have done the same in explaining^s the expression, “spiritual grace.”—If the Romanists held what they are charged with, they must hold, that *all* persons receive the *same* benefit from the same Sacrament.—But this is contrary to many passages of the Trent Catechism^t.

v. I shall *conclude* what I have to observe on this Article, by reading Dr. *Balguy's*^u account of our obligation to *prepare* ourselves for the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And may that scripture comfort the feeble-minded, which says, that we may trust we have a good conscience if we are in all things willing to live honestly.—Heb. xiii. 18.

^s Art. xxv. Sect. 11.

^t On the Euch. Sect. 51, &c. And 57, 58, 59.

^u Charge 7th, page 315.



ARTICLE XXX.

OF BOTH KINDS.

THE Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

1. The principal part of the *History* of this Article consists in shewing, how the Romish custom of not giving the cup to the Congregation arose from the Doctrine^a of *Transubstantiation*. When the sacramental wine came to be considered as the *blood* of Christ in a literal sense, and that in an age of weakness and superstition, though reverence for the elements seems to have been excessive *before*, men became seized with an *horror* at the thoughts of any of it being profaned, lost, dropped by the trembling hand, or even lodged upon the Beard. I think there are stories of some *judgments* coming upon individuals on account of such profanation. —How to apply a remedy? At first the desperate expedient of wholly withholding the Cup, did not occur; the bread was *sopped* in the wine; the wine was conveyed into the mouth by means of *tubes*; still, probably, accidents did not cease; at length, the ordinance of Christ was maimed, through an excessive fear of spoiling a false shape,
into

^a Middleton's Letter from Rome, Pref. page lxxix.

into which it had been tortured:—the *Cup* was denied to the *People*; including such *Priests* as, at any particular communion, made a part of the *congregation*. For a time, the authority of the ruling Ecclesiastics might be sufficient to prevent the people from murmuring; but the practice was afterwards settled by the authority of a *Council*: the Council of *Constance*, begun so late as the year 1414: a very numerous one, as we have shewn^b before.

II. That the ancient Fathers, and all before the twelfth Century, had no notion of such a thing as preventing the people from receiving the Cup, appears sufficiently from the gradual manner in which the ancient practice was left off. But their expressions are also plain, as taking for granted, and supposing that every man received both bread and wine^c; and reprimanding those who wanted to make a change.—The *Manicheans*, indeed, avoided *all* wine, on principle, and therefore avoided the *Cup*, when the liquor in the Cup was wine: at Rome, when they wished to be concealed, they sometimes were *discovered* by this declining of the cup^d.

III. The *Greek Church* has no custom of refusing the cup to the people^e: the Roman custom arose from the doctrine of Transubstantiation; which

^b Art. XXI. Sect. II. from Fox I. 785. Sess. 13.—See Labbé's Councils, col. 100.—Baxter on Councils, page 437, has the Decree. As also has Bishop Burnet on the Article.—See Comber's Advice, page 12. 17.

^c See Burnet on the Article —Bingham, 15. 5. 1.

^d Leo I. in his Serm. 4. de Quadragesimâ, quoted by Lardner, Works, Vol. 3. page 491.—Burnet mentions this, page 438. octavo.

^e “The Laity, as well as the Priests, communicate in both kinds, taking the Bread and the Wine together in a spoon from the hand of the Priest.” Paul Ricaut, page 187.

which I do not conceive to be *properly* a doctrine of the Greek Church: for although Sir Edwin Sandys says^f, the Greek Christians do hold Transubstantiation; yet that seems by no means a settled thing. From Sir Paul Ricaut's account I judge, that only those Greek Christians who have resided in Italy have favoured it. The Patriarch Cyrill agreed wholly with the reformed Churches in this particular^g.

IV. As we might be suspected of exaggeration if we gave our own account of the Romanists, we will let them speak for themselves.

The twenty-first Session of the Council of Trent was upon the business of communion in one kind, something being annexed about giving any kind of communion to *Infants*. The members of the Council do not say, that it is *wrong* for Christians to receive in both kinds, only that it is *not necessary*:—they hold, that though the *primitive* manner was to receive in both kinds, the *Church* has power to alter it, as to anything but the substance of the institution; making allowances for circumstances, of time and place, &c.—and that the alteration in question was made for *weighty* and *just causes*; but those causes are not specified.—It is however said, in the way of argument, that Christ is received *whole* and intire under one kind; and therefore, that they to whom only one kind is administered, are defrauded of no *saving grace*, no beneficial effects.—But in the Council, two questions occurred.

I. Whether

^f Speculum Europæ, page 233.

^g Paul Ricaut, page 182. — There was, however, such a term in the Greek Church as *μεθωσις*, coined on purpose to express the notion which had been brought from Italy. Which might be used by some to express the change made in the bread and wine by consecration.

1. Whether the Church's weighty and just causes, were so strong, that the use of the cup was to be allowed to no persons whatsoever?

2. Supposing it might be allowed to some particular nation, whether it should not be on *conditions*; and what those conditions should be? — these questions were left undecided till the next Session; and then they were left by the Council, to^b the decision of the *Pope*.

The *Trent Catechism*ⁱ directs the People to be taught, “That by the Law of the Church it is *prohibited* that any one, without the Authority of the Church, (except consecrating Ministers) should take the sacred Eucharist in both kinds.” Some authorities of ancient *Fathers* are quoted; and *six reasons* are specified.

1. The fear of spilling.

2. The fear of wine growing sour, when kept for the sick.

3. The *dislike* which some persons have for the taste or smell of wine.

4. The fear of hurting the *health* of the communicants.

5. The *scarcity* of wine in some places.

6. Lastly and principally, the desire of opposing those *Heretics*, who *dishonour* Christ by saying, that he cannot be received *intire* under one kind: that being to deny his *Divinity*. It is added, that such as have treated on this argument have assigned still more reasons.

The *Rhemists*, on^k John vi. 58. say, that the Church has only regulated manner, order, and particular points; (that is, has not hurt the substance or *essence* of the Sacrament;) that such regulations

^b See end of 22d Session.—Voltaire, Vol. 10. quarto, page 160.

ⁱ Sect 70, &c.

^k Fulke's *Rhem. Test.* opp. fol. 152. on John vi. 58.

the Church has authority to make, according to time and place, for the honour of God, reverence to the Sacrament, and profit to the people: (edifying).—Then they mention some of the same Fathers which are referred to in the Catechism: and some of the same reasons; assigning moreover the *number* of communicants; a “*dreadful regard*” of “*Christ’s own blood*;” and the practice of some centuries.—To their authorities from the Fathers, and indeed to their arguments, Dr. Fulke seems to me to have given a complete answer.

Though the *language* of the *Council* seems to imply an opening for variety and *liberty*, yet the constant practice of the Church of Rome has been, for no one to receive the cup except the consecrating Priest¹.

In later times, with a view to agreement, *Dupin*^m declares for mutual toleration in this point; and for leaving it to be settled by *each Church* for itself.

v. One would think, that the practice of administering to the people in only one kind, might have been *deduced* from the *Lutheran* Consubstantiation; but the Confession of *Wittemberg*ⁿ (which I have presumed to be the work of Luther,) expressly disclaims the deduction. And all other reformed churches seem to oppose it.

vi. The Necessary Doctrine is not reformed with regard to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.—It says, that the Cup is *not necessary* to *Salvation*. That receiving in one or both kinds, rather concerns

¹ Dr. Priestley (Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 55, from Histoire des Papes, Vol. 4. page 679.) says, that “*Pius IV.* granted the Communion in both kinds to those who should demand it, provided they professed to believe as the Church did in other respects. The Bohemians also were allowed, with the Pope’s consent, to make use of the Cup.”

^m As before.—Third Appendix to Mosheim.

ⁿ Syntagma, page 160.

concerns the *manner* or fashion of the Sacrament than the *essence*; that the main thing is *worthiness*:—by “ancient custom” I suppose it means the same as the Rhemists by, “some” centuries. In a popular calculation a custom of some hundred years standing, is an^o ancient one.—It contends, that “by natural *reason*,” “the *lively* body cannot be without *blood*.”

Archbishop Cranmer is said to have been the Author of this Necessary Doctrine^p, &c.—it must have gone hard with him to exclude the Cup, in composing it; for in the first year of Edward VI. the administration in both kinds was voted, nullo reclamante, in a Convocation where he had probably the chief weight^q.—This makes me wonder why our present Article was not amongst those of 1552. Neither do I see the subject in the *Reformatio Legum*.—I cannot account for these omissions.

P. S. The *Article* of Edward VI. confirming his very recent *Liturgy*, made in 1552, takes in this particular;—this was to be subscribed.

VII. I do not see that this Article wants any *explanation*. “Is not to be *denied*”—seems to answer to the expression of the Council of Trent, “*petentibus usum^r calicis*.”

But if it was said, that the Cup is not to be denied to those who *ask* it, would not that imply, that

^o Sterne’s simple and unscholastic Uncle has no idea of any event having happened above 100 years ago.

^p Oxford Pamph. on 17th Art. page 32, from Burnet.—Hist. Ref. Vol. 2.—Records, page 238. Where Henry VIII. calls it Cranmer’s own Book.

^q Wheatly, page 25. from Strype’s Cranmer, page 157, 158. It appears, page 156, that Archbishop Cranmer introduced the proposal of having both kinds, at this Convocation, and that they were supported by Archdeacon Cranmer, his brother.

^r Trent, page 152. or Sess. 22. at the end.

that withholding the Cup from such as did *not* ask it, is innocent?

VIII. We may proceed therefore to some *Proof*. I see but one Proposition in the Article; namely, ‘By the Ordinance of Christ, both Bread and Wine are to be administered, in the Lord’s Supper.’

Matt. xxvi. 27.—“Drink ye *all* of it.”

Matt. xxvi. 28.—*All* Christians are in the new *Covenant*; and all stand in need of “remission of sins.”—These are assigned as reasons for all drinking of the Cup: “*For* this,” &c.

1 Cor. xi. 26—28. is addressed to all the Church of Corinth.

1 Cor. xii. 13. puts *Baptism* and the *Lord’s Supper* on one and the same footing; and for the Lord’s Supper uses the term* *drinking*: that part for the whole. If the Romanists say *either* part is, according to them, sufficient, yet all objections to the Cup in particular, are here done away. Dr. Middleton observes, with a view to our present subject, that the absurdities into which the Doctrine of Transubstantiation leads, should make it to be distrusted†.

IX. The Romanists offer so many arguments, that we must have some *indirect* proof.—We may observe of them, in general, that they prove *too much*; and therefore nothing at all.—Before we mention them, be it observed, that our Saviour, in the Institution of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, makes *no difference* between the Bread and the Wine; of any kind, that I see.—Also, that the Romish doctrine is this;—the *Priest* who consecrates, must *consecrate* both bread and wine; and
must

* Locke on 1 Cor. xii. 13.

† Pref. to Letter from Rome, page lxxx.

must *receive* both himself; though he must *administer* only Bread.

x. Christ at Emmaus^u only *broke bread*; now if he gave the *Sacrament*, and bread does not imply wine, then the argument proves too much: it proves, that the Priest ought to *consecrate* only bread.—And this applies to all arguments founded on the phrase, breaking of bread.

Though a *name* of anything consisting of parts, may be taken from either part, and though St. Paul takes his name for the *Sacrament*, on one occasion, from *drinking* (1 Cor. xii. 13.), yet whoever paints to himself the nature of the Institution, must think, that breaking of bread is another obvious and natural name for the whole ceremony: especially as it was a name for *any repast*.

The *Quakers*^x (and indeed many of our communion) hold, that breaking of bread does *not* mean the *Sacrament*;—in some cases it may not, being the name for any meal, but in some cases I think, it does; as where it is joined with *doctrine*^y and *prayer*; or mentioned as the employment *for which* the Apostles met on a *Lord's Day*^z.—Barclay argues against this, from *eating* being joined with breaking^a of bread, and from the company continuing till *midnight*^b, or later; but why might not this *eating* be the *Αγππη*? which used to be (sometimes at least) held in the evening? I can conceive any conferences of Christian leaders in St. Paul's time, whether begun by an *Αγππη*, or not, to continue for a part of the night or the whole night.—But to return.

xi. The Romanists say, the *Apostles* indeed were to drink of the wine, but they were made *Priests*.

^u Luke xxiv. 30. 35.

^x See Barclay's Apology. Prop. 13. Sect. 8.

^y Acts ii. 42.

^z Acts xx. 7.

^a Acts ii. 46.

^b Acts xx. 7. 11.

Priests. This again proves *too much*.—For granting the argument, it follows, that *wine* ought to be administered *to all Priests*. And the Laity are under no obligation to receive the Bread; for there is *no difference* in our Saviour's appointment of bread and wine.

XII. It is urged, Christ is received intire in his body; every *Body* contains *blood*. We once spoke against *inferences* in unintelligible doctrines^c. This goes to prove, that it was absurd in Christ to institute the Cup; and that it is equally so in the consecrating Priest to drink it —By the way, this argument is a consequence of Transubstantiation; which we consider ourselves as having disproved.

XIII. But, say the Romanists, the *Priest* receives the Cup in order to “*express* lively the passion of Christ, and the separation of his blood from^d his body, in the same.” But this goes to prove that *all* Christians ought to receive the cup; as they are all to shew the Lord's *Death* till he come.

XIV. But giving the people the cup, occasions *dishonour* to the blood of Christ, occasions its being *spilt*, &c.—another corollary from Transubstantiation: but moreover it proves *too much*. It proves, that Christ could not *foresee* these great evils; he must have forborn to institute anything which true wisdom would *wholly* remove in order to avoid them. Nay, these evils were not peculiar to distant ages; they must be liable to happen *every time* the wine was consecrated, in every age. Perhaps an Heretic might be so profane as to say, what real harm could be done by a drop even of the *real blood* of Christ falling to the ground? or what real dishonour? his blood must have fallen to the ground when he was alive. Christ is honoured most by a
faithful

^c Art. I. Sect. XVIII.

^d Rhemists on John vi. 58.

faithful and pious heart; a man may have that with a *trembling hand*. And as to any corporeal *pain*, or suffering, on account of what fell, that must be out of the question: the *falling* of blood never occasions pain to the person by whom it is shed.

xv. But giving the cup, or withholding it, is only *manner*, form, fashion; not the substance or *essence* of the Sacrament. This again proves *too much*. For as Christ made no difference, if the cup be not the essence, neither is the *bread*.—Therefore, again, the people are under no obligation to receive the bread. — But indeed the manner of instituting the cup has no appearance of mere variable mode and circumstance. And if any change is to be made in an ordinance on account of change of circumstances, it should be shewn, that those new circumstances are not voluntary corruptions and abuses.

xvi. But enough. I will trouble you with *no more* arguments; neither does it seem necessary to make any *Application* of our reasonings on the present Article.—Bishop Porteus's Chapter on this subject is well executed.



ARTICLE XXXI.

OF THE ONE OBLATION OF CHRIST FINISHED
UPON THE CROSS.

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 there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of Masses, in the 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.

1. The subject of this Article is the Romish *Mass*.

We will begin, as usual, with a few *historical* observations; but as there may be some who have not attended so much to Romish Doctrines as to have a clear idea of what is meant by the Romish Mass, it may be proper, previously, to give some account of it.

The Protestant notion of the Lord's Supper has been explained; all that some Protestants do, is to commemorate the Death of Christ; others join in a ceremony which may represent a *Feast* on a sacrifice; that is, those who consider the Death of Christ as a *sacrifice*. The farthest any Protestant

goes, is to *offer* a symbolical *commemorative*^a sacrifice.—But *Romanists*, by consecrating bread, make it, in their opinion, the *real Body* of Christ, and they use it in two different ways; they not only administer it as a *Sacrament*, but they *offer* it up to God the Father as a real *Sacrifice*: they have one Form for offering up the bread, another for offering up the consecrated^b cup.—The sacrifice here offered, is not said to be symbolical, but a real, literal, *propitiatory* sacrifice.—There is one form which requests Christ to^c deliver and assist the suppliant by *the Body of Christ* just received.

What was said of some Romish Doctrines at the opening of the twenty-second Article, and since of others, seems fully applicable to the Doctrine of the *Mass*.

The Romanists have a *system* of notions to support this of offering the consecrated bread as the Body of Christ; it seems intended to obviate *objections*. But this will appear when we look into their writings, by and by.

All those masses in which the Congregation are *Spectators*, and the Priest *alone* receives the elements, may be called *solitary*, in some sense; but those, I think, are properly solitary masses, at which no one but the Priest^d is *present*. Several of these may be going on in the same church, at different Altars, at the same^e time. These are generally intended

^a See Heylin's Life of Laud, page 21.—Bishop Cleaver's two Sermons, page 2. 18.

^b Présent Spirituel, page 35.

^c Ibid. page 53.

^d Card. Bona seems to call *both sorts* private. "Sive enim dicatur *privata* ex eo quòd *solus* Sacerdos in eà communicet; sive quia vel unus dumtaxat vel pauci ei *interfint*," &c. Bona Re. um liturgicarum, 1. 14. 1.

^e There are some which are called *dry Masses*; mere outward shew, without Consecration, &c. but these and others being blamed

intended to deliver departed *Souls* out of *Purgatory*: and are *paid* for; infomuch that some Priests are said to get their *living* by offering up Christ a great number of times in a day.—Indeed in public masses there are some parts which are not audible, called in French *La^f Secrete*, and in all, or most, I suppose, there are some prayers for the *dead*.

This custom of saying Mass prevails so much as to exclude^g, in a manner, all *other worship*.

This is the *state* of that Romish practice of which we should now attempt to give some *historical* account.

11. The only *questions* are, when did this practice *begin*? and what *variations* has it been subject to? It may be difficult to assign for its commencement any period with precision. The Mass, in the strictest sense, could not begin before the Doctrine of Transubstantiation existed, because it proceeds upon that doctrine.—But something which *sounds* like it, and *approached* to it, and would in effect bring it on, may be found before. It is difficult to trace out facts nicely in dark and ignorant ages, but the name of *Sacrifice* for different parts of divine *worship*, has been long in use^h.

The

blamed by *Bona*, &c. as abuses, I do not mention them. *Nautical* Masses are without wine, for fear the motion of the ship should shake it so much as to spill it—See these and others mentioned, Bingham, 15. 4. 5.

^f Présent spir. page 28.—*Oraisen* secrete, or sometimes *La Secrete*, as a substantive. Dict. Acad.

^g Rhemists on Luke xxii. 20.

^h In scripture, *Benevolence* is called a sacrifice, Heb. xiii. 16. we have also the sacrifice or *praise*, Heb. xli. 15 the *Body* of Man is to be a living (sometimes in old English called *lively*) sacrifice, Rom. xii. 1.—And when the captive Jews could offer no sacrifices, their devotions were called the *Calves* of their lips.

The ancient Fathers expressed themselves warmly, and nobly; the same feelings, which made them give dignity to every sacred ordinance by ceremonies and habits, made them cloath their expressions of things sacred, with splendid metaphors.— And if they called the Evening *prayer* their evening sacrificeⁱ, no wonder they gave the name of sacrifice to that ordinance^k, which they considered as a representation of the sublime and affecting sacrifice of Christ himself. If one wanted to see a number of instances, one might consult the Rhemish Testament on 1 Cor. x. 21. and Dr. Fulke's answer: but I can select no better single passage than that which is attributed to Ambrose, on Heb. x. 11. though the same^l is found in Chrysostom. The phrase, *unbloody sacrifice*, has also been used by the Fathers for the Lord's Supper, and adopted by the Romanists for their sacrifice of the Mass.—*Missa* is itself an^m ancient word. *Oblations*, of one sort or other, are very ancient, and so is the custom of dedicating or offering them up to God at the *Altar*.—Now suppose a Priest, in an age of ignorance and superstition, heated with zeal and piety, to get all things strongly into his mind, and to fancy he had Christ in his hand; may we not conceive, that he might begin the custom of offering him up to God the Father?

To carry our attempts farther, in accounting for the Mass, would not probably answer any good purpose;—only we may add, that the idea of profiting

ⁱ Psalm cxli. 2.—Bingham, 13. 1. 5.

^k See Priestley's Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 6.—Bingham, 2. 20. 8. *Sacrificii opus sine Presbytero esse non potuit*, from Hil. Fragm page 129.—See Heylin's Laud, page 21.

^l Rhem. Test. on Heb. x. 11. and Fulke.

^m See Art. xxviii. Sect. 11. — Fulke thinks, that *Missa* is not so ancient as the time of *Ambrose*.—On Rhem. Test. opp. page 250. — On 1 Cor. x. 21.

profiting particular people (and the Priest of course) by particular offerings, made at the Lord's table, or altar, on their behalf, with the consecration used at the communion, seems to have been carried into execution beforeⁿ the tenth Century, the æra of Transubstantiation: though such offerings were more properly *sacraments* than *Sacrifices*.—They were accounted *abuses*, and *Laws* were made against them.—*Prayers* for the *dead* were in use in the time of *Chrysoptom*, and were offered at the *time*° of celebrating the Lord's Supper.—A weakness not unnatural, but, as it now seems to us, injudicious: yet there might be difficulty in seeing, at that time, that it could be attended with much harm.

It may be proper to remark here, that though the Fathers sometimes used expressions which *founded* like those of the later Romanists, yet that such expressions were *declamatory*, and are not to be understood in a proper or literal sense.—The very ancient Fathers, having occasion to speak against the heathen sacrifices, and speaking literally, declared, in their Apologies, that Christians had *none*. And in the most declamatory sentences, something always appears, from which it is evident, that the expressions are not intended as plain or literal.—*Gratian*, who lived about the middle of the twelfth Century^p, undertook to reconcile Canons, &c. and expressions of Fathers seemingly discordant; on the words, *Hoc est*, he observes, “therefore as the Heavenly bread, which is the Flesh of Christ, is *called*, after the proper manner thereof, the *Body* of Christ, when in deed and
truth

ⁿ Bingham, 15. 4. 4.—Mosheim, Cent. 8. 2. 4.

^o Fulke on Rhem. Test. opp. 279. or on 1 Cor. x. 21.—Priestley's Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 11. is near this purpose.

^p Cave places him A. D. 1131.

truth it is the *Sacrament* of the Body of Christ," &c.—and afterwards, "not in the *truth* of the *thing*, but in a *signifying mystery*," &c.⁹

And the *unbloody sacrifice* of the ancients, was only figurative; it meant, the representation of the real sacrifice of Christ, in which he shed his *blood* for Mankind.—Indeed I do not see how the sacrifice of the Romish Mass can be called *unbloody*, as the blood of Christ, or what they call so, is solemnly offered up.

III. When once the practice of sacrificing in the Mass was settled, I do not know that there was much *variation* in it. Some abuses crept in, from avarice, irreverence and superstition. This we learn from the Council of Trent, which makes a Decree for reforming^r them.

We may now see what the Acts and the Catechism of that Council tell us concerning our present subject.—The *Council* held their twenty-second Session September 22, 1562; ten years after King Edward's Articles were made, and therefore may well be supposed acquainted with their contents.—They lay down, that Christ superseded the *Jewish* Priesthood, which was to be temporary, by his own, which was to be perpetual. Yet though he was a Priest for ever, he did not mean that *earthly* Priesthood should cease: accordingly, the night before he was betrayed, he *offered up*, to his heavenly Father, *his Body* and blood, under the *symbols* of Bread and Wine, and *ordained* his disciples *Priests*, that they (and their successors) might afterwards *offer him up*. Still there was to be but *one Priest*, the Apostles acting only for their Lord.—The appointed sacrifice was to represent the
original

⁹ *Gratian*, Concord: discord. Distinction 2. C. Hoc est.—For this *English*, see Fulke on Rhem. Test. 1 Cor. x. 20.

^r sess. 22d. first Decree. (page 145, Latin.)

original one; both being real, but the former *bloody*, the latter *unbloody*: yet the appointed was to be accounted *one* and *the same* with the original one, differing only in the *mode* of offering; strictly propitiatory, capable of gaining remission of even great sins; and therefore to be offered for the *dead* as well as the living.

The *Catechism* keeps pretty close to the Council: in describing the difference between a Sacrament and a Sacrifice, it says, “The sacred Eucharist whilst it is kept in the *Pyx*’s, or carried to the sick, has not the nature of a Sacrifice, but of a *Sacrament* :” but when it is *both*, “they that offer this sacrifice, wherein they communicate with us, do *satisfy* and *merit* the fruits of our Lord’s Passion.” — And afterwards it is^t said, “*We* sacrifice,” that is, all communicants. Masses for the *Dead* are^u built on *Tradition* :—and no masses are to be called *private*; because all pertain to the Salvation of all the faithful.

The Rhemists have a great deal to say, but nothing that I need trouble you with

iv. *Wickliffe* had not, probably, at once settled his principles so as to appear perfectly *uniform* in his opinions, in all parts of his works; but a proposition condemned as his in the Council of Constance was the following^x; — “The Gospel saith not that Christ instituted the Mass.”

The *Reformed* Churches seem all against the Romish Mass: the Confession of *Augsburg* speaks favourably of the *term* Mass, and *exculpates* itself from the charge of having *abolished*^y that rite.—

The

^s Sect. 78.

^t Sect. 85.

^u Sect. 86.

^x See Baxter on Councils, Chap. 12. or page 431. — See also Fox’s Acts, &c. (or Martyrol.) Index, *Wickliffe*.

^y Bishop *Andrews* was candid also: see Hejlin’s Life of Laud, page 21.

The *Lutherans* departed the least from the *Romish Church*.

One of the *six articles* is, “That private Masses ought to be continued, which as it is agreeable to God’s Law, so men receive great benefit from them.”

The Necessary Doctrine, gives instructions with regard to the *Sacrament* of the Altar, but I see nothing about *Sacrifice*. It concludes with a short Lecture on praying for the *dead*, in which it discourages every way of being *particular*, if I may so speak.—It allows benevolent intercessions for departed Christians in general, on the principle of a “Communion of Saints,” but opposes Masses being said at particular *places* (at *Scala Cæli*), &c.—and rejects *purgatory*, blames all temerarious *judgment*, and would have all things in which we have not clear knowledge, left to the disposal of God.

Perhaps Henry VIII. suffered Cranmer to undermine the *Mass*, because the custom of saying Masses had a tendency to support the power of the *Pope*.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Masses were left much the same as before, only the communion was allowed to the people in *both*^z *kinds*. But in 1550 the Mass-books were called in, and the *Altars* removed and changed into *Tables*: the principal English Reformers judging, that the retaining of altars would give offence to the chief enemies of Popery, and tend to keep up amongst the people, the idea of a propitiatory^a Mass.—Some Bishops refused to part with their altars, and were deprived for contumacy; the *Lutherans* did retain

^z Neal’s Hist. Pur. Vol. 1. quarto, page 36.

^a Neal, page 44. *ibid*.

retain theirs^b. There is a chapter against Masses in the *Reformatio Legum*.—And *Latimer*, in his Sermons^c, speaks of them as they deserve.

Of men's notions of the Mass under *Elizabeth*, we may judge from the second Book of Homilies; in which I do not recollect any laboured arguments, but only some short declamatory expressions. It is called “*dumb massing*,”—“*mummish massing*.” We are cautioned to take heed lest the Lord's supper, “of the *memory*,” “be made a *sacrifice* ;” “lest applying it for the *dead*, we lose the fruit that be alive.”—We are told, that at it “every one of us must be guests and not gazers; eaters and not lookers, feeding ourselves, not hiring others to feed for us,” &c.—The Mass, I suppose, was so far unsettled by this time, that arguments were unnecessary, and eloquence sufficient.—Yet it might be worth while for any curious person to compare some of the expressions in our communion-office, about the Body and Blood of Christ, about Christ's being a sacrifice, &c. with the Romish Latin Forms; as he would the more easily conceive how the same expressions might suit the different Religions when taken in a literal^d and metaphorical sense.

Dupin is^e unyielding as to our present Article: indeed he could change nothing without bringing the whole *Fabric* of Popish Worship upon his head. He maintains “that the Sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated, but *continued* in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with the Priest.”

Cardinal

^b On this subject, see Wheatly on the Common Prayer, page 273. octavo.—Heylin's Life of Laud, page 20.

^c Vol. 1. octavo, page 162.—See also Index, Mass.

^d Art. xxviii. Sect. xxxiii.—Art. xxix. Sect. iv.—Heylin's Life of Laud, page 21.

^e Mosheim, 3d Appendix.

Cardinal Bona^f seems to be the most able Romish writer in defence of the Mass, that I have happened to consult.

v. We should say something of those who think, that our Church did not recede far enough from the Church of Rome. We may call them collectively *Puritans*, or *Dissenters*. But we have already^g mentioned the modern custom of *sitting* at the Eucharist unknown in the ancient Church:— To these an *Altar*^h must be abomination, especially the Romish sort; of *stone*ⁱ, set against a wall. *Lardner*^k says, that near the primitive times, the Eucharist was never said to be upon an Altar.— One may easily conceive the *Cross* to be called an Altar. Some have thought^l, that the Apostles would not be in the usual familiar table-posture, at the last supper, when they received the bread and wine. Whatever might be the case, our *kneeling* at the communion is justified, by our being in a continued act of *Devotion*; and by our considering the Ordinance as totally emblematical, or symbolical.—Our church, by a Rubric, guards against any suspicion of our *adoring* the consecrated elements: No English communicant has now ever any such idea in his mind. And farther, we never insist upon the posture of kneeling as necessary for all societies of Christians. We are satisfied with our common expression, *Altar-table*, as it seems to suit our idea, that the Eucharist is most properly a representation of a *Feast* upon a *Sacrifice*.

vi. We

^f Rerum Liturgicarum Lib. and De Missâ.

^g Art. XXVIII. Sect. XII.

^h Secker's Sermons, Vol. 6. page 288.

ⁱ Fulke's Rhem. Test. Fol. 287. bottom.

^k Works, Vol. 4. page 337.

^l See Secker's Lectures, Lect. 36. page 243. "a *serious* and *decent* manner." More in Secker's Sermons, Vol. 6. page 288.

VI. We will now proceed to some *Explanation*.

In the *Title*, *Oblation* means, I think, the same as *sacrifice*: all sacrifices were oblations, and all oblations were supposed to be accepted as sacrifices. Under the Law of Moses, the poorer sort of men brought offerings, who could not afford sacrifices. In our prayer of consecration, sacrifice and oblation come together, and seemingly as synonymous. —One oblation is opposed to the continued sacrifices of the Romanists:—*finished* is also opposed to perpetuated: and *on the Cross*,—to, on the *Altar*.

VII. “The Offering”—in the Latin *Oblatio*; so the English might have been again, *Oblation*: but the first sentence of the Article is not our present concern: it is only introductory, except indeed as it may suggest proofs: but the subject, of Christ’s death being a Sacrifice, has been treated in the *Appendix* to the eleventh Article: I do not know that it was proved there that “there is none other,” &c. but it is agreed that there can be no other, except what is afterwards mentioned in this Article.

VIII. “The Sacrifice of Masses,” &c. “were,” &c. this does not seem good grammar; but the Latin has *Sacrificia*, and the English, in Sparrow’s collection, *Sacrifices*. Bennet, however, mentions, *Sacrifice*, as one reading. “Masses”—*Missa* has occurred^m before: no distinction here between public and private masses.—“It was commonly said,”—that is, before the Reformation:—I think we have had a similar expression before.—“*Pain*,” in Latin *pena*, which may signify *penalty*, or punishment. There is “*penis*” in Trent Session 22. Canon 3, relating to the same thing.

“*Blasphemous*

^m Art. xxviii. Sect. ii.—Art. xxxi. Sect. ii.

“*Blasphemous fables,*” *figmenta*ⁿ: — “*dangerous deceits,*”—*perniciosæ imposturæ*. Other Reformed Churches use expressions much the same; which are anathematized by the Council of Trent^o — How the sacrifices of Masses have been “*blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits,*” will best be mentioned under our Proof.

IX. In entering on our *Proof*, we must settle what *Propositions* our Article gives us to prove. I see only *two*.

1. Masses, according to the Romish practice, are “*blasphemous Fables,*” or *figmenta*.

2. They are “*dangerous deceits.*”

x. Being *fables*, *figments*, and *deceits*, seems to mean only one thing, namely, that they are *contrary to scripture*, or, at least, unsupported by it.

This might sufficiently appear from considering, that the doctrine of the Romish *Mass* is founded upon that of *Transubstantiation*, which we suppose ourselves to have removed out of the way. But there are some texts which are so strikingly opposed to the *Mass*, that it must be worth while to cite them.

Those which were cited in the Appendix to the eleventh Article, to prove Christ’s death a Sacrifice, would shew, that such sacrifice was *completed*. But I will confine myself. First I will take Heb. ix. 24. and go to the end of that Chapter. Is it possible to conceive, that the Apostle could have reasoned thus, and have given no hint about the millions of sacrifices which the Romish Priests profess to have performed? or is it possible to conceive, that any part of worship should be meant to

swallow

ⁿ Terence has, *Fabulæ!* for idle tales! *stuff!* Heauton: Act 2. Scen. 3. v. 95.

^o Sess. 22. Canons 4 and 5.

swallow up all other parts, and yet no injunction be given about it?—Next read Heb. x. 26^p.—I do not see how it is any argument if there is any sacrifice after that of Christ: as to all the sacrifices of the Mass, and the sacrifice of Christ making but *one*, that seems quite a gratis dictum, and no argument.—Heb. v. 3. compared with vii. 24—28. shews, that no man can be a Priest in the room of Christ, to offer up the Christian sacrifice.—Read 1 Pet. iii. 18.—Whatever completes types makes a conclusion; that therefore did Christ.—On 1 Pet. i. 20. we observe, that as Christ was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, he must be the only propitiatory Sacrifice for the sins of *all mankind*.—According to Heb. x. 2, 3. whatever sacrifice is *repeated*, cannot take away sin.—Either Christ *suffers* in the Sacrifice of the Mass, or he does not; if he suffers, he must be ever suffering (against Phil. ii. 9.—Heb. ix. 26.) if not, it is no real sacrifice; add Heb. ix. 22^q.—I will not detain you with producing more authorities in so plain a case. *Private Masses* are against 1 Cor. x. 17.—xii. 13. &c.

Masses may be called *blasphemous*, as degrading Christ, dragging him, as it were, down from Heaven for a few *sins*:—merely to describe the thing, seems a sort of blasphemy.—A poor Priest *labouring*, with a *wafer*, in the *occupation* and craft of offering up our blessed Lord! treating a happy and glorious Being, “crowned with glory and honour,” (Heb. ii. 9.) as wretched and despicable! nay *numberless* Priests doing this at the same time; and muttering at numberless Altars!—Books of
Travels,

^p On this text the Rhemists remark, “Perilous reading of Scriptures.”

^q See Bishop Cleaver, page 18.

Travels, which relate these facts, must be shocking to every serious reader.

XI. Masses may be called *pernicious*, in regard to the evil consequences which they tend to produce. They tend to make religion a mere civility; to take Christians off from prayer, and preaching of the word of God; and to give them an easy method^r of evading all their duties, moral and religious. Moreover, by presenting a *material* object, they hinder men from worshipping “*in Spirit*” and in Truth.” They tend to promote *Infidelity* amongst men of improved understandings; and from such, inferior persons soon catch the infection.

XII. And now shall I offer any *indirect proof*? the Romanists have urged many considerations in their own favour, but such as seem to be for the most part mere *Hypothesis*, unfounded in Reason and Scripture. The doctrine of the Mass might do in the *dark* ages, but it will not bear the light. The Romanists, where they are improved, resemble a man, who because he has planned something in a fit of melancholy, rage, or intoxication, determines to carry it into execution at all hazards, when he is become perfectly sober and in his right mind; and to justify it the best he can. However, if any one chuses to make a business of examining the Popish pleas in favour of the Mass, he may consult the Rhemish Testament^t; and if he reads
the

^r At Reims, a reverend German Marquis (an Abbé) told me, one Sunday evening, that he had been *à la Messe* at five o'clock in the morning; after which he had gone *à la Chasse*; (a rabbit-shooting;) and that he was then ready to go *à la Comedie*.— This he said very innocently, as conscious of no fault. Indeed at the Play he was to make some little change in his dress, that every one might know he was *incognito*.

^s John iv. 24.

^t Particularly on Luke xxii.—1 Cor. x. and xi. and on Heb. ix. and x.

the answers of Dr. Fulke, I think he will be pleased; making an abatement for controversial language, which is seldom pleasing.

XIII. I fear it would not be to much purpose to detain you long on an *Application*: a form of assent does not seem wanting, and any plan for mutual concessions, is desperate^u.—To the *interested* we can only offer 2 Cor. iv. 4. and observe, that it is as applicable to those who call themselves Christians, as to “them which believe not.” “The God of this world may blind^x the minds of either.” But to those who are not affected by the immense sums which have been lavished away on the saying of Masses, we may recommend the interests of rational piety: let not any of them be afraid^y to embrace it, though it may subvert, for a time, the whole system of their national religion: neither let them be afraid that the common people, deprived of their present principles, may become wholly unprincipled: the common people amongst the Protestants, have, many of them, much solid piety; of a better sort than the lower people in Popish countries: and as to men of letters and science, while the Romanists are chiefly Infidels, the Protestants can reckon amongst true believers, those for whose understandings they have the highest esteem on other accounts; an Addison, a Locke, and even a *Newton*. These have all laboured in the cause of revealed religion.

If the Romanists will not listen to our brotherly exhortations, let them hear our threats: the rage of paying for Masses will not last for ever; as men improve,

^u Halifax on Prophecy, page 361.

^x See Comber's Advice, page 59.

^y P. S. What we find in the second Appendix to Mosheim, suits this advice;—I had not read it. Octavo, Vol. 5. page 110. Fenelon's notion.

improve, it will continually grow weaker, and weaker: As Philosophy rises, Masses will sink in price; and at length, superstition will pine away, because no one will be interested to maintain and support it. Even Institutions formed by *Legacies*, will have their revenues transferred to other uses. — But *then*, the minds of all ranks of men will be in a far worse state than if they had lost their superstition in any other manner: instead of having a Religion which their reason makes them esteem, at the same time that it warms their hearts with devout affection and Christian benevolence, they will have acquired an habit of despising all religion; and of thinking those most degraded, who shew the most attention to religious^z truth.

^z This Lecture was given Feb. 27, 1792; with the accidental omission of Sect. xi. and the last paragraph of Sect. x.



ARTICLE XXXII.

OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

BISHOPS, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

1. If one could give the *natural principles* of any subject, they would connect all facts, and make the best *Key* to the *History* of men's practice. For all practice is only the operation of natural principles in different circumstances.—With a view to illustrating facts after this manner, I have sometimes prefixed to my historical observations, some attempt at a description of Nature; and the plan seems to suit our present subject.

In the Appendix to the First Book, I have spoken something of monastic Life; have endeavoured to describe it, and account for it; I now only observe, that the contemplative abstemious Monk differs from the Man of the World, very materially; he differs, as to the refinement of his passions, and particularly as to the more warm, rapturous, affectionate kind of Piety. At the same time, he has his peculiar faults.—With regard to *Marriage*, which on this Article is our chief concern,

cern, he is farther removed from it, than one who maintains a constant intercourse with mixed companies.

But amongst men of the *world*, there may be a great difference in respect of marriage, and of motives for engaging in it. One man may be so situated, that it would be a desirable thing for him to marry merely on prudential^a motives; an alliance would enable him to accomplish the ends which he has chiefly in view. Another is much attracted to marriage; he esteems it a great good; but he is afraid of losing what he esteems a still greater good; he is afraid of losing a good *service*, a good Fellowship, &c. besides (for that must always be supposed, in order to make single life rightly chosen) that he shall be able to resist all *temptations* peculiar to celibacy.

Now suppose these men all to fix their views solely on the *good* of promoting *religion*, at the time they have marriage in view: the *Monk* would engage in single life with readiness, in order to promote it; would probably condemn marriage, or at least highly applaud continence; and would feel himself elated and purified. The man of the *world*, in the first situation, would perceive, that, in his own way, he could best promote religion by associating with himself a certain female partner, and following a certain plan. The other, would tend forcibly towards a married state, but he would see, that, in his case, connexions and incumbrances would impede him so much, that he could not freely exert himself; could not, on the whole,

^a It is reckoned prudent for a Man-midwife to be a married man; and a candidate for a Chairkey of a Society of Females: as Magdalens, Asylum, &c.—Or prudence may be pleaded *against* marrying: Le Mariage est une chose très serieuse; on ne peut pas trop y penser: Heureux celui qui y pense toute sa vie.

whole, do that good, in promoting religion, which he particularly meditated. We need proceed no farther in order to see, how men might be situated, in respect of marriage, upon the first propagation of the Christian Religion.

It has been before observed, that men could scarcely, at first, enter into Christianity, without being agitated: they must be under continual alarms; their views must be fixed on heaven's objects; their affections set on things above: where their treasure was, there would their *heart* be also. This is a disposition very unfavourable to marriage; or to allowing it its due share of praise; and the prevalence of the oriental Philosophy would make it more unfavourable^b. Such a temper would regard the marriage of *Priests*, as a want of self-government, as a degradation of the sacred character. Now if we conceive this temper working forcibly through a number of ages, and always combated by the natural propensity to marriage, and by the more ordinary feelings of common sense and active life, we shall have a general sketch of the History before us.

II. Though the sacred writers themselves seem to me perfectly free from every thing flighty, yet in the *Apostolic Age* Christians began to find, or fancy, that attentions to their Wives, prevented their being such good Christians as they might be. And, in some cases, both partners were of the same mind: they separated, at bed, though not at board; so that the wife became a sort of *Sister*. —*Hermas*, at the beginning of his first *Vision*, speaks of a woman, whom he had begun to love *as a Sister*,

^b Mosheim says, that *malignant Spirits* were thought to have most influence over married people, quarto, Vol. 1. page 137.

Sifer, and he is afterwards^c told that his *Wife* must be his *Sifer*.

Basilides is placed by Cave in the year 112; many strange things have been said of him; but in Lardner's Book of Heresies they are compared, and a sober judgment formed out of them. That judgment is^d, that *Basilides* valued continence, not on monastic principles, absolutely, in itself, but only with regard to the good effects it would produce in any particular juncture; on the ground of its utility in any particular circumstances:—if it produced the greatest good, in any case, in *that* case, it was to be commended and practised; otherwise it was not necessary or required. This fell so far short of the high notions of some sects of Christians, that it was accounted *heretical*.

The *Manicheans* only *tolerated* marriage even in what they called their *Auditors*^e, in their *elect*, they did not even tolerate it.—The *Manicheans* are placed as first flourishing about the end of the third Century.

It seems clear that, however some might be *admired* for not marrying, some of the Clergy *did* marry, or *were* married men, during the whole^f of the three first centuries. Yet I suppose that *attempts* were continually on foot to prevent their marrying, or to make them separate themselves from their wives.

During these three first Centuries, there arose a custom for men to have women constantly with them, who were called *subintroduced* women; *mulieres*

^c Second Vision.—See the Note at the beginning of *Hermas's* first Vision. Edit. Russell.

^d Her. *Basilides*, Sect. 12.—Lardner's Works, Vol. 9. page 285.

^e Vol. 1. page 349. or Append. to Book 1. Sect. 1v. 7.

^f See Bingham, 4. 5. 5.

mulieres subintroductæ; in the Greek Churches, *συνισκευηται*:—their employments and characters are not entirely agreed about: *Lardner*^g says, they “were not wives, nor concubines, but persons maintained as objects of Charity, or else for the sake of domestic affairs.” Bishops, and men of great eminence, entertained these women; some very innocently, I do not doubt; but it seems probable, that the connexion would be a snare for others, if any times of peace or quiet came on.—This *Mulier subintroducta* seems to have been a sort of continuation of the *Sister-wife* of *Hermas*.

III. At the Council of Nice, in 325, it was proposed, that such Ministers as had wives, should put them away; the conduct of *Paplauntius*^h, an Ægyptian Bishop of some eminence, on the occasion, was spirited and liberal:—though bred up a Monk himself, unmarried, and remarkable for his chaste conduct, he cried out in the Assembly, that he would not agree to the putting of such “a yokeⁱ upon the neck of the Disciples;”—that cohabiting with a virtuous wife, was chastity itself;—and that he could by no means agree to anything more than that the unmarried Clergy should continue

^g *Lardner's Works*, Vol. 3. page 82, Note.—The idea of marriage without cohabitation was not very uncommon in the times of which we are speaking. Nor was it wholly unknown to the Heathens. See the Life of *Hypatia* in *Suidas*; or *Lardner's Works*, Vol. 9. page 83.—Some Christians have run into the folly of performing what may be called *feats* of chastity or continence: that is, have exposed themselves voluntarily to very great temptations in order to boast of their power of overcoming them. See the accounts of *D'Arbriffel*, founder of the Abbey of *Fontevraud*, who died in the year 1117. *Bayle's Dict.* under *Fontevraud*. *Gibbon's Hist.* quarto, Vol. 1. Chap. 15. page 485.

^h *Suidas* from *Socrates*, 1. 11. and *Sozom.* 1. 23. *Bingham*, 4. 5. 7. from the same.

ⁱ *Acts* xv. 10.

tinue single. He had weight to stop the imposition of the restraint proposed.

At this famous Council a *Canon*^k was made against the *subintroduced* women, which I will read.

The general *turn* of the Religious, was to celibacy; and fine eulogiums were written upon chastity, and other *Ascetic* perfections, by Tertullian, Ambrose, and most of the Fathers: though Tertullian did write two Books *Ad Uxorem*; to his own wife.

IV. The first check which this humour met with, was from *Jovinian*, a Monk of Milan, in the fourth Century; we have mentioned his idea, that Satan has not power to seduce a true Christian, under the sixteenth Article^l; but he was more famous for holding^m, that wives may be as good Christians as Virgins can be. Lardner considers him as having been of the same opinion with Basilides; as alreadyⁿ described.—*Vigilantius*, a Presbyter of Gaul, in the fifth Century, is spoken of with Jovinian; they both opposed several growing customs of Christians, which had arisen from a too great luxuriance of Piety.—*Jerom* is very indignant against Vigilantius, whom he describes as saying, that no Clergyman ought to remain unmarried. This notion he amplifies and exaggerates thus; *et nisi (Episcopi) prægnantes uxores viderint Clericorum, infantelque de ulnis matrum vagientes, Christi Sacramenta non tribuunt*^o:—(will not *ordain* them).

The

^k Councils, by Labbé, or others. In English, Lardner's Works, Vol. 3. page 82. Note.

^l Art. xvi. Sect. 1x.

^m Bower's Life of Siricius.

ⁿ The opinion is Beaufobre's, but adopted by Lardner: Works, Vol. 9. page 285.

^o Jerom adv. Vigilant. C. 1. last Vol. but one, page 281, 2d Tome.

The Pope, by whom Jovinian and his followers were condemned, was *Siricius*, who died in the year 398: he is usually said to be the first who *forbade* the marriage of his Clergy; but I suppose many of them were married after his time.

The *struggle* between lofty notions of religious purity, and ordinary ones of natural propensities, seems never^p to have intermitted; but we must not attempt more than to mark its principal appearances.

v. *Gregory VII.* called *Hildebrand*, who died in 1085, is spoken of as having the most completely and universally effected the celibacy^q of the Clergy.—Those before him are thought to have been *superstitious* in discouraging marriage; he to have done it from motives of *policy*.—Yet it is owned, I suppose, that he was a man of strict purity in private life, and sincerely zealous for the Reformation of manners^r.

vi. In *England*, according to Fox, Marriage of Priests was first forbidden by *Anselm*, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a Council at London.—In another Council, held in the year 1104, five years^s before his death, at Winchester, there is a reference

^p *Intermediate* decisions were made in the sixth general Council, held at Constantinople 580, called *Quinisextum*, or in *Trullo*, (or *Trulla*): *Cave*, Vol. 1. page 605.—*Dupin's Compendium*, Vol. 2. page 295.

^q *Burnet* on the Article.—*Bishop Hallifax* on Prophecy, page 352—355.—*Comber's Advice*, page 15. 43.—*Fox's Martyrol.* Vol. 2. page 463.

^r The particular year when Priests first gave a promise of celibacy, and Bishops took an oath to ordain no married man, is said by Fox to have been 1067; but *Comber* mentions 1074: both speak from ancient historians.

^s *Fox*, Vol. 2. page 463. 483. the *date* of the former Council I do not find in Fox:—Of which *Henry Huntington* says, “In quo *prohibuit* sacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas.” Prohibiting is not preventing. But *Cave* does not

reference to a former one held at London; but Henry I. connived at the Priests' marrying; and there has been much *connivance* at this offence, at different times.

VII. St. *Bernard*, called the last of the Fathers, died 1153; I was surprized to see how strongly he inveighs against depriving the Priests of the liberty of marrying⁷. He was perfectly *orthodox*, Head of one great Monastery (Clairvaux) and founder of 160 others.

VIII. The Marriage of Priests was, about the time we are speaking of, very unpopular in England; it occasioned *riots*, in which the sacred elements, consecrated by married Priests, were thrown into the dirt, and trodden under foot.—The Priests who had wives, were called by the opprobrious name of *Nicolaitans*⁸.

IX. Pope Pius II. called Æneas Sylvius before he came to the Popedom, died in 1464; he is famous⁹ for having said, "Marriage was for great reasons forbidden Priests, and for greater² is to be restored to them."—By *greater*, intimating the danger not only of such incontinence as he himself had been guilty of, but also of unnatural vices.

X. In

not clear up these matters, so I leave them: He has no Council at Winchester in 1134.—And it appears that *Lanfranc* held a council against the Marriage of Priests in 1076.

Cave says, that in 1102 Anselm held a Council at London, but he does not mention marriage of Priests, in his account of it. There seems to have been a great deal of business undertaken at this Council.

⁷ See an original record to this purpose in John Fox, Vol. 1. page 253.—A proclamation of Anselm's.

⁸ See Fox, Vol. 2. page 483.—Comber's Advice, page 43.

⁹ Fox, Vol. 2. page 465. 479.—Rev. ii. 6. 15.

² Burnet on the Article.—Comber, page 42.—Baxter on Councils, page 448.—Fox, Vol. 2. page 466.—Bower's Lives of the Popes.

² Baxter on Councils, page 448.

X. In the *Greek Church* we are informed, by *Brerewood*, in one part of his book, that no marriage^a is allowed *after* Ordination; and in another^b passage, that the *Russians*, in particular, ordain only those who *are* married.—Neither of these rules allows a Clergyman to marry a *second* time. Indeed *second marriages* have been declared against by many sets of Christians^c; probably with a view to 1 Tim. iii. 2. “The husband of *one wife*.”

XI. In the twenty-fourth Session of the Council of Trent, the Marriage of Priests was discussed, but there is only one Canon against it (the ninth), which contains nothing remarkable. The next Canon anathematizes all those, who do not hold, that single life is better and more happy (or more blessed, *melius et beatius*), than married life.—In the Trent Catechism I see nothing on the subject; perhaps because the Catechism was only for the people; which reason will extend to the Necessary Doctrine.

XII. At the time of the *Reformation*, men stood disposed as is described by Bishop *Burnet* at the beginning of his Exposition of this Article; they were remarkably attentive to the mischiefs which might arise, either from a continuance of the Clergy in that single state, to which many scandalous irregularities seemed to be owing; or from reducing persons of sacred characters to the level of ordinary men, and setting them in the light of slaves

^a Brerewood on Languages, page 127.

^b Page 137.

^c See Dr. Redman's opinion in Strype's Cranmer, page 157.—John Fox, Vol. 1. page 36.—Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln in 1757, was said to be married to his fourth wife, and to have, as a motto of a ring, “*If I survive, I'll make it five*.”—The same story has been told of others; it is only mentioned here as proving, that a succession of marriages were not disreputable even to a Prelate.

slaves to sensual appetites. It will appear probable, from what has been said, that men *should* stand so affected, in such a conjuncture.

Amongst the propositions of *Wickliffe* and *Huj's* condemned at the Council of Constance^d, I do not see any relating to the Marriage of Priests.

The *Reformed Churches* declare^e against forbidding Priests to marry. Some mix the marriage of Priests with that of Laymen; but the Confession of *Augsburg* has a separate chapter for the marriage of Priests: amongst other evils of the prohibition, it mentions, that some good men, by their conflicts with the weakness of their nature, have been reduced to a state of *desperation*. That writing of Bithop *Jewel's*, which is called part of the *Englisk* Confession, I will read; as it contains much good matter in^f a small compass.—The first page of that of *Augsburg* (on this subject) is worth reading.—The *Helvetic* in one place, says, that single men, supposing them virtuous and easy, are *more fit* for taking care of sacred things, than those who are distracted by the cares of a^g Family:—and, a little after, condemns those who condemn second marriages.

One of the *Six Articles* is, “Priests may not marry by the Law of God.”—*John Fox* in his *Martyrology*, (or *Acts and Monuments*^h, &c.) has given a particular History, and a great deal of

argument,

^d Art. xxi. Sect. 11.

^e In casting my eye over the Confessions in the *Syntagma*, I did not see the subject in the French, Dutch, or Scotch; nor in the Polish; but it may possibly be in any of them, though I believe it is not.

^f *Syntagma*, page 117.

^g *Synt.* page 84.—*Aptiores autem hi sunt curandis rebus divinis, quàm qui privatis familie negotiis distrahantur.*—This must depend upon *circumstances*.

^h Vol. 2.

argument, on this and every other of these six Articles of Henry VIII.

King Edward VI. in 1552, *ratified* the marriages of the Clergy, and made, by Act of Parliament, their children legal *inheritors*.—And in the *Reformatio Legum* there is a chapter in favour of Matrimony, which is warm in defence of the marriage of the Clergy. Archbishop *Cranmer* was married; and in his Life by *Strype* we find some good things on our present subjectⁱ.

In the reign of Queen *Mary* Popery was restored, and the Queen gave injunctions to the Bishops, amongst other things, “to remove all married clergymen from their^k wives.”—And, in consequence, “all the married Clergy throughout the kingdom were deprived.”

Queen *Elizabeth* did restore the Protestant Religion, but, in some things, she was not so forward about it as some of her subjects. It seemed a thing of course that the Clergy should again be allowed to marry; but *Elizabeth* refused to authorize their marriage, openly, by *Law*; she was indeed willing to *connive* at it, but that would not secure *legitimacy* of children^l. Her backwardness caused the trouble of particular acts, as I understand, of *legitimation*. How desirous she was to clog and impede all clerical marriages, appears from her Injunctions in 1559^m; in which she orders, that no Priest shall marry any woman except he have the consent of his *Bishop*, two neighbouring *Justices*, and the woman's *Parents*.—

If

ⁱ *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*.—See *Dr. Redman's* opinion, page 157.—*Cranmer's*, page 161.

^k *Neal*, Vol. 1. page 60.—*John Fox*, Vol. 1. page 36.

Strype's Annals, Vol. 1. page 80.—I think Archbishop *Parker* had a Son legitimated, by Act of Parliament.—*Neal*, Vol. 1. page 117.

^m *Sparrow's* Collection, page 76. Cap. 29.

If no Parents, the consent of Relations; if no Relations, of Master or Mistress: besides Banns, &c. — These impediments argue either a strong prejudice in the Queen, or an opinion, that the marriage of the Clergy was still *unpopular*.

XIII. *Dupin* is very tolerant about the marriage of Priests: he allows “that Priests may marry, where the Laws of the Church do not prohibit it.”

Here ends our *History*.

XIV. The *Explanation* will be much shorter.

In the *Title*, the word “*Priests*,” I consider as a *generic* term, including all orders of ecclesiastical Ministers. In the Article, all those orders are specified, which subsist in our Church.

“Not *commanded* :” to see the force of this, we should examine with what it is *consistent*; suppose any one should be of opinion that single life is *better* for Priests than married life; (*melius et beatius*) that it is *recommended* in Scripture, that it will be *rewarded*, &c. &c. still he might agree, that it is not “*commanded*.”

“*By God's Law*,”—this is the expression of one of the *six Articles* of Henry VIII. and may allude to them: suppose any one thought celibacy of Priests was commanded by the *Canon Law*, the Law of the Church, or the Law of *England*, or even the Law of *Nature*, still he might assent to this *Article*, except he thought it was commanded by *Scripture*. Only it should be understood, that if Scripture was found to refer to any other Law, or ratify it, then its being commanded by that Law, would be the same as its being commanded by Scripture. Indeed the Law of Nature is God's Law; but the scripture seems here to be meant.

“Either

² Third Append. to Mosheim.

“ Either to *vow* the estate of single life, or to *abstain* from marriage;”—that is, either to abstain in consequence of a vow, or without vowing. I suppose, that the Romish Clergy *do* take a vow of celibacy upon Ordination; as our Clergy used to do in the time of *Anselm*^a, and ever since, probably, till the Reformation.

“ As for all *other* Christian men,”—does this make it necessary for us to *prove*, that it is lawful for Christians *in general* to marry?—the Title is only of *Priests*; but if Priests may marry, Laymen may, *à fortiori*. And the scriptural expressions are common to all sorts and conditions of men. This clause beginning “therefore;” was *added* in 1562, so means something against monastic Life in general.

“ As they shall *judge*,” &c. this does not seem properly a part of our Article: however, it is a good moral direction, and tends to shew the reasonableness of the liberty allowed; and that it is of an honourable, worthy sort:—and does it not imply, that our Church *prefers* neither single nor married life absolutely? but either, which, in any particular case, is best for a man’s *morals*? in which he will be the *best Man*?

xv. Next comes the *Proof*.—I see but *one proposition*.

‘Priests are allowed, by Scripture, to marry.’

Matt. viii. 14. Shews that St. Peter was married.

Acts xxi. 9. implies that St. Philip was also married.

Acts xviii. 2. shews the same of *Aquila*^b. Also
1 Cor. xvi. 19.

I venture

^a John Fox, Vol. 2. page 483.

^b Aquila seems to have been accompanied by his wife Priscilla while employed in teaching Christianity. He also seems, from Acts xviii. 26. to have been more than an ordinary teacher;

- I venture to add, for the present,
 1 Cor. ix. 5. It does not shew that Paul was married; but, according to our version, that he claimed a right to marry; and that those who were called our Lord's Brothers, were married; that is, James^a, Simon, &c.—So much for Precedents.
- Matt. xix. 12. at the end, implies, that some are, in some sense, *unable* to live single: therefore there can be no *command* to do so.—Priests are not excepted.
- 1 Cor. vii. 2. 9. implies, that to marry may *sometimes* be a *duty*: and no exception is made.
- Eph. v. 32. and preceding, might be considered; I would submit, whether St. Paul would have used his *Allegory* about Christ and the Church, his *Spouse*, if it was unlawful for St. Paul, or any other minister of the Church, to marry.

In 1 Tim. iii. 2. 4. and Titus i. 6. it is plainly implied, that Ministers may be married.—And from 1 Tim. iv. 3. it appears, that “*forbidding to marry*,” was one of the marks of *evil times*.

Heb. xiii. 4. shews, that “*marriage is honourable in all* :” who shall presume to make an exception? compare 1 Cor. vii. 2. Shall not a minister connect himself as those were connected, who were fixed upon for Ministers?

The *Jerwish* Priests did marry undoubtedly.

If

teacher; especially considering that *Apollos*, to whom he expounded the way of God more perfectly, was himself a teacher.

^a See Art. vi. Sect. xxv.

If it should appear, from any part of Scripture, that we are made *judges* of the evils of continuing single, it then becomes *scriptural* to apply every thing which History and experience have taught us.

xvi. This may suffice for direct proof; on this Article we must have some indirect. Not but some of the arguments of our adversaries are again *frivolous*; I shall content myself without proving, that St. *Peter* did cohabit with his^r wife; or that there was such a thing in the Latin Church as a man's retaining a wife after his appointment to the Ministry:—Yet there are *some* difficulties which are worthy of a solution, if we can suggest one.

xvii. It is urged that *αδελφην γυναικα*, in 1 Cor. ix. 5. is not rightly translated, *a Sister, a Wife*; it should be a *Christian woman*:—and so indeed Mr. *Locke* understands it; one to *wait* upon an Apostle, and provide those things for him, which in modern times are provided at Inns.—The *context* is not about a right to marry, but about a right to have *accommodations* provided.—Our marginal translation of *γυναικα*, is, *woman*.—I feel diffident about two substantives put together; they seem to make an uncommon, or singular, expression; yet *αδελφην γυναικα* should mean something more than *αδελφην* singly; why is *γυναικα* added? if the expression had been used by St. *Peter*, instead of St. Paul, I should have understood it of his *wife*; and I should have taken the meaning of *αδελφην* from what we said about *Hermas's*^s *Sister-wife*.

Peter

^r Rhem. Test. on Matt. viii. 14. and on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

^s Sect. 11.—Perhaps one should not omit observing, that *Homines Christiani*, means the same as *Christiani* without *homines*; let the observation *apply* as it may.—But Fulke on Rhem. Test. 1 Cor. ix. 5. makes a difference between *γυναικα αδελφην* and *αδελφην γυναικα*. And so, between *mulierem sororem*, which is the expression of the vulgate, and *sororem uxorem*, which he thinks right.

Peter is said to have *done* that which Paul *claimed* a right to do: whom could Peter lead about but his wife? Paul was single¹, and did not do the thing which he claimed a right to do; certainly he might have led about a Christian *Woman*.—Is the meaning this? ‘might I not, if I pleased, put the Converts to the *expence* of maintaining not only me, but a female companion? For if I had a *Wife*, as Peter has, I might take her with me, as he does; not for the sake of conjugal endearment, that would impede my proper business, but as a sort of *Sister*.’—If it were quite sure that all the persons of whom Paul speaks in this passage, were married², I should be apt to conclude, that he meant by *γυναίκα*, a *Wife*.

However, if 1 Cor. ix. 5. should not make for the marriage of Priests, it can make nothing against it.

XVIII. But it may be urged, that Matt. xix. 11, 12. and 1 Cor. vii. seem to recommend celibacy as something *superior* to married life; as more pure and perfect. I answer, this has been^x thought, yet without reason, as far as I can judge. But, though that were the meaning of these scriptures, yet

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 7.

² Some have said that *all* the Apostles were married, except Paul; but I fancy they use this verse as proof: taking for granted that *γυνή* here means *wife*.—Clemens Alexandrinus says, that the Apostles who led about with them a *Sister*, a *Wife*, might make them useful in *teaching* women religion in private. And so, “the doctrine of the Lord might enter into the closet of women,” “without any reprehension or evil suspicion.” Fulke on Rhem. Test. 1 Cor. ix. 5. from Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3.

P. S. The notion of Clemens Alex. seems like my own; that the Apostles led about wives, not “*as Wives*, but *as Sisters*,” as assistants. Might not an Apostle take with him sometimes a *real Sister*? if particularly well qualified for instructing females?

^x See John Fox, Vol. 1. page 3.

yet the passages cannot be thought, by recommending, to *command* men to live single;—rather the contrary; a measure is recommended because it cannot be commanded; they make no difference between Clergy and Laity, and it is absurd to think, that it is so much as recommended to all men to live single.—But let us consider the sense of the two passages.

Matt. xix. 11, 12. and 1 Cor. vii. may be taken together.—Difficulties and obstacles lie in the way to marriage; a man is alarmed with not being able to get a *Divorce* (Matt. xix. 9, 10.)—or he is afraid, that if he marries, he shall not be able (1 Cor. vii.) to execute the trust committed to him, of promoting a new Religion of divine original. Or if he really, at bottom, wishes to marry, he proposes his difficulties as if he was led by them to *desire* a single life: perhaps under some degree of self-deceit. He asks^y *advice*. His adviser replies, as supposing him sincere, Marriage is an affair about which I can give you no advice *upon the whole*; at least upon the whole I dare not advise you *against* it: you must *judge for yourself*; the decision depends in a great measure upon your own *feelings*; and those it is impossible for me to enter into with such exactness as to direct you properly: all that the best adviser can do, is only to suggest *particular considerations*; you must afterwards complete the deliberation.—So far I can suggest; that you need not make yourself *uneasy* as if it were an *indispensible* duty to marry; experience shews that it is not; for it shews, that Nature has^z disqualified some persons, in body, or in mind; and others, men of the best characters, have

^y Matt. xix. 10. — 1 Cor. vii. 1.

^z Lardner's Works, Vol. 9. page 284. from Beaufobre's opinion of Basilides.

have found it the greatest good to give themselves up to promote the interests of Religion: these, by setting their affections on things above, may be said to have disqualified themselves: you may therefore be perfectly easy on that head; it is no more expected that all *men* should propagate their species, than that all *plants* or animals should.— But perhaps you may *wish* to marry, and may really be afraid lest, by marrying, you should involve yourself in difficulties inextricable^a; or lest you should encumber yourself, and divert your affections, so that you cannot exert yourself freely, in performing the works of virtue or *piety*^b, which you meditate. I repeat, I cannot, I dare not advise you not to marry, on the whole; but I will mention anything that occurs to me: were you to marry, you might fall into some “*present*^c *distress*;” I can see that things are so situated, that you might “have trouble in^d the *flesh*,” if you had a family to conduct; I can also inform you, that I feel no dissatisfaction with my *own*^e situation as a single man; and as to the things of religion, certainly the fewer worldly and domestic^f cares you have, the less distracted will be your attention; and so I could go on suggesting particular motives; but after all, you must *determine*: if you ask, *why*, I answer, because you only can judge whether it is *safe* for your *morals*^g to live a single life: that is the principal thing to be considered, and you can only judge of your security by your *habits* and your feelings: every motive must be subservient to motives of *duty*: were I to press you to live a single life, and you fell into *sin*, I should never be able

^a Matt. xix. 9.^c Verse 26.^f Verse 33. 35.^b 1 Cor. vii. 32. 34. 35.^d Verse 28.^e Verse 7, 8.^g Verse 2.

able to console myself for having “cast a snare^h upon you;”—for having given you advice when you was not “able to receiveⁱ it:”—able, I mean, as every one must conceive me to mean, without its ruining your *principles*.—No; whatever good there may be in avoiding marriage, in any circumstances, whatever evils marriage might occasion, they are not to be compared to evils of being perpetually tormented by *sinful passions*; it must always be “better to marry than to burn^k.”—If you feel yourself weak, do not attempt arduous tasks: “marriage^l is honourable in all,” and yet men may in some situations rightly prefer a single state; and whatever virtue any man practices, in any state, he should consider it as the *gift^m of God*; (Matt. xix. 11.—1 Cor. vii. 7.) But God forbid that any principle of *ambition*, though of the most laudable sort, should ever induce you to avoid marriage, if you cannot conduct yourself rightly in a single condition; if you cannot fully resolve to do the duties

^h Verse 35.

ⁱ Matt. xix. 12.

^k 1 Cor. vii. 9.

^l Heb. xiii. 4.

^m Why is virtue in single life here said to be the *Gift of God*, and not virtue in married life? because that would not have been to the present *purpose*. The question probably is, may I live *single*, notwithstanding some dangers of single life? the answer is, yes, if you think you shall have the *virtues* of single life; but every man has not these particular virtues; which, when referred to God, is, it is not *given* to every man to live in single life.—Suppose the question had been, may I *marry*, notwithstanding some dangers of a married life? (those of immoderate anxiety, worldly-mindedness, &c.) the answer would be just the same; yes, if you think you shall have the *virtues* of a married life; but every man has not those particular virtues; or, it is not *given* to every man to live well in a married life.—St. Paul seems to conceive, that one man may (from his temper, habits, &c.) be most virtuous in a single state, another in a married state. “Every man hath his proper (peculiar) gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that.” (ver. 7.)

duties of it, and keep yourself unspotted from its corruptions.

Such is the meaning which the two passages objected (Matt. xix. 11, 12. and 1 Cor. vii.) convey to my mind. They do not seem to give any absolute preference, or ascribe any general perfection to a single state; but only to direct men how to *conduct* themselves *in case* they are thrown into any situations which seem to them to be favourable to celibacy:—that abstinence from marriage is desirable in such particular situations, on some particular *accounts*, is a thing taken for granted, or *supposed*.

If any one examines 1 Cor. vii. on the ground here described, let him take notice when St. Paul speaks from authority, and when speaks *of himself*. He speaks his private judgment in verses 6. 10. 25. 40.—And it might be well to compare Col. ii. 20–23. according to the explanation of it beforeⁿ given.—And to consider, that when St. Paul says, (ver. 1.) “It is good for a man not to touch a woman;” he must say it with a view to some particular situations; said *universally*, it could not be true; nor can it more be called universal than, “let *every* man have his own wife,” ver. 2.—We may add, that recommending occasional abstinence *after* marriage^o, presupposes marriage, and is no discouragement to marry; rather an encouragement to very pious people; as it shews them, that conjugal duty and piety are not incompatible.

If my idea of Matt. xix. 11, 12^p. and of 1 Cor. vii. be just, deliberations on marriage, as right or wrong,

ⁿ Art. xiv. Sect. 111.

^o 1 Cor. vii. 5.

^p I might have made *two* cases of these, but the same reasons applying to both, there must have been some tautology. In both I can fancy some *self-deceit*, though answers are given on the same footing as if the proposals to live single had been quite sincere:

wrong, ought to turn upon principles of moral utility, in each person's particular *circumstances*.—We may therefore observe, that it may be much easier to “attend upon the Lord without distraction⁹,” in married Life, *now*, than during the first propagation of the Gospel.—That times of *danger* differ greatly from times of *security*: that the former call generally for *single* Ministers, the latter for *married*; as danger lessens the strength of the passions now under consideration, and security increases it. And that it may often happen, that a *single* state may be best adapted to the duties of *study* and contemplation, and a married state to the ordinary *pastoral* duties; in which a *wife* or a daughter may perform some of Offices of an ancient *Deaconess*: Such observations as these may be made, and may be of some use; yet they should always be understood as capable of variation and modification

sincere: unless any one should allow something of a refined *raillery* in the answer given by Christ himself.

In the first case, I can fancy a *peevish Jew*, (Art. vii. Sect. xiv. or Vol. 3. page 78.) vexed that he cannot follow his caprice in *divorcing*; and urging, with some petulance; one had better not marry at *all* than be fettered in this way! thinking this a sufficient objection to our Saviour's strictness;—yet *speaking*, as a *disciple* (Matt. xix. 10.), who would be *reckoned* to give up all for Christ, and persuading himself that he really would. His Lord answers, do not be uneasy; you are not *obliged* to marry, if you do not approve it; and so on, as before.

In the second case, I can fancy a convert, who would willingly persuade himself that he is very zealous for the cause of Christianity, struck with the interruption which it would give to his *domestic* enjoyments if he devoted himself wholly to promoting it. He hopes, (though he is scarce conscious of such an hope) that St. Paul will tell him to marry at all events; but he *expresses* his difficulty by proposing to live *single*: St. Paul treats his proposal candidly, but seriously: and takes the occasion of giving good advice, generally useful; but does not (as perhaps had been expected) wholly reject the proposal.

⁹ Verse 35.

modification from the circumstances and dispositions of particular men.

In short, if some situations are best filled by ministers who are married, and others by the unmarried; and if a sense of *duty* may rightly impel some ministers to marry, and others to remain single; neither a state of celibacy nor of marriage should be *forbidden*. And if anything whatsoever makes *restraints* pernicious, that is enough for the purpose of our Article.

Let those marry, who judge it best to do so; as many may still remain single as find, that a single life will, in their peculiar circumstances, “serve better to godliness,” either in preventing moral evil, or in promoting spiritual good.

XIX. Not to conclude without some *Application*, I will just observe, that *Dupin* is, on this Article, so tolerant, as to leave no room for dispute, or for reconciliation.

One might conclude with the end of the Homily^r against Adultery.

^r Homilies, page 104. octavo.



ARTICLE XXXIII.

OF EXCOMMUNICATE PERSONS, HOW THEY ARE
TO BE AVOIDED.

THAT person, which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

1. When we were treating of the Romish^a Sacraments, we divided *Penance* into private and public. Public censure of a church, especially that ignominious *excision*, which seemed to degrade a man from the society of Christians, to that of malignant spirits, has been always interesting; from the infinite importance of such a degradation, and its powerful influence on the mind.

This Article may be conceived as including the whole subject of *Church-Discipline*. As all penalties are submitted to, in a church properly so called, independent of all political *states*, through the dread of excommunication. In the twentieth Article we spoke of ceremonies, &c. but nothing of Discipline.

II. *Imprecations,*

^a Art. xxv. Sect. iv.

II. *Imprecations*, of a direful nature, were in use amongst^b the *Heathens*, and *exclusion* from sacred rites, was also practised^c.—What *Cæsar* says of the religious discipline of the ancient *Druids*, bears a strong resemblance to that in later times^d.

The *Jews* had the punishment of *excision*, by the Law of *Moses*:—they were for some offences, “cut off from the *Congregation*.” And the *Rabbins* have multiplied excisions greatly^e. Their method of supplying the loss of their criminal jurisdiction, while they were in captivity at *Babylon*, was curious. They inflicted *imaginary* punishments, in the belief, that they would be realized by *Jehovah*; as, for instance, if a man committed an offence which, by the Law was punished by *stoning*, they had a confidence, that when he was sentenced, he would providentially be killed by a stone.

Ezra x. 8. and *Nehemiah* xiii. 28, 29. give some notion of penal separation; but the exclusions or separations there spoken of seem to have been calm and quiet. Some of the separations, or anathemas, denoted by חרם, were attended with *execrations*^g.—*Avoiding* an offender, under sentence, was usual.—*Degrees* of excommunication, or excision, are differently described, but there seem to have been a *greater* and a *less*.—In the time of *Christ*, some were cast out of the Jewish^h *Synagogue*;

^b Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. 1. page 245.

^c Wilson's *Archæol. Dict.* under *Excommunication*.

^d *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, Lib. 6. Cap. 13. (or page 209. Edit. Variorum 1651, Lugd. Bat.)

^e *Exod.* xii. 19. There is a number of texts in the *Concordance* under *cut-off*.

^f See Wilson's *Archæol. Dict.* under *excision*.—Wotton's *Misna*, page 155, Vol. 1st.—*Seder Kodashim*, Title 7.—*Cerethoth*.

^g *Forbes*, 12. 3. 14.—*Limborch*, 7. 8. 12.

^h *John* ix. 22. 34.—xii. 42.—xvi. 2.—*Luke* vi. 22.

gogue;—the word ἐξέβαλον, John ix. 34. is, in the margin, translated, “*excommunicated*” I do not distinguish between ecclesiastical and *civil* expulsion amongst the Jews, as they were under a *Theocracy*.

III. The first Christians carried on the expressions to which they had been accustomed as Jews; and in some degree, followed the Jewish practices. We had occasion to say something of this in explaining the word “*accursed*” in the eighteenth Article.—But what is contained in scripture must not be enlarged upon here, as it belongs, properly, to our Proof.

The discipline of the early churches was mild, without being remiss, or unequal: free from every idea of partiality, or interest. No offender was allowed to offer money, or other presents. And the dignity of religious society was not let down, when the greatest personages^k stood in need of reproof, or correction.

A learned man^l says, that excommunications *began* with Victor and Zephyrinus Bishops of Rome: and that private pique occasioned them. He was no friend to ecclesiastical punishments.—Tertullian^m, mentions the exclusion of *Valentine* and *Marcion*. Cave places Valentine in 120, Marcion in 130, and Victor in 192.

From the Canons of the Council of Nice, in 325, we see, that offenders were excluded, as penitents indeed, for a long term, (that of *ten years* is mentioned once); but that the Bishops, on perceiving strong marks of genuine remorse, had some discretionary

^l Art. xviii. Sect. viii.

^k An instance or two might be read out of Bingham, (Vol 2. page 50. col. 2. being part of 16. 3. 5.):—that of *Valentinian*, and that of *Theodosius* the Great.

^l Selden. —See Neal, 2. page 194.

^m See Bingham, 16. 2. 13.

discretionary power of shortening^a the penitence.—One of *our* excommunications is not supposed to continue so long as one of these. About this time, the penitents used to come to the churches, and within them as far as they were permitted, shedding tears, and shewing other signs of great contrition^o.

The fault mentioned in our Article, of *encouraging* those who are under censure, is one which was always noticed. We find in *Cyprian's* time, that the encourager shared the same fate with the first^p offender.

Augustin seems to have had an idea, that a Christian who died obstinate, and refused to be reconciled to the Church, was guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost;—that sin was sometimes thought to be final impenitence^q.—Dr. Fulke thinks, that such obstinate person must have died an *Heathen*^r. Yet the ancient Church used sometimes to let offenders die under its displeasure, though it gave them hopes of forgiveness from God, and prayed for them.—(Bingham, 16. 2. 16. end.)

The distinction between a less and a greater excommunication, seems to suit the difference of offences, and to have prevailed at^s all times: the *less* being exclusion from sacraments, &c. as a temporary punishment, intended to make an offender serious,

^a First Council of Nice, Canon eleventh.

^o This is mentioned in Dr. Priestley's Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 169.

^p See Forbes, 12. 3. 2.—The same thing is said by Thomas a Becket, as decreed by some eighth Synod; see John Fox, Vol. 1. page 286.

^q Art. xvi. Sect. iv. Note.

^r On Rhem. Test. Matt. xii. 31.—Wheatly on Common Prayer, page 465.

^s Forbes, 12. 3. 10.—Bingham, 16. 2. 7. ———, 16. 3. 9. Blackstone and Burn.

serious, humble, penitent, and alarmed about his eternal salvation; and at the same time to prevent his corrupting the good;—the *greater* being an unlimited exclusion from all *intercourse* with the regular and pious; the cutting off of one whose reformation seemed quite *desperate*: and that *in ferrorem*, meant sometimes, perhaps, as a sort of foretaste of future condemnation. So that the less excommunication seems to have had chiefly in view the good of the offender; the greater, the good of the community.

In order to get an idea of Christian excommunication in the fourth, fifth and sixth Centuries, it may be sufficient to keep in mind this distinction; and to read the Form by which *Synesius*[†] passes sentence of the greater excommunication on *Andronicus*. From which it appears,

1. That when an offender was excommunicated in one church, public notice was given to other churches.

2. That one excommunicated by *one church*, was considered as excommunicated by *all*.

3. That if any church *received* the offender, it shared in his censure, so far as to be thought to *deserve* excommunication, though that punishment did not extend to *Bodies Corporate*[‡].

4. That the offender was not only excluded from the Sacrament, but from *private*, familiar, convivial intercourse; from *marriage* and *Christian burial*. Sometimes the pronouncing of such sentence seems to have been attended with *execrations*[‡].

Yet this expulsion was not considered as annulling *Baptism*; so that a person, if received back into

† See *Synesius*. Ep. 58. page 199. translated in *Bingham*, 16. 2. 8.—Cave places him in 410.

‡ *Bingham*, 16. 3. 7.—*Burn's Eccles. Law*.

‡ *Bingham*, Vol. 2. page 44. col. 2. part of 16. 2. 17.

into the church, need be *re-baptized*. Nor as taking away *natural* and *civil*^y rights. The offender was sometimes *prayed*^z for.—His *children* were educated as Christians.

As ecclesiastical society has no coercive power, no power over person or property, when a sentence was past, before any *Nation* was *Christian*, there was a difficulty in getting it *inforced*. Application was made in this case, to *Heathen* powers. The Emperor *Aurelian*^a is mentioned^b as having lent his civil power to enforce the sentence of a Christian community.

IV. In the following centuries, as reason grew weaker, and superstition stronger, excommunication kept assuming a very terrible appearance; and as it was religiously *obeyed*, its effects were truly *tremendous*. But if men are too often threatened, though they may shrink for a while, they will begin to look about for means of escaping the storm;—and those who are to *execute* threats will grow remiss. When excommunications came to be often repeated, they began to lose their terrors; and as it is human to run from one extreme to another, they at length came, perhaps, to be *too little* regarded. But this observation includes some length of *time*.

Excommunication rose to a great height in the ninth Century^c, but still higher in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth.—Then it was reckoned a more terrible punishment, than death itself. It dissolved all those *connexions* and mutual obligations, by which the world is generally kept from running into anarchy and disorder; the connexions of consanguinity and affinity; the obligations of
civil

^y Bingham, 16. 2. 5.

^z Forbes, 12. 3. 2.

^a A. D. 270—275.

^b Bingham, 16. 2. 3.

^c Chambers's Dictionary.

civil authority and subjection.—The practice of issuing national *Interdicts* is said to have begun about the year 1160; but I will *read* to you Fox's account of the excommunication of the Emperor Henry IV. by Hildebrand, (or Gregory VII.) in the year 1076 or 1077; as the first instance of the kind;—and Hume's account of the Excommunication of King John of England, in the year 1206, as connected with ourselves^d.

Nor has there been greater extravagance in the effects of excommunication, than in the *manner* in which it has been conducted. *Ceremonies* have been used, more suitable to the orgies of the *Furies*, than to supporting the kingdom of the Prince of Peace: torches, bells, trampling under^e foot, execrations composed and recited in set forms, have served to express the rage of the superstitious zealots, and to annoy the wretched delinquents.—The *Dead* have not been suffered to rest in quiet: and *Brute* animals, such as rats, flies, caterpillars, have had excommunication denounced against them.—As these could not be ejected out of any Christian community, I should rather have called it *Imprecation*: However, as a sentence was to be past, it was right to give the *rei* fair play.—It is said, that an *Advocate* was allowed these little intruding animals; an instance, if true, of wonderful candour and fair dealing!

Indeed,

^d For the instances here mentioned, see Bingham, 16. 3. 7. and 16. 2. 5.—Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. 1. page 231. 234.—And Hume's History of England, A. D. 1206.

^e Chambers's Dict. from *Fevret*, a Lawyer of Dijon, who died in 1661, and is said to have written a good Treatise de *Abusu*. (Ladvoeat).—Of insult to the dead, the instance of Wickliffe has been mentioned, when we spoke of the Council of Constance, Sess. 8. Art. xx1. Sect 11.—Fox, 1. 515.—Bingham, 16. 3. 12.—Burnet, page 460. octavo.

Indeed, in more ancient times, when it was the custom to recite aloud the *names* of all those departed Christians who had distinguished themselves, and who had been recorded in the *Diptychs*, or folding books, it was sometimes found, or thought, necessary to *correct the Lists*: sometimes a name was to be *inserted*, even though the person had been under censure, if unjustly; and so, sometimes, a name was to be *erased*, if any unknown offence appeared: such *erasing* would be a kind of *anathema*. But if posthumous praise be thought worth giving, it implies that posthumous blame is to be given also, when deserved.

The meaning of cursing *by Bell, book, and candle*, may be guessed at from what has been said, but I will read Dr. Priestley's^g short account of it.

The *Schoolmen* enter into nice questions concerning excommunication; and it is a subject not barren!—They endeavour to investigate how far God will confirm an erroneous or oppressive sentence;—how a good man is to behave under such a^h sentence; what effect any sentence, just or unjust, is to have upon a man's friends or relations; with what limitations and restrictions he is to be *avoided*, &c. &c.

We are told by *Burn*, that the Synod held at London in 1126, agreed to receive no unknown communicants at any church, for fear of receiving such as had been excommunicated.

v. I imagine we may conceive Excommunication as in considerable force in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but that force rather decaying. *Wickliffe* was excommunicated by the Pope; and in the Council of *Constance* we find several propositions condemned,

^f Bingham, 16. 3. 12.

^g Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 179. ^h Forbes, 12. 4. 41. &c.

condemned, in which he had asserted, that he ought to accountⁱ such Excommunication for nothing.

By the time of the twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent, the *Romanists* began to adopt some moderation and caution on this subject: and even to assign *experience* as the ground of their moderation: *cùm experientia doceat si temerè, aut levibus ex rebus incutiatur, magis contemni quam formidari, et perniciem potiùs parere quàm salutem.*—Still they retained the method of excommunication, in both degrees. Excommunicatus verò quicumque, si post legitimas monitiones non resipuerit, non solùm ad *sacramenta* et communionem fidelium ac *familiaritatem* non recipiatur, &c. but at last he may be prosecuted for *Heresy*; which offence would be punished by death.

While on the subject of the Romanists, I will just add, that their Sacrament of Penance, and particularly *Confession*, supercedes^k, in modern times, other kinds of discipline:—and that *Dupin*^l makes no objection to this Article.

Since the Romanists appear to have been so moderate at the time when the *Reformed Churches* compiled their Confessions, we cannot expect to find in those Confessions any great asperity against the Church of Rome. That of *Augsburg*^m refers to past grievances; but I do not perceive that any other does; except that of *Wittemberg*, in blaming the *Romish Theory*. Several of them seem desirous to represent the Church of Christ as having more business with teaching, comforting; or kindly *rebuking*, than with excommunicating. His kingdom,

ⁱ Baxter on Councils, page 432.

^k Burnet.

^l Third Append. to Mosheim.

^m Syntagma, page 59.

dom, say they, is not of this world; the πολιτευμα of Christians is in Heaven^a. But I will mention a few particular remarks, which I made in running over the confessions of the reformed.—The *Helvetic* Confession is very wary: cautious of plucking up Corn with the *Tares*.—The *English* (by Bishop Jewel) is for removing *Scandals*, for the sake of the good^o: and understands, by the *Keys* (as the ancients did) the true sense of Scripture.—The *Scotch* excludes from Sacraments by making *examination* necessary for admission.—The *Dutch* is for discipline, and for rebukes from the Senate or *Presbytery*. But gets off by saying, that all *will* go well when good *Elections* are made.—The Confessio *Argentinenfis* (Strasburg) declines severity.—That of *Augsburg* enters fully into the difference between civil and ecclesiastical power, and mixed; is mild, but allows of expulsion, sine *vi* humana, sed *verbo*: it is for warding off *Herefy*.—The *Saxon* holds the mild doctrine.—And that of *Wittenberg* is more intent on denying the rectitude of the *Papal* ecclesiastical government, than on defining a more perfect scheme^p.

The *Socinians*, in their *Racovian* Catechism, speak as if they would *avoid* the *company* of an offender, and yet take some opportunity of admonishing him as a brother. Or if this does not reclaim him, then they would *banish* him from the Church of *Christ*, and no longer own him for a brother, but count him for an *Alien*^q.

I do not recollect anything in the time of *Henry VIII.* worth mentioning: private discipline seems

^a John xviii. 36.—Phil. iii. 20.

^o Syntagma, page 63. 116.

^p For these passages, see Syntagma, page 156. 179. 235. 60. 68. 183. (the paging begins a second time).

^q De Ecclesiâ Christi, Cap. 3 page 346.

seems to have consisted in Confession; and public, in burning Heretics.

In the reign of Edward VI. the Reformatio Legum takes very great notice of Excommunication; and gives Forms^r of great *length*, considering the size of the whole Code of Laws. And there are two^s short chapters on the principal business of our Article, *encouraging* offenders under sentence of excommunication.—The punishments seem very severe.

In one of the *Canons*^t of James I. offenders are ordered to be denounced four times a year.

VI. When we come lower, we should divide English Christians into three sorts; *Erafsians*, *Puritans*, and *Moderate Church of England men*.

Some were called *Erafsians*, from following the notions of one *Eraustus*, a German, who died in 1582. He was a Physician, but wrote some treatises on Church-government. On Excommunication, and the power of the *Keys*. He reduces all Church power to *persuasion*; no one, he holds, should be *kept* from the *Sacrament*, but only *persuaded* that he ought not to receive it unworthily. Christianity is offered to all.—As some provision must be made for ecclesiastical offences, he ranks them with *civil* ones; and holds, that all offences of every kind, are to be punished by the civil Magistrate.—This idea was favoured, in the disputes in the time of our Charles the First, by some men of great character and ability; both in Parliament, and in the Assembly of Divines held in 1645.—*Selden*, *Whitlock*, and Dr. *Lightfoot*, are mentioned^u as favouring it.

Opposite

^r Page, or fol. 74. and 80.

^s Cap. 6. 11. opposite page 77. 83.

^t Canon 65.

^u Neal, Vol. 2 page 97.

Opposite to these were the *Puritans*, or *Presbyterians*, who held, that excommunication ought to be only of a *spiritual** comforts; but that it was intirely in the hands of the *Church*, and wholly *independent* on the *civil* magistrate; and ought not to be administered by *Laymen*. A party of these, in 1645, made a strong attempt to establish, as their right, a power of excluding any Christian from the Sacrament, subject to no control from the state; which they were to exercise *jure divino*; the Assembly and the Parliament saw the necessity of preventing such an imperium in imperio; and the Presbyterians were disappointed.

The third, *moderate* sort of English Christians allowed, with the Erastians, that a society merely ecclesiastical had no power of touching person or property; and, with the Presbyterians, that such a society is, in its nature, independent on the State; but affirmed, that it is wholly *impracticable* for an ecclesiastical society to be composed of the subjects of any State, and to exist within that State, without connecting itself with the civil power; without borrowing from it strength and force, and assisting it with good sentiments and principles, productive of obedience for conscience sake[†].

VII. He who keeps these three sorts of English Christians in his mind, will want very little farther information. It may not however be amiss to mention the modern *Baptists*. They seem[‡] to follow our Saviour's directions given Matt. xviii. 15—17. exactly, and with very good effect: no wonder; it is an admirable[§] plan: it is applied to differences

* Neal, Vol. 1. page 354.—See also page 158.

† This subject is treated Book III. Chap. XIV.

‡ Wall, 4to. page 453.

§ Dr. Priestley seems to speak of it with pleasure.—Hist. Corr. Vol. 2. page 167.

differences between individuals; and if any man is guilty of scandalous immorality, he is excluded from the Brotherhood.—The Dissenters complain of our want of strictness in Church Discipline, and with reason: Dr. Wall laments it, yet makes as good an Apology as the Truth^b will allow.

VIII. There has been something greatly *distressing* in the case of those, who were excommunicated by a Church, merely because they preached *doctrines* contrary to its own, when they thought themselves obliged in *Conscience* to do so. To have such people suffer all the rigours of excommunication, is to perpetuate every corruption, and to preclude all improvement.

It is as much the nature of religion to approach gradually towards perfection, as of anything else. This was the distress of *Wickliffe*^c in the fourteenth Century, and of the *Puritans*^d at the beginning of the seventeenth; and very cruel hardships they suffered. Some expedient should have been invented to make a difference between criminals and conscientious men. We now have one; *Toleration*^e: and nothing can shew its excellence more clearly, than the distresses now mentioned. The Scripture says, “come out^f of her;” quit a church which really appears essentially corrupt: But there was no way to *get* out, with tolerable safety, when there was no toleration: nor without making a party large enough to throw all things into confusion.

In

^b Wall, 4to. page 454.

^c Wickliffe died in 1384.

^d In 1604. Neal 1. page 429.—See Warb. Alliance, page 71:—Book 1. Chap. 5. Sect. 2.

^e Book III. Chap. XIV. Sect. xv.

^f Rev. xviii. 4.—2 Cor. vi. 17.

In Blackstone's^g Commentaries, we find, that both the less and the greater excommunication still subsist in our own country. The less excluding from sacraments; the greater from all Society.—The coercive power is lent by the common law; which excludes the excommunicated from all acts of *probus et legalis homo*; from the acts of Jurymen, Witnesses, &c.—Burn gives us good information in this matter.

I take Warburton's Alliance to be the Book which gives the best idea of the Theory of civil, ecclesiastical, and mixed power, and consequently of Excommunication^h.

IX. From History we deduce *Explanation*.

In the title, “*excommunicate persons*,” may mean persons under either sort of excommunication, the less or the greater:—the greater growing out of the less.

“Open denunciation”—refers to the *practice* already mentioned; our sixty-fifth Canon was madeⁱ after our Article.

“Of the Church,”—what is meant by the church, appeared under the nineteenth and twentieth Articles; any particular church, considering itself as making a part of the universal church.—And the conduct of the ancient churches towards each other, suits our former accounts very well, as given in those Articles.

“Rightly”—what we have to do, then, is built upon the supposition that a person is *rightly* excommunicated:—that may save us trouble. It would be a great hardship to be obliged to avoid any one whom we thought *injured*.—

And

^g Vol. 3. page 102. 4to.

^h See Index, and 2. 3. 3.

ⁱ The ninth Chapter of the Reformatio Legum, De Excommunicatione, is intitled, *Excommunicatorum denunciatio*.

And who, according to our Article, is to be *judge* but ourselves^k?

“Cut off,” is a scriptural expression.—Rom. ix. 3.—Gal. v. 12.—It frequently occurs, as appears from the Concordance. *Excision* we have had before.

“The unity of the church”—if a particular church is a constituent part of the universal Church, then cutting off from the *part*, is cutting off from the *whole*; from whatever link an insect is driven, it is driven from the *chain*. Cyprian wrote, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*. Allusion is made to such texts as John xvii. 11. 21, 22.—Eph. iv. 3. and 13.

“The *whole multitude* of the faithful,”—means all particular churches, constituting together the *universal* church; the denunciation used to be made to all churches within reach: as we have seen.

“As an Heathen and Publican,”—regarding any one as an *Heathen*, is regarding him as a *Man*; which is leaving him all the rights of *humanity*.—Regarding any one as a *Publican*, is not what we are obliged to in the *literal* sense? we cannot be obliged to look upon an excommunicated person, as a collector of taxes; as an *exciseman*, or custom-house-officer: but only in that light, in which a Publican used to be regarded in our Saviour’s time^l.—Our Article is very indulgent in not saying, that

^k Suppose a man thought, with the Erastians, that *no man* was rightly cut off:—need he scruple to assent to this Article? would it not, indeed, be to him a *dead Letter*? according to Book III. Chap. IX. Sect. IX.?

^l It is only fair to take the meaning of the word *Heathen* in the same way; in that light in which the *Jeros* considered it: still from the story of the Good Samaritan, an Heathen is a *man*.

that we are to *avoid*^m an excommunicated person ; or refuse him our *company* on every occasion : or help to drive him from the Lord's table.—Our Saviour sat down at meat with Publicans and Sinners, when his business was to endeavour to reform themⁿ.

“ Until,” shews that the excision here spoken of is not *final*, except the offender chuses to make it so:—his continuance in his state of disgrace, must be solely owing to his refusing to undergo the punishment, or penance, to which he is sentenced.

“ Openly”—implies *notification*, such as was used when the sentence had passed:—the Article says, “ by *open* denunciation.”—The excommunicated are not to be suffered to insinuate themselves *gradually* into the church: as they were excluded, so they are to be received, by *judicial* process.

x. Now proceed we to our *Proof*.—And what is to be proved?—‘ Suppose a person rightly suspended from the use of Christian ordinances, every Christian ought to be cautious of frustrating such discipline.’ This must be clear enough in itself; but still our business seems to be, to take a view of what the *Scripture* says on the subject; either on the business of *setting aside* those whose continuance in Society is likely to do harm: or on the nature of our *behaviour towards* them, when they are set aside.—I will take some passages in the order in which they lie, without dividing them into two heads.—Matt. xviii. 15—18. — Rom. xvi. 17.—1 Cor. v. 4, 5. 7. 9. 11. 13.—1 Cor. xv. 33.—xvi. 22.—2 Cor. ii. 10.—2 Cor. vi. 17.—
2 Thess.

^m The *title* mentions *avoiding*, but no precise degree of it; and we do not subscribe to the *titles* of the Articles.

ⁿ Matt. ix. 10.—xi. 19.

2 Theff. iii. 6. 14.—2 Tim. ii. 16—18.—Titus iii. 10, 11.—2 John i. 10, 11.

XI. I should think that these texts must satisfy any man, that Christian Churches have good reason for avoiding, in a considerable degree, those under sentence of excommunication, when there is no ground to suspect the sentence to be *unjust*.—Some of the expressions want considering; but they are intelligible enough to be real *proofs*; some of them were very sparingly used by the ancients^o; probably, because their meaning was too *indefinite* for them to be used without some comment, or doubt; and perhaps because they seemed too *terrible* to be used by Man.

I will say frankly in what light some of them strike *me*.

As to Matt. xviii. 15—17. It seems at first to relate only to *private* wrongs. Your Brother offends you; you are first to *expostulate* with him; if that does not succeed, you are to desire a few friends, men of good character, to be *witnesses* of your next expostulation; something may have been misunderstood:—they are not prejudiced against the offender, as you may be supposed to be: nor he against them: he may not be *ashamed* to submit to *them*, though he may to *you*. If this fail, state the case to the *Εκκλησιαι*, to some reputable society; perhaps to those with whom you commonly associate in religious^p worship; and desire their *arbitration*.

^o Bingham, 16. 2. 16.

^p *Selden* says, the *Ecclesiæ* were “courts of Law which then sat at Jerusalem;”—(he says this in the House of Commons, in 1645;—Neal, Vol. 2. quarto, page 194) —But were they *Jewish* Courts? then 1 Cor. vi 1. or rather the same *principle*, would be *against* referring to them: and there could not be any *Christian* Courts of Law so soon.—It does not seem likely, that Christ should send his new Disciples to *Jewish* Courts of *Law*.—Yet it may be said he *had* no Disciples; or none formed into

tration. If they favour your opinion, you may have confidence in it: and having done every thing in your power towards a reconciliation, you may give it up as *desperate*, except your adversary makes some submission. And you may avoid the Society of him who was once your Brother, in the same manner in which the strict Jews avoid the company of Idolaters, and of those disreputable persons whom the Romans are compelled to employ in collecting their *tribute*.

I used to think this direction belonged only to individuals; but the words which immediately follow, give it a different appearance. “Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.”—These words must be a declaration to religious *Society*. They had indeed been before addressed^a to *Peter* only; but with some previous declarations; as, that the *Church* of Christ should be founded on a rock, that no powers should be able to “prevail against it:” and that Christ would give unto Peter “the *Keys* of the Kingdom of Heaven;” all which things shew, that Peter was to bind and to loose as a ruler in the *Church*.—It now therefore seems to me, that, though no plan can be better calculated for deciding differences amongst individuals than the one here proposed, yet an offence, when transferred from the judgment of a few friends to a *community*, might be changed from a private into a *public wrong*, and therefore when
sentence

into a *Body*. But might not Christians, as soon as they acted socially, have something *corresponding* to Jewish Courts?—If they had, the term would be used for them. Compare Matt. v. 21, 22. Still recourse is to be had to *arbitration*, of men in some sort of public capacity.

^a Matt. xvi. 19.

sentence had been pronounced, *all men* might be equally obliged to treat the offender “as an Heathen man and a Publican.” Moreover, a good Christian may not only be offended by wrongs done to *himself*, but by *any* bad actions which will bring disgrace upon the *Church*, or upon *Religion*. And the process laid down Matt. xviii. 15—17.—would be equally applicable to all kinds of offences.

The terms *binding* and *loosing*, and “the *Keys* of the kingdom of Heaven,” have occasioned many dissertations, and much controversy. It seems to me as if it were no way necessary to have a precise idea of their meaning.—For whom should it be wanted? not for the *Governors* of the Church; they can but do their best in using their authority for the good of mankind:—not for the *governed*; enough is intelligible to convince them, that God will *ratify* the acts of those, who do every thing faithfully and modestly as his *Agents*. A short and *figurative* commission, is not likely to *define* nicely the extent and nature of the authority which it confers; neither does such defining seem to fall in with the usual methods of Scripture.—Having the *Keys* of the kingdom of Heaven appears to me to mean, having a power to *baptize* and *admit* men into the Christian Religion. But the Christian Religion, though frequently called the Kingdom of Heaven, leads, of course, all things going on regularly, to the kingdom of Heaven *above*. As to *binding* and *loosing*, let it signify what it will, if God binds in Heaven what his Church binds on Earth, and looses in Heaven what his Church looses on Earth, He *confirms* the *acts* of his Church; which is our principal concern. Let *binding* mean *tying*, or excommunicating, or *obliging* us to do a thing, or let it mean

mean *forbidding**, the whole sentence comes to the same thing. God *ratifies* what his Ministers enact.

XII. Of Rom. xvi. 17. we may remark, that if a Church was well constituted, it might with propriety take cognizance of *causing divisions*, as an offence or *crime*; and he who, by a Jury, or Council, or other Judges, should be found *guilty* of causing divisions, might justly be punished; and particularly, *avoided*†.

XIII. The next part of Scripture to which we come, is the fifth Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. In this, the Apostle repeatedly orders an *offender* to be *cast out* of the Church: what kind of person he was, and what was the nature of his offence, Mr. Locke has sufficiently explained‡. But I do not perceive that he has given any opinion with regard to the expression, *delivering the Offender unto Satan*. Here the whole church of Corinth, including St. Paul's vote by Proxy, as it were, are to deliver an offender to Satan, in the *name* and by the *power* of Christ. In 1 Tim. ii. 20. St. Paul says, that he himself delivered two offenders to Satan. The end and purpose for which the Church of Corinth were to deliver over their offender, was, "for the destruction of the *Flesh*, that the *Spirit* [might] be *saved* in the day of the Lord Jesus."—The end for which St. Paul delivered Hymeneus and Alexander to Satan, was, that they might "learn not to *blaspheme*."—Now, how much evil should be referred to Satan, is *arbitrary*: to reject the general belief of the agency of

* Wotton's *Mina*, Vol. 1. page 309, &c.

† It might be considered how far this offence of causing divisions would resemble promoting *Sedition*; seducing military persons from their allegiance, bringing a malicious prosecution; offering a frivolous petition to our House of Commons, &c.

‡ Locke on 1 Cor. v.

of spirits, is narrow-minded, and philosophy falsely so called,—to refer to them particular events in a literal sense, is superstition; but the usual indefinite manner of referring evil to them, meaning that they *may* cause evil, you know not how, depends upon custom, education, fancy. The *Jews*, religious at the same time and ignorant, referred, in their language, many^u events to them: and the Apostles had no reason to change their expressions. Indeed, *Wickliffe* refers as many things to the agency of *Sathanas*, as any *Jews* ever did.—The *fashion* now is, to take no notice of Spirits as the promoters of evil, or of good. Not that we differ from our predecessors as to any *facts*, but only as to modes of expression.—St. Paul would speak to those who were accustomed to refer evil to Satan, and would therefore naturally use their language. Instances are numerous. It would be natural for him to call depriving any one of Religion, *delivering him to Satan*^x. This may be illustrated by Acts xxvi. 18. and 1 Pet. v. 8.—As converting any one to the Christian Religion, was turning him “from the power of Satan,” so suspending him from the use and exercise of that Religion, was delivering him back to the same power. And Satan, being always, in men’s notions, like a fierce and hungry lion, prowling about, seeking whom he might devour, would be ready to seize upon the prey delivered to him.—Yet this language about Satan was not used as if every thing said was known to be plain *fact*; but only in a way of *eloquence*, when some *sentimental* effect was to be produced; some good principle encouraged, some bad one discouraged^y.

But

^u Art. x. Sect. L. and other places there mentioned.

^x See Concordance, *Satan*.

^y Our reasoning here is only an exemplification of the elements laid down in the tenth and seventeenth Articles.

But why is such language used, as that a man was to be delivered to Satan “for the destruction of the *Flesh*?”—or that he might learn not to *blaspheme*?—“The *flesh*” is often used, in Scripture for the *fleshly* appetites; and nothing could have a stronger tendency to break their force, than the mortification of being disgracefully banished from honourable society; from those who had shewn constant fidelity and affection; and consigned to ignominious solitude.

The offender of whom the expression is used, is called the *Fornicator*.—The same kind of mortification, would lower a man’s spirits, so as to take from him all inclination to *blaspheme*: abusive language proceeds from an insolent and haughty spirit. (2 Pet. ii. 18.)—Perhaps there is nothing which has a greater effect upon a feeling mind, than a consciousness of having lost the esteem of the worthy and benevolent; than being an object of general aversion or contempt; even though softened by gentleness and goodness. Few men are so hardened as to be able to bear being generally shunned² and

² Rom. viii. 1—15, particularly ver. 5 & 6. and see Parkhurst’s fifth sense of Σαρκίς.—The flesh sometimes signifies the *Body*; and bodily ills are ascribed to *Satan*. Job i. and ii. 2.—2 Cor. xii. 7. (sore eyes):—Ambrose makes *αλιθην* mean *castigation*; see Forbes, 12. 3. 3.

Being in the *flesh*, is being in *this Life* Phil. i. 24.—Col. ii. 1. 5.—(All flesh, means all *men*)—so 1 Cor. vii. 28. troubles in the *Flesh*. Mr. Locke calls *worldly* troubles. I suppose melancholy or *despair* might be called troubles in the flesh: I do not think our interpretation of, delivering to Satan, would be materially hurt, by taking *flesh*, in any of these senses.—Something was said of *φρονιμα σαρκος*, Rom. viii. 6. under Art IX Sect xxv.

³ Our familiar language says, being shunned, &c. is the *Devil*: suppose any one was to set on criticising that expression grammatically, as a literal one!—Yet perhaps it would bear criticism as well as, *delivering to Satan*?—This brings to mind that other familiar phrase, of sending to Coventry, the most severe of punishments to some dispositions.

and avoided.—This mortification, if it took a right course, would put the *Spirit* in the best way to “be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.”

xiv. On 1 Cor. xv. 33. I need make no remarks; it agrees with 1 Cor. v. 6, 7. which is part of St. Paul’s argument for casting out the Corinthian Fornicator.

And 1 Cor. xvi. 22. has been discussed under the eighteenth Article.

2 Cor. ii. 10. is an argument in favour of punishing in the name and by the authority of Christ, because it proves that *forgiveness* may be in his name; and forgiveness implies previous punishment.

2 Cor. vi. 17. is sometimes, I think, used for an argument; but it only orders Christians to separate themselves from^b *Idolaters*, not from disorderly Christians.

2 Theff. iii. 6. 14. seems intelligible, and may serve as a comment on 1 Tim. i. 20.

2 Tim. ii. 16—18. is not so much a proof in itself, as an auxiliary to 1 Tim. i. 20. *Hymeneus* being mentioned in both.—The bad effects of religious error are strongly expressed.

Titus iii. 10, 11. serves to shew, that mere false doctrine may be a sufficient reason for separation.—*Unity of Doctrine* was proved in the third Book, to be necessary for obtaining the ends of *religious Society*.

2 John, verses 10, 11. shews, that the separation for false doctrine, is to be extended to *domestic familiarity*: private *conferences* have perverted many: compare 2 Tim. iii. 6. Not that men are always

to

^b This agrees with *Selden’s* observation, Neal, Vol. 2. page 194: only he would make *all* the separations enjoined, to be of this kind.—*Selden’s* speech was mentioned before; Sect. xi.

to refuse their attention to religious argument; but men are not to listen to supposed Heresy *lightly*, without *caution* and *deliberation*.—I mean not to make any caution for one religion more than another. The provision here made, is for the *People*:—they were distinguished from *Philosophers* in our second Book.

xv. As we have seen the authority on which Christian offenders are suspended from the use of the ordinances of religion, and avoided by their brethren, we should take some notice of those texts of Scripture, which may dispose us to *restore* him to his former state, in case of his sincere repentance and humiliation;—as the restoration to favour seems to make an essential part of our Article.

Avoiding a person, with a right temper of mind, must fall very far short of depriving him of the rights of *humanity*. It ought to express no bitterness, or acrimony; but a kind *concern*, a benevolent solicitude, an earnestness to rectify every thing wrong, an anxious wish for the return of a truly Christian disposition. The prayers of *Cyprian*^c would be, no doubt, expressive of all this. Detestation of a crime, is always to be distinguished from hatred of the Criminal.—From 1 Cor. vii. 12, 13. it appears, that a Christian wife may live with an *heathen husband*: therefore taking a person as an *Heathen*, does not extend to dissolving the several relations of human life —St. Paul, as before mentioned, ordered an offender to be excluded from the Church of Corinth; but in giving his order he said no more than what he thought *necessary* to make the Corinthians execute it. And when he found they *had* executed it, nothing can exceed the tenderness which he shewed, lest any

malevolent

^c Forbes, 12. 3. 2.

malevolent severity should be used, or the offender “swallowed^d up with *over-much sorrow*.” He became *diffident* of his own upright judgment, and extremely *cautious* lest he should be *tempted* (tempted by *Satan*) to indulge his well-grounded indignation so as to *delay* his forgiveness (as the minister of Christ) longer than necessity required. It is with this idea that he introduces the words, “if I forgave anything, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in the person of Christ; lest *Satan* should get an *advantage* of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices^e.”

After citing 2 Thess. iii. 14. in order to enable us to punish, we should read the next verse, to prevent all needless severity of punishment; and all use of it on a wrong principle.—As a general plan of punishing Christian brethren, we may, lastly, take Gal. vi. 1.

So much for direct proof.

XVI. In the way of indirect proof I will only propose *one objection*. Is it to be conceived, that when a man is cut off from the Church, he really becomes, in all respects, an *Heathen*?—that would be, according to what has been said under the thirteenth and eighteenth Articles, a thing greatly to be dreaded. To this question I answer, God must finally judge of that; there will be no wrong at his Tribunal; yet as it is taken for granted that He confirms the acts of his Ministers when they *admit* men into Christianity, is it to be conceived, that he will make them void, when they exclude? It seems a thing which offenders have great *reason to fear*. Even supposing that they are excluded
for

^d 2 Cor. ii. 7.

^e 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11.—No one can doubt the delicacy and kindness of St. Paul’s sentiments, who reads Mr. Locke on this passage.

for what is in itself an indifferent action, yet destroying or weakening that *authority*, which has been constituted for the general good, is surely a fault, and one of great importance. Nay, I should say, that if a man was *bonâ fide* excommunicated for a *right* or *good action*, performed for conscience sake, yet if he did not do all in his *power* (so as not to violate *duty*) both to *avoid offending* the sacred Magistrate, and to *reconcile* himself to those in authority, he would still, though unfortunate in this life, be punishable in the next.

XVII. In making an *Application*, we may dispense with a new form of assent, and also with mutual concessions: but it is not easy to quit the Article without one word concerning *Improvement*. I fear it is wanting both in *Theory* and *Practice*.—Our ecclesiastical *Laws* were formed at various *times*, and on various occasions: so that some of them cannot now be equitably enforced, in their full extent; and to adjust them to the present times, by a comparison of circumstances, would require uncommon ability. This gives room for too much severity in those who are inclined, or interested, to be severe; and for too much lenity in the timid and indolent. The mere attempt to make a new Code, would be attended with good; as it would make our spiritual interests to be better understood than they are at present, more worthily esteemed, and more effectually promoted.

With regard to *practice*, I believe every religious man will allow, that the ecclesiastical Magistrates, whose business it is to visit and correct the Church, frequently do not do it effectually. And what is the reason?—Because they have imperfect laws; and because they have not the firm support of either the great or the small? What could *Hildebrand* himself do in such a situation? The
Great

Great are labouring to have all things work together, either for a secure majority in Parliament, or for personal influence, or command^f. Ecclesiastics are not to make the Reformation of all men their sole purpose, because the *Great* are their *Patrons*; they must not be *ungrateful* to those who *gave* them the dignities they possess:—gave them? is that a *gift* which is conferred by *patronage*? is not patronage a *trust*, a power of *naming*, for the sole end of promoting the *public* good?

But as the *Great* *mistake* the nature and consequences of their power, the *inferior orders* are *careless* and negligent about theirs; they think not of their own real value and importance. Have they not the power of *excommunication* in themselves, in a very great degree? and will even the *Great* think it *prudent* to act against the united sense, if plainly rational and virtuous, of the generality of the people? It is not difficult to see, how, in this way, one evil begets a number.—However, in like manner, one good might beget a number, if we could once set the procreation a going.—Might not our ecclesiastical Judges imitate our civil ones? they have no appearance of any respect of persons: They hang the wealthy^g *Peer* as a common felon.—But they are made, it will be urged, *independent*: by what power? could not the same give independence to judges ecclesiastical?—but we must not lose ourselves in *Utopian* speculations.

. I conclude

^f I fear there are too many instances at present of Patrons embezzling the property of the Church; by making bargains to pay a stipulated sum instead of tithes; or by taking the Church Lands into their own occupation, and confounding them with their own; or by other unjustifiable measures.

^g Earl Ferrers.

I conclude with the testimony of Sir William Blackstone in favour of the *highest* ecclesiastical Judges, lest what I have said should direct any one's attention towards *them*. He acknowledges^b, "to the honour of the spiritual courts," that "justice is in general" "ably and impartially administered in those tribunals, especially of the superior kindⁱ."

^b Book 3. Chap. 7.

ⁱ This last Section was omitted at Lecture; chiefly for want of time. It did not afterwards seem proper for the *beginning* of a Lecture; and was not necessary for Students.



ARTICLE XXXIV.

OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHURCH.

IT is not necessary, that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed, according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

1. On examining this Article, it seems as if our best plan would be, to join the *History* and the *Explanation* together. Especially considering what has been already said under the sixth and twentieth Articles.

II. In the *Title* we find the word *Tradition*;—it means here, traditional *practice*; in the sixth Article it meant, traditional *doctrine*. A *system* of traditional practice, seems to bear some analogy to what is called *common Law*. In the Article, “*Traditions and Ceremonies*” come together: they mean something of the same kind of thing; and are *joined* here, as they are frequently, in order to shew what *sort* of Tradition is meant.—A *ceremony* enjoined by a *written* law, would not at first be called a Tradition, yet what are called Traditions, are sometimes, perhaps, after having been neglected, enjoined by written Laws. Generally, they are of too little importance to be written, and from that, their name has come; yet their name might nevertheless come to be the *common* name for rites and ceremonies, and customs, and all *human* religious ordinances. The last clause of our Article has the expression, “*ceremonies or rites*.”—The term *tradition* comes from *scripture*; as appears, not only from mention of *Jewish* traditions, but from 1 Cor. xi. 2. and 2 Theff. ii. 15. and iii. 6.

The Confession of *Augsburg* considers Traditions as *locorum ac temporum discrimina*: the *Saxon* calls them, Rites instituted by *human* authority; the *Bohemian* mentions *customs* as well as rites².

But though traditions and ceremonies may be of the same kind, yet the word ceremony does not usually convey so extensive an idea as tradition. If we even take ceremony so as to include *Liturgies*, &c. it confines the attention to present times; and generally it suggests only things visible: but the word tradition, carries the mind back to past times,

² *Rites* seem to come nearer Traditions, than ceremonies do. *Ritus*, quasi, *ratu*s mos (Ainsworth, from an old Grammarian), may include any *customs*; more than ceremony does.—See Lord King’s Primitive Church, part 2. Chap. 10. or page 138.

times, and suggests various institutions, which many do not distinguish from such as are of *divine* authority. In order to see how many of our religious institutions come under the idea of traditions, we should imagine ourselves to abolish, one after another, all religious observances, which are not expressly *commanded* by *divine* law. Some would disappear only in part, but others totally.—The Confessions of the reformed Churches reckon the great *Festivals* as traditions; such as Christmas, Easter, &c. and even *Sundays*; and morning and evening *prayers*. *Fast-days* are also mentioned in the number, and Barclay says, that *Infant-Baptism* is “a mere human tradition.” And all *Psalmody*, and what we call *Choir-service*, is instanced in by the Confession of Augsburg^b.—But I only mention here what is sufficient to *enlarge* our idea of traditions to its proper extent. Varieties will come by and by.

The reformed Confessions lay down their doctrine about Traditions, with great care and solemnity. One may see, that it must be an important matter to them to set aside a number of Romish observances, and that without weakening the reverence of the people for such as they thought it right to retain. They must do it in the face of their enemy's batteries, who would be attacking them with the Canon-Law, decretals of Popes, and all the most powerful artillery of human authority.—The Saxon Confession is so serious as to end with a solemn *prayer*.

III. “It

^b It is easy to give *instances*; but the difficulty is, by *definition*, to distinguish *universally* a *mutable* from an *immutable* rite:—is the *water* in Baptism a mutable rite, as Socinus says? is the *Cup* a mutable rite, in the Lord's Supper, as the Romanists say? (Trent Cat. Sect. 70. or rather Trent Council, Sess. 21. Cap. 2.)—Barclay's expression is in his Apology, page 355. Edit. Birm.

III. "It is not *necessary* that Traditions," &c.—this rather seems to imply, that uniformity of Traditions is *desirable*, whenever it becomes *practicable*: which seems farther to appear from the words *utterly alike*: they imply, I think, the more like, the better. The uniformity of ceremonies was mentioned in the third Book^c.

"In all places,"—at any one time.

IV. "*For* at all times they *have been* diverse."

The *For* implies, that experience of the diversity of Traditions, is an argument to prove, that sameness is not necessary.—And the argument is strong enough for the purpose; especially if we take a time near the first publication of Christianity. I do not think we are intended to compare different times; but only different places at the same time: indeed we may first take any one time, and afterwards any other time; without limit. If this be a right idea, we cannot say *here*, that the Jews had more Traditions than the Christians: though that observation may have weight in another argument.

"They have been *diverse*"—Here a large field opens upon us.—Traditions, or human institutions, auxiliary to Divine, are congenial to human nature. A mere general principle of Piety would be rude and sluggish: would want drawing out and exercising; good sentiments die away, if not frequently brought into action:—human institutions are required to furnish occasions; some social, some solitary, some composed of both sorts.

Occasions must return periodically; must remind men of some events, which will move them.—Social occasions of exercising religious sentiments, must be furnished and filled up with employments of body and mind, suited to their end and purpose:

all

all our best and finest tastes and feelings are to be set in motion, and made subservient to Religion; our love of Truth, our relish of order; our taste for beauty, sublimity, harmony, are to be solicited, engaged, interested: our passions are to be thrown into a devout course, and to have objects presented, which will excite and inflame them.

This will give some idea of the end and design of human religious institutions, as common to all men.—But in what a variety of ways may this end be accomplished! to trace them out in the *Heathen*, *Jewish*, and *Christian* religions, would be a work of time.

Heathens will be allowed, at any one time, to have had a great diversity of religious rites and institutions.

The *Jews* had a great number of ordinances prescribed by Jehovah, and by his Ministers; these are not to our purpose; but they had what they called *Traditions*; not properly of divine authority; their *Talmud* existed orally long before it was collected into a Book: and about these traditions they had different and contending^d *parties*.

Christians had very few injunctions from divine authority, in comparison of the number required for carrying on a social, regular religion; for teaching, praying, nourishing and animating religious sentiments. They might have an outline, but each set or society of Christians supplied all the internal strokes according to its ruling genius and turn. No wonder they differed; the wonder would have been if they had *not* differed. Indeed it is impossible to conceive, that they should not. Every difference of judgment, education, habit, taste, situation, would produce a difference in what we call Traditions. Nay, there would be so many openings

^d Art. vi. Sect. III.

openings for variation, that if there had but been one disposition, the chances would have been infinite against a perfect sameness or uniformity.

But let us be more particular; I mean, with regard to Christians.

v. I might read you the opening of Tertulian's Book de Coronâ militis; but as his Latin is by no means perspicuous, I prefer giving you the translation from Wall's Book on^e Infant-Baptism. — *Easter* has been celebrated according to different rules; and those who wanted to have Easter-day on the fourteenth day after the New Moon, whether Sunday or not, were called^f Quartodecimans.

The twentieth Canon of the Council of *Nice* orders Christians to *stand* during prayer. Though perhaps *uniformity* was rather the end in view, than any particular posture; it might be more easy to make *all* stand than all kneel.—There is something in the Canon like this, ut omnia *similiter* fiant.—Socrates is quoted by the Helvetic Confession as speaking of the diversity here meant, and Bishop Jewel says, that Augustin complained of the too great number of ceremonies in his time. We have two Epistles of Augustin to *Januarius* on the subject of variety of ordinances, ceremonies, traditions, in which he shews his usual ingenuousness and liberality of sentiment.—*Januarius* had wished to know what he should do about festivals and rites, in different *places* where different customs prevailed: Augustin's answer seems much to our purpose^g. “Alia verò quæ per loca terrarum regionisque

^e Wall, page 480, quarto, or Part 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 4.

^f See Epiphani. Har. Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα τῆται. — Lardner's Works, Vol. 2. page 243, 244. — Lardner, Vol. 4. page 306. *Arians* did not keep Easter at all, nor any other Festivals, or Fasts.

^g Augustin. ad Januar. Epist. (seu Lib.) 1. Cap. 2. Edit. Antv. 1700. Tom. 2. (in Vol. 1.) page (or column) 94.

regionesque variantur, sicuti est quòd alii jejulant Sabbatho, alii non; alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt. Alibi nullus dies prætermittitur quo non offeratur^b, alibi sabbato tantum et Dominico, alibi tantum Dominico. Et si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, totum hoc genus rerum *liberas* habet observationes: nec disciplina ulla est in his melior, gravi prudentique Christiano, quàm ut eo modo agat, quo agere viderit *Ecclesiam* ad quam fortè devenerit. Quod enim neque contra *fidem*, neque contra bonos *mores* esse convincitur, *indifferenter* est habendum; et propter eorum inter quos vivitur Societatem, servandum est.”

The *Eastern* and *Western* Churches have always differed in many observances, though both under the same Roman Emperor. Under the twenty-fourth Article we got a glimpse of Asiatic and African Christians: they differ much in rites and ceremonies, or in what our present Article calls Traditions, from the Christians of Europe.

In later times more *Canons* have been made by Councils for inferior institutions, than used to be made anciently: but some Romish Canons have grown *obsolete* at Romeⁱ; some (of different ages) have been suspected as not *genuine*; and those which are, or have been, received, prove the diversity for which we are contending. Nay, Rome itself allows of diversity, so that it be not against the Canon

^b I fancy this is making offerings for the *dead*. See Lardner under *Aërius*. A. D. 360. Works, Vol. 4. page 306. — Μη δειν, φησι, προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ νεκροκατακλιμένων.—*Tertullian* confirms this; see the passage just now referred to, Wall, page 480.—“ We give our oblations every year for the dead on the day of their martyrdom.”

ⁱ The circumstances here mentioned appear from the Confessions of the reformed Churches, particularly that of Augsburg.—See also Burnet on the Article.

Canon Law.—Of diversity of Traditions *since* the Reformation, I need say nothing at present^k. Something was said under the twentieth Article.

VI. “And may be changed”—it is not said *by whom*;—there *may* be a competent authority; what it is, may be specified by and by: this is the *Theory*. With regard to *practice*, Dr. Powell informs us, that “nothing is plainly^l wrong but change;” but we must interpret him by his context: he is speaking of an ordinary state of things, in some one place; whereas we are, in our minds, comparing different places; and when change of traditions is recommended, or allowed, in any one place, it is supposed to be made on some extraordinary occasion.

Indeed, if we attended only to the expressions which follow, we must judge, that the Article has in view *differing*, at any one time, rather than changing, that is, more than differing at different times. However, if it is intended to justify the changing of *Romish* ceremonies, as I suppose it may, its chief meaning is, that traditions, or human modes of executing divine Laws, may, at the time when they are *instituted*, assume different forms according to different circumstances.

VII. The different circumstances mentioned, are, “diversities of *Countries, times, and men’s manners.*”

Countries,—*regionum*; we should perhaps now commonly express the idea by *Climates*, though climate in strictness, according to its etymology, makes

^k One might look at the end of Queen Elizabeth’s Preface to her Advertisements (or Articles) of 1564: Sparrow’s Collection, page 123.—“Temporal orders meer *ecclesiastical*,” means the same with the *traditiones Ecclesiasticæ*, in the Title to our thirty-fourth Article.—Indeed all the things enjoined in these Advertisements are *Traditions*, in the sense of our Church.

^l Sermons, page 31.

makes only a difference of North and South.—The manner of *baptizing* may differ in hot and cold climates, or regions; immersion suits hot climates better, and sprinkling, cold. In the *Greek* church, a *Fan* is presented to the Deacon in the ceremony of Ordination, because the Deacon's business is to drive away from the Holy Elements, those insects with which Eastern countries are infested.—Montesquieu says, to enjoin abstinence in general, is reasonable; to enjoin particular sorts of abstinence, is not so, in an extensive religion^m.

“*Times*”—this word is not in Bishop Sparrow's copy, though *temporum* is in his Latin.—Whereas Bennet, in his Collation, has no instance of *times* being wanting, but mentions a MS where *temporum* is only in the margin, written with a red-lead pencil.—Here the Region is given, as we say, and the *times* are supposed to vary.—Holland was once subject to the Spanish Government: suppose a simple small republic to succeed a splendid monarchy, the same traditions would not suit both.

“*Manners*,” may vary, in a given region, and in given times. Montesquieuⁿ observes, that there ought to be more Festivals where less labour is required to produce plenty. And that Constantine ordered Sunday to be kept holy in Cities, and not in Villages; because though labour in cities is useful, in villages it is necessary^o.

Hats

^m Esprit des Loix, Liv. 24. Chap. 26.

ⁿ Esprit des Loix, Liv. 24. Chap. 23.

^o Codex, de Feriis, Leg. 3.—Montesquieu says, that this Law must have been for the *Pagans*; but it seems to me to have been for Christians. The day indeed is called *Dies Solis*, and in other Laws *Dies Dominicus*, yet either name might denote Christian Sunday.—The whole twelfth title seems addressed, as one body of Law, to Verinus, and several of its laws relate to *Easter*, Christmas, Epiphany, &c. and are therefore undoubtedly for Christians.—Pagans might be obliged not to interrupt or disturb

Hats are off in English Churches^p, on, in Dutch.

VIII. “So that nothing be ordained *against* God’s word.” The Puritans would not be contented with this; they would have all ordinances *derived from* the word of God:—and so would the *Dutch* Confession: the thing is impracticable, as was observed under the twentieth Article; so they are obliged to allow little things, which overthrow their own notion. In the Dutch confession they disclaim human ordinances thus; *Nos itaque omnia humana inventa, omnesque leges rejicimus quæ ad Dei cultum sunt introductæ—ut iis conscientiæ ullo modo illaqueentur, aut obstringantur;—* And then they give the thing up by saying, that their Presbyters must maintain and appoint *order*, and preserve society: indeed they add, that even their Presbyters must not deviate from what Christ once appointed; yet they admit of *Laws* when wanted for concord, or for retaining them in obedience to God. Who aims at more?—The Confession of *Strafsburg*, and some others, like our Article, allow any traditions which are *not repugnant* to the Word of God.

IX. But though there *may* be an authority competent to changing Traditions, yet the next thing laid down is, that a *private* individual hath *not* that authority. There is an authority, which may repeal a *civil law*, but yet the Law must be obeyed by a private subject.

“Whoſoever through his *private* judgment, willingly and privately,” &c. A man may violate human ordinances *involuntarily*, or inadvertently,
or

disturb Christians. The *Dies Solis* is, in this Law, called *venerabilis*.

^p Popish ceremonies would not suit our Presbyterians, were it for nothing else but difference of *manners*.

er through some urgent business, as when watering^q cattle on a Sunday; or through a desire of not losing an opportunity of doing^r good; in such cases, our Article seems to excuse him.—Another thing seems required in order to make him liable to the censure afterwards mentioned, that he break traditions *openly*. If he be induced to make free with human religious observances, there is a difference between transgressing discreetly, privately, with apologies to those who happen to know of his irregularity; and transgressing in a public, shameless manner, as if he gloried in it. The latter does much more harm than the former.

x. “Which be not repugnant to God’s word;” —who is to *judge* whether an human ordinance be, or not, repugnant to Scripture?—it seems as if the man who breaks the ordinance was here understood to judge; and as if it would be taken as a sufficient excuse if he declared, he could not obey such an ordinance without disobeying Scripture.—Indeed it seldom happens, that this excuse^s is made; though it has been objected to human ordinances, that they were not *taken from* Scripture.—The only punishment however, mentioned in the Article, is *Rebuke*.—One confession rejects *Celibacy*^t, as *repugnant* to God’s word.

xi. “Ordained and approved”—it is not of the nature of a tradition, according to its etymology, to be *ordained*, but yet that name extends to all human ordinances for the exercising of religious principles.—*Approved* seems more suitable.

“By common authority”—common in Latin is *publicá*. Authority over *all* those, who are called upon

^q Luke xiii. 15.

^r John ix. 14.

^s Neal, A. D. 1566. Chap. 5.—Powell, page 30.—John Burges’s Answer rejoined, Pref. page 3, 4.

^t Shorter Confession of Augsberg.

upon to comply:—not confined to a family, or small district, but extending to the whole *community*.

XII. “Ought to be *rebuked* openly,” &c.—is quotation, or nearly so, from 1 Tim. v. 20. the Greek word is *ελεγχω*, and the Latin, *arguo*.—Openly, *coram omnibus*.

XIII. *Three grounds* are mentioned, on which it is wrong for a private man to violate even the human ordinances of religion.

XIV. He “offendeth against the common *order* of the Church.” Every degree of disorder must check the formation and growth of religious sentiments; and must be hurtful to religious society. Order may particularly refer to religious *assemblies*: in them, every irregularity frustrates instruction, and checks devotion. Uniformity^o of *ceremonies* was mentioned in the third Book, as well as the nature of religious^x *sympathy*.

XV. “Hurteth the authority of the *Magistrate*.” The authority of a magistrate is not only maintained by fear of particular punishments, but by a general sense of duty, which never questions the foundations of Magistracy, but takes it as a thing established: indeed the dread of punishment is also in the mind of obedient subjects, general, settled, and habitual:—Now, whatever unsettles men’s habitual regard to the Magistrate’s authority, gives an opening to refractoriness in people, who never before had any idea of resisting. And that evil the conduct of him produces, who openly violates what the magistrate has ordained, or undertaken to enforce.

XVI. “And

^o Book III. Chap. IV. Sect. II.

^x Book III. Chap. III.

^y Civil or ecclesiastical Magistrate? the argument holds as to either: the member of the Church is under obligation both to his ecclesiastical and his temporal Governors, to comply with human ordinances.

XVI. "And woundeth the consciences of the *weak brethren*²."—By weak brethren are meant, those Christians, who judge by general *rules*, and *prejudices*, without being able to see the foundation of such rules. It often happens, that a rule may be a very good one for common occasions, and yet breaking through it, in some particular circumstances, may be no way wrong. If the weak brother cannot distinguish such circumstances, breaking the rule innocently, may do as much harm to his morals, as breaking it in a manner really wrong. And he who breaks a Tradition, may do nothing which has in it a moral turpitude, and yet his *example* may do as much harm as if he did. Suppose a man was persuaded, (which I am *not*) that travelling on a Sunday, and having cards or music in the evening, were not wicked in themselves; yet he might abstain from them for fear of corrupting *Servants*.

St. Paul speaks of this mode of corrupting, with the greatest earnestness. As may be seen in the following passages; from which it will appear, that the expression *wounding* is scriptural.—Rom. xiv. 13. 15. 20. 21.—1 Cor. viii. 9—13.—1 Cor. ix. 19, &c.—Gal. v. 13.

XVII. This part about private men breaking Traditions, was aimed at the *Puritans*³, I fancy, or some brethren of their way of thinking; as the Dutch were. There was a person called *Flacius Illyricus*, who seems to have been very uncomplying: Melancthon held a controversy with him.—Indeed the German contest about *Adiaphorists* was

² There are a great many expressions in the Confessions of the reformed, about *Scandal*, or giving *Offence*.

³ John a Lasco, the superintendant of the foreign Protestants in London, a Polish Nobleman, seems to have been a Puritan, in 1550.

was extended to merits, justification, &c.—but with regard to Traditions, Flacius Illyricus seems to have said, that it was better to give up any preferments' than to comply.—We have before had an account of Bishop *Hooper's* distresses about Habits; and have observed, that the Puritans excluded the civil Magistrate from all authority in spiritual matters: how was anything to be *enforced*? It was a pity they could not have formed a *separate* body peaceably; but of that enough under the last Article.

It may seem strange, that the English did not contrive this, while they were separating from the Church of Rome themselves; but, I suppose, they never thought of such a thing.—They had advanced so far as to think, that the Pope had no right to domineer over all nations; that any *Nation* might withdraw itself from his religious confederation; but that a set of Christians *in* a Nation, could rightly and regularly, withdraw itself from the National Church, might never enter into their minds.—In the Saxon Heptarchy there might be seven different Churches. And Bishop Burnet thought, that the different customs in our own Church, meaning those of Sarum, Lincoln, Bangor, Hereford, all reduced to one by the Acts of Uniformity, might have had their rise under the Saxon Government.

XVIII. The *Familists* complied with all ceremonies, and cared for none; as Rogers, on this Article, tells us from their Founder Henry Nicholas.

XIX. The

^b Melancthon, *Epist. Theol.* page 455. quoted by Rogers, page 202.—Rogers also refers to Melancthon ad Pastores in Comitatu Mansfield, for a proof of melancholy effects from non-compliance.—And see Neal, Vol. 1. quarto, page 97.—And John Burges's Answer rejoined, Preface, page 2.—And Mosheim, by Index.

xix. The last paragraph is additional: perhaps it might be thought useful, in order to state precisely what is the authority by which Traditions may be changed.—The first paragraph said they *may* be changed, but not by whom; the second (as I should understand it) that an *individual* cannot change them; then the third steps in, and says, that a *particular church* can: that is, for itself. This was a more explicit account than the former, of departing from the Church of *Rome*.

Before Toleration was allowed, there could not well be a particular church which was not a *national* Church, but now, I should think, there might.

“*Man’s Authority*,”—means the authority of Councils, Emperors, Fathers; Decretals of Popes, Injunctions of Princes and Prelates.

“Edifying” is taken from Rom. xiv. 19.—This is a duty of imperfect obligation; as in Art. xxxii. Sect. xiv.

xx. It belongs to the History and explanation of the last paragraph, to mention some of the *reasons* assigned for changing the Romish Traditions. Those reasons will shew us the *faults* into which men may run in fixing upon religious ordinances.—The Romish Traditions then, we are^c told, were too *numerous*, so as to over-burthen the mind; so *intricate* as to perplex, and so nice, that the fear of not performing them all rightly, as not doing so was esteemed mortal sin, has driven some to despair, and even^d to *suicide*. They are not
suited

^c Confessions in the Syntagma.

^d This is cited, in the Augsburg Confession, from *Gerfon*, a Romaniit, who was at the Council of Constance. (Of a village in the Diocese of Reims called *Gerfon*; his name was really *Jean Charlier*; he died 1429, aged 66.)

added to the simplicity of the Christian religion, which abolished a great number of ceremonies, without substituting others in their room. They have made men presume on their merits, and to have superseded the most important principles of the Christian life; as the study of them has superseded the study of the Scriptures.—They were superstitious, childish, ridiculous, unworthy of a sober man. Supposing each indifferent in itself, they became sinful by expressing wrong sentiments; as in the case mentioned 1 Cor. x. 27, 28.

XXI. Hence these traditions may be looked upon as good, which are few, simple, pleasing; which exercise without fatiguing, which call into action the best principles of human nature, apply them to Religion, and are subservient to them: which pretend to no merit, and require little or no study; which are grave, rational, instructive, becoming; and clear from all superstition and fanaticism.

XXII. We have now finished History and Explanation: something must be said in the way of Proof.

Three things might be proposed for proof.

1. Traditions need not be, in all places precisely the same.
2. Each particular ought to conform to those sent by that authority to which he is subject.
3. Each

* Third part of Monthly or good Works.—Bibler Jews in Synagoga.—King Edward's Instructions Sparrow, page 9.

† Here, or at the end of this Article, might be read the Preface to our Book of Common Prayer: a composition which has been observedly recommended.—In this place I read at lecture a passage, which seems interesting, from a collection of Epitaphs called *Flora sepulchralis*, by the Rev. Mr. Terse, page 101.—10. The Gentleman a Author of the Antiquities of England, and of several musical compositions in the highest line of Genius and expression.

3. Each particular or National *Church*, hath authority to ordain its own rites.

xxxiii. For the first, a reason is given in the Article, drawn from the experience² of all ages.—The Confession of Augsburg cites Matt. xv. 3. 9. 11. —Rom. xiv. 17.—Col. ii. 16, &c.—1 Tim. iv. 1. —Might not 1 Cor. viii. 8. be added?

xxiv. That an *individual* ought to conform, is proved from the reason of the thing, and from Scripture; but to avoid mistakes, it should be again observed, that no set of Christians is understood to belong to that Church, though subsisting in their own Country, which they would quit, if they had a full and free Toleration.

Confining ourselves to those who are real, willing members of the Church, we need only ask, on a foot of *reason*, can any end be obligatory, and not the means necessary for attaining that end? If every one says, he will use his *own* means of promoting Religion, that, from the nature of social religion, is the same thing as determining to use no means at all. All (who associate) must use the same means, or the end cannot be answered; and there is no way for men to use the same means, but submitting to authority.—Suppose a secretary is told to write a letter, (if I may again use the illustration), he omits to write it; he is blamed; would it not be thought very childish if he said in his excuse, that he never was ordered to take pen, ink and paper? all that he neglected was what he had never been *ordered* to do?

If *scriptural* proof be wanted, in a case where scripture might be supposed to be silent, we may alledge the conduct of St. Paul as recorded in Acts xxi. 20, 21. 24. 26. and in Acts xxviii. 17.

on

² Sect. 1v.

on which may be read Dr. Wotton's^h remark.—The first sixteen verses of 1 Cor. xi. relate to things of inferior moment, which had been taught *verbally*.—The second verse contains praise for keeping *παράδοσεις*, translated in the text *ordinances*, in the margin, *traditions*. The sixteenth verse founds the observance of them on *custom*; and the last verse of the same Chapter shews, that St. Paul intended to give more verbal directions; such, seemingly, as he did not think it worth while to deliver in writing.

1 Cor. xiv. 40. shews, that it is a scriptural duty to provide means for answering any end proposed.

2 Thess. ii. 15. and iii. 6. are about *παράδοσεις*, which might relate to either doctrine or practice.

xxv. Each particular or national church hath authority to ordain its own rites.—This was, in effect, proved of every religious Society beforeⁱ. With regard to a *national* Church, as distinguished from any other particular church, we might observe, that either it can settle and unsettle its own rites, or some external power can oblige it to attend *Councils*; the contrary to which was shewn under the twenty-first Article.

xxvi. As to *indirect* proof, I do not recollect any *objection* but one, which seems of any weight; that is, Can a church oblige its members to observe all ordinances whatsoever?—and this was answered under the twentieth Article.

xxvii. Neither do I see that I need detain you by an *Application*. A form of assent is not wanted.—Mutual concessions were considered under the
twentieth

^h Misna, Preface, page xlvi. See also Lardner's Works, Vol. II. page 346—353.—In this Dissertation of Lardner's there is a good account of St. Paul's Compliances.

ⁱ Art. xx, Sect. iv.

twentieth Article. And improvements at the end of the third Book ^k.

^k The subject of eating *Blood* might come under this Article. —I did not enter into it farther than by giving the contents of Lardner's Dissertation on Acts xv. and of his remarks on Acts xxi. 20—26. adding anything that occurred to my own mind. A comparison of these two passages of Scripture would be very useful to any Governors of Christian Societies, who were at a loss for rules of conduct when they were desirous of suiting men's *prejudices*. The Editor of Lardner's Works has given an Index of Texts explained, by which the two passages may be easily found.



ARTICLE XXXV.

OF THE HOMILIES.

THE second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholsome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Of the right Use of the Church. 2. Against peril of Idolatry. 3. Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches. 4. Of good Works; first of Fasting. 5. Against Gluttony and Drunkenness. 6. Against Excess of Apparel. 7. Of Prayer. 8. Of the Place and Time of Prayer. 9. That Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known Tongue. 10. Of the reverend estimation of God's Word. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Of Alms-doing. 12. Of the Nativity of Christ. 13. Of the Passion of Christ. 14. Of the Resurrection of Christ. 15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. 16. Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. 17. For the Rogation-days. 18. Of the state of Matrimony. 19. Of Repentance. 20. Against Idleness. 21. Against Rebellion. |
|--|--|

i. Here

I. Here again we begin with *History*.

The ancient Greek Fathers, Chrysoſtom, Baſil, &c. uſed to preach plain diſcourſes to the people; and the proper name for ſuch a diſcourſe was Ὁμιλία. *Sermo* answers to it in Latin. Neither word implies anything refined or elaborate: but each rather denotes familiar, and popular diſcourſe. And ſuch all *ſermons ad Populum* ſhould be.

In later times, the word *Homily* ſignifies a popular diſcourſe, or Sermon, regularly compoſed; but it includes the additional idea, of being publicly read, and profeſſedly, by one who was not the Author. Thoſe of which we uſually ſpeak, are ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed by *authority*.

Sparrow, in his *Rationale*, page 223, ſays, that by a Council at *Vaiſon* (Conc. Val.) in France, in caſe of the Prieſt's ſickneſs, &c. the *Deacon* was ordered to read the Homilies of the Holy Fathers.—I ſee, by *Cave*, that one Conc. Val. was in 442, another in 529.—I ſhould imagine the latter to be meant by *Sparrow*.

We are told, that in the ninth Century, ſo large a number of what we ſhould now call Homilies as 209, were compoſed by our Countryman *Alcuin*, Preceptor to Charlemagne, and uſed as ours were intended to be^a.—That Great Emperor ſeems to have known how to improve mankind.—I feel regret that they are loſt; probably they would be plain, ſhort, inſtructive.

But though in the ninth Century Preachers might want helps, yet at the time of the *Reformation*, the need of them was inconceivably great.—The country Prieſts were extremely ignorant, if they had deſired to inſtruct the people; but they were, a great many of them, given up to idleneſs and

^a Wheatly, page 283. from Sixtus Sinenſis.—Prieſtley, *Hiſt. Corr.* Vol. 2. page 125.

and worldly pleasures. And from those who did employ themselves at all in instruction, little good was to be expected, either to individuals, or the community.—The Papist taught in one extreme, the Puritans in another; and the proper English reformed Ministers, in a mean between the two; but a mean, though the most reasonable, is least likely to strike men, or to succeed.—Nor were teachers only of these three sorts; all mens minds were afloat, all running wild, being set free after a long and slavish confinement; one might say, there were almost as many sects as teachers. What effects must this have on the minds of the people! how destructive must it be of every good *principle!*—Dr. Balguy observes, “That the support of opposite religions tends to the destruction of *all religion* ^b.” It happened moreover unfortunately, that the Puritans were more able as well as more diligent than those Teachers, who were most supported by authority; so that those of the English Church, who wished to do *their best*, were not able to contend with their adversaries; nor were they able, generally speaking, to give a satisfactory account of the doctrine of *Justification*, on which the Reformation turned; or to answer the long-established arguments of the *Romanists* in favour of their Sacraments, celibacy, &c.—In short, all was either neglect of religion, or confusion about it.—No wonder that preaching was frequently *forbidden*.—It was forbidden by Henry VIII. by Edward VI. by Queen Mary; and by Queen Elizabeth; nay, in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth there were^c still very few preachers.

^b Dr. Balguy, Charge v. page 256. and before and after this passage.

^c In 1578. See Neal, Vol. 1. page 114. 116.—See also Neal. 1. 245. and John Burges, Pref. page 3.

preachers. Neal speaks of eight thousand parishes which had no preaching^d Ministers.—And in Bishop Sparrow's collection we may find many authentic expressions^e to confirm the account now given.

There was, in the time of Henry VIII. an intention^f of publishing a collection of Homilies, but it was never executed.—Our first Book, which is mentioned in our Article, though the *titles* are not there given, was prepared in the first year of King Edward VI. in 1547, and copies of it were distributed throughout the Nation.—It is said to have been composed, for the most part, by Archbishop Cranmer, though some think that those eminent men who had assisted in reforming the Liturgy, were joined with him in compiling the Homilies; Ridley, Thirlby, &c. and Heylin fancies, he perceives in those compositions, the popular style of Latimer.—The method of distributing them was by a *Royal visitation*:—a solemn affair! superseding all other visitations, not only of Archdeacons, &c. but of Bishops and Archbishops. Not that the King went into any district in person; he was very young; but every thing was transacted in his name. The nation was divided into *six circuits*, and a committee of five was appointed to visit each; consisting of two Gentlemen, and one Civilian; with a Divine, or Chaplain, and Registrar: a copy of the first Book of the Homilies was left, in this visitation, for every parish Priest.

Our *second Book* of Homilies, the titles of which are mentioned in our Article, was published early

in

^d Neal, 1. page 320.

^e Sparrow's Collection, page 11. 75, 76. 123. 127.—See also Heylin's Laud, page 8. and Rutherford's Charges, page 1.

^f Strype's Cranmer, page 148. For the other things here mentioned, see page 146.—Neal, 1. page 31, 32. and Heylin's Hist. Quinqu. page 550.

in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; in 1560.—They had been prepared, or nearly so, before the death of King Edward; and they seem to be, in a manner, promised in his Injunctions.—They were composed, in a good measure, by Bishop Jewel, author of the famous Apology for the Reformation^g.

Fox speaks of some Homilies in Queen Mary's time.

After this, the Puritans were so diligent and powerful in preaching, and at the same time so regular and decent in their manners, that some of their adversaries, in the Church of England, wished for more Homilies and less preaching: more homilies for the Churchmen, less preaching from the Puritans. This was the case of Archbishop Bancroft^h at the Hampton Court Conference in 1603, and afterwards of Heylinⁱ. This looks as if the Homilies had incidentally contributed towards a *remission* about improvements in preaching: however, the number is very small for one to be read every Sunday and Holiday.—Alcuin's 209 would have been a properer number.

The number of Sermons prescribed by Law, was small, in the time of Elizabeth: and preaching Ministers were distinguished from others, because none could preach without a licence from his Bishop.—But James I. made a Canon ordering a Sermon to be preached *every Sunday*^k; the
Puritans,

^g See Sparrow's Collection, page 11.—Neal, Vol. 1. page 108.—Compare Burnet on the Articles, Preface, page xii. octavo, with exposition of this Article, near the beginning.—Wheatly on the Common Prayer, page 283, says, the second Book of Homilies was published in 1563, the year of the Convocation.

^h Neal, 1. 416.

ⁱ Heylin's Life of Laud, page 9.

^k Canon 45, that is, by a *licensed* preacher.—If any one was not licensed, he could only, by Canon 49, read an Homily.

Puritans, always attentive to their business, contrived to get *Sunday afternoons* to address the people in: they would not call their discourses, *Sermons*; they were *Lectures*: and that was the origin of *Lectures*; these Lectures would of course be in a degree hostile to the Church at first; now they are not so in the least.—Puritans pleaded against¹ anything but Scripture being *read* in Church; they were always enemies to the Apocrypha.

Dr. *John Burges* has been mentioned^m *before*:—he refused to subscribe the Articles, except his interpretation of some passages, might be accepted by those in authority. Not being at first attended to, he was *deprived*, in course. But afterwards, James I. Archbishop Abbot, and his Diocesan accepted his sense as the *right* sense, and he was restored.—One Article on which he offered his interpretation, was this thirty-fifth. His Book, in which this appears, was published by command of Charles Iⁿ.

Dr. Balguy^o says, “it seems, we are allowed, not required, to read the homilies of the church, instead of our own private compositions: especially as those homilies are recommended to us with a particular reference to the *times* in which they were written.” Yet in many laws, &c. ministers are^p *ordered* to read the Homilies unless they be licenced to preach.—And the *Rubric* which says, “then shall follow the Sermon *or* one of the Homilies,” &c. must mean a Sermon by a person authorized to preach: a sermon, if the officiating Minister be

¹ Rogers on the Article.

^m Book III. Chap. VII. Sect. IV.—Book IV. Introd. Sect. VI. and in other places.

ⁿ X—4—10, Sid. Coll. entitled, *An answer rejoined, &c.* page 23—26:—The Dedication is to Charles I.

^o Dr. Balguy, Discourse 7 page 118.

^p See Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, under *Public Worship*.

be a licensed preacher, and chuse to preach a sermon; otherwise an Homily. Nevertheless, Dr. Balguy's opinion appears to me to be just: for it is now the general *practice* to preach; and not checking practice, is ratifying it. Then the form of ordaining a Priest is, "take thou authority to *preach* the word of God." And old Canons before the Reformation⁹, enjoin preaching.—For a while there was a necessity for putting a stop to preaching without licence; that necessity is acknowledged, in our Article, to be the ground of publishing the Homilies; but in all cases of necessity, when the difficulty which presses is over, things return into their former regular channel; therefore, in this case, when preaching is no longer dangerous, the obligation to use the Homilies ceases.

I conclude this History with mentioning, that *Dupin*^r suspends his judgment in regard to this Article, having never read the Homilies which are the subject of it.—Some things in them might possibly occasion difficulties.

II. Our next business is *Explanation*.

Godly;—sometimes ευσεβης means *pious*, as opposed to *virtuous*^s; and so, I think, it does here; though sometimes it means *good*, in a popular sense, without distinction of Religion and Virtue; as when it is opposed to *adikos*^t—All religious doctrines are not worthy of this epithet. The doctrine of the Mass has been called *blasphemous*.

"*Wholsome*" doctrine, we had in Art. XI. salutary, useful;—"full of mercy and good fruits," according to^u St. James's expression; or what we should

⁹ Burn, *ibidem*; and Sparrow's *Rationale*, 12mo. page 219.

^r Third Appendix to *Mosheim*.

^s Tit. ii. 12.

^t 2 Pet. ii. 9.

^u James iii. 17.

should more commonly call, of a good *moral* tendency: *godly* relates to Religion, and *wholsome*, to Virtue.

“*Doctrin*”—the Latin word *Doctrina* conveys a more just idea than the English word *Doctrin*. The meaning seems to be, teaching, instruction.

Doctrin is sometimes* opposed to *arguments*, illustrations; figures of speech, &c.

Saying that the Homilies convey pious and moral instruction, or “good and wholsome doctrine,” seems to me to be opposed to any high pretensions; seems to say, they may not be *perfect*, they may not be above *criticism*, but they are good and *useful*.—And who that has read them attentively, unprejudiced by the language, being somewhat antiquated, is so perverse as not to allow this? who indeed does not allow it of any Sermon he hears, if the fundamentals of it are not to him, heretical? That cannot be the case while we conceive ourselves members of the Church of England; because the principles of the Homilies must be the same with those of the Articles.—Take the words literally, and it is enough if piety and virtue are inculcated in two pages, though all the rest be worthless and insipid; or even foolish.—But in all interpretation, we should aim at finding out the *true intent and meaning* of the Author: and any person means to speak, or express himself, on any subject, as it is *usually* spoken of.

Suppose then you had been hearing a Sermon, might not you say of it, naturally, ‘Our Preacher gave us a very *good Sermon* to day, in a spirit of true *piety* and *virtue*; I hope his hearers will reflect upon it.—That reconciliation of St. Paul and St. James, though a sensible one, was not the very best in my judgment; but the Sermon was a very *good*

* Bennet’s Directions; on the Article.

good and useful Sermon?"—Such seems to be the meaning of the account which our Article gives of our Homilies. It cannot possibly mean that they are totally *perfect*, unexceptionable, such as can never be *improved* upon by the human understanding. Indeed the character given of them shews great moderation; especially considering how very good they must appear when new.

“And *necessary* for *these times*;"—that is, for the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: as the Epistle to the Galatians was for the times in which it was written:—but *necessary* seems opposed to godly and wholesome:—the discourses are godly and wholesome in themselves, without considering any particular state of things, but for these times, they are *necessary*: for times when all would be confusion and disorder without them; when that *unity of doctrine*, which is necessary to the very being of religious society, is unattainable in the common method of preaching.—I would farther observe, on the word *necessary*, that it seems to imply what we ordinarily call a *case of necessity*: the nature of which is, to occasion certain measures for a time, and to have them left off when the necessity ceases^y.

“And

^y I never was more surpris'd by a piece of criticism than by one in the *Monthly Review* for September 1790, page 110, perflit in, page 360, of the same Vol. in spite of the remonstrance of E. P.—In which, the words, “*these times*,” are supposed to be understood by each subscriber, of his *own* times.—The Critic ridicules the notion of any one's understanding them of the times of the Reformation; and argues, by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, that, if such were the case, any one who subscribed the Article, must understand *History*; nay, he might go on to *other* articles, and take *them* as declarations to be construed by some sort of reference to the *times* in which they were made.—How much *History* any one must understand for our *present* Art. has already appeared; with regard to *others*, I have endeavoured

“And therefore *we* judge them,” &c.—who is meant by the word *we*? Queen Elizabeth, I apprehend? not the Subscriber. The words seem part of an injunction; I do not remember any thing like them in the Articles; except “we decree” in Article xxxvi.

“By the Ministers,”—seems to confirm this notion; it would be an odd thing for a Candidate for Deacon’s Orders to say, I think it proper, that such a particular set of Discourses should be read by “*the Ministers.*”

“Ministers,” are distinguished from *licensed preachers.*

“To be read,”—these words want no explanation; but yet they suggest the difference between preaching and reading. When a man *reads* anything he does not answer for its being *true*: a man may read what is ever so false, without the least impeachment of his veracity. In a Court of Justice, if a Cryer reads a *deposition*, he has no concern with the truth of it. The honest Chaplain of Sir Roger^z de Coverly, read to the Family a Sermon, first of one author, and then of another; he gave their illustrations and arguments fairly; they might differ from each other; that was no concern of his. If the *Statute Law* of the Land requires me to read several pages of a book in a certain

voured in the third Book (Chap. ix.) to shew how far History is useful for ascertaining their sense: and on every Article I have thought it well worth while to make some historical observations.—I believe the sense of “*those times,*” given by the Reviewers, is quite *new*. All other accounts which I have ever seen, make the expression relate to the times of the *Reformation.*—(Book III. Chap. ix. Sect. vi.)

There is an appearance, in the above Criticism, of *despising* the subject, so as not even to *wish* to seem to be reasonable upon it.

^z Spectator, No. 106.

certain assembly, it must be very bad indeed, or very erroneous, idolatrous, &c. before I should think myself obliged in honour and conscience to resist: in such a case might not the reader be allowed to suspect his *own* judgment?

Heylin wishes there had "been more reading of *Homilies*, in which the reader speaks the sense of the Church; and not so much of *sermonizing*, in which the Preacher many times speaks his own factious and erroneous^a sense."—I have sometimes thought, that even a Preacher ought to preach the sense of the Church, and not his own sense; as I had once an occasion of mentioning before^b.

Is then Bishop Burnet's observation just, that one should believe the Romanists to be *Idolaters*, before one signs this Article? The *Reader* need not form a judgment; he reads to the Congregation the passages which are quoted in the Homily, from Romish writers; and the arguments which are there used; let every man judge for himself.

The *titles* of the Homilies vary, in different places where they occur, more than might be wished: of the Homily of Justification we spoke under the eleventh Article^c. That called the tenth Homily in our present thirty-fifth Article, is entitled thus, "10. Of the reverent estimation of God's Word;" but in the Book of Homilies it is entitled, "An information for them which take offence at certain places of Scripture;" and one should be aware of the same irregularity in other instances.—Sometimes a title is more full in one enumeration, sometimes in the other.

III. We

^a Heylin's Laud, page 9.

^b Book III. Chap. v. Sect. v.—I am glad to see a Confirmation of this idea from authority: See Sparrow's Rationale, page 219, duodecimo.

^c Art. XI. Sect. XXI.

III. We should now proceed to *Proof*; but it seems to me, that our Explanation has rendered proof unnecessary: at least direct proof: perhaps it may be thought, that we ought to mention some *objections* to the Homilies.

IV. 1. It has been said, then, that when our Homilies represent^d different *Patriarchs* as desirous to have the Messiah for a descendant, they err; because it was well known, that the Messiah was to be of the Tribe of *Judah*. But the Homily is speaking of Abraham and Jacob; who both would entertain such a wish before Judah was born.

2. It has been said, that passages of the *Apocrypha* are^e ascribed to the teaching of the *Holy Ghost*.—But the compilers of the sixth Article would scarcely make an Homily to contradict that Article in *sense*:—on examination it appears, that some passages of the Apocrypha are mixed and incorporated with others from the Book of *Proverbs*; and they, all *together*, are piously referred to the Holy Ghost. And why may we not refer *any* expression, as well as any action, which we think good, to divine influence?

Such a sentiment as is expressed in our Homily by words taken from the Apocrypha, if it occurred in a work of the Imagination, in polished language, would by some be called an *heavenly* sentiment. Little more seems to have been meant, in former times, when some mention was made of the Holy Ghost: only the view of the subject might be always *religious* when such an expression was used. For the ordinary manner of referring events to heaven, see Art. x. Sect. xxxix.

Making

^d Homilies, 8vo. page 290.—The objection is mentioned in Bingham, Vol. 2. page 742, folio.

^e Page 303, octavo.—on Alms, second Part.

Making such poor objections as these does in reality reflect great *praise* upon our Homilies.—Some exceptions, I think, have been taken to the Homily on *Rebellion*^f. The reconciling of St. Paul and St. James has been thought not so good as some more modern. I have owned that I could not quite come up to some expressions about good^s works. But if we even *subscribed* to the Homilies (which we do not) and many more *improvements* had been made since they were written, than these, or than have been made, I should think myself safe, on the principles laid down in the third Book^h.

I have hitherto spoken, since I entered on this Article, as if our Homilies were only *excuseable*, and deserved no praise; but that was only for the sake of those who have a less favourable idea of them than myself.—I have really a very high opinion of them, and I read them with much pleasure; they seem to me to shew strong intellects and fine feelings; a very great insight into the true meaning of scripture, and a very nice and accurate knowledge of mankind. They abound with fine strokes of eloquence, and they contain some instances of the ridiculous, which may be imitations of *Elijah's* sarcasms on the Prophets of Baal.

The authors of them have been also very conversant in the writings of the Fathers, and in Church-History.

To mention one or two in particular; I have already quoted passages from the second, third, fourth, and fifth, sixteenth, twenty-first, and the twenty-seventh. I have also recommended that on *Matrimony*ⁱ. But I thought we received the most important service from those on what may be called,

^f Bennet, on the Article, (Directions).

^g Art. xiiii. Sect. v. Homily, part 1st. on Good Works.

^h Book III. Chap. vi. and Chap. ix. Sect. x. xi.

ⁱ Art. xxv.

called, in a large sense, *Justification*.—Strype is of opinion^k, that the Homily on *Salvation* was particularly the composition of Cranmer himself. And Bishop *Horsley* praises the set^l which we now speak of, and recommends them strongly to the perusal of the Clergy^m of his Diocese.

When we were treating of single life, I had intended to read the conclusion of the eleventh, as suggesting rules for making that state innocent.

If these compositions contain so many things worthy of notice in the present times, how valuable must they have been in such a dearth of Doctrine as prevailed at the times when they were published!—I before had occasionⁿ to observe, that they throw great light upon our Articles; and therefore I will now only add, that I find them continually improve upon me; the more I read them, the more I find in them to approve and admire.

This opinion, being in reply to objections, is part of our indirect proof.

v. As the “times” are, in this Article, expressly taken into consideration, any *Application*, arising from estimating the difference of times, seems to be unnecessary.

To enter into a discourse on the nature and benefits of *preaching*, would carry us too far out of our way; yet I may just observe, that our approbation of the Homilies must not be understood as if they superseded the composition of Sermons at this time: I said something of this before, in the third Book^o.

^k Strype's Life of Cranmer, page 149.

^l See these spoken of collectively, Art. xi. Sect. XXI.

^m Charge, 1790, page 36.

ⁿ Introduction to Book IV. Sect. IV.

^o Book III. Chap. v. Sect. VI. and Chap. IX. Sect. VI.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

OF THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS AND
MINISTERS.

THE Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious or ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

1. The twenty-third Article was about the subject of ordaining in general; this is about the *English* mode in particular: It will be difficult to avoid some repetition; but I will endeavour to avoid it as far as may be, without maiming our present subject.—I begin with *History*. And here, as in some former Articles, it appears to be our best plan to begin with what seems to be the general reason of the facts before us.

A religious

A religious teacher, commissioned immediately by Heaven, has a system of religion to publish throughout the world. He must employ men under him as his instruments.—He sends a small number on the business, he travels about to some places himself. He dies. His adherents are not dismayed; the same small number take a leading part: they conceive themselves encouraged from above: they set themselves upon fixing their new Religion in different towns and cities; they form *societies* at each place, which may subsist and increase, after they have left it.—That is, they leave some persons vested with *authority*. These must be steady, sober-minded persons, and of mature age and prudence. Sometimes they meet with one man much more fit for their purpose than the rest; to him they give the more authority on that account; sometimes they find several persons, equally qualified, or nearly so; they divide authority amongst them, make them a Council or Senate. Yet, in order to proceed smoothly, some one must *preside* even in a Council.—And when one man has the chief authority lodged in him, he must ask advice, and consult with others: no fear of that, where a man has the good of society entirely at heart, and is unbiaſſed by interest, or ambition, or other indirect motives. Nor, in such a case, is there a necessity for defining exactly each man's powers; or forming what is called a *Constitution*; each man will know, or be taught, the place he is fit for, and in that he will act. Systems of relative powers, or constitutions, are only for those, who, without them, would fall into dissension and anarchy.

In different places, something is found to depend upon men's habitual notions and feelings; that is, upon the kind of government to which they have

been accustomed, in civil, religious, or domestic society.—But those who want to establish religious societies, must not only have proper persons to govern, but to perform the *offices* of religion. It seems a thing of course, that some of those offices should be performed by those who *preside*, or govern; even the most distinguished offices; but perhaps there may be a want of some persons to give themselves *wholly* to performing offices of Religion, and therefore to have no part in the cares of government; if such want appear, such officers must be appointed.—The things now mentioned are capable of a great variety of combinations, so as to produce a great variety of forms of religious society.

Now only use the common *names* for the persons here described, and we have a general view of our subject.—For the one man, and the president, put *Bishop*, or overseer: for the Council or Senate, put *presbytery*; and for the Senators, *Elders* or *Presbyters*; and for the officers of Religion, put Διακονοι, Ministers, *Deacons*; and it is easy to conceive, that a Bishop may be an Elder, that Elders may act as overseers; that a Bishop may be a Διακονος, and that a Διακονος may be an Elder: and yet that a Bishop may be a superior to Elders, and superior to Διακονοι.—*Aldermen* are Elders: a *Mayor* is an Alderman, and yet superior to Aldermen; Mayor and some Aldermen may be Ministers (Διακονοι) of Justice; and a Corporation may have some Ministers of Justice which are not Aldermen^a.

II. Let

^a See Rom. xiii. 4. for Ministers or Deacons of Justice, if I may so speak. The word *Ministers* is the English for υπηρεται, Luke i. 2. and 1 Cor. iv. 1. Therefore I use the word Διακονος in Greek, because if it is translated either *Minister* or *Deacon*, it seems to exclude the other. Might it not be always translated *Minister*?—For *Alderman*, see Skinner's Lexicon Etymologicum.

II. Let us now turn to *History*, and as it does not appear to me, that the Scriptures lay down any form of carrying on Religious Society, which is to be followed on scriptural authority, in all places, and at all times, I need not reserve scriptural facts for *Proof*, but may make them a part of the *History*.—Acts xi. 30. *Elders* are mentioned (I mean *Christian* elders, the Jewish were members of the Sanhedrim), but their appointment is only *implied*. Acts. xiv. 23. Elders are solemnly appointed, and in every church: the sort of persons and the number, no doubt, suitable to each place.—Acts xv. and xvi. *Apostles and Elders* are mentioned together, and Acts xv. 23. *Apostles, Elders and Brethren*; the Apostles were moveable, the elders and brethren, or commonalty, fixed; the Elders governing the Brethren (or commonalty) in the absence of the Apostles.—Acts xx. 17. St. Paul at Miletus sends for the Elders of Ephesus to come to him.—1 Tim. v. 17. Elders who *rule* well are to have honour.—1 Tim. iv. 14. compared with 2 Tim. i. 6. seems to shew, that the Elders joined in the ceremony of ordination; even of Timothy himself: in 1 Tim. v. 22. Timothy is mentioned *alone*, as ordaining, but as it is in the way of exhortation or *advice* to Timothy, the Elders might not be mentioned though they did join.—Acts vi. 6. all the Apostles lay on hands.—Tit. i. 5. *Titus* is to ordain (καθιστημι) Elders in every city:—an *hundred* cities in *Crete*^b and no Bishop but himself.—James v. 14. speaks of Elders as customary.—1 Pet. v. 1. Peter calls himself a συμπρεσβυτερος, a fellow-presbyter, or Elder; and in the next verse, speaks of Elders as επισκοπῶντες, overlooking, and feeding the flock of Christ, the Αρχιεπισκοπῶν.—St. John calls himself, at the opening of

^b Powell's Thesis, page 366.

of his second and third Epistles, Ὁ πρεσβυτερος, “the Elder.” No Epistle is addressed to the Elders. That to the Philippians is addressed to the Christians at large, with the ἐπισκοποις and Διακονοις: if there were “elders in every city,” there must be at Philippi: they might be included in the word ἐπισκοποις, as ἐπισκοπεύτες: why else, for such a Church as Philippi, is ἐπισκοποις in the plural number^c?

The name of ἐπισκοπος has been thought to come from the LXX, II. IX. 17. It signifies *Overseer*. In the English Bible the word Bishop occurs but three times, besides Phil. i. 1. already mentioned, and 1 Pet. ii. 25. which last is figurative: the words are, “the shepherd and bishop of your souls.” The idea of *Shepherd* is more common than that of *Overseer*: but they are joined Acts xx. 28. as well as here: the Greek word in Acts xx. 28. for *Overseer*, is ἐπισκοπος.—*Timothy* may not be called a Bishop, but he confers honours on the Elders, proportioned to their deserts. He receives accusations against them: and Titus ordains them: these are acts of a *Superior*. At first, Apostles directed Elders.—Acts xx. 17. Paul, as before, sends for the Elders from Ephesus to Miletus.—Peter exhorts Elders. And the expression, “Apostles and Elders,” occurs several times. Whatever is superior to Presbyters, we should call a Bishop^d.

The

^c Lardner mentions a notion, not as his own, that there might be, early in the second Century, two Bishops of Antioch at one time, one over *Jewish*, the other over *Gentile* Christians. Works, Vol 2. page 66 there might, at any time, be some ἐπισκοπος superior to the ordinary Elders.

^d For the ground of the observations here made, see Acts xv. 22.—1 Tim. v. 1. 17. 19.—Titus i. 5.—1 Pet. v. 1 — 1 Tim. v. 1. seems at first as if Timothy had not a right to *revoke* an Elder; but when we compare that passage with the others,

The word *Deacons* occurs but in *one Chapter* (except Phil. i. 1. before-mentioned) namely, 1 Tim. iii.—*Διακονος* oftener; *Ministers* about five times, but not as the name of an office; *Scrivants*, or *Instruments* would have served the purpose as well.—It is commonly said, that *Deacons* were appointed, Acts vi.—the persons ordained to an œconomical office are not *called* so: nay, those who were *not* appointed, are said to persevere in the *Διακονιζ—τα λογυα*, as the others in the *Διακονιζ τῇ καθημερινη*.—*Paul* was a *Διακονος*^e.

Such are the *Scriptural* Facts with regard to our three ranks of persons *Επισκοπος*, *Πρεσβυτερος*, and *Διακονος*. I have meant to make a complete enumeration of them: they seem to confirm our notion, that *any one* may be *all three*; though the *Επισκοπος* is superior to the two others. I have seen no mention of any authority in the *πρεσβυτερος* over the *Διακονος*^f: nor do I see *all three* mentioned *together*, in Scripture.

III. We come next to the *Apostolic Fathers*. First premising from Bingham^g, that the *Grecian* and

others, the meaning seems rather to be, that though in strictness he might rebuke an Elder, yet on account of his youth, and the age of the Elder, it might be adviseable for him to soften his rebuke into an intreaty: nay, his youth might make it more becoming in him to use gentleness even towards younger Christians.—Rebuke not, *but*, seems to have something of *comparison* in it; or a *preference* of one mode to another; both in strictness allowable.

^e 1 Cor. iii. 5.—2 Cor. xi. 23.—On this subject one might read Lardner, Vol. 2. of his works, Preface, page vii. ix.—And one might ask, why St. Stephen and the persons ordained with him (Acts vi.) have been called *Deacons*. Even the accurate Dr. Powell, page 366, calls them septem Diaconos.

^f That the *Διακονος* might be of dignified rank, appears from Bingham's account of Archdeacons, 1. 21. 1. 3. — An Archdeacon was the head of the Deacons, and was sometimes made a Bishop.—See also Bingham, 2. 10. 5.

^g Bingham, 9. 1. 1.

and *Roman* custom in forming *civil* societies in Towns and Cities, was not unlike what has been now mentioned. — Each Town or City was governed by a *Senate*, and by a chief Magistrate, who was, at the same time a *Senator*, and *above* the Senate. The Council had the names of Βουλῆ, and *Senatus*, *Ordo*, *Curia*; and the Magistrate was called *Difictor*, or *Defenfor Civitatis*: his authority extended to a little *distance* round the city^h.

Now it seems as if the Apostles and their successors, in planting *Churches*; had formed societies similar to these, leaning a little more or less to the Monarchical, or Democratical forms, according to the abilities and dispositions of the *persons*, and the *customs* of the place. So that, the combinations of power admitting of so great a variety of forms, it might happen, that no two Christian Churches had precisely the same form of Government.

Clemens Romanus, writing to, and therefore about, the Church of *Corinth*, fixed in a Grecian mercantile city, speaks as St. Paul does writing about the Church of *Philippi*: he mentions only Επισκοποι and Διακονοιⁱ. — He laments a person's being deposed τῆς Επισκοπῆς — from the superintendence: and then adds, happy are (not the Επισκοποι, but) the *Elders* who cannot be deposed; who are fixed immoveable in *Heaven*^k. He also, according to Lord King, makes ἡγεμῖνοι, which was a name for
Bishops,

^h The settlement now (1792) fixing at *Sierra Leone*, is governed by a Superintendent and Council.

ⁱ *Clemens Rom.* 1. Ep. ad Corinthios, Edit. Russel, (Patres Apostol.) Sect. 42. compared with 43. — Επισκοποι in the plural, in one church, must, I should think, imply some kind of Council: even if Episcopi were a few leaders, they would consult together.

^k *Ibid.* page 170, 171.

Bishops, equivalent to Πρεσβυτεροι¹. He speaks of *subjection* to Presbyters.

Polycarp also writes to the *Philippians*, and of course, of the Church at Philippi; a town in Europe, of Grecian manners and customs, probably; I do not see that he mentions *Bishops*; but he exhorts the Philippians to be submissive to the *Presbyters*^m and *Deacons*. Yet he himself was Bishop of Smyrna, and writes from thence; in his own name, and the name of the *Presbyters* who wereⁿ with him.—Compare his *Presbyters and Deacons*, with Paul's *Bishops and Deacons*, when addressing the same Church, and they will seem to mean the same Officers.—I should conjecture, that a *monarchical* Form of church-government, had never place at Philippi.

Ignatius was bishop of Antioch in Syria: and from thence he was dragged, even to Rome, to be torn in pieces by wild beasts: on his way, he was suffered to stop at *Smyrna*, with *Polycarp*, the Bishop there. From thence he wrote to the Romans; and to three Churches near him; to the Ephesians, Magnesians, and Trallians. And afterwards, when he had proceeded farther on his journey, he wrote from Troas to *Polycarp*^o, and also

¹ Lord King's Primitive Church, page 89.—Clem. Ep. Sect. 57. page 210, Ruffel, and page 211, note;—Των ἡγεμιων ἢ πρεσβυτερων.

But I find one or two places where ἡγεμῶνοι seems to me to mean *civil* Magistrates, and πρεσβυτεροι *old men*; the *aged*: see Sect. 1. (page 8.) and Sect. 21. (page 94.)—And does not the last sentence in Sect. 40. mean three *orders* of Christian Ministers? *Levite* was not uncommon amongst Christians for a lower order of Church Ministers, or Clergymen: and the context here is about Christians. For subjection to Presbyters, see Chap. or Sect. 57.

^m Polycarp. ad Philipp. Sect. 5.

ⁿ Inscription.—Could συν αυτω πρεσβυτεροι, imply Συμπρεσβυτεροι? *Fellow* Presbyters?

^o Ad Pol. Cap. 12.

also to Polycarp's Church, the Church of *Smyrna*; and to that of *Philadelphia*. In *all* the Epistles, except that to the *Romans*, which relates to himself and the sufferings which awaited him at Rome, he mentions distinctly our *three orders*, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons: and says very strong things in favour of subjection to the two former, especially *Bishops*.—I may read to you, of the Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, Chap. or Sect. 8. 9. 12.—Of that to *Polycarp*, (which changes from singular to plural number), Chap. 6.—Of that to the *Ephesians*, Chap. 6. and Chap. 2. where subjection is enjoined, to *Bishop and Presbytery*; as it is in Chap. 4. — Of that to the *Magnesians*, Chap. 2. and 6. — The Bishop at *Magnesia* was *young*, which gives Ignatius more opportunity of contending for his episcopal authority: he mentions the Bishop as being in the *place* of God; and the Presbytery as being in the place or situation *συνεδριῶ τῶν Ἀποστολῶν*^p; and the *Deacons* as being intrusted with the *Διακονία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*: adorning this part with words; perhaps in order to make the want of power and authority less perceivable.—Of the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, I might read the Inscription. — Of that to *Trallium*, Chap. 2. and 3. and 7. and 12. where the Elders are to *ἀναψυχεῖν τὸν Ἐπισκοπὸν*, refocillare Episcopum; and 13, where the Church is to be subject to the Bishop and Presbytery^q.

From these passages I conclude, that the government of Christian Churches was more *monarchical* in *Asia Minor* than in *Europe*; particularly than at *Philippi*, and that mart of Commerce, *Corinth*.

And

^p Compare Ign. ad Smyrnæos, Cap. 8. ad Trall. 2.

^q Dr. Powell would not have objected to this plain enumeration of *Facts*.— See his Thesis, in his Volume, page 364.—
" Quis enim, post immensos," &c.

And if we suppose a greater disposition towards Despotism in the Asiatics, and towards Republicanism in the Europeans, allowing perhaps something for the great *personal* weight of Polycarp, Ignatius and others, the difference may be sufficiently accounted for.

If there was any Form of Church Government which was properly Christian, how can one account for Polycarp's inculcating a kind of subjection to the Philippians, different from that which his own Church (at Smyrna) was exhorted to pay, by Ignatius? Polycarp also sends to the Philippians those Epistles of Ignatius, which inculcate subjection to *Επισκοποι*; not *because* they do that, but because they contain *Πιστην και υπομονην και πασαν οικοδομην*, &c. (Pol. ad Phil. Sect. 13) However, the difference of language as to subjection would thus be generally understood: the exhortations to submit to Bishops would be known to Churches of the most republican form, and vice versâ.

We must not let our prejudices lead us to imagine, that a primitive Bishop of Smyrna was anything like a modern Bishop of Durham; any more than that *King* Romulus was like Louis Quatorze, or a Persian Monarch.

IV. We have now gone through the most significant part of our History. As Christianity spread, it filled whole provinces; these were divided with some sort of analogy to the civil divisions^{*} found actually subsisting. And it must generally be most convenient to have the place of public *resort* for civil affairs, to be the same with that for ecclesiastical business; people can most easily get to it; and the circumstances which made it most convenient for the one, will generally make it most

so

^{*} Bingham, Book 9. Chap. 1.

so for the other. The more complex public worship grew, the more officers would be wanted, and orders would become more *distant*: Bishops would become higher Officers, Deacons lower.—At the Council of *Nice*, Paphnutius spoke^s of three orders as we should: and so spoke Augustin^t.—The *Aerians*^u considered Bishops and Presbyters as the same; but they seem to have been singular in this; at least our notion was by far the most common^x.

It has been before observed that the *Waldenses* had something like our three Orders.—Art. xxiii. Sect. iv.

v. I am not aware^y of anything farther worth mentioning till the time of the *Reformation*. Then that great change took place of ordaining wholly, in some churches, by *Elders*—And at that time, there was an idea of contracting *Dioceses*^z, or making many more, and therefore many more Bishops, in a given space.

We mentioned, under the twenty-third Article, Sect. vi, the Lutheran Superintendents, and the ideas of ordaining amongst Presbyterians and the Independent Congregations. But we did not mention,

^s See Council of Nice, in Socrates, 1. 11. and Suidas.

^t Ep 21. repeatedly.—Aug. is *anxious* about not being *fit* to be a Priest; he would study, &c. and writes for a *Bishop's* advice.

^u See Iardner's Works, Vol. 4. page 306.

^x See Baxter on Councils, page 81. the 22d Canon of the Council of Milevis, A. D. 410.—And several instances from Clem. Alex.—Origen, and Tertullian, in Nicholls on Common Prayer, on the Preface to the forms of Ordination. And that expression of Apostolic Canon 2. 'Let a Presbyter be ordained by *one* Bishop,' shews, that Presbyter and Bishop could not always be synonymous.

^y Art. xxiii. Sect. iv.—Neal says, that *Wickliffe* held only two orders; Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons, 1. page 3.—Wickliffe seems to have had some Puritanical authority.

^z Eingham's Works, 1. 409. folio.

mention, that the English Forms of ordaining Bishops and Priests were, at the time of the Reformation, less plainly distinct from each other than they are now. However, the act of *Uniformity*, made upon the Restoration, requires us to assent to our present Article according to the Forms now in use^a, which were only composed in 1661, or 1662.—Bishop Burnet mentions a scruple in the time of Queen Elizabeth, which occasioned Parliament, and the compilers of our Article to look back, and to declare all Ordinations valid since the end of the second year of Edward VI. which had been performed according to the Book composed and published, in the third year of King Edward, though not ratified by Parliament till his fifth year.

Anciently, all Bishops were appointed^b by *Election*. But Elections grew too tumultuous, and the appointment got into the hands of a *few*: it occasioned great disputes between the *Popes* and the Sovereigns of Europe; but our Henry VIII. settled

^a See the end of the Act of Uniformity in the fourteenth year of Charles II.—And Bennet's Directions.—See also Mosheim, 8vo. Vol. 4. page 91. add Neal, 1. page 43.—I do not seem to understand Neal in this passage; he seems to speak as if in King Edward's time, in 1549, our forms of ordaining, or consecrating, had been the *same* for Bishops and Priests; whereas they are only the same in things *common* to both ranks: as about studying the Scripture, and opposing Heresy. In other things they differ.—And the principal difference between King Edward's Forms and those made at the Restoration of Charles II. consists in this; in the old ones words of *Scripture* were used, addressed to Timothy *as* Bishop, (2 Tim. i. 6, 7.) and in the new ones the *word* Bishop was used; and so of *Priest*.

^b Bingham, Book 4. Chap. 2. — Stillingfleet, Unreas. of Separ. part 3.—Clem. Rom. Ep. Sect. 44. page 163. Edit. Russel.—For Elections growing tumultuous, see Bingham, 4. 2. 6.—Baxter on Councils, page 66. (and, I think, page 99. rot.)—Nicholls on the words, "The elected Bishop," &c. and Dr. Powell's Thesis, in his Volume, page 365.

tled the matter in England, as it now is; giving a *Congé d'élire* to a Chapter, but punishing them if they did not elect^c the person whom he nominated. Bishop Warburton considers such patronage as a compensation made by the^d Church to the state for protection, and for the use of a compulsive force.

VI. Mosheim^e says, that the *Socinians* (the early ones I suppose) have *four* sacred orders; to our three they add that of *Widows*; why not *Deaconesses* also, like the Puritans? or those mentioned 1 Cor. xii.?—I do not see Widows mentioned in the Racovian Catechism.

VII. If we wish to see what the Council of Trent says on our present subject, we may read the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Canons of the twenty-third Session^f.—With regard to uninterrupted succession of Bishops, we have said enough before; as well as upon the subject of re-ordaining.—And upon the Puritanical notion, that all rules are to be derived from Scripture. In Strype's Annals, we have an account of a Puritan Professor at Cambridge, *Cartwright*, who was complained of to the Chancellor of the University for having held, that "*Officia et nomina impietatis*," are introduced into our Church; meaning Archbishops, &c.—Cambridge was then "a Nest of Puritans."—According to the Article of 1552, people, in subscribing to it, subscribed to the *Liturgy*; but in 1562, assent to the *Liturgy* became unnecessary:
how

^c Blackstone, Index, *Congé d'élire*.

^d Warburton's Alliance.

^e Mosheim, octavo, Vol. 4. page 185, Note.

^f For the things mentioned in these sixth and seventh Sections, see Art. XXI. Sect. VII. XI.—John Burges, page 3. 26. 42.—Strype's Annals, Vol. 1. page 583. A. D. 1570—Neal, Vol. 1. page 190 428. where is our 7th Canon of 1604.—Dr. Powell, page 28.

how the Church was again driven into requiring it, Dr. John Burges shews in very few words; and at the same time that he accounts for our subscription to the *Liturgy* in general, he declares, that he only assents to the *use* of it, and the same of the *rites* of our Church.

But it is time to put an end to our History: I will only mention then one or two things briefly.—*Bingham* expresses, in 1726, a wish^g, that *Dioceses* could be *contracted*, according to the idea of our Reformers.—Mr. *Granville Sharp's* notion of a right appointment of a Minister, is, that he should be appointed as *Matthias* was^h; by *lot*, out of *two* fixed upon by suffrages of the Church.

Dr. Powell's Thesis is to be much recommended, in which he proves, that neither the Church-Government of England, nor that of Scotland, is repugnant to the Law of Nature, or to the Word of God. It contains all the Elements of Religious Society, expressed in the best manner.

Dr. John *Burges*ⁱ told King James, (&c. as before), that with regard to our present subject, he did not mean to express approbation of every phrase, &c. in the Ordinations, but only to declare, that our *calling* and ordination was, on the whole, such as not to be deemed unlawful, or contrary to the word of God.—His sense was accepted as the right one.

The *Romanists* seem to make the same three Orders which we make. See Council of Trent, the sixth Canon of the twenty-third Session.—As to *Nicholls's* saying, that they make Bishop and Priest

^g *Bingham*, 1. page 409. folio.

^h Acts i. 26.—This is what Mr. *Granville Sharp* has mentioned to me, in Conversation. I hope I have rightly understood him.

ⁱ *Burges*, page 26.

Priest equal, *because* the Priest can make his God, and the Bishop can do no more, that is charging *consequences* of opinions, contrary to our sixth Canon of Controversy. Book II. Chap. v. Sect. VI.

Dupin, disputes the validity of some English Ordinations in *Theory*, but would allow them in practice, if an union took place^k.

VIII. We now come to *Explanation*.

In the title, "Ministers" includes Priests and Deacons.

"In the time of Edward VI." there were two Reviews of the Liturgy; one in the second, and the other in the fifth of Edward VI. but only^l one form of ordination: we have no concern with this matter now, as we subscribe to the Forms made at the Restoration.

"Doth contain all things *necessary*;"—this is modest: it is not saying, that our Forms are the *most rational* and scriptural that ever were or could be made; nor even that they are not defective; but only, that they have no such capital defect as to destroy the *essence* of an ordination.

Neither have our forms anything in them that "is *superstitious* and *ungodly*:" they may be inelegant, unbecoming, injudicious; but they cannot be called superstitious or *impious*,—in Latin, *impium*; which reminds one of Cartwright's "*officia et nomina impietatis*." "*We decree*," is the same stile of *Injunction* that was remarked in Art. xxxv.

The expressions amount only to this, that our Forms have no defect or fault so great as to annul our Ordinations.

IX. And

^k Appendix Third to Maclaine's *Mosheim*.

^l So I gather from Burnet on the Article; and Neal under Edward VI. — Yet *Nicholls* mentions something which was different in the first and second books of Edward VI.—the Ordination Oath.

IX. And now with regard to *Proof*, what shall we say? all that we have to prove is, that ‘the English Ordinations are valid; or not invalid.’—If every Church can settle its own rites, the thing is proved; and that this is the truth, must appear from the History now given, and from what has gone before, in the twenty-third Article. From these we are led to conclude, that it is our business, and our duty, to adopt that Form of Church-Government which falls in best with our circumstances and habitual notions: that it would be wrong therefore to have a monarchical Church-Government in a small republic, or a republican one in a large monarchy.

Indeed we might go through our Forms, and defend the several expressions we meet with; but that would be unnecessary labour; a better plan would be, to see what *Objections* have been made to them; or what *difficulties* they have occasioned; if these admit of solution, we may take for granted that the rest is unexceptionable.

X. Thus we are led to indirect proof:—and the objections are such, that we may propose them *together*, and so answer them without interruption. That Orders is no Sacrament, has been shewn under the twenty-fifth Article; and the word “*called*” has been explained at large. Nor need we take farther notice of the Romish arguments against our Ordinations.

1. Is it right to have officers in the Church whose very *names*^m are not found in Scripture; as *Archbishops*, *Archdeacons*, &c.?

2. We

^m This was the notion of Professor Cartwright before-mentioned; some of the other notions might be found in *Strype’s Annals*, in the years 1570 and 1573, in the affairs of Cartwright, Dering, &c.—*Dering* is mentioned, Vol. 2. page 271.

2. We meet with *three names*, indeed, *Επισκοπος*, *Πρεσβυτερος*, and *Διακονος*, but we have no right to conclude from thence that there were *three distinct Ranks*.

3. And supposing there were, *Bishops* ought not to be men of worldly *dignity*;

4. Nor *Presbyters*, now called *Priests*, so far inferior to *Bishops*, as they are made in the Church of England.

5. Nor ought *Deacons*, appointed originally for purposes of *economy*, to be so much of spiritual and clerical persons as the English make them.

6. Then, making ecclesiastical ordinations, or trusts, to have any *dependence* on *temporal* powers, in the way of *patronage*, or otherwise, is contrary to the nature of Christ's spiritual kingdom. Such ordinations must want completingⁿ by scriptural *Presbyteries*.—These six objections are all of the puritanical cast.

7. But it has also occasioned *difficulty*, that candidates for *Deacon's* orders are asked whether they trust that they “are inwardly *moved* by the *Holy Ghost* to take upon” them the office of *Deacon*.

8. And, that the ordaining Ministers undertake to *convey the Holy Ghost* to those whom they ordain.—Now in effect we have already replied to most of these objections and difficulties; but a word or two directly opposed to them, may have its use.

xī. When *Bishops* become numerous, they must have some *subordination* settled amongst them, else they could not act jointly, or with unity.—

That

He writes to Lord Burghley for relief.—I think Lord Burghley was both Minister of State and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.—“Of collectors for the poor, or *Deacons*”—is a synodical title of the Puritans, in 1576. Neal, 1. 232.

ⁿ See Bingham, French Church, Book 4. Chap. 5.—Neal's Hist. Pur. Vol. 1. page 233.—Gawton's Letter to the Bishop of Norwich after deprivation.

That subordination might sometimes be tacit, through general respect to some great and good Prelate; but ordinarily it must be by means of authority expressly given. And such authority requires an official *name*° to denote it, and make it instantly felt. There is nothing more in giving such names, than providing that all things “be done decently and in order.”—If there are many *Overseers*, how can order be maintained without an *Head-overseer*?—But it must not be thought that the names of Archbishop and Archdeacon were invented by the Church of England: they have existed ever since they were wanted. Metropolitans and Archdeacons have been known in the Church these fourteen hundred years.—Nay, we might have Jerom’s authority for adding *Archpresbyters*^p.

XII. Supposing it were allowed that there were only two orders in the Church of *Philippi*, or *Corinth*; though to me it seems probable that the *Επισκοποι* might be superior to the ordinary Presbyters; yet there can be no doubt but the *Asiatics* had *three orders*, and only *one* Bishop in each church. Let then the Presbyterians have a *Council* to govern them, I see no harm; but let us not be *blamed* for having Bishops. If all are to go by *Scripture*, why do not separatists imitate the orders, or ranks, mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 28. and Eph. iv. 11.? Our opinion is, that we are to have what, in our circumstances, best answers, according to our judgment, the ends of religious society. We conceive, that Christ no more insisted on a Presbytery without Bishop; than on Aldermen without Mayor; or than on the newly appointed

° See the reason for giving the unscriptural name *Sacrament*, Art. xxv. Sect. xi.—Christ is *αρχιεπισκοπος*, 1 Pet. v. 4.

^p Bingham, Book 2. Chap. 16 and 21.

appointed Council of Sierra Leone without Superintendent.

XIII. Why Bishops should have worldly *dignity*, some reasons have been given in the third^a Book. "Let no man *despise* thee," says St. Paul to Titus^r, speaking of the exertion of spiritual authority: if the injunction be not for Titus, but his flock, still it lays an obligation on them, and on *all*, to prevent the *contempt of the Clergy*.—We have no good reason to think, that Christ had any objection to Kings being *nursing-fathers* to his Church, or that if St. Paul were now alive, he would say, that Christian Bishops should not "stand before Kings," and in such a form as would help to promote the right spirit of courtly assemblies.—At first, Christians could only *pray* for Kings^t and for all that were in authority; but other means of promoting the good ends of civil government, they never seem to have avoided, as things not belonging to them. The revenues of the Church have been sometimes applied too much to purposes of Luxury; but suppose a well-chosen Bishop to consider them as a *trust*, and to dispense them in promoting virtue, piety, and learning; in furnishing libraries, &c. &c. (which is the only right idea of them), they would be of immense value to the public. The Gospel was to be preached to all *nations*: a nation, as such, might become Christian, of whatever ranks and orders it consisted.

XIV. *Presbyters*^u or *Priests*, may not be, in all respects, what they originally^x were; all things must

^a Book III. Chap. XIV. Sect. VIII.

^r Titus ii. 15.

^s Prov. xxii. 29.

^t 1 Tim. ii. 2.

^u Presbyter, Prestre, Prêtre, Priest. (Nicholls).

^x Lardner, who seems to hold but two ranks, says Presbyters were to preach, reprove, rebuke, &c. Works, Vol. 2. Introd. page ix.

must yield, must dilate, contract, and suit themselves to utility, in different circumstances. As the Church encreased, and more nations came into it, Bishops grew higher, Deacons lower; Priests were *intermediate*; though even then the three ranks were only such as *Clemens* describes.—The civil Magistrate found himself induced, and called upon, to interfere; this might take off from the *ruling*^y of the Presbyters, and turn them more to teaching and ministerial offices.—Only let us not have two different ideas of the same word, and dispute as if we had the same. Such contention must be endless.

xv. It seems right that we should have such *inferior ministers* as we want; as to their official name being *Deacon*, it is of no consequence. I do not know that, according to Scripture, *Stephen* was a Deacon more than *St. Paul*^z. Nor do I see, that *Eusebius*^a calls *Stephen* a Deacon. But if he had been called Deacon, he certainly did spiritual offices; *Philip* baptized the Æthiopian, *Stephen* worked miracles, and harangued the Jews. He would not have been *stoned* for serving *tables*.

xvi. Unless civil power supports religious society, the maintaining of it seems quite *impracticable*; as we have before observed. Suppose a company of *Players* chose to profane the *Lord's Day* at *Edinburgh*, where it is kept with great strictness, how would the church of Scotland prevent the profanation by any power merely ecclesiastical?—Those who maintain, that “Christ was
the

^y 1 Tim. v. 17.

^z 1 Cor. iii. 5. as before, Sect. 11.—Rom. xv. 8. Christ was
Διακονος περιτομης.

^a Beginning of his Ecclesiastical History.—*Ignatius* seems to consider Deacons (that is, Διακονοι reckoned with Επισκοποι and πρεσβυτεροι) in a *spiritual* light. Ου γαρ βρωματων και ποτων εισιν διακονοι, αλλ' εκκλησιας Θεου υπηρεται. — Ad Trall. Sect. 2.

the only Lawgiver in his^b Church," must give up in *practice* what they hold in *theory*^c.—But of this enough before.—The nature of *Patronage* was mentioned just now.

After all, the general designs of the Puritans, to strengthen religious *discipline*, to make it pervade every order of men, and notice every immoral act, seem to me very^d laudable. Nay, it is no way necessary, for our present business, even to determine which mode of Church-government is best, theirs or ours; perhaps neither may be good absolutely, in all circumstances; nor either bad in certain situations: our Article only asserts, that ours is not radically faulty, so as to have no efficacy; so as not to retain the essence of a Church^e.—The remaining difficulties may be more amongst ourselves.

XVII. As to the question, "do you trust that you are inwardly *moved by the Holy Ghost* to take upon you this office," &c. it cannot occasion much difficulty to any one who has accustomed himself to observe the manner in which every good action or purpose, is, in scripture, *referred* to the Holy Spirit. This was our *subject* in Art. x. and has been several times mentioned since.—Phil. ii. 13. —James i. 17. might revive former ideas. These things considered, the question amounts to no more than this, Are you *conscious of good intentions* in your present undertaking? are you "in all things^f *willing to live honestly*," in the situation to which you aspire?—Besides, a candidate is only asked whether he *trusts* that he is moved; this implies uncertainty,

^b Neal 1. page 233, as before.

^c See Dr Powell's Thesis, page 369, top.

^d Neal 1. page 232. Classes.

^e See Archbishop Wake to Pere Courrayer, July 9, 1724.—Mosh. Cent. 18. Sect. 23. 8vo. Vol. 5. page 94. Note.

^f Heb. xiii. 18.

uncertainty, and entirely excludes enthusiastic presumption: indeed as the Reformers were no enthusiasts, a man might assure himself beforehand, that they had no enthusiastic meaning.

Similar enquiries might be made of one entering into any other profession, where he might possibly have an end in view distinct from the good of that profession.—Do you really mean to make a good *Soldier*, or only to wear a gay uniform? are you *inspired* by a true martial *spirit*? So, do you really mean to make a good *minister*, or only a tithe-gatherer, or a lounge?—But if this be the meaning, you will say, why not remove all difficulties by asking the question in the words which now explain its meaning? I suppose the reason is, because the phrase used, is most *scriptural*; especially for *Deacons*; (indeed the question is not proposed to Priests, or Bishops;) to see this, one need only read Acts vi. 3. 5. (which is transferred into our question,) and consider circumstances. *Seven* men are chosen, to make a fair distribution of what bounty has thrown into a common stock: a qualification for this *temporary* office was that all *seven* must be “*full of the Holy Ghost*,” as well as have a good character, and prudence; that is, knowledge of accounts, market-prices, &c.—We can immediately see the propriety of such men having a good character, and being prudent; being full of the Holy Ghost is a phrase not now familiar; we must consider with what it is *joined*: it must mean some requisite for managing the *temporal* concerns of religious society: might it mean, full of an holy temper? interested about Religion? a good temper or intention is to be *referred* to the Holy Ghost.—But there are many other texts which tend the same way, and would serve to confirm those who framed the question, in their purpose — Luke i. 15.

Acts vii. 55.—ix. 17.—xi. 24.—xiii. 52.—xx. 28.—2 Pet. i. 21.—These and others would serve also to make the phrase more familiar to us; and thereby remove our greatest difficulty in the use of it.

XVIII. When our ordaining Minister says, “Receive the Holy^s Ghost for the office,” &c. there can be no doubt of his using those words of Scripture, John xx. 22.—In the office for Priests, he goes on to ver. 23. in that for Bishops, he proceeds to 2 Tim. i. 6, 7.—John xx. 23. is an Ordination, or Consecration.

This might be of an higher kind at first, than since, in the ordinary state of the Church, as we have seen of several things; but what could be a more proper way of giving a commission to preach, absolve, &c. than repeating the words which our Lord used when he gave the *same* commission; understanding them in a *lower sense*? Suppose you had to compose a Form for the purpose: would you not say, This must not be expressed like a *secular* and civil appointment; it should be expressed in some words of *Scripture*. “We preach not ourselves^h, but Christ Jesus the Lord:” we are not disciples of Paul, or of Apollos, but of Christ: that commission which Christ *gave*, we *hand down* from generation to generation; how can we more strongly mark it for his, than by expressing it in his words?—As the Holy Ghost is to guide us into all truth, and as Christ is to be with his Church to the end of the world, it is not

^s This is not the office of *Deacon*; he *trusts* he is *moved* by the Holy Ghost, and does *not receive* it: Priest and Bishop think in their hearts that they are truly *called*, and *do receive* the Holy Ghost. Is anything particular meant by this?

^h 2 Cor. iv. 5.

not to be imagined that any appointment of a sacred minister can take place without some blessed heavenly *influence*; but it is not *man* who causes that influence, but Christ himself. Man only repeats a Form as *Agent* for him who instituted it. If man could convey any spiritual blessing by his own power, he would use his own words; the words used by an *Herald* when he proclaims war or peace, may sound presumptuous, as if he pretended to give one or the other; but they are not his own words; they are always understood to be the words of his *Sovereign*; and nothing but some great *abuse*, can prevent their being effectual.

This form seems to have been quite established in the time of Augustinⁱ, in the *Latin Church*: and in the *Greek Church* there has been in ordinations some mention of the Holy Ghost. Yet, in general, it is said, that the Greek Forms have been more indicative, the Latin ones more optative or precatory^k. As, ‘*mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost.*’ Some have thought that *our* expressions might bear that sense; like, ‘*Every good attend you.*’—‘*Be you happy, whatever becomes of me,*’ &c.

XIX. As we do not seem to have occasion for an *Application*, in this Article, I will close my remarks upon it by a sort of paraphrase, of the words, “*Receive the Holy Ghost,*” &c.

‘As Jesus Christ, when he sent his Apostles to preach the Gospel in all the world, gave them his commission, and promised a ratification of their authority; and as it is his will that a Commission, in kind the same, though of a lower Degree, should

ⁱ Aug. de Trin. 15. 26. (Nicholls).

^k See a like distinction in the Form of *Absolution*; Art. xxv. Sect. iv.

should be perpetually conferred for the benefit of his Church ; I, heretofore regularly appointed, do confer the same on You ; using the words of our Lord, as best conveying the nature of the *Trust* ; and leaving it to his unbounded wisdom to fulfil them in that degree which shall seem to him, in any state of his Church, most suitable and expedient.’



ARTICLE XXXVII.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATES.

THE King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do most plainly testify; But that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

1. The

I. The *History* of this Article may consist of *two* separate Histories: and the second of them may include the History of the two following Articles, the thirty-eighth and the thirty-ninth.—The first History should be of the *Pope's Supremacy*; the second, of the notions of those, who, aiming at *perfection*, reject some practices which are ordinarily reckoned useful or necessary in human Life: such as governing by *Civil Magistrates*, inflicting *capital punishments*, carrying on *war*, possessing *property*, and taking *oaths* on solemn occasions. That these may go *together*, will appear hereafter.

II. First, we take the *Pope's Supremacy*: a great deal has been written on this subject, but it is now less interesting than it was in the time of our Henry VIII.

Historians tell us, that Christianity was planted in our Island so soon as the^a Apostolic age; though it is not known what persons first taught it to our Ancestors. At the great Council of Nice in 325, it was understood, that the British Christians were not brought under any foreign Patriarch or Metropolitan, but were an independent Church^b.—The Island was invaded by *Saxons*, who were then Idolaters; and Gregory the First, (or the Great) sent a Monk called *Augustin*, very early in the seventh Century, to convert them. He required the British Christians to be in some subjection to the See of Rome, but they refused. The Saxons shewed
more

^a Collier's Eccles. History, from Gildas, &c.—Comber's Advice, page 111.

^b Can. 6. Dionys. Exig. referred to by Comber.—This Dionysius, called the *Little* from his stature, was a Scythian by birth, but resided at Rome; lived to near the middle of the sixth Century; was famous for making a good collection of Canons, &c. and is said to have been the beginner of our custom of reckoning time from the birth of Christ. (Ladvocat.)

more respect to those by whom they had been converted, but kept clear of subjection. At that time it appears, that the Bishop of Rome, (who, like other Bishops, was sometimes called *Papa*, a respectful appellation,) was subject to the *Emperor*, and considered the Emperor as governing *sacred persons*. Indeed the Emperors had always, till the time of Gregory VII. in some degree conferred the Popedom: he was the last Pope whose election was confirmed by the Emperor. The early Christian Emperors had always ordered *Councils*, and presided at them; how much authority they exercised over the Church, appears from a great many Roman Laws now extant in the *Corpus Juris civilis*.—Though the Popes, in the day of their greatness, assumed unbounded authority, yet in the early times of Christianity, they had only that *precedence* which naturally arose from Rome being the seat of the Empire. Under the nineteenth Article we had occasion to compare the see of Rome with those of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch^d. Pope Victor, who died in 201, shewed a good deal of arrogance in the dispute about Easter, and excommunicated some worthy^e men who differed from him; but even those of the *Latin Church* did not think it a duty to submit.—The mild and good *Irenæus*^f opposed him, and wrote to him a letter, from himself and the Brethren in Gaul, still extant in Eusebius.—About the year 372, *Valentinian*^g published a law, by which, in order to avoid

^c See Bower's Lives of Popes, Vol. 2. page 500. where Gregory I. says, that God gave the Emperor *dominari sacerdotibus*.

^d Art. XIX. Sect. II.

^e See Lardner under *Polycrates*; Works, Vol. 2. page 243.

^f Lardner, Vol. 2. page 157.—Euseb. cap 24.—Bower's Life of Victor.

^g Bishop Hallifax on Prophecy, page 336. from Mosheim.

avoid going to profane Tribunals, Bishops were obliged to refer their disputes to the see of Rome: this might be one reason why the papal pretensions kept rising till the Council of *Chalcedon*, in 450. At that Council it was held, that, as there were two seats of Empire, the two Prelates who presided at them, should be upon the *same rank*.— This continued till 580, when Constantinople claimed universal church-supremacy. But *Phocas*, an Emperor of flagitious character, being rather checked for his enormities by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and strongly flattered by the^b Pope, declared the latter the supreme Governor of the Catholic Church.

In the ninth Century the Eastern and Western Churches separated. The Pope became a secular Prince, by the Revolt of the Exarchate of Italy, in the contentions about Images, which must help the growth of his spiritual dominion. He involved, at one time or other, most European Nations in great troubles; of which there seemed likely to be no end, so long as he could make religious terror, and other passions, operate on the minds of the ordinary subjects, and maintain a strong feeling for the sanctity of religious orders.— In *England* he gained an influence about the time of the Conquest, by assisting the Conqueror; and from that time to the reign of Henry VIII. it was a perpetual conflict between the See of Rome and the rational part of the English Nation.

The Law, in Theory, was against the See of Rome, and during the reigns of Henry II. Edward I. and III. and Richard II. several Statutes were

^b Gregory I. see his Life by Bower. Phocas died 610.— See Nicholls on the Ordination-oath.— Gregory's Letters to Phocas, are a great disgrace to him.

were made, declaring the rights of England, and enforcing them. The Statutes of the Parliament at Clarendon, those against *Provisors*, and those decreeing what is called a *præmunire*, are so well explained in Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, a Book to which every one has access, that I need not dwell upon them: it is enough to mention them to the Student.

Civil wars kept the nation, for a long time, from exerting itself unanimously to regain its rights, and the Popes were always ready to take advantage of all divisions.—Henry VIII. at first acted and wrote in defence of Popery, against Luther, from whence he got the Title of *Defender of the Faith*; but quarrelling with the Pope about a Divorce, he set himself earnestly, with all the vehemence of a warm temper, and of princely loftiness, to throw off the Papal Supremacy.—The occasion might not be equally creditable with a pure sense of rectitude, and a love of law and liberty; but yet the manner of conducting the emancipation of ourⁱ Church and State, seems to have been regular, legal, constitutional; and to have implied the recovery or declaration of an *old right*, detained for a while by mere violence.—The Supremacy of the Pope was rejected by English Papists: all the powers of the Nation united in rejecting it.

The *Necessary Doctrine*, on the Sacrament of *Order*, contains a good account of this matter; plain and clear; as for the *people*: the work of *Cranmer*, most probably, who was raised to eminence by his efforts to redeem the kingdom.—Thus Henry VIII. assumed the Title of Head of the Church, in spite of Bulls discharged against him

ⁱ Heylin, in his life of Archbishop Laud, page 1. has a short account of this.—Neal's account is not long.

him from Rome; and his successors have retained the Title, though Elizabeth thought fit to give an Explanation of it in her *Injunctions* mentioned in the Article, similar to the explanation in the paragraph which refers to them.

Several attempts have been made, since the time of Elizabeth, to restore the Papal power; a short and clear account of which may be found in Bishop *Gibson's* Postscript to his fifth Pastoral Letter.

Of late years, the Pope's power over the English Papists seems to have been much weakened. We have had about seventeen hundred of them avow this by signing their names: they call themselves *Protesting Catholics*. Parliament has past an act for their relief, taking place June 24, 1791. Yet even over these the Pope has some *spiritual* authority: their oath only imports, that they allow him "no *temporal* or *civil* jurisdiction" "within this Realm."—And even this Oath great numbers of English Papists cannot take.—Indeed, I believe the notion, that there ought to be *one Head* of the Church, and that the Bishop of *Rome* has good pretensions to that pre-eminence, is deeply rooted in the minds of many.—We are told, that even "many men of Learning and Piety," in the church of Rome, are sensible of its errors, but do not chuse to separate themselves from what they esteem the true Universal Church of Christ^k.

III. Having finished our first History, let us proceed to our second.—Declining, through scruple, the use of those expedients which the generality of ordinary men have adopted for the purposes of human life, has arisen from a desire
of

^k See second Appendix to Mosheim's History.—About Dr. *Courayer*, page 110.—Comber too presses this point most of any. *Advice*, Sect. 6. page 110—136.

of attaining to *Perfection*: such desire is sometimes a part of a mild, gentle, refined temper; sometimes of an harsh and austere one.—The former, intent upon the good always likely to result from improvement; the latter dwelling on the faults and failures which seem to obstruct it.

It must be owned, that Magistracy, capital punishments, war, property, and oaths, all imply great *imperfection*. If we were as we ought to be, and had amongst us no “stubborn and evil-doers,” we should have no need of Magistrates (much less of *capital* punishments and war) nor even of riches, which occasion so many dissensions, so much anxiety, and so many vicious acts.—If our veracity were to be relied on, oaths would be needless.—These are real *evils*, though as they prevent greater evils, they are considered as benefits.—Every scruple proceeds upon something in *Scripture*.

1. The prohibition of Magistracy, on Matt. v. 5.—xx. 25.—Gal. v. 1.

2. Of capital punishments on Matt. v. 21.—vi. 15.

3. War, on Matt. v. 39—44.

4. Riches, on Matt. vi. 19.—xix. 21—24.—Luke xvi. 19, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10.

5. Oaths, on Matt. v. 34. and James v. 12.

It does not happen, that every one who declines one or two of the things we are speaking of, declines them all; some do not allow of oaths, or of war, who do allow of property; but the *manner* and temper seems to be much the same in all who decline any; variations are most likely to happen where there is the least solid reasoning and plain sense: a particular taste, connexion, interest, &c. may set some persons, though of this temper,

upon justifying to themselves some¹ one of the things in question; and, in such case, their arguments will rarely fail of success.

iv. The *Pythagoreans* seem to have had a disposition to decline some things, which common men make use of: their leader persuaded the Sicilian Dames to strip off their more splendid ornaments, and make an offering of them to a local Deity.—He made his followers sell their patrimony, lay the produce at his feet, and live in common, without *property*.—He held, that *war* was only lawful on five occasions, such as against the passions, and so on; meaning, that it was never to be carried on with fire and sword. He would not kill even^m Brute Animals.—The necessity of Laws he saw too clearly to be missed.—He therefore endeavoured to improve, not annihilate, Legislation.

v. Some of the Christian Fathers may be next mentioned. *Lactantius* seems to make the commandment, “thou shalt not *kill*,” to be universal; to admit of no exception whatsoever: he is even against killing by word, as he calls it, that is, accusing of a capital crime. God wills man to be sanctumⁿ animal. He would not have a man fight, as a soldier, in the justest cause. What he says against fights of Gladiators, and the exposing of children, appears to me to be very good, whatever the rest may seem.

The *Manicheans* seem to have^o been against *war*: *Augustin*^p, in opposing them, is clearly for just war; and

¹ Fielding describes Col. Bath well, talking as a *Christian* about *Duelling*.

^m *Ladvoat*; collected from various Lives.

ⁿ *Lactantius de vero Cultu*, cap. 20.—A. D. 306.

^o *Lardner*, Vol. 3. page 476.

^p *Aug. Contra Faustum*, 22. 74.

and argues well in excuse for it, calling Soldiers non homicidas sed ministros Legis,—salutis publicæ defensores.—Faustus had been arguing against the Old Testament, and had instanced in the wars of Moses. Augustin says, quid culpatur in Bello?

The *Pelagians* were against *oaths*.—And against *Riches*⁹: they held, that a man ought not to *swear at all*;—and that *rich* converts must give up their whole substance, or Baptism would not profit them. Augustin opposed them in both these points, though he himself had given up his property, and had persuaded some to do the same: as appears from his Letter to *Hilarius*, who had written from Sicily to inform Augustin of the Pelagian notions spreading there^r. But several *Fathers* seem to have been against Oaths, thinking them allowed to *Jews*, but wholly forbidden to Christians. As Basil and Chrysostom: Jerom also and Gregory of Nazianzum might lean that way. Cyprian however seems to have been on our side; but, in early times, swearing was confounded with swearing by *Heathen Deities*; that would be reckoned wrong by *all*. *Vegetius* gives an account of the Oaths taken by *Christian Soldiers*^s: so that Christians did enlist, and had a *Sacramentum*; they also professed to honour the Emperor next after God.

VI. The *Waldenses* seem to have been very likely to take the turn of which we are speaking. Accordingly,

⁹ See the passages in Vossius's Hist. Pelag. page 723. 727.—Wall on Bapt. page 179. 183.

^r See Wall, i. 19. 21. page 182, quarto.—The Pelagians had sold their property, and condemned every one who did not.—Augustin had sold his, and had persuaded some to sell theirs, but censured none who did not.

^s Quoted by Vossius, *ibid.* page 727.—See also Lardner, end of 8th Volume.

Accordingly, Mosheim informs¹ us, that—" Their Rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted as the model of their moral discipline, the Sermon of Christ on the Mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner; and, of consequence, prohibited and condemned in their Society, all *wars*, and suits of *Law*, all attempts towards the acquisition of *wealth*, the inflicting of *capital* punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and *Oaths* of all kinds."

Maclaine, in his note on this passage, observes, that these persons only meant to revive *Piety*, and oppose *abuses*.

Wickliffe had such a mass of corruption to remove, that he might not at once discern what was *practicable*: he seems to have had a tendency to decline some of the usages of which we are speaking. At the Council of *Constance* one of his condemned propositions was, "*Oaths* made to strengthen human contracts and civil commerce, are unlawful²."—And *Gilpin* tells us, he was against capital punishments, and thought war "*utterly unlawful*³."

Vows of *poverty* may be mentioned; especially as they are generally attended with meekness, and set men at a distance from war and bloodshed.—In France, about twenty years ago, the Convents of Monks living in poverty filled very slowly; they fell far short of their complement.

The German *Anabaptists* are mentioned in our thirty-

¹ Mosheim, Cent. 12. 2. 5. 12. 8vo. Vol. 2. page 454.

² Baxter on Councils, page 433.

³ *Gilpin's Reformers*, page 79, 80.—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* 2. 631. mentions four Books of his on the Sermon on the Mount, and three Books of civil Government.

thirty-eighth Article.—I gave an account^y of them formerly. *Luther*, who knew them well, describes them in few words, as far as concerns our present purpose: *docentes Christiano^z nihil esse possidendum, non jurandum, nullos magistratus habendos, non exercenda judicia, neminem tuendum aut defendendum, uxores et liberos deserendos, atque id genus portenta quam plurima.*—In *Sleidan's*^a History, *John Matthew* orders all goods to be in common, and people bring their goods to the common stock; partly, perhaps, through fear of two *prophesying Virgins*, who discovered all embezzling.—The Landgrave tells them, they mean to overturn all *Government*^b.—*Cheynell* says, “the *Anabaptists* go to sea without any ordnance in their ships”—travel without any “sword,”—one of them does “not think it lawful to be a *Cutler*^c.”

The first *Socinians* have been thought to originate from the *Anabaptists*^d. In a note on *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*^e it is said, “there is this peculiarity

^y Art. VII. Sect. III.—There are some Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. against them. See Burn, under *Dissenters*.

^z Pref. to Ennarations on Matt v, vi. vii. fol. 1. page 2.—Works, Vol. 7. fol. a paraphrase on Christ's Sermon on the mount.

^a The Latin title is, *Commentaria de Statu Religionis et Reipublicæ, Carolo V. Cæsare. in 26 Books.* It is translated into English by Bohun.—See also Wall, page 414. 419. 425.

^b The *Anabaptists* resisted Government by virtue of their *Christian Liberty*.—Art. VII. Sect. III.—And because Magistrates imply *imperfection*; Rogers, page 224.—Confess. Augsb. 1. Cap. 17. the Godly shall *rule* and possess the *Earth*, at last; ergo begin *directly*.—See *Mosheim*, Cent. 16. 3. 2. 3. 16. 8vo. Vol. 4. page 153.

^c *Cheynell* on *Socinianism*, page 51. (in T—5—38. Sid. Coll.)

^d *Mosheim*, 8vo. Vol. 4. page 178. Cent. 16 3. 2. 4. 8.

^e *Ibid.* Sect. 10. page 185. 8vo. see also *Cheynell* on *Socinianism*, page 51, 52.—for connexion between *Anabaptists* and old *Socinians*.—He is speaking of some sort of *Socinians* when

peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the taking of *oaths* and the repelling of *injuries*.”—The modern Socinians have not this peculiarity.

VII. The *reformed* Churches would be all earnest to clear themselves of the imputation of being seditious, and of favouring the Anabaptists.—The Helvetic Confession condemns them expressly. The French mentions the error, about a community of Goods, as then subsisting. The Scotch allows the Magistrates to purge Religion;—would it allow a *popish* Magistrate?—The Dutch much the same; and it speaks of the Anabaptists, like our thirty-eighth Article, as to holding a community of goods. The Bohemian is strongly against the Magistrate’s interfering^f in religious matters. The Augustan condemns the Anabaptists warmly; and mentions Magistracy, War, Oaths; and the belief of the actual final Dominion of the Saints.

VIII. I rather suspect our Article of aiming at the *Puritans*^g: blaming the Anabaptists for any puritanical error, would be a way of throwing odium upon the Puritans.—In the *Play* called the *Puritan*, one says, “We (Puritans) must not *swear*,
I can

when he says, page 52. “God hath not given his people any earthly goods or possessions under the Gospel;”—there is more of it: printed 1643.

^f It might be inquired, whether those who were for the magistrate’s interfering in affairs of Religion, had not the Magistrate on their side? and those who were against the magistrate’s interfering, had not him for an adversary?

^g Rogers refers to a passage in the Preface to Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity, in which it is said, that Puritans made a practice of declining *oaths* in Courts of Law, when their brethren were under *prosecution*, and if they were sworn, they would then be *silent*. But this seems nothing to a *Doctrine* of *unlawfulness* of oaths; only as it would *put* the Puritans upon making what *objections* they could, in their own defence.

I can tell you:”—“We may lie, but we must not swear:”—and, “No *rich* thing shall enter into Heaven, you know.”—The character of *Corporal Oath* is probably intended to heighten the puritanical character, by contrast^h.

ix. In or near 1573, there were a set of Christians in the Isle of *Ely*ⁱ, who are said to have mixed the notions of Gnostics, Arians, and Anabaptists.—They deduced from Matt. v. that they ought not to take any *oaths*; from the commandment, “thou shalt not *kill*,” that all *capital* punishments are unlawful: and from Acts ii. 44, 45. that riches are unchristian. And they held other notions not connected with our present subject. They were thought worth denouncing to Government.

x. The *Family of Love* seem likely, from what has been already said of them, to have run into the errors of which we are treating; and in the Proclamation of Elizabeth^k against them, it is mentioned, that they would take an *Oath* before a Magistrate, and not scruple to *deceive* him if he was not one of their own sect. However, Rogers on this Article refers to H. N.’s work, Spirit. Land. 6. 5, as railing at Magistracy, and to another work as encouraging men to accomplish the dominion of the Saints. And also to passages condemning all *wars*, and prohibiting the use of all *weapons*.

The *Quakers* take up some notions which the Anabaptists^l laid down; they hold all *war* to be
unlawful;

^h See the Play amongst Shakspeare’s, Act 1. Scene 2 and 3. and Act 3. Scene 6. “*Peace* has more hidden oppressions, and violent heady sins (though looking of a gentle nature) than a professed *war*.”—This is said with a *view* to Puritans.

ⁱ See Collier’s Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2: page 545.

^k Bishop Sparrow’s Collection, page 171.

^l Burn, under *Dissenters*.

unlawful; and all *oaths*; but they expressly allow of *property*, and difference of *ranks*. They speak feelingly of the *Civil Magistrate's* interfering about *opinions*: but they seem to take for granted the lawfulness of his temporal authority^m; and indeed their addresses to our King have been always loyal:—they ground their opinions on Scripture.—One might read an expression or two of Warburton, inⁿ his Alliance.

At the Restoration there^o was a very severe act against the Quakers, the tendency of which was, to compel them to take Oaths; but at the Revolution their scruples found relief:—and I hope a sufficient one.

The *Moravians*, who stile themselves “*Unitas Fratrum*,” or “United Brethren” are called by *Limborch*^p, *Communitæ*, as having goods in common; but I have known Persons of Fortune members of that Community. Perhaps they might at first have one common stock. In 22 of George II. they had an act of Parliament to relieve them from taking Oaths; yet they make declarations “in the *presence of God*,”—considering God as a “*Witness*.” I observe they are called a “protestant *Episcopal* Church.”

XI. We may now proceed to *Explanation*.

Some, I think, have scrupled to sign our Articles, because it was originally, in the Articles of 1562, “the *Queen's* Majesty,” and not, “the *King's* Majesty.” Such a scruple requires a constant succession of female sovereigns.

“The

^m Barclay's Apol. prop. 14.

ⁿ Page 91. 121.

^o Burn, under Dissenters, 13 & 14. Chap. 2. c. 1.

^p Limborch on Acts ii.

^q Augustin would tell them that they do not know what swearing is. See Wall, 4to. page 185. Aug. ad Hilarium.

^r Burn, under Dissenters, 4to. page 525.

“The *chief* power”—in Latin, *summam* habet potestatem: which is sometimes called the *supreme* or *sovereign* power.

“Foreign jurisdiction,” can only allude to the see of *Rome*: however, the general terms convey something of reasoning.—The first paragraph is against the *Papists*, the second against the *Puritans*.

“By *which* titles,”—supreme in ecclesiastical causes, supreme in civil causes: this seems to be the meaning; but the grammar seems scarcely accurate. This Article is made out of one of 1552; and there is more grammatical danger in alteration, than in original composition³.

“Slanderos folks,” are in Latin, *calumniatores*: the Puritans are meant.—The *Injunctions* spoken of are in Sparrow’s Collection⁴: we may look at them. “*Lately*”—in 1559.

“To all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures”—the act of a wicked pagan Prince, might not have made a good precedent.—But some scriptural precedents should be mentioned.—Exod. xxxii. 22. Aaron submits to the Lay-lawgiver, Moses.—Deut. xiii. 5. A prophet inticing to Idolatry, is to be put to death.—1 Kings iii. 26. Solomon judges Abiathar.—2 Chron. xix. 5–9. Jehoshaphat gives judicial powers to sacred persons.—xxix. 4, &c.—Hezekiah gives orders to the Levites.—See also ver. 11.—ver. 21. he commands the Sons of Aaron: see also ver. 31.—2 Chron. xxx. 1. Hezekiah orders a Passover.—xxx. 2. He orders the courses of Levites.—David, and Josiah are also mentioned as instances⁵.

These

³ I should like to know, if it were possible, whether the Queen herself had any hand in transplanting her injunction into this Article. One can conceive, that her Majesty’s grammatical inaccuracy might remain uncorrected.

⁴ Sparrow’s Collection, page 82.

⁵ Scotch Confession. — Syntagma, page 156.

These things are mentioned in the *Explanation*, lest the precedents of the Old Testament should not be now thought sufficiently binding upon us Christians, to make a part of our Proof.

The “*civil sword*,” &c. seems an allusion to Rom. xiii. 4. “no jurisdiction,”—temporal or spiritual.

The words “*Christian men*” occur both in the paragraph about capital punishments, and in that about war, which shews that our authorities are to come from the scriptures of the New Testament.—“*Wear weapons*,” is the expression, probably, of Anabaptists, and the Family of Love.

XII. Let us now go on to our *Proof*.

1. The King of our Realm, and not the Pope, is the Head of our Church.

2. The King is not a *Minister* of the church.

3. Christians owe obedience to the Civil Magistrate.

4. Capital punishments are not always unlawful in a Christian country.

5. It is not always unlawful for a Christian to engage in war.

Though we have now had the *History* relating to Property and Oaths, yet the lawfulness of them had best be proved under the subsequent Articles.

XIII. The King of our Realm, and not the Pope, is the Head of our Church. In the third Book the principles of *Alliance** between Church and State, were briefly laid down and defended. There it appeared, that when a Church is composed of the subjects of a state, there must be one Head of both, in order to effect unity of Government; and that it is much more useful to both that the King (or civil magistrate) should preside, under regulations arising from the nature of the Alliance,

* Book III. Chap. XIV. Sect. v.

Alliance, than the spiritual Head of the ecclesiastical society. So far all lies within the nation.

As to any foreign spiritual power interfering, there seems no good foundation for it, either in the Law of Nature, or in the^y Gospel. And till the middle of the second Century we are told, that all Christian Churches were independent of each other, and^z without any common Head.—But is not the Church *Universal*?—Christ did mean to form all his Disciples into one Body, but never obliged a small part of his Disciples to continue in communion with a large body, contrary^a to all the dictates of Reason and Conscience. Each particular church, as has been frequently observed, ought to consider itself as part of the Catholic Church; and treat the Members of all the other Churches as Brethren, from whom human weakness causes a present separation. This is the most likely method of forming finally a solid union.

But if it were allowed, that the Catholic Church of Christ ought to have one visible head, what pretensions has the Bishop of Rome to be that Head? none which can be considered as established by general consent. Rome was once a seat of Empire; if Christian churches, in or near that Empire, had *then* occasion to consult together, some precedence would be proper and convenient, for the sake of maintaining order, and unity of action;—reasons of convenience, and analogy, might make a determination to fall, when a determination *must* be made, on the Bishop of Rome.—But such reasons are now all *against* a Bishop of Rome.

Besides,

^y Powell, page 355.

^z See Art. XXI.—Bingham hath something on the subject, Book 2. Chap. 4. & 6.

^a Rev. xviii. 4.—Art. XIX.

Besides, if the whole Church of Christ is to have one head, would it not now be best to fix upon one in some other situation? America must now be considered, and the state of Christianity in Africa, and in Asia: in the East Indies possibly Christianity may make some progress; nay, would it not be right to have an Head of the Church, if one be necessary, in *different* places, at different times, according to the actual state of the Christian world? we must not for a moment suppose worldly *ambition* or interest to throw any difficulties in the way: certainly the Bishop of Rome never was in the office, if such an office there be, of head of the universal Church of Christ.

It may however be said, that the Bishop of Rome has exercised spiritual Power in *England*. He has; but it was one founded in no *right*, nor ever *submitted* to, more than as the plundering of a robber is submitted to whilst his pistol is at your breast. Whenever this nation has been free enough to be capable of making a contract, it has declared against papal usurpations. A contract ought always, in order to be valid, to promote the mutual benefit of the contracting parties; the spiritual power of Rome has been exercised merely for the benefit of Rome.

All Christians ought, no doubt, to act for the good of Christianity; but nothing would be more contrary to the general interests of Christianity, than for the Pope to have authority over the Church of England:—we have left the Church of Rome from the fullest conviction of its errors and corruptions: in what way could the head of that Church now exercise authority over us, but in the way of controversy and persecution? we should *resist*, and the *event* must be, that Roman and English Churches would hurt each others religious principles materially.

No; if a *Courayer*, or if other learned and pious men, anxiously wish to have a Catholic church in *fact*, as well as in Theory, let them encourage general toleration, and quiet separation of those, who cannot conscientiously hold communion together. Let the Bishops of Rome give up all ambitious and lucrative projects, let the Romish Clergy enlighten their *people*, as much as they are themselves enlightened:—this done, the Church of Rome is no longer an object of our jealousy; we have no longer occasion to be upon our guard. Intercourse will generate confidence and mutual good opinion; these will generate benevolence; mutual benevolence is mutual attraction: attraction produces *Unity*. So that the first approach to Unity, is complete independence, and separation.

Should such unity prevail as to give a reasonable prospect of benefit from *Councils*, some *Precedence* may again be wanted. In that case let him preside, who shall appear to be the best situated and qualified for presiding. Our Island will scarcely aspire to the honour. But whoever presides, let him be aware of arrogance and oppression!

I should hope our first proposition may now be considered as proved.

XIV. The King is not a *Minister* of the Church.

The reasons given why the King should be Head of the Church, his compulsive and protecting power, his ability to maintain the Ministers, shew, that, in the Alliance of Church and State, there is no view of his having any employ that is not of a *temporal* nature. For priestly offices he is unqualified, and his time is occupied in others. Our reasoning on this head in the third Book was general; and there is nothing in the English Church or State to be the ground of an exception:

But all parties being of one mind on this proposition, an elaborate proof of it, is unnecessary.

xv. Christians owe obedience to the *Civil Magistrate*.

Here we quit the Bishop of Rome, and come to those *scruples* or prohibitions, the History of which we have given collectively. Let us observe of them all together, that the error of them turns upon not distinguishing between what is *desirable*, and what is *practicable*. However desirable any end may be, if we adopt any impracticable measures, we only get farther from it; whereas if we begin with practical measures, we make some progress, however small; and we may, by perseverance, attain our end at last: to content ourselves with what is practicable, is the most likely way to attain what is ultimately desirable.

For proof that Christians owe obedience to civil Magistrates, we may refer to Matt. xxii. 21.—Rom. xiii. 1—7.—Titus iii. 1.—1 Pet. ii. 13.—But the cogency of these proofs will be best understood by reading Bishop *Sherlock's* Discourse^b on Rom. xiii. 1. which I would earnestly recommend.

xvi. *Capital punishments* are not always unlawful in a Christian country.—In the Gospel it is taken for granted, not ordered, that an offender may be punished with death.—Acts xxv. 11.—Rom. xiii. 4.

The *Jewish* capital punishments prove, that such punishments are not so essentially wrong, as never to be right in any case. And nothing of the Jewish Law, relating to punishment, is repealed under the Gospel.

xvii. *War* is not always unlawful to Christians.

Here again we say, In the Gospel, war is not ordered, but taken for granted.—See Matt. viii. 9. Luke

^b Bishop *Sherlock's* Discourses, Vol. 4. Disc. xiii.

Luke iii. 14.—Acts x. 1, 2.—2 Tim. ii. 4. Each of which texts should be considered with this question, what *would have been said*, had war been universally to be prohibited?—Would not our Saviour, or St. John^c Baptist, have thrown in some exhortations to *quit* the military profession?

Under the *Old Law* we find many wars; and the Psalmist blesses God for teaching^d his hands to war, and his fingers to fight. To which no blame is annexed in the Gospel^e.

XVIII. We have given a direct proof of our propositions, but some indirect seems wanting; especially for the two^f last.

It may be asked, in the first place, are not capital punishments inconsistent with the benevolent spirit of the Gospel? I would answer, first, that every right punishment is a species of benevolence: and is inflicted simply with a desire of doing good. A man by punishing may sometimes do more good than by forgiving.

But “*thou shalt not kill:*”—I would here borrow the words of St. Paul; “it is manifest that he
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^c I was glad to find Augustin putting a speech into the mouth of John Baptist, in the way here mentioned.—*Contra Faustum*, 22. 74. quoted in Sect. v.

^d Psalm cxliv. 1.

^e Would Christ have been called the *Captain* of our Salvation if all military offices had been held in utter abomination?

^f The Papists are apt to urge, that the Pope has a right to Supremacy, as successor of St. *Peter*. The claim seems to me so weak, that I am unwilling to detain you upon it. Limborch, in his *System of Theology*, (L. 7. c. 9 & 10,) enters into the subject.—And Macknight takes notice, (Sect. 70. end; on Matt. xvi. 17—23.) of the worldly turn of St. Peter's mind, at the time when he is said to have received his Commission.—Limborch shews, both that St. Peter was not the *Head* of the Disciples, so as to have any authority over them, and that the Bishop of Rome was not successor to St. Peter.—See also J. Hales's *Traacts*, page 251.

is excepted" who does not commit *murder*; and the Jewish *practice* (for this was part of the Jewish Law), makes this still more evident.—This is a short command, but if it were as long as a modern Act of Parliament, it would still be liable to limitations taken from its true intent and meaning. For instance, if a man attacks my life, I am surely to prevent him from taking it, though by taking his;—one life must be lost either way:—and if he attacks my property, I may *defend* that, otherwise my right is nothing: and if I cannot defend it but by taking his life, then I should say, he destroys *himself*; 'tis the same thing as if I hold out my sword, and he runs upon it.

A *Nation*, however, you will say, is safe, they may *secure* the offender, and therefore need not *kill* him. This may not be practicable in all cases: suppose, in any case, it is; yet, in strictness, what right has the criminal to force the community to maintain and watch him? if they are not obliged to maintain and watch him, then they have a right to defend themselves against such attacks as he may be expected to make if they do not maintain and watch him.—Yet it must be owned, that, though some may perhaps, even by man, be given over to a^s reprobate mind, it is a rational exercise of *mercy* and benevolence, to secure others, even such as had no strict right to be spared.—The possibility of repentance is worth attending to: Reformation would be so great a good, that a light evil might be born for the chance of it.

But we are only concerned with *Scripture*.—Scripture might not reveal moral philosophy supernaturally, any more than natural philosophy. A time may come when capital punishments may
be

be spared; and yet they might not be *forbidden*^h in *Scripture*; which is all our concern.

XIX. In the next place it may be asked, with regard to *war*, is it not contrary to Matt. v. 38—41ⁱ.?—Bishop Burnet says, this is “a very great difficulty.”—Suppose there was a sense in which this passage prohibited *all* war, (as it certainly does all *forwardness* in going to war); that sense could not be right, because one part of scripture is to be interpreted so as to be *consistent* with other parts.

The Sermon on the Mount is to be interpreted as being in some measure the language of *reproof*; the language of reproof is a part of *Eloquence*: what is intended to mortify and correct self-sufficiency, is not to be interpreted exactly in the same manner as what is delivered to the ingenuous and modest enquirer. In what our Saviour delivers, each Christian precept is contrasted to some fault prevailing amongst the reputable part of the Jews: so that one should keep the self-sufficiency and the malevolence of such Jews, continually before one's eyes: the Jewish character seems to have been malevolent, the Christian benevolent.—The Christian precept now in question, is opposed to the practice of *Retaliation*: to malevolent rancour, flying instantly, on the receipt of an imagined injury, to seize eye for eye and tooth for tooth.—This must not be *Christian* conduct, says our Saviour; it is not *right* conduct, nay, it was

^h I think I said here, in giving this Lecture, that some nations might be so barbarous, or so circumstanced, after the publication of the Gospel, that rights could not be safe, if no criminals were put to death: and therefore, that scripture could not well prohibit generally capital punishments, whatever it might have done if published in times very much improved.

ⁱ Barclay's Apology, Prop. 15.

was never *intended* to be Jewish.—But why is it not *right*? because it is not the most effectual way to banish all injuries from the world, and to perfect human happiness:—it is a natural movement, on the receipt of an injury, to fly to revenge; but this must be *checked*: it should be a *Rule*, to *yield*, to bear, to give way a little, as we do to a bodily *stroke*, when it would otherwise be painful: great good would arise from the practice of this rule; we should find the imagined injury no real one; or we should soften the offender, or we should bind to us by ties of gratitude, one of an hasty but generous temper. It is not, however, to be understood, that this rule is invariable, or universal, any more than another; when punishment will clearly answer a better end, and can be inflicted in the genuine spirit of *benevolence*, it must be applied; else there is a voluntary neglect of the *greater good*. But, *commonly*, men want much more persuading to yield, than to punish. The mistake with which we are now concerned, is this; if a *Rule* is given, it is taken as an only, or *single* Rule; whereas, though each rule is *given* singly, it is not meant to exclude other Rules. One rule is, to let our light shine before men; another, not to let our left hand know what our right doeth; both excellent Rules! on different^k occasions: but neither of them can be followed singly, on all occasions. These limit each other; but every rule, if not limited expressly, is to be understood to be so tacitly, by considerations of the greatest good. The very next words to our difficult passage, are, “Give to him that asketh thee; and from him that

^k Matt. xii. 37. makes our final sentence to depend upon our *words*. Rom. ii. 6, &c. on our *actions*.—I need scarce say, that reference is here made to Matt. v. 16. and vi. 3.

that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away.” —Another excellent Rule, in its *place*:—no one has ever followed this without limitation; and yet it would be difficult to assign any reason why it is more variable, or liable to limitations, than that which immediately precedes it.

This may suffice to solve our difficulty; but I cannot quit it without observing, how irksome it is to be obliged to urge anything, which can have any tendency to lessen the force of that divine rule, yield to evil, “give place unto wrath;”—a rule dictated by that wisdom, which is from above, delivered from the mouth of him who knew what was in man: a rule so much wanted, and so replete with good, that one would not soon find one’s self weary of expatiating on its complicated¹ benefits to mankind.

This is all the indirect proof I will give.—Any one might consult Grotius de Jure, &c. 1, 2. 6, &c.

xx. If any *application* were wanted, we might observe, with a view to *mutual concession*, that war is generally, or always, owing to some defect in Wisdom or in Virtue; to mistaking rights, to ambitious restlessness: though we cannot own, as a consequence, that no Nation can lawfully *defend* itself. To give up self-defence is impracticable.—I have wished to impress the distinction between what is desirable, and what is *practicable*: and therefore I will conclude with the following incident: we are told, that the *Pensylvanians*, after high professions of suffering anything rather than fight, determined to retake by force, a sloop from a Pirate.

The

¹ Reference is here made to John ii. 25.—Rom. xii. 19. and James iii. 17.

The excuse they made was^m, that they did it as *Magistrates*, not as *Quakers*. The account is taken from a printed Book of *Trials*; of George *Keith*, and others.

^m Leslie's *Snake in the Grass*, Sect. 18.



ARTICLE XXXVIII.

OF CHRISTIAN MEN'S GOODS, WHICH ARE NOT
COMMON.

THE Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

I. Having taken the *History* of this Article into the History of the preceding, we may begin with *Explanation*.

II. The *Title* is in the same *form* with those of the twenty-sixth and twenty-ninth, on which we have had some remarks.

The *Latin* title seems obscure; *De illicitâ bonorum communicatione*; may it be translated, Of the unlawfulness of acting as if all goods were common?—that seems likely to be the *meaning*.

“Christians,”—this word shews, as before, that our concern is only with the *Scriptures* of the New Testament, the true meaning of which we suppose some of our Christian Brethren to have mistaken.

Our Article consists of two sentences; the first of which expresses rights and duties of *perfect* obligation; the second, those of *imperfect* obligation.—At first sight it seems odd to insert in an
Article,

Article, a duty, of the practice of which the Agent is to be the sole judge; such a duty seems only matter of exhortation: yet we have had similar instances in the thirty-second and thirty-fourth Articles. And where the mistake of our brethren, who differ from us, depends very much upon taking indeterminate duties of Scripture for determinate, there it is immediately necessary to mark out the difference. But it is proper also to do it, when a strict duty of perfect obligation would seem harsh, and' contrary to Christian benevolence, if its defects were not supplied by a free voluntary duty. In Article xxxii. it seemed proper to set marriage in an honourable light, by observing, that to some persons it might be the state productive of the greatest virtue: so here, it seems proper to set strict Justice in an honourable light, by shewing, that it is the ground of all that voluntary Benevolence, which is contrasted with it, and which cannot be reduced to determinate rules without more harm than good.—The institution of property thus appears in its true light, and is seen as greatly beneficial to mankind.

III. I see nothing more for explanation.

And for *Proof*, I see but one proposition.

'The institution of *Property* is not contrary to the Gospel.'

For as to *beneficence*, that is not mentioned as a matter in dispute, but only as completing the idea of moral and Christian duty, with regard to property; and as shewing property to be useful.

The direct proofs of our proposition, to be found in Scripture, are very numerous: I will only aim at mentioning a number which may be sufficient.—In Matt. v. 42. *giving* and *lending*, both imply property: so in Matt. vi. 3. *do alms*.—Those of whose mistake we are now treating,
ground

ground their notions very much on our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount.—From John xix. 27. it appears, that St. John had an home, which afforded a residence to the blessed Virgin Mary.—We may read also Rom. xii. 13. as marking, (like the texts from St. Matthew,) both the duties mentioned in our Article, determinate and indeterminate.—2 Cor. viii. answers the same purpose, and shews (ver. 13.) that Christians had in St. Paul's time, unequal shares of property. Eph. iv. 28. forbids *stealing*, and advises industry for the purpose of raising a fund for beneficence — 1 Tim. v. 8. shews an use of property prior even to beneficence itself. 1 Tim. vi. 17. presupposes not only property, but even riches. James iv. 13. presupposes traffick, or *Commerce*.—And particular persons who were possessed of property, are spoken of with commendation: Cornelius, Philemon, Gaius. Not to mention Zachæus^a, or Joseph of Arimathea.

IV. This direct proof must be surely sufficient; but the *indirect* seems to require the greater attention on the present Article.—Yet it may be here observed of every text which is brought against the institution of property, that no sense of it can be admitted, which is not consistent^b with some sense of the texts already quoted. I imagine we need not examine, as seeming to favour our adversaries, more passages of Scripture than Matt. vi. 19.—Matt. xix. 16, &c. about the wealthy young man to whom Christ proposed selling all he had.—Luke xvi. 19, &c. about the rich man and Lazarus.—Acts ii. 44, 45. about the first Christians having all things in common; and 1 Tim. vi.

9, 10

^a Luke xix. 2, &c.^b As before, Art. xxxvii. Sect. xix.

9, 10. or some passage of like import, expressing the mischiefs attending riches.

v. Matt. vi. 19. is only a *comparative* expression, though it has, no doubt, been sometimes understood absolutely. Its meaning only is, that men ought to *prefer* heavenly treasures to earthly. We have had instances of this *negative* mode of comparison^c before.

vi. With regard to Matt. xix. 16, &c. the proposal made by Christ to the wealthy young man, is certainly one intended for extraordinary emergencies. It cannot be made a ground of action in *ordinary* life, without the kind of proportion mentioned in the eleventh Chapter of the first Book. If the rich young man was, in *his* circumstances, to act in such a manner, how am I to act in *my* circumstances?

This might suffice; but even take the transaction as it was in our Saviour's time, and it is no annulling of the institution of property. A very great act of beneficence is held forth, or proposed, on a very great occasion; such as might be proposed on some few other great occasions; such as the captivity of a parent, an invasion of one's country, a struggle for civil liberty, &c. but I see no hint of any disapprobation of the institution of *Property*.—It does not appear that the refusal was blamed; it does not appear to *me*, that the donation would have been *accepted*.

This might suffice as an answer to our objection, but it may be useful to reflect a little more on a case which has had very important^d effects.

When the young man began to confer with our Lord, no one present had any idea of riches; nor
indeed

^c Objections to Art. xxvii.

^d Aug. ad Hilarium.—Wall, page 183, quarto.

indeed till the very end of the conference; and then the mention of them was incidental. A worthy and amiable youth, of a wealthy family, had an ambition, turned, as I hope many others have, towards religious *perfection*: he seems to have been persuaded, that he had *pretty nearly* attained his end. Jesus having become known and celebrated, this young man comes to *confer* with him. He hopes to be told, that he is very *near perfection*: “what lack I yet?”—“Jesus beholding him, *loved* him.” He loved this worthy youth how *sanguine* soever he might be; and loved him too well to flatter him. Perfection? alas! *man* has not attained to that; it may be an object of *pursuit*, a mark to look forward to; but that man is very imperfect^e indeed, who thinks he has already attained perfection: “what *lack* I yet?” you say; see here *my disciples*; is there nothing for you to aim at? what think you of becoming one of them? we have a religion to publish, which will be as great a blessing to mankind as they chuse to let it be: the religion of the *Messiah*. Is there now nothing to do for one who aims at religious perfection?—He who publishes this religion must be my disciple: and I have not where to lay my head! he must call the *poor* his brethren: he himself must be poor in spirit:—you are alarmed; and well you may; for being my disciple might be the ruin of your fortune; nay, it might cost you more than fortune; you might have to take up your Cross, if you followed me.—The young man’s sanguine hopes are all blasted. He had been flattered into an expectation of better things: he retires, mortified, and dejected.—Our Lord, without blaming him, takes occasion to observe, that the rich will with difficulty (*δυσκολως*) be made useful in spreading

his

^e See Phil. iii. 12.

his religion: though there is no natural impossibility of their becoming converts, it is not to be *expected*. On some accounts the poor^f will be more eligible, at first; yet whoever does sacrifice worldly advantages for the sake of Christianity, shall be amply rewarded.

This is the *idea* which the passage conveys to *me*. Yet it is not to be expected that we should see all the reasons which our Saviour had for any measure that he took^g. And it is possible he might, on many occasions, especially at first, avoid a language perfectly clear and explicit; and intend only to set men on thinking for themselves. I can conceive it possible, that he had no thoughts of engaging the young man to be his disciple: why should he have a *youth* to follow him? why should he incur the scandal of inveigling pious young men of fortune from their parents?

As to the expressions, “*go and sell that thou hast*”—“*come and follow me*”—they seem to amount to no more than a *proposal*; they make that proposal in a clear and lively way; but only to the purpose which we have mentioned.—We may consider the case of this young man as an instance of what is delivered Luke xiv. 26—33; and that passage as illustrating this.—On the whole, the account of the rich young man, shews no *absolute* perfection in parting with one’s fortune: great occasions may happen, when we may be called upon to make great sacrifices. Ordinarily, perfection may be plain *frugality*.

VII. The parable of the rich man and *Lazarus*, Luke xvi. 19, &c. is calculated to have a very good effect in producing a right *use* of riches, but does

^f 1 Cor. i. 26. 28 — James ii. 5.

^g Art. xiv. this case was mentioned; Sect. iv. in the way of objection; to which the answer was given, Sect. v.

does not seem to have been intended to terrify men out of the possession of them.—It represents two extremes in human life, splendor and indigence: death intervenes, and then there is a reverse; he who had been high in this world, is in a state of torment; he who had been low and wretched, is in a state of bliss: the rich man intreats him who had been poor, to administer some relief; but all intercourse is cut off.

It is not to be inferred that *every* rich man must be in such a state of inferiority to him on whom he had looked down in this world; but only that he *may* be; that is, if he be wicked, and the poor virtuous and good.—How little do the generality of rich men attend to what so plainly follows from the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments! How do they suffer imagination and habit to represent to them the scenes of this life as continued into another!

That representation, then, which will awaken men from such dreams of prejudice, wants nothing more to make it of the utmost importance. It prompts every rich man to say, of every poor wretch with whom he has had any intercourse; ‘great and luxurious as I am, and mean and destitute as this miserable creature is, it may happen, through my folly and his goodness, that he may be exalted to rejoice in the society of Angels, whilst I am abased to undergo the torments of Hell, and the taunts and insults of Devils; nay, I may one day be glad to be a suppliant for relief and assistance, to him, who now intreats my help in vain.’

This being the thing particularly wanted, we may allow it to be the thing particularly meant.—And therefore we need not trouble ourselves to investigate what the crime of the rich man was: he

he was condemned, *therefore* he had been wicked; the poor man was rewarded, therefore he had been good: though certainly a rich man *may* be good, and a poor man wicked.—That the good in every station, will be happy, and the bad miserable, is proved in all parts of scripture: so that when we are told, that a man is happy after death, we may take his goodness for granted; as we may the wickedness of the damned.—The *end* of the parable then was, to *impress* upon the minds of the rich, that those whom they now despised, or oppressed, *might* hereafter, whilst they were cast down beneath all earthly meanness, be soaring far above all earthly grandeur.—Suppose a rich man, by meditation on this parable, to acquire an *habit* of feeling this, and of representing it to himself whenever he has any business or conversation with any poor person; though it need not make him throw his wealth into the sea; yet what an heavenly disposition it must generate in him! what mildness and humility! what condescension, humanity, and even *respect* for the poor and needy!

VIII. Much has been said of Acts ii. 44, 45. (and iv. 32. 34.) but it does not appear to me, that *property* amongst Christians was ever abolished. They were called upon, by the exigencies of the times, to offer large contributions for the support of the poorer converts; so large, that they were obliged to *sell* some possessions in order to make them. But all was *voluntary beneficence*. Indeed *after* the sales were made, and the produce thrown into a common stock, that stock was possessed by Christians in common. And popularly speaking, *before* such sales, the generosity of the richer converts was so great, that all might be said to be welcome to every thing that any possessed. But the

the expostulation in Acts v. 4. clearly implies the continuance of *property*; and Acts ii. 46. shews, that Disciples kept their *houses*.—Nay, if Christians had, strictly speaking, given up their property at first, we could only infer any rule for ourselves by that proportion, or comparison of circumstances, of which we just now spoke.—*Lucian* mentions Christians as having things in common, and in the same popular sense, in which I understand the two passages in the Acts of the Apostles^b.

ix. Such passages as 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10. only express *facts*, not any general *doctrine*, or Theory.—Many evils, no doubt, arise from the abuse of riches; and the description of an abuse is sometimes apt to make well-meaning men so eager to avoid it, that they go much farther than was intended. Breaking a bad habit requires sometimes, at first, almost as much resolution as parting with a *Limb*; and therefore the Scripture tells us, we must be ready to part with a limb if it *offend* us, or be the occasion of our sinning:—but advice to correct an *abuse*, is not to be mistaken for advice to throw away the *use* of anythingⁱ; we are advised to reform the abuse of anything in order that we may afterwards have all the advantages from it, which it is capable of producing. Spiritual power has been abused by the Bishops of Rome; that is a good reason for a reform, but not for laying aside all Ordinations.

Here we close our proof, direct, and indirect.

x. An

^b See Lardner's Works, Vol. 8. page 71, bottom; or Lucian's *Peregrinus*.

ⁱ See Matt. v. 29, 30.—Origen's mutilation was remedying an abuse by taking away the use; and that by parting with a Limb. Matt. xix. 12.

x. An *Application* might lead us to consider the rules of voluntary beneficence; and to inquire, whether any restraints might be laid on the accumulation of property?—But these things not being our immediate concern, I forbear to enter upon them.



ARTICLE XXXIX.

OF A CHRISTIAN MAN'S OATH.

AS we confess, that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle; so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgement, and truth.

I. The *History* of this as well as of the foregoing Article having been given under the thirty-seventh, we immediately look whether we have anything before us, which requires *Explanation*.

II. "*Vain and rash* swearing," is opposed to that which is *important*, and *deliberate*, or done upon principle: it arises from habit, and is introduced for no good purpose; it must have some motives, but they are some kind of wrong sentiments; often parts and kinds of vanity.

"Forbidden *Christian* men," here again our concern is only with Christian *Scripture*: the passages referred to, when Christ and St. James are mentioned, are Matt. v. 34, &c. and James v. 12.

"*We judge*"—*enfermus*—this is not dogmatical.

"Doth not *prohibit*"—suppose a man thought, that Scripture *discouraged* swearing, even in evidence,

and that it was most *safe* to avoid it; still he might allow, that Scripture did not *prohibit* it.

“When a *Magistrate* requireth,”—this is opposed to the vain and rash swearing;—therefore, though a man might use vain and rash swearing before a Magistrate, yet that is not the thing meant here. The vain and rash swearing here meant, the Magistrate is supposed to have no concern with; it is supposed to be in private life.

“In a cause of *faith* and *charity*,” in causâ *fidei* et *charitatis*;—that is, from motives of ascertaining the *truth*, that Justice may be done; and of doing *good*.—*Fidem facere* is to create *confidence*, or make one’s self *believed*:—*causa* seems to be used by Cicero where we should now use the word *case*;—in a cause of faith and charity, may therefore mean, in a *case* which requires *credit* to be established for the sake of knowing the real state of it, as a step to doing Justice: or in a case, in which, by taking an oath, you may do an act of *charity* or *benevolence*.—Dr. Ogden seems to have had our expression in his mind, when he uses the expressions, “in causes of importance, for the sake of Truth, in support of Justice, at the call^a of Charity;” —*Luther*^b says, we may swear if commanded by the Magistrate, or if not commanded, yet from motives of *charity*, as we may do other things not quite regular:—But in our Article, seemingly, both in the cause of Faith and the cause of charity, the Magistrate commands our evidence.—If so, it may be said, we cannot make ourselves perfect judges what kind of cause or case it is. It seems as if we could not; but an Article is not for *practice*;
it

^a Fifth Sermon on the Commandments, Vol. 2. page 63. 12mo.

^b Works, Vol. 7. Enarrations on the Sermon on the Mount, —On Matt. v. 34. or thereabouts.

it only lays down what is *right*: every man must avoid oaths, in cases not of faith and charity, as much as he can^c.—The concluding part of our Article does also point out what is right; adopting the words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*^d; which seem also to be used in other places; and to denote swearing honestly and sincerely.

III. We will now come to *Proof*.

‘Solemn oaths, taken in obedience to authority, and from benevolent motives, are not forbidden by the Gospel.’

First we will take some direct proofs of this proposition.

Under the *old Law*, swearing by Jehovah was considered as a mode of professing to serve him; in preference to *Idols*. As *Goliath* cursed David by his Gods, so a Jew swore by Jehovah. In this light we are to see Deut. vi. 13.—Psalm lxxiii. 11.—Did this idea want confirming, any one might consult Isaiah lxv. 16. And the passages referred to in the margin of that text, which is introduced into our Article.

In the *New Testament*, we may look at Matt. xxvi. 63. observing, that whatever was said in answer to *adjuration*, was said upon Oath. And we should read Mark viii. 12. for the sake of the *ai*, (in English *verily*) which is sometimes a particle of swearing, answering^e to *אין* in Hebrew.—The Helvetic Confession says, “Christus et Apostoli^f jurarunt;

^c After all, the expression, “*in a cause of faith and charity*,” may allude to something which I have not seen. Or it may be taken from Luther, and made less clear by alteration. Luther gives, to my mind, a more distinct conception than our Article. But Dr. Ogden is perfectly clear.

^d Jer. iv. 2.

^e See Parkhurst’s Greek Lexicon under *Ει*. *Si je l’aimé!* is not an *oath*; but a pretty powerful exclamation. Diderot.

^f Confess. Helvet. ad finem.

runt;" the instances of Christ we have just mentioned: St. Paul several times uses expressions, which may with propriety be called Oaths: As in Rom. i. 9.—1 Cor. xv. 31. where the particle *en* denotes an Oath.—2 Cor. i. 23. is too strong to need any remark; and the same may be said of 2 Cor. xi. 31.—Gal. i. 20. is very plain; as well as Phil. i. 8.—In the Epistle to the Hebrews the Deity is mentioned as swearing. Heb. iii. 11. (where *et* again occurs), and Heb. vi. 16, 17.

1 v. But, as in the preceding Article so here, it is the *indirect* proof which requires the greatest attention.—The *Quakers*^ε are very peremptory in objecting the two passages already mentioned, Matt. v. 33—37. and James v. 12. but they do not, that I perceive, use Matt. xxiii. 16—22. these *three* passages should be in view together. And from them, taken together, I think the truth of our proposition cannot be disproved.

I do not perceive that the *Quakers*, or others, have made their supposed prohibition of solemn oaths *consistent* with our direct proof: till they do that, they cannot be allowed to have the true sense of Scripture.

The passages on which the objection is founded, have no relation to the acts of the *Magistrate*, as Luther observes: oaths taken in obedience to *authority*, are not affected by them. Neither do they prohibit swearing by the *Deity* himself: people may indeed swear in private by the Deity himself, profanely and blameably; but that was not, seemingly, a *custom* amongst those who are reprov'd in the New Testament: indeed the reasoning in both the passages of St. Matthew, shews, that it was carefully *avoided*; and on that avoiding, all *excuses* were built.

All

^ε Barclay's Apology, Prop. 15. Sect. 10.

All the oaths specified by Christ, were *vain* and *childish*, though connected with the Jewish *religion*; for the people who used them, were not, as in our days, dissolute and licentious; but formal and precise. We have not, that I know of, any set of people amongst us, who have the “*form*” of *Godliness*,” and yet accustom themselves to a set of *pious oaths*, excusing themselves by saying, that such as they take, are *no* oaths. Yet this seems to have been the case amongst the Jews; the very Scribes and Phariseesⁱ ran into the most frivolous and unmeaning distinctions, between those sayings which were *real* oaths, and those *like* sayings which were *no* oaths. Now sayings like oaths, yet accounted no oaths, would produce two faults; one, hypocritical profaneness, the other, deceit and fraud.—Matt. v. 33—37. seems to turn more upon the former, and Matt. xxiii. 16—22. more upon the latter.—If it should be thought, that οφείλει, “he is a debtor,” Matt. xxiii. 16. 18. means only, as opposed to οὐδὲν ἐστίν, “it is nothing,” to denote a *real* oath; still the two faults, profaneness and falsehood, would, in fact, arise; and would both deserve severe reprehension.

I remember to have heard very young and very ignorant people, use words like oaths, and then excuse themselves, by saying, that they had not sworn; but grave, religious people have not, I think, amongst us, any such system of hypocritical profaneness.—That our Saviour spoke of common *conversation*, appears from the word Λόγος, sermo, discourse: and (Luther thinks) from the terms “yea, yea; nay, nay^k.”

We

^h 2 Tim. iii. 5.

ⁱ Matt. xxiii. 15, 16.

^k April 21, 1792. The accounts given me this day, by a Captain in the Navy, of oaths in trials in the Admiralty-court, are curious. He says, that people of different Nations and Religions,

We can conceive, that it might be worthy of our Lord to check such folly. It was profane and impious; and so had a tendency to debase and bring contempt upon religion: it must also greatly weaken and loosen mens principles of veracity.— But why might not the evil most immediately in view, be, its hurting the dignity and the obligation of *solemn oaths*? and so occasioning perjury? at least, stopping such foolish oaths as the Jews made use of, is rather supporting solemn oaths, than discouraging them. And is perfectly consistent with such as St. Paul used.

v. With regard to St. *James*, he seems to have had the same view of the subject with our Saviour when on the Mount. He mentions *two* of the same frivolous oaths, but goes no farther: instead of going on, he says, as a kind of *et cetera*, “neither by *any other* oath;”—which must mean, any other *such* oath; we cannot conceive his thoughts to leap from such a train of trifling profaneness, to a solemn, devout, deliberate oath by the Supreme Deity himself.—“Let your yea be yea,”

Religions, will swear anything, and flatter themselves they are not perjured, if only the *form* of taking the oath differs, in any thing, from that to which they have been accustomed. And methods are used, by those belonging to the Court, to hit off their modes of swearing: one man, while a foreigner is taking an oath, will hold up one finger, another two fingers, a third presents a Crucifix; and so on; meaning to use that form, which the witness will deem binding.

The chief case in which these oaths are taken, seems to be, when enemy's property has been taken under neutral colours; then the neutral Captain swears the property to be neutral: there are always papers concealed somewhere, shewing the real case: and others, counterfeits, to produce to Captors. The real papers, had, in one case, been found, and the Captain, not knowing that, swore to the counterfeits: on the real papers being produced, he dropped down dead.—One could not hear such an account, from respectable authority, without recollecting the death of *Ananias*.—Acts v. 5.

yea," has been understood to mean, 'speak the *Truth*;' and therefore to *imply*, that the Jews had run into falshood. He concludes with, "left ye fall into condemnation," ὑπο κρισιν¹.

Our Lord had marked the *origin* of such folly, εκ τῆς πονηρίας^m; St. James points out the *consequence*. But such oaths as are described in our *Article*, would scarcely be said to proceed from *evil*, at least, in the speaker: though, as before, oaths, in *general*, may imply, some presumed imperfection in mens general *veracity*ⁿ.

As the *Quakers* will allow of nothing but literal construction, one might ask them, in the way of argumentum ad hominem, how they understand ° Matt. v. 40.

I will here close my indirect proof, presuming that objections to our proposition are now removed.

VI. If we had *time*, I might make some *Application*, by offering a few remarks on *Perjury*, and on *profane swearing*, such as shocks our ears in *modern* times; but this is at present impracticable:—perjury I have treated in a System of Morality; and profane swearing is attacked in a very masterly manner, in Dr. Ogden's Sermons on the Commandments.

¹ For ὑπο κρισιν, the MSS. Steph. 1st. and Velef. read εἰς ὑποκρισιν, which Grotius adopts: how such hypocritical oaths may make men fall into *hypocrisy*, is intelligible enough.

^m The First Bodleian MS. has εκ τῆς διαβολῆς.

ⁿ Art. xxxviii. Sect. 111.

° P. S. When I appealed to this Text I believe I was not aware of Dr. Ogden's appeal to the same (Serm. v. on the Commandments, Vol. 2. page 57. duodecimo.)—He says, "It is written, *If any man will sue thee at the Law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.*—Are they willing to deliver up their property always to the first invader? of these rights they are sometimes, and with reason, a little more tenacious."

I N D E X.

THIS Index is not intended to supersede the use of the printed *Heads* of Lectures, which the Author imagines would be very serviceable in giving the Reader the true scope and purpose of each part of the work; but only to enable him to find what the printed Heads would not readily point out. The figures are meant to correspond to the running title, placed at the top of each page, and therefore they mark *Book*, *Chapter*, and *Section*. In some few places a fourth number marks *Subsection*. And sometimes when a Section is long, the *page* is mentioned.

In the fourth Book each *Article* of the Church of England is considered as a Chapter. The *Introductions* and *Appendixes* will be easily understood from the Heads of Lectures.

If reference is made, in the Index, to more Sections than one in the same Chapter, they are separated only by *commas*. If to several in *succession*, only the first and last are mentioned, and a line is put between them: as in the running Title.

Where the same subject occurs repeatedly, it is sometimes mentioned both in the Index and Heads of Lectures.

Thus, III-XIII-1. means the third Book, the thirteenth Chapter, and the first Section.

IV-XVI-3. means the fourth Book, the sixteenth *Article*, and the third Section.

III-X-15-4. means the third Book, tenth Chapter, fifteenth Section, and fourth Subsection.

III-XV-11, p. 192. means that Section 11. is so long, that it is worth while to note the *page*.

II-III-4, 5, 6. means the second Book, third Chapter, and Sections fourth, fifth and sixth.

II-IV-1—6. means second Book, fourth Chapter, and the first six Sections.

I may here observe, that it seemed better to refer to texts of Scripture than to *quote* them; because not quoting must make the work much shorter, and may engage the Reader's attention to the Context. These reasons extend to other passages, which might have been quoted, besides those of Scripture.

I beg permission to mention, that whenever I have been induced to give any part of this work a *second reading*, in what might be called one perusal, I have seen its force and meaning more clearly than at first.—A consequence, probably, of its having been written merely as a preparation for speaking. Which has also occasioned a word to be used here and there, not thoroughly adopted into the English Language.

A

ABBÉ Paris. I-xvi-10, 14.

Abgarus. I-xii-5.

—xvii-6.

iv-xxii-4.

Absolution. iv-xvi-18.

—xxv-4.

Accommodation. I-xvii-19.

Accursed. III-ix-1.

iv-xviii-8.

—xxxiii-3.

Acontius. iv-vii-4.

Acrimony in dispute.

I-xii-14.

II-ii-14.

III-x-15-4.

Adam. I-xvi-8.

iv-ix introd. 16.

—ix-1, 2, 4, 6, 14,

15, 19, 21, 29.

—x-24, 37.

Addison. I-xviii-19.

II-iv-13.

iv-xxxi-13.

Adults. iv-xxvii-14, (see Sponsors) 17.

Agape. iv-xxviii-5, 21.

Agency, divine and human opposed. iv-ix introd. 1.

—x-41.

—xvii-9, 79, 98.

Agent. (see Minister.)

iv-xxii-17.

—xxv-4.

—xxvi-4, 6.

—xxxiii-ii.

—xxxvi-18, 19.

Agriculture. II-iv-4.

iv-ix-44, 45.

Albigenses. iv-xxiii-3.

Alderman. iv-xxxvi-1, 12.

Allegorists. I-xvi-7.

I-xvii-19.

iv-iv-5.

and page 417.

iv-vi-3.

—vii-3.

—ix-4.

Allix. I-xvii-19.

I. App. 21.

iv-1-2, 6, 16.

—II-1.

—vi-3, 10, 11, 12.

—xxviii-4.

Altar. iv-xxxi-1, 2, 4, 5, 6.

Ambrose. iv-vi-12.

—xxviii-33.

America. III-v-1, 4.

iv-iii-2.

—viii-12.

—xxiii-7.

—xxv-4.

—xxxvii-13.

Anabaptists. iv-vii-3.

—ix-12.

—x-12.

—xi-ii.

—xiii-5.

—xv-4.

—xvi-3.

—xxvi-2.

—xxviii-ii.

—xxxvii-6.

Anatomist. II-iv-7.

Angels. I. App. 8, 9, 18, 26.

iv-xxv-4.

Antilegomena. I-xii-4.

iv-vi-14.

Antinomians—see Crispe.

iv-vii-3.

—xv-6.

—xvi-9.

- Apocrypha. I-XII-2.
 IV-VI-10, 11, 34.
 —XXXV-4.
- Apollonius. I-XII-17.
- Apology. IV-VIII-8, 12.
- Aquinas. IV-XIII-4, 14.
 —XVII-8, 71.
 —XXII-2.
 —XXIV-1.
- Archontici. IV-XXV-2.
- Argumentum ad Hominem.
 I-XVII-19.
 II-II-13, 14.
 IV-IX-Intro. 16.
- Aristides. I-XIV-4.
- Aristophanes. II-IV-10.
- Aristotle. II-III-15.
- Arminius, and followers.
 IV-X-15.
 —XVI-8.
 —XVII-4, 11, 12,
 19, 20, 30.
- Arthur, Prince. IV-VII-5.
- Articles. III-I-1, 5, 6.
 —V-1, &c.—also
 Chap. IX, &c.
 IV-Intro. entire.
 IV-XVII-20, 23,
 24. (see Lambeth).
 IV-XVIII-1, 7.
 —XIX-1.
- Ascodrutæ. IV-XXV-2.
 —XXXII-28.
 —XXXIII-2.
- Asseman. IV-II-9.
- Assembly of Divines.
 IV-XVII-20, 23.
 —XXIII-12.
 —XXXIII-6.
- Association. III-III-6, 8, 10.
 IV-XX-7.
 —XXII-4, 5, 19.
 —XXIII-22.
- Assurance. IV-XVI-10, 25,
 31, 37.
- Athanasian Creed.
 III-IV-4.
 —IX-9.
 IV-II-9.
 —II-42.
 —IV-4.
 —VIII-8, &c.
 Review of Sermon
 on it, IV-VIII-12.
 end.
- Athanasius. IV-1-10 end.
 —I-17, p. 271.
 —II-21.
 —VIII-2, 8.
 —XVI-4.
 —XXVI-3, 6.
- Attrition. IV-XXV-4.
- Augustin. I-1-6.
 I. App. 4-10.
 II-V-11.
 III-X-15-end.
 IV-I-1, 4, 6, 17.
 —II-45.
 —IX-5, 7, 9, 44.
 —X-6, 20, 26.
 —XIII-2.
 —XIV-3.
 —XVI-5, 10, 30.
 —XVII-5, 28.
 —XVIII-2.
 —XXII-2, 4, 5,
 18.
 —XXIV-1.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVI-1.
 —XXVII-14.
 —XXIX-2.
 —XXXIII-3.
 —XXXIV-5.
 —XXXVI-4, 18.
 —XXXVII-5,
 17.
- Authority.

Authority. III-XIV-12.
IV-XXXVI-1.

B

Balguy, Mr. John.
IV-XI-App. 9.
Balguy, Dr. Thomas.
I-XIX-II, 14.
II-V-1, 3.
III-IV-3, 4, 6, 9.
—V-2.
—VI-6.
—IX-6.
—X-14.
—XI-4, 6, 11.
—XIII-8.
—XIV-12, 13.
—XV-4, 9.
IV-Intro. 2, 3.
—II-42.
—VII-6, 13.
—VIII-II.
—IX-20, 32.
—XI-App. 9.
—XIII-1, 4, 17, 22,
24, 30.
—XV-23.
—XVII-20.
—XIX-19.
—XXIII-17, 22, 26.
—XXVIII-13, 20,
30.
—XXIX-5.
—XXXV-1.
Baptism. IV-I-18.
—IX-32.
—XIII-10.
—XVI-5, 19.
—XXIII-5, 14.
—XXV-2, 3, 5, 7, 8.
—XXVI-6.
—XXVII passim.
(see Heads.)

Baptism. IV-XXXIII-3.
—XXXIV-2, 7.
Baptist. IV-VIII-II, p. 110.
—XVII-22.
—XXV-3, 7.
—XXVII-15, 30, 35.
—XXVIII-12.
—XXXIII-7.
Baptistery. IV-XXVII-4.
Barbeyrac. IV-XII-14.
—XIV-5.
Barclay. I-XI-6.
see Quakers.
IV-XXVII-29.
—XXVIII-20.
—XXX-10.
—XXXIV-2.
—XXXVII-19.
Barnabas. IV-XI-App. 1.
Baxter. III-IV-1.
IV-X-4.
—XII-25.
—XIII-5.
—XIV-7.
—XV-23.
—XVI-5, 10, 15, 29,
30, 31.
—XXI-1.
—XXIII-4, 16, 25.
—XXXVI-4.
Belsham. I-XVI-8.
IV-XXVII-21.
Bennet. IV-Intro. 6.
—XX-1.
—XXV-2.
—XXVII-29.
—XXIX-1.
—XXXV-5.
Bentley. I-IX-8.
IV-I-Append.
Berquin. II-IV-13.
Berriman, John. IV-II-37.
Beza. I-VII-5.
IV-XVII-15.

- Bible, our present.
 I-IX-II.
 III-IX-1.
 IV-III-6.
- Bigotry. II-II-8.
 III-XV-6.
- Bilson, Bishop. III-IV-3.
- Bingham. *passim*.
 III-XI-10.
 —XIII-1, 8.
 IV-Intro. 3, 6.
 —I-4. p. 232.
 —IV-17.
 —V-1.
 —VI-16.
 —XXIII-1.
 —XXIV-2.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXVII-5, 15.
 —XXVIII-5.
 —XXXVI-*passim*.
- Bishop. IV-XXXVI-1, 2, 3,
 5, 11, 12, 13.
- Blasphemy. IV-V-II.
 —XVI-II, 34.
 —XXXI-8, 10.
- Blood. IV-XI-App. 2, 27.
 IV-XXXIV-27.
- Bahmen, Jacob. III-XV-II.
 p. 188, &c.
- Bona, Cardinal. III-XV-II,
 p. 192, &c.
 IV-XXV-5.
 —XXVI-3.
 —XXXI-1, 4.
- Boys, on the Articles.
 IV-XIII-14.
- Bradford. IV-XVII-17.
- Bramhall, Archbishop.
 III-XIII-1.
 IV-XXIII-4, 12.
 —XXV-2.
- Brerewood. IV-XXIV-1.
 —XXXII-10.
- Brown, Dr. John.
 II-III-10, 15.
 —IV-14.
- Brownists. IV-VII-6.
 —XVI-3.
 —XXIII-6.
- Bullet. I-XIV-12.
 I-XVI-10.
 I-XVII-11.
 et *passim*.
- Burges, Dr. John.
 II-V-11.
 III-VII-4.
 IV-Intro. 6.
 —XIX-1.
 —XXXV-1.
 —XXXVI-7.
- Burn. IV-XVI-3.
 —XXVII-15.
 —XXXIII-8.
 —XXXV-1.
 —XXXVII-6, 10.
- Burnet, Bishop.
 III-IV-5.
 —XII-1.
 —XIII-8.
 IV-Intro. 1, 2, 6.
 —I-4, p. 230.
 —I-18.
 —I-App.
 —II-1.
 —III-1, 6.
 —IV-7.
 —VII-3, 5.
 —XIII-14.
 —XIV-4.
 —XVII-10, 14.
 —XVIII-2, 10.
 —XIX-1.
 —XXIV-2.
 —XXVI-5.
 —XXVIII-II, 20.
 —XXX-1, 2.
 —XXXIV-17.
- Burnet,

- Burnet, Bishop.
 IV-XXXV-2.
 —XXXVI-5.
 —XXXVII-19.
- Butler, Joseph, Bishop.
 I-XII-1.
 —XV-6.
 —XVI-12.
 —XIX-1, 15, 19.
 IV-IX-34.
 —XI-App. 9, 29.
 P. 324.
 —XVI-31.
 —XVII-86.
- Butler, Samuel. II-IV-13.
- C
- Cajetan, Cardinal.
 IV-XIII-5.
 —XXIV-1.
- Called. IV-XVII-44.
 —XXIII-15, 16.
 —XXXVI-18.
- Calmet. I-IX-6, 10.
 —X-8.
 IV-X-9.
- Calvin, and followers. (see
 Predestination).
 IV-Intro. 4.
 —III-2.
 —VII-4.
 —IX-13.
 —X-15, 20, 39.
 —XVI-7, 8, 37.
 —XVII-9, 11, 12, 15,
 17, 18, 86.
 —XIX-9.
 —XXII-19.
 —XXVI-II.
- Campbell. I-IX-II.
 IV-II-1.
- Candid disquisitions.
 IV-VIII-II, 12.
- VOL. IV.
- Candor. I-I-5.
 —App. 30.
 III-V-3.
- Canonical. I-XII-2.
 IV-VI-II, 14.
- Carless. IV-XVII-17.
- Catalogues. IV-VI-12, 19.
- Catechism. (see Racovian,
 and Trent).
 III-X-II.
 IV-II-42.
 —VII-7.
 —XVII-20.
 —XIX-II.
 —XXV-4, 8.
 —XXVIII-3.
- Cathari. I-App. 4, 12.
 IV-VI-2.
- Catholicus consensus.
 IV-XI-App. 2.
 —XXIX-2.
- Cave. IV-XXV-2, 4, 5, 7.
 —XXVII-5.
- Ceremonies. III-IV-2.
 —XV-12.
 IV-XX-1, 2, 7.
 —XXV-3, 5, 10.
 —XXVIII-4.
 —XXXIII-4.
 —XXXIV-2, 3;
 14.
- Cerinthus. I-App. 22, 25;
 28.
 IV-II-5, 15.
 —IV-1.
- Cervantes. II-IV-13.
- Chambers. I-XV-22.
- Chances, calculation of.
 I-XVI-6.
- Chandler, Bishop.
 I-XVII-9, 15, 18, 19.
 IV-VI-12.
- Character, indelible.
 IV-XXV-2, 3, 5, 6.
- N N
- Charlemagns.

- Charlemagne. IV-XIII-4.
 —XXII-4.
 —XXXV-1.
 Charms. IV-XXV-7, 8.
 —XXIX-1.
 Chatlam, Earl of.
 IV-XVII-21.
 Cheynel. IV-IV-App.
 —VII-3.
 —XXXVII-6.
 Chillingworth. IV-VII-7.
 Chivalry. IV-XIII-22.
 Chosen. (see Elect).
 Chrism. IV-XXV-3.
 —XXVII-6.
 Church. III-VII-4.
 —XI-4.
 IV-III-6.
 —XVIII-7, 14.
 —XIX-2, 4, 5, 7,
 15, 17.
 —XXI-1, 17.
 —XXIII-13, 14,
 17.
 —XXX-4.
 —XXXIV-19.
 Church, attendance on.
 II-IV-5, 7.
 Church, eastern & western.
 IV-V-3.
 —VI-23.
 —XXIV-1, 4.
 —XXVII-10.
 —XXXIV-5.
 —XXXVII-2.
 Cicero. I-XIV-5, 7.
 —XIX-12, 19.
 II-III-3, 12.
 III-VII-2.
 —X-2, 4.
 IV-I-1.
 —III-8.
 —IX-3.
 —X-2.
 Cicero. IV-XVII-2.
 —XXII-2, 6.
 Circumcelliones.
 IV-XXVI-1.
 Circumstances, as helping
 interpretation.
 I-X-1.
 III-I-7.
 —VII-5.
 IV-Intro. 7.
 —X-42.
 Clarke. I-III-3.
 —XIX-19.
 IV-I-4, p. 226.
 —I-8, 18.
 —I-Appendix.
 —III-6.
 —VIII-11.
 Cleaver, Bishop.
 IV-XI, App. 27.
 —XXVIII-1, 13, 20,
 30, 33.
 —XXXI-10.
 Clemens Romanus.
 IV-XXIII-2.
 —XXXVI-3.
 Clinical. IV-XXV-4, 12.
 —XXVII-10.
 Cole. II-III-4, 11.
 —IV-11.
 Colleges. III-VIII-2.
 IV-XXIV-5.
 Collins. I-XVII-10, 14.
 IV-Intro. 6.
 —VI-9.
 Collyridians. IV-XXII-4.
 Comber. IV-XXIV-1.
 —XXV-4.
 Commination. IV-VIII-11,
 p. 112.
 Communion, for families.
 IV-XXVIII-5.
 for funerals.
 —XXVIII-11.
 Communion

- Communion of Saints.
 IV-VIII-4.
 —XII-6.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXXI-4.
- Comprehension. III-XIV-15.
- Concubinage. IV-XXV-6.
- Concupiscence. IV-IX-2, 5,
 12, 26, 32.
- Confession. IV-XXV-4.
 —XXXIII-5.
- Confirmation. IV-XXV-3, 9.
- Constantine. I-XVIII-15.
 III-V-3.
 IV-I-15.
 —XVI-2.
 —XXXIV-7.
- Constitution. IV-IX-18, 28.
 —XXXVI-1.
- Consubstantiation.
 IV-XXVIII-10.
- Contrition. IV-XXV-4.
- Conversion. IV-X-26, 50.
 —XII-8.
 —XVII-45.
- Convocation. III-VII-4.
- Cooke, Dr. William, Dean
 of Ely. I-XVII-10,
 (p. 239), 15, 20.
 I-XIX-12.
- Copts. I-V-7.
 —IX-5.
 III-X-8.
 IV-XXIV-1.
- Corpus Christi.
 IV-XXVIII-10.
- Corpus et Syntagma. (see
 Syntagma).
- Councils, including
 Nicene; but see Trent.
 IV-I-4.
 —VIII-5.
 —XXI-1, 2, 3, 4,
 10.
- Councils including
 Nicene; but see Trent.
 IV-XXXII-4.
 —XXV-2, 3.
 —XXX-1.
 —XXXII-3, 4.
 —XXXIII-3.
 —XXXVII-2, 13.
- Cranmer. I-XVIII-13.
 IV-Intro. 4.
 —XIII-5.
 —XVII-16.
 —XXVIII-11.
 —XXX-6.
 —XXXI-4.
 —XXXII-12.
 —XXXV-1, 4.
 —XXXVII-2.
- Crellius, Paul. IV-VII-3.
- Crispe. IV-XI-10.
 —XI, App. 9.
 —XIII-5.
- Criticism and taste.
 I-XII-13.
- Cromwell. IV-XVI-8.
- Cupid and Psyche.
 III-X-15.
- Customs. IV-VI-5. (see
 Habits).
 IV-XXXIV-2, 17,
 24.
 —XXXVI-1.
- Cyrus. IV-XIII-17.
- D
- Dacier. IV-I-1, 3.
 —IX-3, 5.
 —X-2.
- Daillé. I-XII-16.
 IV-XXV-4.
- D'Alembert. IV-X-13.
- Damascene. IV-XXXII-4, 5.
- Deacon.

- Deacon. IV-XXXVI-1-2, 3,
15, 17.
- Deaconess. IV-XXV-5.
—XXXII-19.
- Death. IV-IX-14, 29.
- Deceased Christians.
IV-XXII-6.
- Defender of the Faith.
III-IX-1.
IV-XXXVII-2.
- Deformity. II-III-7.
- Deluge. I-XVI-8. (see de
Luc).
- Demoniacs. I-XIII-10.
IV-IX-Introd.
16.
—XXV-5.
- Dickinson. IV-XV-6.
- Diderot. IV-XIII-22.
- Digby, Lord. III-XIV-10.
—XV-6.
- Dionysius. III-X-9.
IV-IV-5.
—VIII-6.
—XXXVII-2.
- Diptychs. —XXXIII-4.
- Directory. —XXV-3, 4, 6.
—XXVII-15.
—XXVIII-12.
- Discipline. III-XV-12.
IV-XXXIII-1, 7.
—XXXVI-16.
- Dissenter. III-IV-4, 5.
—XIV-2, 8, 15.
—XV-6.
IV-1-3, p. 224.
—I-15.
—II-43.
—VIII-11, page
109.
—XVI-3.
—XVII-21.
—XX-4, 7.
—XXIII-26.
- Dissenter. IV-XXV-2.
—XXVI-6.
—XXVIII-12.
—XXXI-5.
—XXXIII-7.
(see Puritans
and Presbyterians).
- Dissertation on the 17th
Article, Oxf. 1772.
III-IV-9.
—IX-1.
IV-Introd. 4.
—XVII-7, 9, 16,
29.
- Divorce. IV-VII-13.
—XXV-2, 6.
—XXXVII-2.
- Docetæ. I-App. 19, 20, 24.
IV-II-4, 15.
—VI-29.
—XI-App. 2.
- Doctrina, &c. Ecclesiæ
Anglicanæ. IV-Introd. 4
—II-3.
—VII-3.
- Donatists. IV-VIII-4.
—XVI-2.
—XXV-2.
—XXVI-1.
- Dort, Synod of. IV-X-15.
—XVII-11,
19.
- Doxologies. IV-1-4.
—V-1.
- Duelling. IV-XIII-22.
—XXXVII-3.

E

- Eachard. II-IV-13.
- Easter. IV-XXXIV-5.
—XXXVII-2.
- Ebionites. IV-II-5.
- Edwards,

- Edwards, Jonathan.
 II-V-10.
 IV-X-19, 33.
 —XI, App. 9.
 —XII-25.
 —XIII-5.
 —XVI-8.
 —XVII-22.
- Election. IV-XVI-5, 20.
 —XVII-5, 14, 30,
 44, 69, 92.
 —XIX-12.
 —XXIII-15. (see
 Chosen).
- Enthusiasm. III-XV-11,
 p. 181.
 IV-Intro. 3.
 —X-19, 49.
 —XVI-31, page
 470.
 —XVII-56.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXXVI-17.
- Epicætetus, including Carter.
 IV-III-4.
 —XVII-89.
- Epiphanius. IV-I-1.
 —IV-17.
 —IV-App.
- Episcopius. IV-II-42.
 —X-15.
- Erasmus. IV-Intro. 4.
 —I-4.
 —I-App.
 —X-2.
 —XVII-16.
 —XVIII-5.
- Erastus. —XXXIII-6.
- Evangelist. IV-XXIII-24.
- Eucharist. —XXVIII-4.
- Euchitæ. IV-XXV-2.
- Evil, referred to God.
 IV-X-50.
 —XVII-92, 93.
- Evil, referred to God.
 IV-XXV-10.
- Excision. IV-XXXIII-2, 9.
- Excommunication.
 III-XIV-1.
 IV-XXV-4.
 —XXXIII, passim.
- Execrations. IV-XXXIII-2,
 3, 4.
- Exorcism. (see Demoniacs).
 IV-XXVII-4, 7.
- F
- Faith. IV-X-29.
 —XI-2. and passim.
 —XI-17.
 —XII-12, 14, 25.
 —XVI-3.
- Fall. I-XVI-8. (see Adam).
 IV-IX-19, 20.
 —XVI-22.
- Familists. IV-VII-2, 7.
 —XV-5.
 —XVII-18.
 —XXIII-6.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVIII-11.
 —XXXIV-17.
 —XXXVII-10.
- Fanaticism. III-XV-11, p. 181.
 IV-VII-2.
 —XXIII-6.
 —XXXVI-1.
- Fate. IV-IV-4.
 —IX-Intro. 8.
 —X-9.
 —XVII-2, 20, 25, 62.
- Fenelon. I-XVII-14.
 II-V-10, 11.
 III-XV-11, p. 187,
 &c.
 (see Maxims of
 the Saints).
- Fielding.

- Fielding. I-XIII-7.
 II-III-4, 14.
 —IV-14.
 IV-XXXVII-3.
- Filioque. IV-V-3.
- Fisher, Bishop. IV-XXII-21.
- Fitzjames, Duke of.
 IV-IX-36.
- Five points. IV-X-15, 26.
 —XVII-5, 19.
- Flesh. IV-XXXIII-13. (see
 Docctæ.)
- Footc. II-III-1.
 —IV-13.
 —V-10.
- Forbes. passim.
 IV-I-4, p. 228.
 —X-5.
 —XXII-passim ;
 partic. Sect. 6.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVI-2.
- Fox, John. IV-Intro. 4.
 —VII-2.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVIII-26.
 —XXXII-6, 12.
- Fulke. IV-XVI-3, 8, 10.
 —XVII-9, 29.
 —XXII-2, 6.
 —XXIV-1.
 —XXV-2, 7.
 —XXVIII-11.
 —XXIX-1.
 —XXX-4.
 —XXXI-2, 12.
 —XXXII-17.
 —XXXIII-3.
- Fuller. IV-Intro. 4.
 —VII-3, 5.
- Fulness of time.
 I-XVI-7, p. 191.
 —XIX-18.
- Fur prædestinatus. IV-XV-12.
- Fur prædestinatus.
 IV-XVI-8.
 —XVII-15.
- G
- Galileo. II-V-11.
- Geneva. (see Switzerland).
- Genlis. II-IV-13.
- Gerizim. I-V-4.
- Gibbon. IV-I-1, 3, 4, 6,
 17, end.
 —I-App.
 —VIII-8.
- Gibson, Bishop.
 I-XVII-18.
 I-XIX-1, 7, 9.
 III-XIV-15.
 —XV-II. p. 183,
 195.
 IV-VI-22, 26.
 —IX-3.
 —X-39.
 —XXXVII-2.
- Gift of God. IV-XVI-30-5.
 —XVII-83,
 p. 32.
 —XXXII-18.
- God, his Nature how con-
 ceived. I-III-1, 3.
 IV-I-10, p. 247.
- Golden Age. IV-IX-20, 41.
- Good, hereditary. IV-IX-36.
- Gordon, Lord George.
 I-XVII-16.
 III-VI-5.
- Gospellers. IV-X-12.
 —XII-1.
- Gotescale. IV-X-11.
 —XVII-7.
- Grace. IV-X-18, (end), 42,
 43, 45, 49.
 —XI-4.
 —XII-8.
 —XIII-9.
- Grace.

- Grace. IV-XVI-5, 20, 21.
 Gratian. IV-XXXI-2.
 Greeks. *passim*. (see in
 Heads of Lectures.)
 IV-XXV-2, 3, 4, 5, 7.
 —XXVII-5.
 —XXVIII-4.
 —XXX-3.
 —XXXII-10.
 —XXXIV-7.
 —XXXVI-18.
 Green, Bishop. IV-XI-8.
 —XXV-2.
 (see Methodist).
 Grey, on Hudibras.
 IV. *Intro.* 6.
 —XXIII-6, 11.
 —XXV-6.
 —XXVIII-12.
 Grotius. I-XVI-13.
 —XVII-8.
 IV-VI-9, 10, 13, 27.
 —VII-14.
 —X-15, 41.
 —XI-*App.* 8.
 —XIV-5.
 —XVI-5.
 —XXVII-35.
 Gulliver's Travels. III-II-4.
 Gurtler. IV-XVI-5.
 Guy Faux. IV-IX-30,
 p. 172.

H

- Habits (customs).
 IV-X-50, p. 250.
 —XVI-33-7.
 —XXXVI-1.
 Habits (dresses). IV-XX-1, 7.
 Hales. IV-XVI-4.
 —XXV-III.
 —XXXVII-18.

- Hallifax, Bishop.
 I-XII-9.
 —XVI-II.
 —XVII-10.
 —*App.* 5.
 III-II-5.
 IV-VI-31, 32.
 —VIII-8.
 —XXII-20.
 Hampton-Court Conference.
 II-I-9.
 IV-XVI-8.
 —XVII-19, 80.
 —XIX-1.
 —XXIII-13.
 —XXV-3, 8.
 —XXVII-15.
 —XXXV-1.
 Hardouin. I-XII-16.
 Hartley. II-III-1, 3.
 III-XV-II.
 IV-IV-4.
 —X-19, 49.
 —XVIII-5.
 —XXII-2.
 Heads of Lectures. Vol. I.
 Advertisement.
 II-IV-12.
 IV-VII-9.
 —VIII-9.
 Healing, bodily and spiri-
 tual joined.
 IV-XVIII-II.
 —XXV-10.
 Heathens. IV-VIII-II, page
 107.
 —XIII-1, 3, 5, 8,
 17, 21, 24, 29.
 —XVIII-9.
 Hebrew. I-I-4.
 —V-8.
 —XVII-9.
 IV-XXIV-3.
 Hell. IV-III-3.

Hell.

- Hell. IV-IV-4.
 —XXII-1.
 Helmstadt. II-II-5.
 —V-10.
 Herbert, Lord of Cherbury.
 I-XIX-19.
 IV-X-2.
 Hervey. I-IV-end.
 IV-XI-15.
 —XI-App. 9, 20.
 Hey, William, his Short
 Defences. IV-I-18.
 —II-16, 37.
 —V-13.
 —X-37, 41.
 —XI-App. 22,
 30.
 —XIII-6.
 Hey, Samuel. IV-XVI-33.
 Hey, Richard. —X-22.
 Heylin. IV-Intro. 4.
 —VII-13.
 —X-15, 16, 20.
 —XVII-16, 27.
 —XIX-12.
 —XX-1.
 —XXIV-5.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVI-2.
 —XXXV-1, 2.
 Hierocles. I-XII-17.
 Hints, &c. a pamphlet.
 IV-VIII-8, 11, 12.
 Hoadley, Bishop.
 IV-XXVIII-13.
 Hobbes. IV-XVIII-6.
 Holmes. I-VI-3.
 Holy Ghost. IV-V-passim.
 —X-39.
 —XVI-4, 17,
 34, 37, end.
 —XXXIII-3.
 —XXXV-4.
 —XXXVI-17,
 18, 19.
 Homer. II-II-14.
 IV-X-2.
 —XVII-2, 25, 79, 85.
 Homilies. III-V-3, 6.
 —IX-6.
 IV-Intro. 4.
 —IX-34.
 —X-11, 39.
 —XI-17, 19, 21,
 23.
 —XI-App. 2.
 —XII-12, 20.
 —XIII-5.
 —XIV-1.
 —XV-15.
 —XVI-3, 8, 10,
 27.
 —XVII-92.
 —XXI-13.
 —XXIV-1, 2.
 —XXV-2, 4, 6, 8,
 9.
 —XXVIII-11, 20,
 24.
 —XXXI-4.
 —XXXII-19.
 —XXXV-passim.
 Honorius. IV-II-10.
 Hooper. IV-Intro. 4.
 —XVII-16, 62, 67,
 71.
 —XX-1.
 —XXXIV-17.
 Horace. III-IX-1.
 IV-IX-3.
 —XV-21.
 Horsley, Bishop.
 I-XI-3.
 —XVII-5.
 IV-I-1.
 —I-App.
 —XXXV-4.
 Hospitality. I-X-10.
 —XI-7.

- Huet. I-XII-1.
IV-IV-App.
- Hume. I-IV-3, 4.
—XIII-8.
—XV- and
—XVI-passim.
—XVIII-II.
—XIX-19.
II-I-3.
—IV-11.
—V-10, 11.
III-III-4.
—VI-6.
—XIV-10.
—XV-11.
IV-I-17, p. 268.
—V-5.
—VII-14.
—X-19.
—XIII-5.
—XVII-2, 20.
—XVIII-5.
- Hurd, Bishop.
I-XIII-13.
—XVI-7.
—XVII-passim.
IV-Intro. 2, 3, 4.
—XXII-8, 20.
- Hypothesis. II-III-4.
IV-II-46.
—XI-34.
—XXVIII-6
- Hypsistarii. IV-I-13.
- I
- James. IV-VI-25.
—XI-27.
- Jansen. III-X-5.
IV--X-17.
—XVII-28.
- Iconoclastæ. IV-XXII-4.
- Idol. IV-XXII-13, 18.
- VOL. IV.
- Idolatry, its attractions.
I-XVIII-6, 21.
IV-VII-14.
- Ignatius. IV-XXIII-2.
—XXXVI-3.
- Jerom. IV-VI-10, 13.
—X-5, 39.
—XIII-2.
—XV-3, 12.
—XVI-9.
—XXII-5.
—XXIV-1.
—XXV-3.
—XXXII-4.
- Jews, modern.
I-XVII-9, 16.
IV-VII-13, 14.
—XVII-95.
—XXII-19.
- Jewel, Bishop. I-XII-16.
IV-Intro. 4.
—XVII-18.
—XXXII-12.
—XXXV-1.
- Immersion. IV-XXVII-4, 26.
- Impossibility. IV-X-25.
—XV-3, 4,
18, 23.
- Imprecations.
IV-XXXIII-2, 4.
- Imputation. IV-XI-15.
—XI-App. 20.
- Independents.
IV-XXIII-6, 13.
- Indifferent. IV-XX-7.
—XXXIV-17.
- Indulgences. IV-XIV-1.
- Infants. IV-IX-27.
—XVII-6.
—XXV-3.
—XXVII-11, 18,
27, 31.
—XXVIII-9.
—XXX-4.
- O o
- Infinity.

- Infinity. IV-I-10, p. 246.
 —I-17.
 —II-21.
 —V-11.
- Injunctions. III-IV-9.
 —VII-5.
 —IX-1.
 IV-Intro. 5.
- Insanity. IV-X-28, 44.
- Inspiration. I-XII-3.
 —XVI-9.
 IV-XIII-10.
 —XXIII-15, 17.
- Intention. IV-XXVI-3, &c.
 —XXVII-6.
- Interest of Money.
 IV-VII-14.
- Jortin. I-XVI-7.
 II-V-10.
 IV-IX-8.
 —X-5, 39, 54.
 —XVII-21.
 —XXI-9.
- Josephus. I-VI-1.
 —XIV-11, 12.
 IV-VI-9, 12.
- Judgment, general.
 IV-XI-28.
 —XII-25.
- Julian. I-XII-16.
 —XVIII-15.
- Juliana. IV-XXVIII-10.
- Justification. IV-XI-14, 21.
 —XII-8.
 —XIII-7.
 —XVI-8, 19.
- Justinian. IV-XXIV-1.

K

- Kennicott. I-VIII-2.
- King, Lord. IV-I-4, p. 236.
 —III-3, 6.
 —IV-4.

- King, Lord. IV-IV-App.
 —VIII-1.
 —XVI-2, 4, 27.
- King, Archbishop.
 IV-IX-22.
 —XVII-24.
- King's College Chapel.
 III-XV-10.
- Kneeling. IV-XXXI-5.
- Knowledge, *γνωσις*, and Wisdom, *σοφία*. I-XI-3, 7.
 —App. 20,
 24.
- Knox, John. IV-XVII-23.
 —XXIII-4.

L

- Labour. IV-IX-14, 44.
- Lactantius. I-XIX-5.
 IV-1-4.
 —XXXVII-5.
- Lambeth Articles.
 IV-XVI-8, 10, 31.
 —XVII-18, 24, 29.
- Lancaster. I-XVII-6.
- Language, popular.
 I-X-2, &c.
 IV-I-17.
 —IX-Intro. 3.
 —IX-34.
 —X-39, 41, 42, 48.
 —XII-13, 23.
 —XVI-30, p. 469.
 —XVII-77.
- Lardner. *passim*.
 I-XII-4, 9.
 —XVI-3, 7.
 —XVIII-12, 14.
 III-XV-6.
 IV-II-6, 22.
 —VI-12, 21, 22,
 23, 24, 26.
 —VII-11.
- Lardner.

- Lardner. *passim*.
 IV-XVI-2.
 —XVII-2, 25.
 —XXXI-5.
 —XXXII-2.
 —XXXIV-24, 27.
 —XXXVI-2.
- Latimer. IV-Intro. 4.
 —XVII-16, 67, 80.
 —XXIII-16.
 —XXVIII-11.
 —XXXV-1.
- Latitudinarian. IV-XI-12.
- Laud, Archbishop.
 IV-XVII-20, 24.
 —XIX-8.
 —XX-1.
 —XXVII-18.
- Law, Edmund, Bishop.
 I-XIX-18.
 III-II-5.
 —VI-6.
 —XIII-8.
 IV-Intro. 2, 3.
- Law, William. IV-XVI-10.
- Leclerc. IV-X-39.
- Lectures, things incidental
 to them. I-XVIII-12.
 III-V-2.
 IV-XVI-4.
 —XVII-100.
 —XIX-1.
 —XXII-15.
 —XXV-12.
 —XXXI, end.
 —XXXIII, end.
 —XXXV-1.
- Legends. IV-VI-2.
- Leland. I-XII-4.
 —XV-1, 6.
 —XVI-10, 11, 16.
 —XVIII-27.
 —XIX-13, 19.
 II-III-1.
 IV-VI-15.
- Leporius. IV-XV-3, 7.
- Leslie. IV-XXVI-6.
 —XXVII-8, 29.
 —XXXVII-20.
- Liberty, or Freedom.
 III-IV-6.
 —VI-5.
 —XII-1.
 IV-VII-3.
 —IX-Intro. 5.
 —IX-5.
 —X-9, 19, 22, 42,
 46, 49.
 —XII-1.
 —XVII-1, 86, 91.
- Limborch. IV-XVII-11.
 —XXV-7.
 —XXVII-35.
 —XXXVII-18.
- Liturgy. IV-X-39.
 —XX-2.
 —XXIV-1—5.
 —XXV-7.
 —XXXIV-2.
 —XXXVI-7, 8.
- Locke. I-XII-13, end.
 —XV-15.
 —XVII-19.
 II-II-13.
 —IV-5.
 III-III-6.
 —XII-5, 6.
 IV-I-17, p. 268.
 —VII-4, end.
 —VII-12, end.
 —IX-Intro. 7.
 —IX-40.
 —X-29.
 —XI-App. 9, 25.
 —XVI-31.
 —XVII-81, 92.
 —XXIV-3.
 —XXXVII-27.
 —XXXI-13.

- Locke. IV-XXXII-17.
 Logos. I-App. 25.
 III-IV-5.
 IV-I-6, p. 240.
 —II-1, 15.
 —III-1.
 —VI-10.
 Longinus. III-III-2.
 Lord's Supper. I-XI-7.
 IV-XXIII-5.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVIII-
 II.
 De Luc. I-XVI-8- subs. 5.
 Lucian. I-XII-16.
 —XVI-3.
 II-IV-10, 13.
 IV-XXXVIII-8.
 Ludlam. I-IV, end.
 IV-IX-28.
 —X-5, 37.
 —XI-15.
 —XI-App. 7, 9,
 16, 20.
 —XIII-2, 22, 27.
 Luther, and followers
 I-XII-7.
 IV-I-App.
 —VI-26.
 —VII-3, 4, 7, 14.
 —IX-12.
 —X-16.
 —XI-6.
 —XIII-5.
 —XV-3.
 —XVII-12.
 —XXIII-6.
 —XXVII-7.
 —XXVIII-10.
 —XXIX-1.
 —XXX-5.
 —XXXI-4.
 —XXXVII-2, 6.
 —XXXIX-2, 4.
- M
- Macedonius. IV-V-2.
 —VIII-5.
 Macknight. I-XIII-11.
 IV-XVI-4, and
 elsewhere.
 Maclaurin, John. IV-VII-3.
 Magistrate. III-XIV, accord-
 ing to Heads of Lectures.
 IV-XX-1.
 —XXXIV-15, 17.
 —XXXVI-14, 16.
 —XXXVII-passim.
 part. Sect. 3, 15.
 Maimonides. I-XVII-19.
 IV-VI-3, end.
 —IX-4.
 —X-3.
 —XVII-3.
 Manicheans. I-XII-7.
 —App. 3, 4.
 IV-I-4, 16.
 —II-4.
 —IV-4.
 —IX-5, 7.
 —X-20.
 —XXII-2.
 —XXX-2.
 —XXXII-2.
 —XXXVII-5.
 Marcellinus. —XV-3.
 Marmontel. —XVII-85.
 Marriage. IV-XXIII-12.
 —XXV-6, 9.
 —XXXII. accord-
 ing to Heads
 of Lectures.
 —XXXIII-3.
 Marsh. I-XVI-8.
 —App. 26.
 IV-I-App. end.
 Mass. IV-XXIV-2.
 including Missa.
 Mass.

- Mass. IV-XXVIII-2.
 —XXXI according to
 Heads of Lect.
 Mathematics. II-I-4.
 Matthew. I-VI-1.
 —XIII-9.
 Maty. IV-V-4.
 Maxims of the Saints.
 III-XV-11, p. 187,
 &c.
 (see Fenelon.)
 Mede. I-XVII-15.
 IV-VI-32.
 Melancthon. IV-Intro. 4.
 —X-16.
 —XVI-15.
 —XVII-9, 16,
 99.
 —XXVIII-10,
 32.
 —XXXIV-17.
 Memories. IV-XXII-5.
 Merit. IV-IX-Intro. 8.
 —XI-16.
 —XIV-4.
 Messaliani. IV-XXV-2.
 —XXVI-2.
 Metaphor. I-XVII-6, 18.
 IV-V-6.
 —IX-Intro. 6.
 —XI-App. 27.
 —XXVIII-6, 19,
 20, 26, 31.
 —XXXI-2, 4.
 Metropolitan. IV-XXI-10.
 Methodism. I-XVIII-27.
 III-VIII-4.
 —XV-10, page
 191.
 IV-X-39.
 —XI-10.
 —XI-App. 9.
 —XII-3, 8.
 —XVI-10, 31.
 Methodism. IV-XVII-21.
 —XXIII-6, 8,
 26.
 Michaelis. I-App. 26. and
 often elsewhere.
 III-IV-5.
 IV-I-App.
 —XI-App. 9.
 (see Marsh.)
 Middleton. I-IX-8.
 —XII-3, 16.
 —XIII-10.
 —XXII-passim,
 and Sect. 6.
 —XXVIII-28.
 —XXIX-1.
 —XXX-1, 8.
 Mill. I-VIII-2.
 Millenarians. I-XI-2.
 III-IX-7.
 IV-IV-5, 12.
 Milton. IV-XVII-2, 100.
 —XVIII-6.
 Ministers, religious.
 III-1-6.
 —V-6.
 —IX-12.
 IV-XXIII-1, 15, 16.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXVI-1, 2, 6.
 —XXVII-8. (see
 Priests.)
 —XXXV-2.
 —XXXVI-1, 8.
 Miracles. I-XIII-10.
 —XV. and XVI.
 according to
 Heads of Lect.
 —XVIII-25.
 IV-XXIII-5, 17.
 Misna, or Talmud.
 I-V-3.
 —VIII-9.
 —II-IV-5.

- Misna, or Talmud.
 IV-VI-3.
 —XXVII-2.
 —XXXIV-4, 24.
- Moderation. IV-XXXV-1.
 (see Puller)
- Monk. I-App. 5-9.
 IV-XXXII-1.
- Monophysites. IV-II-9.
- Montague, Bishop.
 IV-XVI-22.
- Montanus. IV-V-2.
 —XVI-2.
 —XXII-2.
 —XXVII-14.
- Montesquieu. III-VI-3.
 —XV-II-2.
 IV-IX-28.
 —XXXIV-7.
- Montfaucon. I-VI-7.
- Morality. I-XII-1.
 —XVII-18.
 —XIX-3, 4.
 II-IV-4.
 III-I-4.
 —IX-10.
 —XI-11.
 —XV-4.
 IV-Intro. 3.
 —VI-5, 13, end.
 —VII-7, 13, 14.
 —XII-23.
 —XIV-4.
 —XVI-15, 30.
 —XVII-1, 79.
 —XIX-4, 7.
 —XXI-15.
 —XXII-20.
 —XXV-6, 10.
 —XXVII-2, 11.
 —XXXII-1, 14.
 —XXXVI-1.
 —XXXVII-18, 19.
 —XXXIX-6.
- Moravians. III-XV-11, page
 188, &c.
 —XV-12.
 IV-I-6, end.
 —VII-13.
 —XI-App. 9.
 —XV-6.
 —XXIV-1.
 —XXXVII-10.
- Mosheim. I-XII-15.
 I-App.
 IV-sub. 12.
 II-II-10.
 —V-10.
 IV-XIV-1.
 —XVI-4. passim.
 —XXXVI-6.
 —XXXVII-6.
- Musgrave. —XVII-2.
- Music. III-XV-10.
 IV-XX-1.
- Mysteries. IV-XXV-2, 10, 11.
- Mysticism. III-XV-11, p. 187.
 IV-VI-3.
 —VII-3.
 —XV-5.
 —XVI-9.
 —XXIII-6, 15.
 —XXVIII-11.

N

Names, their effects.

IV-XVIII-11.

Narcs. I-XII-16.

Nature. IV-IX-Intro. 8, 9.

—IX-18, 26, 30.

Neal. (see Puritans.)

III-IV-6.

—XIV-15.

IV-XVI-8.

—XVII-18.

—XXV-3.

—XXVII-15.

Neal.

- Neal. (see Puritans.)
 IV-XXXVI-5.
- Necker. IV-XXIV-1.
- Necessary Doctrine.
 passim. IV-Intro. 4.
 —V-4.
 —VIII-4.
 —IX-2.
 —X-11.
 —XI-8.
 —XII-6, 25.
 —XIII-5.
 —XIV-1.
 —XVI-3, 8, 10, 14.
 —XVII-16, 80.
 —XXII-4.
 —XXV-2, 4, 7.
 —XXVI-2.
 —XXVIII-11.
 —XXX-6.
 —XXXI-4.
 —XXXVII-2.
- Necessity. (see Liberty.)
 IV-IX-Intro. 5.
 —X-19, 49.
 —XVII-5.
- Necessity, cases of.
 IV-XXIII-9, 20,
 29.
 —XXV-3.
 —XXVII-6, 10,
 14, 15.
 —XXXV-1, 2.
- Nestorius. IV-I-18.
 —II-8, 9.
 —XXI-16.
- Newton, Sir Isaac.
 I-VI-1.
 —XVII-15.
 II-IV-5.
 III-IV-7.
 IV-I-App.
 —XXXI-13.
- Nicholls. IV-Intro. 6.
- Nicholls. IV-x-4.
 —XI-App. 2, 6.
 —XIII-2.
 —XXXVI-4, 5, 7.
- Norris. IV-Intro. 1.
 —XXVII-29.
- Not at home. III-II-4.
 —VIII-1.
- Novatians. IV-I-4, p. 227.
 —XVI-2, 37.
- Numenius. IV-I-3.
- O
- Oath\$. IV-XXXVII-3, 5, 6.
 &c.
 —XXXIX passim.
- Ogden. IV-VIII-11.
 —IX-36.
 —XI-App. 9, 27.
 —XXII-20.
 —XXXIX-2, 5, 6.
- Offering. IV-XI-App. 14.
- Old Maids, Essay on.
 IV-IX-30.
- Omissions, in each System.
 I-XVII-1.
 IV-II-1.
- Onkelos. I-VI-7.
 —IX-3.
- Opinions, seeming incon-
 sistent, to be retained till
 reconciled. IV-XVI-5.
 —XVII-5, 91.
- Oracles. I-XVII-12.
- Ordinances, ordinary built
 upon extraordinary.
 IV-XXIII-25.
 —XXV-3, 10, end.
 —XXXVI-18, 19.
- Ordination. IV-XXIII-4, 6,
 11, 22.
 —XXV-5, 9.
 —XXVI-6.
 Ordination.

- Ordination. IV-XXXIV-7.
 —XXXVI,
 according to Heads of
 Lectures; particularly
 Sect. 2, 5.
 Origen. I-VIII-6, p. 50.
 —XII-17.
 —XVI-7.
 —XIX-5.
 —App. I.
 II-IV-10.
 IV-1-4.
 —IV-4, 17, and
 Appendix.
 —V-2.
 —VI-21, 23, 25, 28.
 —XVI-4.
 —XXII-2.
 —XXIII-9.
 —XXIV-1, 2.
 —XXVII-1, 4.
 Ormerod. I-XII-3.
 IV-III-6, 8.
 —V-5.
 Orobio. I-VIII-1.
 Overall, Bishop. IV-XV-12.
 —XVI-8, 22.
 —XVII-5.
- P**
- Painting. III-XV-10.
 IV-XX-1.
 —XXVII-27.
 Paley. IV-XIII-1, 2.
 —XXVII-14.
 Paphnutius. IV-XXXII-3.
 —XXXVI-4.
 Paraclete. IV-V-1.
 Parkhurst. I-XV-16.
 —App. 24.
 II-IV-15.
 IV-1-2.
 —III-6.
 —X-2, 30.
- Parkhurst. IV-XI-App. 12.
 —XIII-17.
 —XVII-2, 83.
 —XXVIII-24.
 and elsewhere.
 Parturition. IV-IX-44.
 Pascal. II-III-1.
 —V-10.
 Patronage. IV-XXIII-16.
 —XXXIII-17.
 —XXXVI-5, 13.
 Paulus Jovius. IV-XVIII-3.
 Pax. IV-XXV-3
 Pearson, John, Bishop.
 I-VI-3, 6.
 —VIII-3.
 —XVII-15.
 IV-1-4, p. 238.
 —I-12, 17, 18.
 —II-4, 8, 28.
 —III-6.
 —VII-10.
 —XI-App. 22.
 —XIX-1.
 Pearson, Edward.
 IV-VIII-12.
 Pedantry. I-1-5.
 IV-XXIV-5.
 Pelagius, and followers.
 IV-VIII-9, 11, p.
 110.
 —IX-6, 7.
 —X-5.
 —XIII-3.
 —XV-3, 18.
 —XVI-6.
 —XVII-5, 83.
 —XVIII-3.
 —XXXVII-5.
- Perfection. IV-XI-1.
 —XV-5.
 —XVI-9.
 —XVII-91.
 —XXXVII-3.
 Perfection.

- Perfection. VI-XXXVIII-6.
 Perseverance. III-IV-1.
 IV-X-15.
 —XVI-5, 8, 9,
 22, 29, 30,
 37.
 Peter Lombard.
 IV-V-1.
 —X-26.
 —XIII-4.
 —XVII-29.
 —XXII-13.
 —XXV-2, 4.
 Pews. III-IV-2.
 Pharaoh. I-X-9.
 IV-IX-Introd. 16.
 —X-3.
 —X-50, p. 254.
 —XVII-29, 95.
 Pharisees. IV-IV-App.
 page 415.
 Philo. I-VI-1.
 IV-I-1, 2, 3.
 Philosophers, opposed to
 People. II-IV-passim.
 III-XV-5.
 IV-VI-5.
 —XIX, end.
 —XX-5.
 —XXXIII-14.
 Philostratus. I-XII-17.
 —XIII-13.
 Pilate. I-XIII-11.
 Pindar. IV-X-2.
 Pious frauds. I-VIII-9.
 —XII-15.
 —XV-1.
 Plaifere. IV-X-5, 15, 19.
 —XVII-71, 73.
 Platonists. I-XII-15.
 —App. 12.
 IV-I-1, 3.
 —IX-3, 5.
 Pleasure, in studying reli-
 gion. I-I-9.
 Pliny. I-XII-16, 17.
 —XVI-11.
 —XVIII-13, 19.
 IV-II-41.
 Plutarch. I-XII-16.
 Polycarp. IV-XXIII-2.
 —XXXVI-3.
 Pope, Alexander.
 IV-XVII-79.
 —XVIII-6, 17.
 Popes, of Rome.
 III-XIV-7.
 IV-XXXVII-2, 13, 18.
 Porson. IV-I-App.
 —XXIX-2.
 Porteus, Bishop.
 I-X-11.
 —XI-5.
 —XVII-15, 18.
 III-II-5.
 IV-III-8.
 —IV-App.
 —XIV-1.
 —XXII-6, 20.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXX-16.
 Postlethwaite.
 I-XVII-8, 12, 14, 19.
 Potter. (in various places).
 IV-XI-App. 2.
 —XXVII-2, 4.
 —XXVIII-24, 30.
 —XXXIX-1.
 Powell. I-XII-5, 8.
 —XVI-9.
 —XVII-16, 19.
 —XVIII-4, 7, 10,
 30.
 —XIX-1, 16.
 —App. XI-subst. 6.
 II-I-2.

- Powell. II-II-10.
 —IV-2.
 III-IV-4.
 —V-2.
 —VI-4.
 —IX-5.
 —XI-10.
 IV-XI-App. 9.
 —XXXVI-5, 7.
- Practice, aimed at in Speculation. IV-IX-Intro. 4.
 —X-39.
 —XVII-77.
 —XXVI-6.
- Preaching. (see Homilies).
 I-XII-12.
 III-V-5.
 —IX-6.
 IV-XXIII-9, 24.
 —XXVII-3.
 —XXXV-1, 2, 5.
- Precepts and Counsels.
 IV-XIV-2, 4, 5.
- Predestinarians.
 IV-XVII-28.
- Predestination.
 III-IX-1.
 —XV-9.
 IV-Intro. 4.
 —II-42.
 —IX-Intro. 11.
 —X-26.
 —XVII-5, et passim.
 That it is no
 Doctrine of the
 Church of Eng-
 land.
 IV-XVII-16.
 See also IV-XVII-
 30, 62, 73, 74,
 77, 89.
- Presbyters, or Elders, and
 Presbyterians.
 IV-XXIII-4, 6, 11, 17.
- Presbyters, or Elders, and
 Presbyterians.
 IV-XXV-3, 6, 10.
 —XXXVI-1, 2, 3,
 5, 12, 14.
- Prescience. IV-IX-Intro. 8.
 —XVI-31, p.471.
 —XVII-7, 14, 29,
 90.
- Priest. IV-XXV-4.
 —XXX-1, 9, 11.
 —XXXI-3, 10.
 —XXXII-1, 14.
 —XXXV-1.
- Priestly, Doctor.
 I-XII-3.
 —App. 5.
 II-IV-7.
 —V-10.
 IV-I-4, 14, 16.
 —II-1, 6, 12, 43,
 46.
 —X-18, 24.
 —XI-App. 1, 2, 11,
 24, 25, 26, 27,
 29, 30.
 —XII-24.
 —XVII-21.
 —XXIII-8, 22, 26.
 —XXVII-18, 35.
 —XXXIII-12.
- Primate. IV-XXI-10.
- Priscillianists. IV-I-4.
 —V-2.
- Promises, opposed to
 Decrees. IV-XVII-69, 97.
- Propheying, the Gift of.
 IV-XXIV-3.
- Protesting Catholics.
 IV-XXXVII-2.
- Proselytes. I-XVI-3.
- Prudence. III-XV-8.
- Puller. IV-Intro. 3.
 —XXIII-12.

- Puller. IV-XXV-2.
 Punishment. IV-XXXVII-18,
 and elsewhere.
 Puritan. IV-Intro. 2.
 —II-21.
 —VI-10.
 —XI-12.
 —XVI-2, 3, 8.
 —XVII-18, 19.
 —XX-1, 2, 4, 7.
 —XXIII-16.
 —XXV-3, 8.
 —XXVII-14.
 —XXXI-5.
 —XXXIII-6, 8.
 —XXXIV-8, 17.
 —XXXV-1.
 —XXXVI-4, 7, 16.
 —XXXVII-8, 11.
 Purity. IV-XXVII-2.
 Pythagoras. I-App. 12.
 IV-IX-3.
 —X-2.
 —XXXVII-4.
- Q**
- Quakers. III-III-10.
 —XI-9.
 —XIV-10.
 —XV-11, p. 191.
 IV-II-46.
 —VII-3.
 —XVII-21.
 —XXIII-6.
 —XXV-2, 11.
 —XXVI-2, 6.
 —XXVII-8, 17, 29,
 34.
 —XXVIII-11, 29.
 —XXX-10.
 —XXXVII-10,
 20.
 —XXXIX-4, 5.
 Quietism. (see Mysticism).

R

- Racovian Catechism.
 passim. IV-X-20.
 —XI-App. 8, 24.
 —XIII-6.
 —XVII-14.
 —XVIII-5.
 —XXIII-5.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXXIII-5.
 Randall. IV-XXV-2, 10.
 Ransom. IV-XI-App. 2.
 Re-baptizing, re-ordaining,
 &c. (see Repeating).
 Redemption. IV-XI-App. 2,
 17, 29, p. 324.
 IV-XVII-13, 22.
 —XVIII-3.
 Redman. IV-XXXII-10.
 Reductio ad absurdum.
 II-II-13.
 —V-6.
 IV-X-5.
 —XXVI-5.
 —XXIX-1.
 Reformatio Legum.
 IV-Intro. 4.
 —VII-3.
 —IX-12, 17.
 —X-11, 15.
 —XI-8.
 —XIII-5.
 —XVI-3, 8.
 —XVII-16, 18, 32,
 61, 66.
 —XVIII-5.
 —XXI-13.
 —XXIII-6.
 —XXV-2, 8.
 —XXVI-2.
 —XXVII-17.
 —XXVIII-11, 20.
 —XXXI-4.
 Reformatio

- Reformatio Legum.
 IV-XXXIII-5.
 Reformed Churches. (see
 Syntagma).
 IV-XXVIII-10.
 —XXXI-4, 8.
 —XXXII-12.
 —XXXIII-5.
 —XXXIV-2.
 —XXXVII-7.
 Reformers. III-XV-5.
 IV-Intro. 2, 3,
 4.
 —XII-1.
 —XVII-9, 16, 17.
 —XX-1.
 —XXI-2.
 —XXII-21.
 —XXV-2, 8.
 —XXXVI-17.
 Regeneration. IV-IX-24.
 —XII-8.
 —XVI-20.
 —XXVII-2,
 14, 17.
 Reland. I-V-8.
 Relics. I-XIII-10.
 IV-XXII-5, 19.
 Remonstrants. III-V-1.
 IV-X-15.
 Repeating, Baptism, &c.
 IV-V-1.
 —XXIII-12.
 —XXV-2, 3.
 —XXVI-1, 3.
 —XXVII-15.
 —XXXIII-3.
 Repentance. I-XIX-8, 13.
 IV-XVI-2, 5, 18,
 23, 27, 32, 33,
 34.
 —XVII-91.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXXVII-3.
 Repentance. IV-XXXIII-1, 5.
 including Penance.
 Reprobation. IV-X-50.
 —XVII-29, 30,
 32, 73, 92.
 Republication of the Law
 of Nature. IV-XI-12.
 Retracting. I-I-6.
 III-II-5.
 IV-I-1.
 Revelation, Book of.
 I-XVII-15.
 III-X-9.
 IV-IV-5.
 —VI-15, 31.
 Review, Monthly.
 IV-XXXV-2.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua.
 IV-XV-19.
 Rhemish Testament.
 IV-XI-App. 6.
 —XIII-5.
 —XIV-1.
 —XVI-3, 4, 8.
 —XVII-7, 9, 29,
 66.
 —XIX-9.
 —XXI-12.
 —XXII-2, 3, 4.
 —XXIV-1.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVIII-32.
 —XXIX-1.
 —XXX-4, 13.
 —XXXI-2, 3, 10,
 12.
 Rhetorians. IV-XVIII-2.
 Ricaut. IV-XXIV-1.
 —XXXVII-5.
 —XXX-3.
 Ridley. IV-Intro. 4.
 —XII-1.
 —XIII-5.
 —XVII-16.

- Ridley. IV-XXV-2.
—XXVIII-26.
Rimius. (see Moravians).
Rite. IV-XXXIV-2, 25.
Robinson. III-XIV-14.
IV-XXVII-16.
Rogers. IV-Intro. 6.
—XXV-2.
—XXXIV-17.
—XXXVII-10.
Rome. (see, in the Heads
of Lectures, Romanists—
and, Age of the Refor-
mation.) IV-XIX-2, 8.
—XX-1.
—XXII-13.
—XXIX-1.
—XXXI-12, 13.
Rosenberg, Countess of.
I-VI-2.
Rutherford. I-IX-11.
II-V-10.
IV-II-42.
—IV-App.
—VIII-5.
—X-41.

S

- ✓ Sabbath. I-XI-5.
IV-VII-5, 7, 13.
—XXXIV-2, 7, 15.
Sacramental Justification.
IV-XI-6.
—XXV-2.
Sacramentarian.
IV-XVII-18.
—XXVIII-10.
Sacraments. IV-XXV-passim.
Definition, IV-XXV-8, 9.
IV-XXVI-1, 2,
4, 6.
—XXXVIII-17

- Sacramentum. IV-XXV-2.
and Sacrament, p. 204.
IV-XXV-6, 11.
—XXXVII-5.
Sacred Language.
IV-XXIV-5.
Sacrifice. IV-XI-App. 1, 2,
14, 27.
—XXV-5.
—XXVIII-1, 10,
13, 17, 20, 24.
30.
—XXXI-2, 3, 6, 10.
Sadducees. IV-IV-App.
p. 415.
Salvation. IV-XI-App. 17.
—XVIII-12.
Salvian. I-XII-4.
Samaritan. I-IX-2.
—XIII-11.
Sandys, Sir Edwin.
III-XV-12.
IV-XXIV-2.
—XXV-4.
—XXX-3.
Satan, events referred to.
IV-X-50.
—XVII-64.
—XXXIII-13.
Satisfaction. IV-XXV-4.
Schism. III-IV-4.
—XI-2.
—XII-1.
Schoolmaster, how the Law
of Moses was one.
IV-VII-14.
Schoolmen. IV-XIII-4.
—XXII-4, 6,
end.
also Sect. 8.
IV-XXIV-1.
—XXV-3.
—XXVI-3.
—XXXIII-4.
Schwenkfeld.

- Schwenkfeld. IV-VI-1, 17.
—XXV-2.
- Slavonian. IV-XXIV-1.
- Secker, Archbishop.
IV-XIV-1.
—XVI-4.
—XIX-1.
—XXV-3.
—XXVII-8, 18, 26.
—XXVIII-11.
—XXXI-5.
- Seſtaries. (see Diſſenters).
- Self-deceit. IV-XVI-31,
p. 471.
- Seminaries. II-IV-7.
- Sent. IV-XXIII-15.
- Sephiroths. I-App. 15, 20,
24, 26
- Sermo de Tempore.
IV-I-10, p. 250.
—II-6, 19.
- Sermon on the Mount.
IV-XXXVII-3, 6, 19.
—VI-4.
—XXXVIII-3.
- Servant, in forms of civility.
III-VIII-2.
- Servetus. IV-I-6.
—II-14.
—XXVII-14.
- Shaftesbury. II-IV-15.
- Shakſpeare. IV-IX-3, 30, 37.
—X-41.
—XVII-66.
—XXVII-14.
- Sharp, Archbishop.
II-V-4, 6.
III-IV-4.
—XI-10.
—XVI-4.
—XVII-83.
- Sharp, Granville.
IV-XXXVI-7.
- Sheridan. II-IV-19.
- Sherlock, Biſhop:
IV-IV-13, 16.
—IV-App.
—X-32.
—XI-2.
—XXXVII-15.
- Siam, King of. I-XV-15, 16.
- Sick. IV-XXV-4, 7, 10.
—XXVIII-10, 21.
- Simeon Stilites. IV-XIV-4.
- Sins, mortal, venial, &c.
IV-XVI-2, 13, 15.
- Sleidan. IV-VII-3.
—XVI-3.
—XXXVII-6.
- Society, for propagating the
Gospel. I-XIX-18.
- Society, religious.
I-XIX-15—17.
IV-XXXVI-7.
- Socinus, and followers. (see
Dr. Priestley).
IV-Intro. 2.
—I-14, 16.
—II-12, 21.
—IV-2.
—V-4.
—IX-14.
—X-18.
—XI-App. 1, 8, 33.
—XVII-14, 21.
—XXIII-5, 22, 24.
—XXV-2.
—XXVII-9, 27, 35.
—XXVIII-13.
—XXXIII-5.
—XXXVI-6.
- Soul. IV-III-8.
—IX-Intro. 6, 7.
- Socrates. I-XII-16.
II-IV-10, 13, 14.
IV-XIII-24.
- Sparrow, Biſhop.
III-IV-1.
- Sparrow,

Sparrow, Bishop.
 IV-XXIV-5.
 —XXV-4.
 —XXXIV-5, 7.
 —XXXV-1.

Spirits. I-I-9.
 —App. 8.

Sponsors. IV-XXV-3.
 —XXVII-14.

Sprinkling. IV-XXVII-10.

Sterne. I-App. 14.
 II-I-9.
 —IV-13.
 III-IV-1.
 IV-XXX-6.

Stillingfleet. IV-VII-14.
 —XXXVI-5.

Stoics. IV-XVI-5.
 —XVII-2.

Strype. IV-Intro. 4.
 —III-2.
 —VII-7.
 —IX-12.
 —XVI-3.
 —XVII-18.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXXV-4.

Suarez. IV-XIII-4.

Subintroduced women.
 IV-XXXII-2.

Succession of Bishops.
 IV-XXXIII-4, 7, 18.
 —XXXVI-7.

Supererogation. IV-XIV-2.

Superstition. I-I-9.
 III-XV-11.
 IV-Intro. 3.

Supralapsarians and Sublapsarians. IV-XVII-29.

Swedenborg. I-XVI-7.
 III-XV-11, p. 187, &c.
 IV-I-6, p. 241.

Swift. II-III-1, 4.

Swift. II-IV-13.

Switzerland. I-VIII-1.
 III-VI-6.
 —VII-6.
 IV-III-1, 2.
 —XVII-15, 18.
 —XX-1.
 —XXIII-12.

Synesius. IV-IV-1.
 —XXXIII-3.

Synod. IV-XXI-10.

Syntagma, or Corpus et Syntagma. (see Reformed Churches.)
 IV-XI-App. 2, 5.
 —XVI-19.
 —XVII-14.
 —XIX-7.
 —XXV-2.
 —XXVI-2.
 —XXVIII-10.
 —XXXIV-20.

T

Targum. I-IX-3.

Taylor, Jeremy. III-IV-8.
 —VI-6.

Taylor, John. IV-IX-13, 14,
 29, 30, 34, 35, 36.
 IV-X-18, 19.
 —XI-14, 27, 28.
 —XI-App. 9, 12, 22,
 29, p. 324.
 —XII-20.
 —XIII-10.
 —XVII-8, 1, 92.

Temptations.
 IV-IX-Intro. 12, 16.
 —X-3.

Tertullian. IV-I-4, p. 227.
 —VII-5.
 —XI-App. 2.
 —XV-2.

Tertullian.

- Tertullian. IV-XXVII-2, 14.
 —XXXIV-5.
 Test and Corporation Acts.
 III-XIV-15.
 Testament. IV-XXVIII-24.
 Testament, Old.
 I-V.
 —VI-3.
 —VIII-1.
 —IX-1, 2.
 —XII-Introduct.
 —XVI-8.
 —XVII-1, &c.
 —App. 4-sub. 8.
 IV-IV-6—9.
 —VII-2.
 —XI-App. 24.
 —XXIII-22.
 Theodoret. IV-XXV-2.
 —XXVII-14.
 Thomas, Bishop.
 IV-XXXII-10.
 Tillotson. I-XVI-14.
 IV-I-3, 16.
 —II-1.
 Tindal. IV-XI-12.
 —XXXIV-21.
 Toland. I-XII-4.
 IV-VI-15.
 Toleration. III-XIV-4, 15.
 —XV-5.
 IV-XIX-1.
 —XXXIII-8.
 —XXXIV-17, 19,
 24.
 —XXXVII-13.
 Tombs. IV-XXVII-14, 35.
 Tradition. IV-VI-2, &c.
 —XXXIV-1, 4,
 and according
 to Heads of
 Lectures.
 Traitor. IV-XXVI-1.
- Transubstantiation.
 I-XVI-14.
 IV-XXVIII, accord-
 ing to Heads of
 Lectures.
 —XXIX and XXX.
 —XXXI-2, 10.
 Travis. III-XV-6.
 IV-I-Appendix.
 Trent Catechism.
 IV-XXV-2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9-
 —XXVI-2, 3.
 —XXVII-6.
 —XXVIII-10, 20, 33.
 —XXIX-1, 4.
 —XXX-4.
 —XXXI-3.
 Trent, Council of.
 IV-VI-2, 10.
 —IX-12.
 —X-20.
 —XI-7.
 —XI-App. 6.
 —XIII-6.
 —XIV-1.
 —XV-4.
 —XVI-3.
 —XVII-9, 29. (See,
 in Heads of Lec-
 tures, Romanists,
 and Age of the
 Reformation.)
 —XXI-2—4.
 —XXII-2—6.
 —XXIV-1, 2.
 —XXV-2—7.
 —XXVI-2, 3.
 —XXVII-6.
 —XXVIII-10, 20.
 —XXIX-1.
 —XXX-4.
 —XXXI-3, 8.
 —XXXII-11.
- Trent,

Trent, Council of.
 IV-XXXIII-5.
 —XXXVI-7.
 Trent Creed. IV-XIX-2.
 Tribes. I-IX-1.
 Trinity. I-XII-12.
 —XVI-7.
 III-XV-9.
 IV-Intro. 1.
 —I-1, &c: accord-
 ing to Heads of
 Lectures.
 —IX-6.
 Trisagium. IV-XXVIII-4.
 Tucker. IV-X-15.
 —XIX-7.
 Turretin. IV-X-50.
 —XVII-29.
 Twining. IV-IV-Appendix.
 —X-44.
 Twisse. IV-XVII-29.

U & V

Ubiquity. IV-IV-3.
 —XXVIII-10, 11.
 Vener. IV-Intro. 6.
 —XIII-2.
 —XXII-2.
 —XXIV-1.
 Vespasian. I-XVI-10.
 Ugolino. I-X-8.
 Vigilantius. IV-XXII-5, 6.
 —XXXII-4.
 Virgin Mary.
 IV-XV-4, 24.
 —XXII-4, 6, 13, 20.
 Virtue. IV-XI-23, 29.
 —XII-23, 25.
 —XVII-87.
 Virtue, what may be called
 original. IV-IX-36.
 Visitation. IV-XXXV-1.

Unction. IV-XXV-3, 5, 7, 9,
 10, including
 Extreme unc-
 tion.
 —XXVII-4.
 Uniformity, Act of.
 III-XIV-15.
 IV-XXXIV-17.
 —XXXVI-5.
 Unitarians. IV-I-5, 13.
 Vocation. (See Called.)
 IV-XVII-14.
 —XXIII-16.
 Voltaire. I-App. 26.
 II-V-10, 11.
 III-IV-5, 9.
 —XV-11, p. 187.
 IV-I-4, p. 241.
 —I-Appendix.
 —IV-Appendix,
 end.
 —IX-4, 40.
 —X-9, 17, 19.
 —XXI-9.
 —XXII-3.
 —XXX-4.
 Vossius. IV-X-4, 5, 9.
 —XII-3.
 —XVI-5.
 —XVII-28.
 Usher. IV-VIII-5.
 —X-9.
 —XVII-24, 30, 37,
 71, 75, 95, 98.
 —XXIV-1, 2.

W

Wafer. IV-XXVIII-3, 11.
 Wakefield. I-IX-11, page
 62.
 —XVII-6.
 Waldenses. IV-XXIII-3.

- Waldenses. IV-XXVIII-10.
—XXXVI-4.
—XXXVII-6.
- Wall. IV-IX-8.
—XI-App. 2.
—XV-3.
—XXV-2.
—XXVII-4, 12, 13,
14, 27.
- Walton. I-IX-3, 10.
IV-XVII-24.
—XXII-20.
- Warburton.
I-XI-3.
—XII-3, 15.
—XVII-3, 7, 10, 14,
15, p. 246, 18.
II-III-1, 6, 14.
—IV-12, 16.
—V-10.
III-XIV-5.
IV-VII-8.
—IX-21, 34, 38.
—XI-App. 9, 19, 21.
—XII-2, 19.
—XX-7.
—XXVIII-13.
—XXXIII-8.
- Washing of feet.
I-XI-6.
IV-XXV-2.
—XXVIII-29.
- Waterland. IV-I-12.
—I-App.
—VIII-8, 9, 12.
—XIII-4, end.
—XVI-8.
—XVII-24.
- Wesley. II-IV-16.
III-VIII-4.
—XV-II, p. 191.
IV-X-39.
—XI-App. 9.
- Wesley. IV-XV-5.
—XVI-10. (See
Methodism.)
—XXIII-8.
—XXVII-17.
—XXVIII-11.
- Wheatly. passim.
IV-XXV-3.
—XXVIII-11.
- Whiston. IV-I-6.
—II-14.
- Whitby. I-XVII-19.
IV-VI-32.
—X-15.
—XVI-5.
—XVII-5, 71.
- Whitehead, William.
IV-XVII-85.
- Whitfield. IV-X-39.
—XVI-10.
- Whitgift. IV-III-2.
—XVII-18.
—XXV-2.
—XXXVII-15, 18.
- Wickliffe. IV-XVII-9.
—XXI-2.
—XXV-2.
—XXVI-2.
—XXVIII-10.
—XXXI-4.
—XXXIII-5, 8,
13.
—XXXVI-5.
—XXXVII-6.
- Will-worship. IV-XIV-3.
—XXII-15.
- Wisdom. (See Know-
ledge.)
- Witches. I-XIII-10.
III-VI-6.
- Woolston. I-XVI-7.
IV-IV-1, 7, 13.
—VII-3.
- Works.

Works. IV-XI-18, 27,
28.

—XII-6, 23.

—XIII-8.

Worship. IV-II-16.

—XXII-9.

—XXV-6.

Wotton. (See Misna.)

IV-VI-3.

—XXXIV-4, 24.

X

Ximenes. I-IX-10.

Z

Zuingle, and followers.

IV-XVI-7, 10.

—XVII-9, 10.

—XXVIII-10.



I N D E X

OF PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

<p>GENESIS xxxvii. 10. Exodus vii. 13. Deuteronomy iv. 2. ————— xii. 32. I Sam. xiii. 14. Proverbs xvi. 4. Isaiah vii. 14—16. ——— ix. 6. ——— xi. 6. ——— liii. — Ezekiel xviii. Daniel v. 28. Joel i. 7, &c. ——— ii. 1—10. Matthew ii. 15. ————— — 23. ————— iii. 2. ————— v. and vi. ————— v. 29, 30. ————— v. 33—37. ————— v. 38—41. ————— xviii. 7. ————— — 15—18. ————— xix. 11, 12. ————— — 16, &c. ————— — 17. ————— — 21. ————— xxi. 16. ————— xxiii. 16—22. ————— xxiv.</p>	<p>I-XVII-6. —X-9. IV-VI-4. Ibidem. I-X-10. IV-XVII-95. I-XVII-14. —XVII-10. Ibidem. I-XVII-15. IV-IX-38. I-XVII-19. } I-XVII-10. I-XVII-19. Ibidem. IV-XXVII-3. —VI-4. —XXXVIII-9. —XXXIX-4. —XXXVII-19. —IX-Introd. 12. —XXXIII-7, 9, 11. —XXXII-18. —XXXVIII-6. —XV-16. —XIV-5. I-XVII-19. IV-XXXIX-4. I-XVII-10.</p>
--	--

- Matthew xxiv. 24.
 ——— xxv. 34.
 Mark x. 14.
 ——— xii. 29, 32.
 ——— xiii. 24—26.
 ——— xvi. 16.
 ——— — 17.
 Luke i 6
 ——— iv. 18.
 ——— ix. 55.
 ——— xi. 15, 16.
 ——— xvi. 8.
 ——— — 19, &c.
 ——— xvii. 1.
 ——— xviii. 22.
 John i 1, &c.
 ——— i. 19—25.
 ——— vii. 11.
 ——— viii. 58.
 ——— xvii. —
 ——— xvii. —
 Acts ii. 23.
 ——— — 44, 45.
 ——— iv. 32, 34.
 ——— viii. 4.
 ——— x. 32.
 ——— xi. 19.
 ——— xiii. 2.
 ——— — 48.
 ——— xv.
 ——— xx. 28.
 Romans ii. 14, 27.
 ——— v.
 ——— viii. 1, 2.
 ——— — 5—7.
 ——— — 28—30.
 ——— — 33, &c.
 ——— ix. 13, &c.
 ——— xi. 29.
 ——— xvi. 17.
 I Cor. i. 8.
 ——— — 30.
 ——— v. —
 IV-XVI-30.
 —XVII-80.
 —XXVII-27.
 —I-17.
 I-XVII-10.
 IV-VIII-11, 12, 32.
 I-XVI-13.
 IV-XV-17.
 I-XVI-11.
 Ibidem.
 Ibidem.
 I-X-10.
 IV-XXXVIII-7.
 —IX-Introd. 12.
 —XIV-5.
 IV-II-37.
 —XXVII-11.
 —XVII-83.
 —II-35.
 —I-17.
 —XVI-30.
 —XVII-79.
 —XXXVIII-8.
 Ibidem.
 IV-XXIII-24.
 I-X-11.
 IV-XXIII-24.
 —XXIII-22.
 —XVII-83.
 —XXI-1.
 —I-18.
 —XIII-24.
 —IX-29.
 —XV-20.
 —IX-18, 25.
 —XVII-49, 77.
 —XV-20.
 —XVII-95.
 —XVI-30.
 —XXXIII-12.
 —XVI-30.
 —XV-20.
 —XXXIII-13.

1 Cor. vii.	}	1-XII-3.
————		IV-XXVII-27.
————		—XXXII-17.
————		—XXXIII-15.
————		IV-I-17.
————		—XXXII-17.
————		—VI-5.
————		—X-41.
————		—IV-20.
————		—XVI-30.
2 Cor. i. 22.		—XXXIII-14, 15.
————		—I-17.
————		—XVI-30.
Gal. iv. 5.		Ibidem.
Eph. i. 13.		Ibidem.
————		IV-XV-20.
————		—XIII-30.
Phil. i. 1—10.		—XVI-30.
————		—II-31.
————		—X-41.
————		—II-31, 35.
————		—XVI-3.
Col. i. 16—20.		—XVII-83.
————		—VI-5.
————		—XVI-30.
1 Thess. v. 9.		I-App. 24.
2 Thess. ii. 15.		IV-II-37.
————		—XVII-83.
————		—XVI-30.
1 Tim. vi. 20.		—VI-4.
————		—II-31.
————		—XVI-33.
2 Tim. i. 9.		—XVI-31.
————		Ibidem.
————		IV-XVI-33.
————		Ibidem.
————		IV-XXXIX-5.
————		—XXV-10.
————		—XVI-30.
Hebrews i.		I-XVII-13.
————		IV-XVII-95.
————		—XIV-6.
————		I-XVII-15.
————		
————		
————		
————		
James ii. 10.		
————		
————		
————		
1 Peter i. 5.		
————		
————		
————		
2 Peter i. 20.		

1 John iii. 9.	{	IV-XV-19.
—— v. 16.		—XVI-33.
2 John 10, 11.		IV-XVI-33.
Jude 4.		—XXXIII-14.
Revelation xxii. 18, 19.		—XVII-95.
		—VI-4.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



E R R A T A.

Page	Page
3. l. 32. for " this writer of "	227. lowest line, for xi, r. 11.
r. <i>the writer on.</i>	243. l. 21. r. ασθερείν.
8. l. 13. for Simplicius, r. <i>Simplicius.</i>	280. l. 28. r. yield.
13. l. 4. for consent, r. <i>counsel.</i>	286. l. 17. r. <i>the Romish Church.</i>
14. l. 3 from bottom, dele <i>is.</i>	305. running title, r. Sect.
18. l. 23. r. Rom. viii. 13.	xxvii.
20. l. 25. for LIV, r. LXIV.	317. l. 14. for fort, r. <i>forts.</i>
21. l. 12. r. <i>quandam.</i>	322. l. 20 & 21. r. <i>supposition.</i>
26. l. 29. r. <i>foresee.</i>	327. l. 15. r. <i>Liege.</i>
27. l. 7. for taken, r. <i>crucified.</i>	345. l. 15. r. <i>the Bread.</i>
35. l. 20. before <i>will</i> insert <i>We.</i>	358. l. 26. r. and we <i>also</i> use.
37. l. 18. for <i>a such</i> , r. <i>such a.</i>	— l. 33. r. <i>Corollary.</i>
39. l. 20. for <i>knowledge</i> , r. <i>fore-knowledge.</i>	363. l. 30. r. <i>effects.</i>
51. l. 11. for <i>it</i> , r. <i>that it had not.</i>	373. l. 23. dele <i>and.</i>
59. l. 14. for object, r. <i>objects.</i>	422. l. 9. r. <i>information on.</i>
96. running title, for xx, r. <i>xxi.</i>	432. l. 13. for <i>him</i> and <i>his</i> , r. <i>them</i> and <i>their.</i>
113. l. 13. r. <i>to have.</i>	433. l. 32. for <i>It</i> , r. <i>Their</i> exclusion.
136. l. 27. dele <i>the.</i>	446. l. 32. for <i>privately</i> , r. <i>purposely.</i>
138. l. 13. for degree, r. <i>degrees.</i>	458. l. 4. for <i>Papist</i> , r. <i>Papists.</i>
146. l. 4. for <i>indirect</i> , r. <i>direct.</i>	465. l. 6 from bottom, for <i>these</i> times, r. <i>these</i> times.
181. l. 5 from bottom, r. <i>Sclavonians.</i>	497. l. 27. dele <i>a.</i>
199. l. 5. for <i>divided</i> , r. <i>decided.</i>	523. l. 19. r. <i>Zacchæus.</i>
213. l. 10. r. <i>Αζολθία.</i>	532. l. 3. for <i>a</i> , r. <i>the.</i>

Some names and words are spelt differently in different places, according to the authors from which they were taken, or the customs of different writers.

