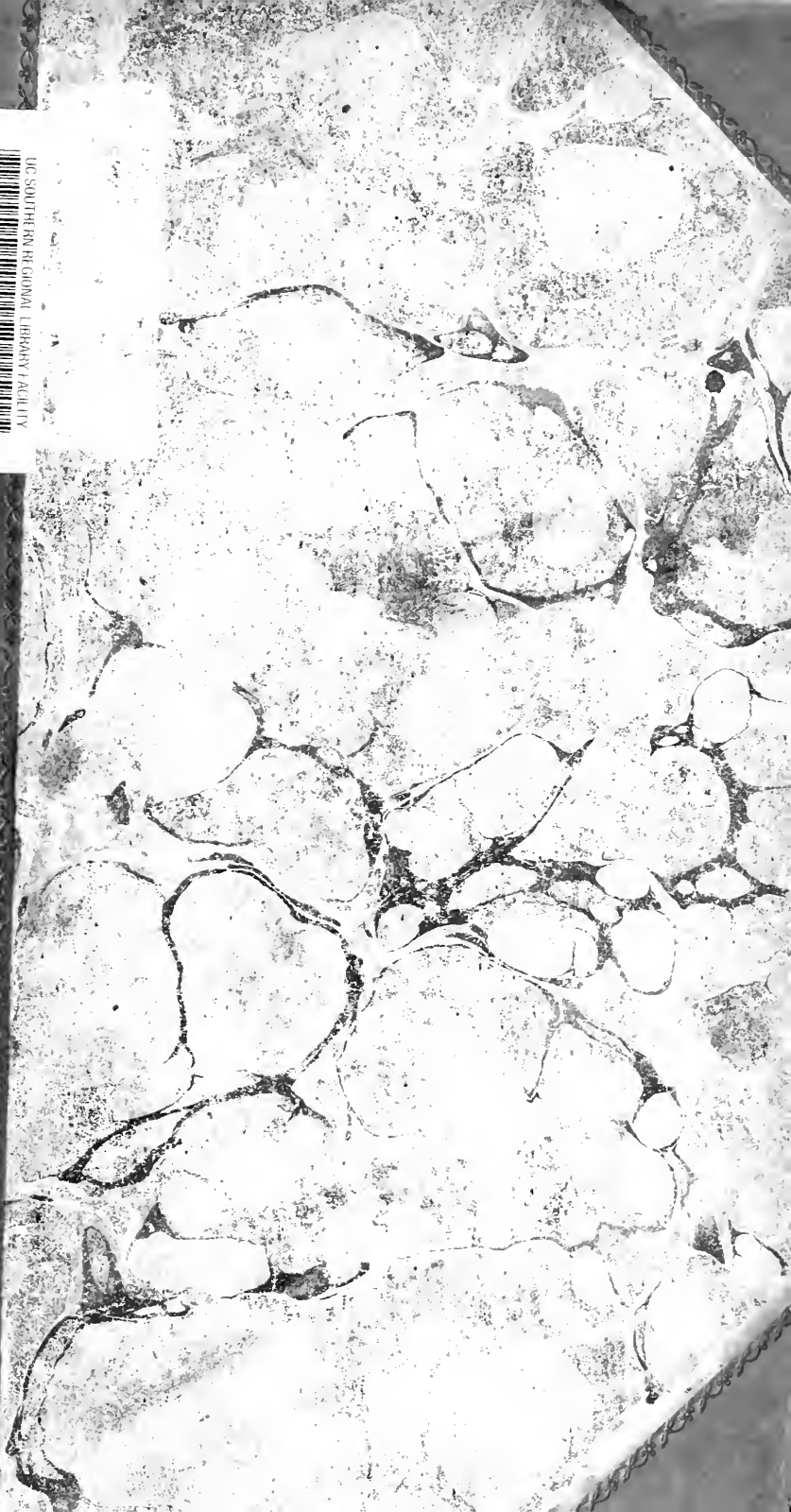


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THE CHURCH.

We return to the charge of the Bishop of Exeter, which, as we have already stated, enters at large into the merits of the Oxford tract writers.

EFFECTS OF THE WRITINGS OF THE TRACTARIANS.

“ The result of their unauthorised teaching has, upon the whole, I firmly believe, been highly useful, to not only of sacred learning, but also of true religion. Whatever may be the clamour with which they have been assailed, and while I think that in some important particulars they have erred in doctrine, and in others, both important and unimportant, they have been injudicious in their recommendations of matters of practice, and still more, perhaps, in the manner in which they have set forth their views both of doctrine and practice, still I do not scruple to repeat the avowal I made three years ago, of my own deep sense of the debt the Church owes to the authors of these tracts. The candid ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, whatever else he might say of these men, will speak of them as having largely contributed by their own energy, and by exciting the zeal and energies of others, to the revival of a spirit of inquiry into the doctrines of our primitive fathers—into the constitution of our Church, and generally into the principles of our Christian faith, which has spread with a degree of rapidity and usefulness to the cause of truth wholly unexampled since the days of Cranmer. But I will not enlarge on these topics. He whose station best entitled him to speak of those writers—their own venerable diocesan—has already anticipated me. My only object is to do an act of simple justice, at whatever hazard, of sharing in the obloquy which has been most unjustly heaped, not only upon the tract writers themselves, but upon many who, differing from them upon many important points, as I have declared myself to differ, do yet regard them with respect and gratitude, as good, pious, and able men, who have laboured most earnestly, and, on the whole, most beneficially, in the service of the Church of Christ.”

Wm. Rogers

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TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

REMARKS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE
THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

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Introduction.

IT is often urged, and sometimes felt and granted, that there are in the Articles propositions or terms inconsistent with the Catholic faith; or, at least, when persons do not go so far as to feel the objection as of force, they are perplexed how best to reply to it, or how most simply to explain the passages on which it is made to rest. The following Tract is drawn up with the view of showing how groundless the objection is, and further of approximating towards the argumentative answer to it, of which most men have an implicit apprehension, though they may have nothing more. That there are real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the Ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny; but the statements of the Articles are not in the number; and it may be right at the present moment to insist upon this. If in any quarter it is supposed that persons who profess to be disciples of the early Church will silently concur with those of very opposite sentiments in furthering a relaxation of subscriptions, which, it is imagined, are galling to both parties, though for different reasons, and that they will do this against the wish of the great body of the Church, the writer of the following pages would raise one voice, at least, in protest against any such anticipation. Even in such points as he may think the English Church deficient, never can he, without a great alteration of sentiment, be party to forcing the opinion or project of one school upon another. Religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little if they are the mere act of a majority¹. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt, a development

¹ This is not meant to hinder acts of Catholic consent, such as occurred anciently, when the Catholic body aids one portion of a particular Church against another portion.

of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself. Moreover, a change in theological teaching involves either the commission or the confession of sin; it is either the profession or renunciation of erroneous doctrine, and if it does not succeed in proving the fact of past guilt, it, *ipso facto*, implies present. In other words, every change in religion carries with it its own condemnation, which is not attended by deep repentance. Even supposing then that any changes in contemplation, whatever they were, were good in themselves, they would cease to be good to a Church, in which they were the fruits not of the quiet conviction of all, but of the agitation, or tyranny, or intrigue of a few; nurtured not in mutual love, but in strife and envying; perfected not in humiliation and grief, but in pride, elation, and triumph. Moreover it is a very serious truth, that persons and bodies who put themselves into a disadvantageous state, cannot at their pleasure extricate themselves from it. They are unworthy of it; they are in prison, and CHRIST is the keeper. There is but one way towards a real reformation,—a return to Him in heart and spirit, whose sacred truth they have betrayed; all other methods, however fair they may promise, will prove to be but shadows and failures.

On these grounds, were there no others, the present writer, for one, will be no party to the ordinary political methods by which professed reforms are carried or compassed in this day. We can do nothing well till we act “with one accord;” we can have no accord in action till we agree together in heart; we cannot agree without a supernatural influence; we cannot have a supernatural influence unless we pray for it; we cannot pray acceptably without repentance and confession. Our Church’s strength would be irresistible, humanly speaking, were it but at unity with itself: if it remains divided, part against part, we shall see the energy which was meant to subdue the world preying upon itself, according to our SAVIOUR’S express assurance, that such a house “cannot stand.” Till we feel this, till we seek one another as brethren, not lightly throwing aside our private opinions, which we seem to feel we have received from above, from an ill-regulated, untrue desire of unity, but returning to each other in heart, and coming

together to God to do for us what we cannot do for ourselves, no change can be for the better. Till her members are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains; let her submit to her imperfections as a punishment; let her go on teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed. We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under that body of death, which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them¹.

But these remarks are beyond our present scope, which is merely to show that, while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine. In entering upon the proposed examination, it is only necessary to add, that in several places the writer has found it convenient to express himself in language recently used, which he is willing altogether to make his own. He has distinguished the passages introduced by quotation marks.

¹ "We, thy sinful creatures," says the Service for King Charles the Martyr, "here assembled before Thee, do, in behalf of all the people of this land, humbly confess, that they were the *crying sins* of this nation, which brought down this judgment upon us," i. e. King Charles's murder.

§ 1.—*Holy Scripture and the Authority of the Church.*

Articles vi. & xx.—“ Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. The Church hath [power to decree (*statuendi*) rites and ceremonies, and] authority in controversies of faith ; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to [ordain (*instituere*) 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 (*decernere*) anything against the same, so] besides the same, ought it not to enforce (*obtrudere*) anything to be believed for necessity of salvation ¹.”

Two instruments of Christian teaching are spoken of in these Articles, Holy Scripture and the Church.

Here then we have to inquire, first, what is meant by Holy Scripture ; next, what is meant by the Church ; and then, what their respective offices are in teaching revealed truth, and how these are adjusted with one another in their actual exercise.

1. Now what the Church is, will be considered below in Section 4.

2. And the Books of Holy Scripture are enumerated in the latter part of the Article, so as to preclude question. Still two points deserve notice here.

First, the Scriptures or Canonical Books are said to be those “of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.” Here it is not meant that there never was any doubt in *portions* of the Church or *particular* Churches concerning certain books, which the Article includes in the Canon ; for some of them,—as, for

¹ The passages in brackets relate to rites and ceremonies which are not here in question.

instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse—have been the subject of much doubt in the West or East, as the case may be. But the Article asserts that there has been no doubt about them in the Church Catholic; that is, at the very first time that the Catholic or whole Church had the opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject, it pronounced in favour of the Canonical Books. The Epistle to the Hebrews was doubted by the West, and the Apocalypse by the East, only while those portions of the Church investigated separately from each other, only till they compared notes, interchanged sentiments, and formed a united judgment. The phrase must mean this, because, from the nature of the case, it can mean nothing else.

And next, be it observed, that the books which are commonly called Apocrypha, are not asserted in this Article to be destitute of inspiration or to be simply human, but to be not canonical; in other words, to differ from Canonical Scripture, specially in this respect, *viz.* that they are not adducible in proof of doctrine. “The other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to *establish any doctrine.*” That this is the limit to which our disparagement of them extends, is plain, not only because the Article mentions nothing beyond it, but also from the reverential manner in which the Homilies speak of them, as shall be incidentally shown in Section 11. The compatibility of such reverence with such disparagement is also shown from the feeling towards them of St. Jerome, who is quoted in the Article, and by St. Augustine, not to mention other Fathers, both of whom imply more or less their inferiority to Canonical Scripture, yet use them freely and continually, and speak of them as Scripture. St. Augustine says, that “those books which are received by *all the Churches*” (the very language of the Article,) “should be preferred to those which are not received by all, and should be accorded greater authority¹.” But books which are Canonical cannot have less authority than others; it follows, according to St. Augustine, that those books which are not received by all

¹ De Doctr. Christ. ii. 8.

the Churches, are not canonical. St. Jerome is more express and pertinent; for he distinctly names many of the books which he considers not canonical, and virtually names them all by naming what *are* canonical. For instance, he says, speaking of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, "As the Church reads Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, without receiving them among the Canonical Scriptures, so she reads these two books for the edification of the people, not for the confirmation of the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines." (*Præf. in Libr. Salom.*) Again, "The Wisdom, as it is commonly styled, of Solomon, and the book of Jesus son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, and the Shepherd, are not in the Canon." (*Præf. ad Reges.*) Such is the language of writers who nevertheless are, to say the least, not wanting in reverence to the books they thus disparage.

A further question may be asked, concerning our received version of the Scriptures, whether it is in any sense imposed on us as a true comment on the original text; as the Vulgate is upon the Roman Catholics. It would appear not. It was made and authorized by royal command, which cannot be supposed to have any claim upon our interior consent. At the same time every one who reads it in the Services of the Church, does, of course, thereby imply that he considers that it contains no deadly heresy or dangerous mistake. And about its simplicity, majesty, gravity, harmony, and venerableness, there can be but one opinion.

3. Next we come to the main point, the adjustment which this Article effects between the respective offices of the Scripture and Church; which seems to be as follows.

It is laid down that, 1. Scripture contains all necessary articles of the faith; 2. either in its text, or by inference; 3. The Church is the keeper of Scripture; 4. and a witness of it; 5. and has authority in controversies of faith; 6. but may not expound one passage of Scripture to contradict another; 7. nor enforce as an article of faith any point not contained in Scripture.

From this it appears, first, that the Church *expounds and enforces the faith*; for it is forbidden to expound in a particular way, or so to enforce as to obtrude; next, that it derives the faith

wholly from Scripture; thirdly, that its office is to educe an *harmonious interpretation* of Scripture. Thus much the Article settles.

Two important questions, however, it does not settle, viz. whether the Church judges, first, at her *sole discretion*, next, on her *sole responsibility*; i.e. first, what the *media* are by which the Church interprets Scripture, whether by a direct divine gift, or catholic tradition, or critical exegesis of the text, or in any other way; and next, who is to decide whether it interprets Scripture rightly or not;—what is her method, if any; and who is her judge, if any. In other words, not a word is said, on the one hand, in *favour* of Scripture, having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, *being the sole rule of faith*; nor on the other, of the *private judgment of the individual* being the ultimate standard of interpretation. So much has been said lately on both these points, and indeed on the whole subject of these two Articles, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them; but since it is often supposed to be almost a first principle of our Church, that Scripture is “the rule of faith,” it may be well, before passing on, to make an extract from a paper, published some years since, which shows, by instances from our divines, that the application of the phrase to Scripture is but of recent adoption. The other question, about the ultimate judge of the interpretation of Scripture, shall not be entered upon.

“We may dispense with the phrase ‘Rule of Faith,’ as applied to Scripture, on the ground of its being ambiguous; and, again, because it is then used in a novel sense; for the ancient Church made the Apostolic Tradition, as summed up in the Creed, and not the Bible, the *Regula Fidei*, or Rule. Moreover, its use as a technical phrase, seems to be of late introduction in the Church, that is, since the days of King William the Third. Our great divines use it without any fixed sense, sometimes for Scripture, sometimes for the whole and perfectly adjusted Christian doctrine, sometimes for the Creed; and, at the risk of being tedious, we will prove this, by quotations, that the point may be put beyond dispute.

“Ussher, after St. Austin, identifies it with the Creed;—when

speaking of the Article of our LORD'S Descent to Hell, he says,—

“ ‘It having here likewise been further manifested, what different opinions have been entertained by the ancient Doctors of the Church, concerning the determinate place wherein our Saviour's soul did remain during the time of the separation of it from the body, I leave it to be considered by the learned, whether any such controverted matter may fitly be brought in to *expound the Rule of Faith*, which, being common both to the great and small ones of the Church, must contain such varieties only as are generally agreed upon by the common consent of all true Christians.’—*Answer to a Jesuit*, p. 362.

“ Taylor speaks to the same purpose: ‘Let us see with what constancy that and the following ages of the Church did adhere to the Apostles' Creed, as the sufficient and perfect *Rule of Faith*.’—*Dissuasive*, part 2, i. 4, p. 470. Elsewhere he calls Scripture the Rule: ‘That the Scripture is a full and sufficient *Rule* to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the Will of GOD, is therefore certain, because we have no other.’—*Ibid.* part 2, i. 2, p. 384. Elsewhere, Scripture and the Creed: ‘He hath, by His wise Providence, preserved the plain places of Scripture and the Apostles' Creed, in all Churches, to be the *Rule* and Measure of Faith, by which all Churches are saved.’—*Ibid.* part 2, i. 1, p. 346. Elsewhere he identifies it with Scripture, the Creeds, and the first four Councils: ‘We also [after Scripture] do believe the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, with the additions of Constantinople, and that which is commonly called the symbol of St. Athanasius; and the four first General Councils are so entirely admitted by us, that they, together with the plain words of Scripture, are made the *Rule* and Measure of judging heresies among us.’—*Ibid.* part 1, i. p. 131.

“ Laud calls the Creed, or rather the Creed with Scripture, the Rule. ‘Since the Fathers make the Creed the *Rule of Faith*; since the agreeing sense of Scripture with those Articles are the *Two Regular Precepts*, by which a divine is governed about his faith,’ &c.—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 42.

“ Bramhall also: ‘The Scriptures and the Creed are not two different Rules of Faith, but *one and the same Rule, dilated in Scripture, contracted in the Creed*.’—*Works*, p. 402. Stilling-

fleet says the same (*Grounds*, i. 4. 3.); as does Thorndike (*De Rat. fin. Controv.* p. 144, &c.). Elsewhere, Stillingfleet calls Scripture the Rule (*Ibid.* i. 6. 2.); as does Jackson (vol. i. p. 226). But the most complete and decisive statement on the subject is contained in Field's work on the Church, from which shall follow a long extract.

“ ‘ It remained to show,’ he says, ‘ what is the Rule of that judgment whereby the Church discerneth between truth and falsehood, the faith and heresy, and to whom it properly pertaineth to interpret those things which, touching this Rule, are doubtful. The Rule of our Faith in general, whereby we know it to be true, is the infinite excellency of GOD. . . . It being pre-supposed in the generality that the doctrine of the Christian Faith is of GOD, and containeth nothing but heavenly truth, in the next place, we are to inquire by what Rule we are to judge of particular things contained within the compass of it.

“ ‘ This *Rule* is, 1. The summary comprehension of such principal articles of this divine knowledge, as are the principles whence all other things are concluded and inferred. These are contained in the *Creed of the Apostles*.

“ ‘ 2. All such things as every Christian is bound expressly to believe, by the light and direction whereof he judgeth of other things, which are not absolutely necessary so particularly to be known. These are rightly said to be the Rule of our Faith, because the principles of every science are the Rule whereby we judge of the truth of all things, as being better and more generally known than any other thing, and the cause of knowing them.

“ ‘ 3. The analogy, due proportion, and correspondence, that one thing in this divine knowledge hath with another, so that men cannot err in one of them without erring in another; nor rightly understand one, but they must likewise rightly conceive the rest.

“ ‘ 4. Whatsoever *Books* were delivered unto us, as written by them, to whom the first and immediate revelation of the divine truth was made.

“ ‘ 5. Whatsoever hath been delivered by all the saints with one consent, which have left their judgment and opinion in writing.

“ ‘ 6. Whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered, as a matter of faith, no one contradicting, though many other ecclesiastical writers be silent, and say nothing of it.

“ ‘ 7. That which the most, and most famous in every age, constantly delivered as a matter of faith, and as received of them that went before them, in such sort that the contradictors and gainsayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty, and division, and afterwards, in process of time, if they persisted in such contradiction, charged with heresy.

“ ‘ These three latter Rules of our Faith we admit, not because they are equal with the former, and originally in themselves contain the direction of our Faith, but because nothing can be delivered, with such and so full consent of the

people of GOD, as in them is expressed; but it must need be from those first authors and founders of our Christian profession. The Romanists add unto these the decrees of Councils and determinations of Popes, making these also to be the Rules of Faith; but because we have no proof of *their* infallibility, we number them not with the rest.

“ Thus we see how many things, in several degrees and sorts, are said to be Rules of our Faith. The infinite excellency of GOD, as that whereby the truth of the heavenly doctrine is proved. The Articles of Faith, and other verities ever expressly known in the Church as the first principles, are the Canon by which we judge of conclusions from thence inferred. The Scripture, as containing in it all that doctrine of Faith which CHRIST the SON of GOD delivered. The uniform practice and consenting judgment of them that went before us, as a certain and undoubted explication of the things contained in the Scripture. . . . So, then, *we do not make Scripture the Rule of our Faith, but that other things in their kind are Rules likewise; in such sort that it is not safe, without respect had unto them, to judge things by the Scripture alone,*’ &c.—iv. 14. pp. 364, 365.

“ These extracts show not only what the Anglican doctrine is, but, in particular, that the phrase ‘ Rule of Faith ’ is no symbolical expression with us, appropriated to some one sense; certainly not as a definition or attribute of Holy Scripture. And it is important to insist upon this, from the very great misconceptions to which the phrase gives rise. Perhaps its use had better be avoided altogether. In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith.”

§ 2.—*Justification by Faith only.*

Article xi.—“That we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine.”

The Homilies add that Faith is the sole *means*, the sole *instrument* of justification. Now, to show briefly what such statements imply, and what they do not.

1. They do *not* imply a denial of *Baptism* as a means and an instrument of justification; which the Homilies elsewhere affirm, as will be shown incidentally in a later section.

“The instrumental power of Faith cannot interfere with the instrumental power of Baptism; because Faith is the sole justifier, not in contrast to *all* means and agencies whatever, (for it is not surely in contrast to our LORD’S merits, or GOD’S mercy,) but to all other *graces*. When, then, Faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole *internal* instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind.

“There is nothing inconsistent, then, in Faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet Baptism also the sole instrument, and that at the same time, because in distinct senses; an inward instrument in no way interfering with an outward instrument, Baptism may be the hand of the giver, and Faith the hand of the receiver.”

Nor does the sole instrumentality of Faith interfere with the doctrine of *Works* being a mean also. And that it is a mean, the Homily of Alms-deeds declares in the strongest language, as will also be quoted in Section 11.

“An assent to the doctrine that Faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of Works justifying also. If, indeed, it were said that Works justify in *the same sense* as Faith only justifies, this would be a contradiction in terms; but Faith only may justify in one sense—Good Works in another:—and this is all that is here maintained. After all, does not CHRIST only justify? How is it that the doctrine of Faith justifying does not

interfere with our LORD's being the sole Justifier? It will, of course, be replied, that our LORD is the *meritorious cause*, and Faith the *means*; that Faith justifies in a different and subordinate sense. As, then, CHRIST justifies *in the sense* in which He justifies alone, yet Faith also justifies in its own sense; so Works, whether moral or ritual, may justify us in their own respective senses, though in the sense in which Faith justifies, it only justifies. The only question is, *What* is that sense in which Works justify, so as not to interfere with Faith only justifying? It may, indeed, turn out on inquiry, that the sense alleged will not hold, either as being unscriptural, or for any other reason; but, whether so or not, at any rate the apparent inconsistency of language should not startle persons; nor should they so promptly condemn those who, though they do not use *their* language, use St. James's. Indeed, is not this argument the very weapon of the Arians, in their warfare against the SON of GOD? They said, CHRIST is not GOD, because the FATHER is called the '*Only GOD.*' "

2. Next we have to inquire *in what sense* Faith only does justify. In a number of ways, of which here two only shall be mentioned.

First, it is the pleading or impetrating principle, or constitutes our *title* to justification; being analogous among the graces to Moses' lifting up his hands on the Mount, or the Israelites eyeing the Brazen Serpent,—actions which did not merit GOD's mercy, but *asked* for it. A number of means go to effect our justification. We are justified by CHRIST alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by Faith alone, in that Faith asks for it; by Baptism alone, for Baptism conveys it; and by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it.

And secondly, Faith, as being the beginning of perfect or justifying righteousness, is taken for what it tends towards, or ultimately will be. It is said by anticipation to be that which it promises; just as one might pay a labourer his hire before he began his work. Faith working by love is the seed of divine graces, which in due time will be brought forth and flourish—partly in this world, fully in the next.

§ 3.—*Works before and after Justification.*

Articles xii. & xiii.—“ Works done before the grace of CHRIST, and the inspiration of His SPIRIT, [‘ before justification,’ *title of the Article,*] are not pleasant to GOD (*minimè Deo grata sunt*); forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in JESUS CHRIST, neither do they make man meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity (*merentur gratiam de congruo*); yea, rather for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin. Albeit good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification (*justificatos sequuntur*), cannot put away (*expiare*) our sins, and endure the severity of GOD’s judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable (*grata et accepta*) to GOD in CHRIST, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith.”

Two sorts of works are here mentioned—works before justification, and works after; and they are most strongly contrasted with each other.

1. Works before justification, are done “before the grace of CHRIST, and the inspiration of His SPIRIT.”

2. Works before, “do not spring of Faith in JESUS CHRIST;” works after are “the fruits of Faith.”

3. Works before “have the nature of sin;” works after are “good works.”

4. Works before “are not pleasant (*grata*) to GOD;” works after “are pleasing and acceptable (*grata et accepta*) to GOD.”

Two propositions, mentioned in these Articles, remain, and deserve consideration: First, that works *before* justification do not make or dispose men to receive grace, or, as the school writers say, deserve grace of congruity; secondly, that works *after* “cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of GOD’s judgment.”

1. As to the former statement,—to deserve *de congruo*, or of congruity, is to move the Divine regard, not from any claim upon it, but from a certain fitness or suitableness; as, for instance, it might be said that dry wood had a certain disposition or fitness towards heat which green wood had not. Now, the Article denies that works done before the grace of CHRIST, or in a mere state of nature, in this way dispose towards grace, or move God to grant grace. And it asserts, with or without reason, (for it is a question of *historical fact*, which need not specially concern us,) that certain schoolmen maintained the affirmative.

Now, that this is what it means, is plain from the following passages of the Homilies, which in no respect have greater claims upon us than as comments upon the Articles:—

“Therefore they that teach repentance *without a lively faith* in our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, do teach none other but Judas’s repentance, as all the schoolmen do, which do *only* allow these three parts of repentance,—the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of the work. But all these things we find in Judas’s repentance, which, in outward appearance, did far exceed and pass the repentance of Peter. . . . This was commonly the penance which CHRIST enjoined sinners, ‘Go thy way, and sin no more;’ which penance we shall never be able to fulfil, *without the special grace* of Him that doth say, ‘Without Me, ye can do nothing.’”—*On Repentance*, p. 460.

To take a passage which is still more clear :

“As these examples are not brought in to the end that we should thereby take a boldness to sin, presuming on the mercy and goodness of GOD, but to the end that, if, through the frailness of our own flesh, and the temptation of the devil, we fall into the like sins, we should in no wise despair of the mercy and goodness of GOD: even so must we beware and take heed, that we do in no wise think in our hearts, imagine, or believe *that we are able to repent aright, or to turn effectually unto the LORD by our own might and strength.*”—*Ibid.*, part i. fin.

The Article contemplates these two states,—one of justifying grace, and one of the utter destitution of grace; and it says, that those who are in utter destitution cannot do anything to gain justification; and, indeed, to assert the contrary would be Pelagianism. However, there is an intermediate state, of which the Article says nothing, but which must not be forgotten, as

being an actually existing one. Men are not always either in light or in darkness, but are sometimes between the two ; they are sometimes not in a state of Christian justification, yet not utterly deserted by God, but in a state something like that of Jews or of Heathen, turning to the thought of religion. They are not gifted with *habitual* grace, but they still are visited by Divine influences, or by *actual* grace, or rather *aid* ; and these influences are the first-fruits of the grace of justification going before it, and are intended to lead on to it, and to be perfected in it, as twilight leads to day. And since it is a Scripture maxim, that “ he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much ;” and “ to whosoever hath, to him shall be given ;” therefore, it is quite true that works done *with* divine aid, and in faith, *before* justification, *do* dispose men to receive the grace of justification ;—such were Cornelius’s alms, fastings, and prayers, which led to his baptism. At the same time it must be borne in mind that, even in such cases, it is not the works themselves which make them meet, as some schoolmen seem to have said, but the secret aid of God, vouchsafed, equally with the “grace and Spirit,” which is the portion of the baptized, for the merits of CHRIST’s sacrifice.

2. If works *before* justification, when done by the influence of divine aid, gain grace, much more do works *after* justification. They are, according to the Article, “grata,” “pleasing to God ;” and they are accepted, “accepta ;” which means that God rewards them, and that of course according to their degree of excellence. At the same time, as works before justification may nevertheless be done under a divine influence, so works after justification are still liable to the infection of original sin ; and, as not being perfect, “cannot expiate our sins,” or “endure the severity of God’s judgment.”

§ 4.—*The Visible Church.*

Art. xix.—“The visible Church of CHRIST is a congregation of faithful men (*coetus fidelium*), 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.”

This is not an abstract definition of a Church, but a description of *the* actually existing One Holy Catholic Church diffused throughout the world; as if it were read, “The Church is a certain society of the faithful,” &c. This is evident from the mode of describing the Catholic Church familiar to all writers from the first ages down to the age of this Article. For instance, St. Clement of Alexandria says, “I mean by the Church, not a place, but the *congregation of the elect.*” Origen: “The Church, the *assembly of all the faithful.*” St. Ambrose: “*One congregation, one Church.*” St. Isidore: “The Church is a *congregation of saints*, collected on a certain faith, and the best conduct of life.” St. Augustin: “The Church is *the people of God* through all ages.” Again: “The Church is *the multitude* which is spread over the whole earth.” St. Cyril: “When we speak of the Church, we denote the most holy *multitude of the pious.*” Theodoret: “The Apostle calls the Church the *assembly of the faithful.*” Pope Gregory: “The Church, a *multitude of the faithful* collected of both sexes.” Bede: “The Church is the *congregation of all saints.*” Alcuin: “The Holy Catholic Church,—in Latin, the *congregation of the faithful.*” Amalarius: “The Church is *the people* called together by the Church’s ministers.” Pope Nicolas I.: “The Church, that is, the *congregation of Catholics.*” St. Bernard: “What is the Spouse, but *the congregation of the just?*” Peter the Venerable: “The Church is called a *congregation*, but not of all things, not of cattle, but *of men, faithful, good, just.* Though bad among these good, and just among the unjust, are revealed or concealed, yet it is called a Church.”

Hugo Victorinus : “ The Holy Church, that is, *the university of the faithful.*” Arnulphus : “ The Church is called *the congregation of the faithful.*” Albertus Magnus : “ The Greek word Church means in Latin convocation ; and whereas works and callings belong to rational animals, and reason in man is inward faith, therefore it is called *the congregation of the faithful.*” Durandus : “ The Church is in one sense material, in which divers offices are celebrated ; in another spiritual, which is the *collection of the faithful.*” Alvarus : “ The Church is the *multitude of the faithful*, or the university of Christians.” Pope Pius II. : “ The Church is the *multitude of the faithful* dispersed through all nations.” Estius, Chancellor of Douay : “ There is a controversy between Catholics and heretics as to what the word Church means. John Huss, and the heretics of our day who follow him, define the Church to be the university of the predestinate ; Catholics define it to be the *society of those who are joined to each other by a right faith and the sacraments*¹.”

These illustrations of the phraseology of the Article may be multiplied in any number. And they plainly show that it is not laying down any logical definition *what* a Church is, but is describing, and, as it were, pointing to the Catholic Church diffused throughout the world ; which, being but one, cannot possibly be mistaken, and requires no other account of it beyond this single and majestic one. The ministration of the Word and Sacraments is mentioned as a further note of it. As to the question of its limits, whether Episcopal Succession or whether intercommunion with the whole be necessary to each part of it,—these are questions, most important indeed, but of detail, and are not treated of in the Articles.

This view is further illustrated by the following passage from the Homily for Whitsunday :—

“ Our Saviour CHRIST departing out of the world unto His FATHER, promised His Disciples to send down another COMFORTER, that should continue with them for ever, and direct them into all truth. Which thing, to be faithfully and truly performed, the Scriptures do sufficiently bear witness. Neither must we

¹ These instances are from Launoy.

think that this COMFORTER was either promised, or else given, only to the Apostles, but also to the *universal Church of CHRIST, dispersed through the whole world*. For, unless the HOLY GHOST had been always present, governing and preserving the Church from the beginning, it could never have suffered so many and great brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage and harm as it hath. And the words of CHRIST are most plain in this behalf, saying, that 'the SPIRIT of Truth should abide with them for ever;' that 'He would be with them always (He meaneth by grace, virtue, and power) even to the world's end.'

"Also in the prayer that He made to His FATHER a little before His death, He maketh intercession, not only for Himself and His Apostles, but indifferently for all them that should *believe* in Him through their words, that is, to wit, for His whole Church. Again, St. Paul saith, 'If any man have not the SPIRIT of CHRIST, the same is not His.' Also, in the words following: 'We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' Hereby, then, it is evident and plain to all men, that the HOLY GHOST was given, not only to the Apostles, but also to the *whole body of CHRIST's congregation*, although not in like form and majesty as He came down at the feast of Pentecost. But now herein standeth the controversy,—whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the HOLY GHOST, or no. The Bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge thereto, reasoning with themselves after this sort: 'The HOLY GHOST,' say they, 'was promised to the Church, and never forsaketh the Church. But we are the chief heads and the principal part of the Church, therefore we have the HOLY GHOST for ever: and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities and oracles of the HOLY GHOST.' That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you, first, what the true Church of CHRIST is, and then to confer the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together. The true Church is an *universal congregation or fellowship of GOD's faithful and elect people*, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the head corner-stone. And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to CHRIST's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of GOD, and also to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith. Now, if you will compare this with the Church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd; you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the Church, that nothing can be more."

This passage is quoted, not for all it contains, but in that respect in which it claims attention, viz. as far as it is an illustration of the Article. It is speaking of the one Catholic Church, not

of an abstract idea of a Church which may be multiplied indefinitely in fact ; and it uses the same terms of it which the Article does of "the visible Church." It says that "the true Church is an *universal* congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people," &c., which as closely corresponds to the *cœtus fidelium*, or "congregation of faithful men" of the Article, as the above descriptions from Fathers or Divines do. Therefore, the *cœtus fidelium* spoken of in the Article is not a definition, which kirk, or connexion, or other communion may be made to fall under, but the enunciation of a fact.

§ 5.—*General Councils.*

Article xxi.—“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, in things pertaining to GOD.”

That great bodies of men, of different countries, may not meet together without the sanction of their rulers, is plain from the principles of civil obedience and from primitive practice. That, when met together, though Christians, they will not be all ruled by the SPIRIT or Word of GOD, is plain from our LORD'S parable of the net, and from melancholy experience. That bodies of men, deficient in this respect, may err, is a self-evident truth,—*unless*, indeed, they be favoured with some divine superintendence, which has to be proved, before it can be admitted.

General councils then may err, *unless* in any case it is promised, as a matter of express supernatural privilege, that they shall *not* err; a case which lies beyond the scope of this Article, or at any rate beside its determination.

Such a promise, however, *does* exist, in cases when general councils are not only gathered together according to “the commandment and will of princes,” but *in the Name of CHRIST*, according to our LORD'S promise. The Article merely contemplates the human prince, not the King of Saints. While councils are a thing of earth, their infallibility of course is not guaranteed; when they are a thing of heaven, their deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative. In such cases they are *Catholic* councils; and it would seem, from passages which will be quoted in Section 11, that the Homilies recognize four, or even six, as bearing this character. Thus Catholic or Œcumenical Councils are general councils, and something more. Some general councils are Catholic, and others are not. Nay, as even Romanists grant, the same councils may be partly Catholic, partly not.

If Catholicity be thus a *quality*, found at times in general councils, rather than the *differentia* belonging to a certain class of them, it is still less surprising that the Article should be silent about it.

What those *conditions* are, which fulfil the notion of a gathering "in the Name of CHRIST," in the case of a particular council, it is not necessary here to determine. Some have included among these conditions, the subsequent reception of its decrees by the universal Church; others a ratification by the pope.

Another of these conditions, however, the Article goes on to mention, *viz.* that in points necessary to salvation, a council should prove its decrees by Scripture.

St. Gregory Nazianzen well illustrates the consistency of this Article with a belief in the infallibility of Œcumenical Councils, by his own language on the subject on different occasions.

In the following passage he anticipates the Article:—

"My mind is, if I must write the truth, to keep clear of every conference of bishops, for of conference never saw I good come, or a remedy so much as an increase of evils. For there is strife and ambition, and these have the upper hand of reason."—Ep. 55.

Yet, on the other hand, he speaks elsewhere of "the Holy Council in Nicæa, and that band of chosen men whom the HOLY GHOST brought together."—Orat. 21.

§ 6.—*Purgatory, Pardons, Images, Relics, Invocation of Saints.*

Article xxii.—“The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons (*de indulgentiis*), worshipping (*de veneratione*) and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing (*res est inutilis*) vainly (*inaniter*) invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant (*contradicit*) to the Word of God.”

Now the first remark that occurs on perusing this Article is, that the doctrine objected to is “the *Romish* doctrine.” For instance, no one would suppose that the *Calvinistic* doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, and image-worship, is spoken against. Not every doctrine on these matters is a fond thing, but the *Romish* doctrine. Accordingly, the *Primitive* doctrine is not condemned in it, unless, indeed, the *Primitive* doctrine be the *Romish*, which must not be supposed. Now there *was* a primitive doctrine on all these points,—how far Catholic or universal, is a further question,—but still so widely received and so respectably supported, that it may well be entertained as a matter of opinion by a theologian now; this, then, whatever be its merits, is not condemned by this Article.

This is clear without proof on the face of the matter, at least as regards pardons. Of course, the Article never meant to make light of *every* doctrine about pardons, but a certain doctrine, the *Romish* doctrine.

And a verification of such an understanding of the Article is afforded us in some sentences in the Homily on Peril of Idolatry, in which, as far as regards relics, a *certain* “veneration” is sanctioned by its tone in speaking of them, though not of course the *Romish* veneration.

The sentences referred to run as follows :—

“In the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, the Ninth Book, and Forty-eighth Chapter, is testified, that ‘Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles: and that after his death, devils, *being expelled at his grave or tomb*, did roar.’ Thus you

see what authority St. Jerome (who has just been mentioned) and that most ancient history give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius."

Again:—

"St. Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor, saith, 'Helena found the Cross, and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely (for that is an heathenish error and the vanity of the wicked) but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and whose Name was written on the title,' and so forth. See both the godly empress's fact, and St. Ambrose's judgment at once; they thought it had been an heathenish error, and vanity of the wicked, *to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our SAVIOUR CHRIST'S own precious blood.*"—*Peril of Idolatry*, part 2, *circ. init.*

In these passages the writer does not positively commit himself to the miracles at Epiphanius's tomb, or the invention of the true Cross, but he evidently wishes the hearer to think he believes in both. This he would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong.

If, then, in the judgment of the Homilies, not all doctrine concerning veneration of relics is condemned in the Article before us, but a certain toleration of them is compatible with its wording; neither is all doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, images, and saints, condemned by the Article, but only "the Romish."

And further by "the Romish doctrine," is not meant the Tridentine doctrine, because this Article was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. What is opposed is the *received doctrine* of the day, and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrine of the *Roman schools*; a conclusion which is still more clear, by considering that there are portions in the Tridentine doctrine on these subjects, which the Article, far from condemning, by anticipation approves, as far as they go. For instance, the Decree of Trent enjoins concerning purgatory thus:—"Among the uneducated vulgar let *difficult and subtle questions*, which make not for edification, and seldom contribute aught towards piety, be kept back from popular discourses. Neither let them suffer the public mention and treatment of *uncertain points*, or such as *look like falsehood.*" Session 25. Again, about images: "Due honour and veneration is to be paid unto them, *not that we believe that any divinity or virtue is in them*, for

which they should be worshipped (colendæ) or that *we should ask any thing* of them, or that trust should be reposed in images, as formerly was done by the Gentiles, which used to place their hope on idols."—*Ibid.*

If, then, the doctrine condemned in this Article concerning purgatory, pardons, images, relics, and saints, be not the Primitive doctrine, nor the Catholic doctrine, nor the Tridentine doctrine, but the Romish, *doctrina Romanensium*, let us next consider *what* in matter of fact it is. And

1. As to the doctrine of the Romanists concerning Purgatory.

Now here there *was* a primitive doctrine, whatever its merits, concerning the fire of judgment, which is a possible or a probable opinion, and is *not* condemned. That doctrine is this: that the conflagration of the world, or the flames which attend the Judge, will be an ordeal through which all men will pass; that great saints, such as St. Mary, will pass it unharmed; that others will suffer loss; but none will fail under it who are built upon the right foundation. Here is one "doctrine concerning purgatory" not "Romish."

Another doctrine, purgatorian, but not Romish, is that said to be maintained by the Greeks at Florence, in which the cleansing, though a punishment, was but a *pœna damni*, not a *pœna sensûs*; not a positive sensible infliction, much less the torment of fire, but the absence of God's presence. And another purgatory is that in which the cleansing is but a progressive sanctification, and has no pain at all.

None of these doctrines does the Article condemn; any of them may be held by the Anglo-Catholic as a matter of private belief; not that they are here advocated, one or other, but they are adduced as an *illustration* of what the Article does *not* mean, and to vindicate our Christian liberty in a matter where the Church has not confined it.

On the other hand, what the doctrine is which is reprobated, is plain, from the following passage of the Homilies:—

"Now doth St. Augustine say, that those men which are cast into prison after this life, on that condition, may in no wise be holpen, though we would help them never so much. And why? Because the *sentence* of God is

unchangeable, and cannot be *revoked again*. Therefore let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help others, or others may help us, by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, 'When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth, there it lieth : ' meaning thereby, that every mortal man *dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation*, according as the words of the Evangelist John do plainly import, saying, 'He that believeth on the SON of GOD hath eternal life; but he that believeth not on the SON, shall never see life, but the wrath of GOD abideth upon him,'—where is then the third place, which they call purgatory? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? St. Augustine doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all Scripture. Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that, unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward. And St. Cyprian saith, that, after death, repentance and sorrow of pain shall be without fruit, weeping also shall be in vain, and prayer shall be to no purpose. Therefore he counselleth all men to make provision for themselves while they may, because, when they are once departed out of this life, there is no place for *repentance*, nor yet for satisfaction."—*Homily concerning Prayer*, pp. 282, 283.

Now it is plain, from this passage, that the Purgatory contemplated by the Homily, was one for which no one will for an instant pretend to adduce even those Fathers who most favour Rome, *viz. one in which our state would be changed*, in which God's sentence could be reversed. "The *sentence of God*," says the writer, "is *unchangeable*, and cannot be revoked again; there is no place for *repentance*." On the other hand, the Council of Trent, and Augustin and Cyprian, so far as they express or imply any opinion approximating to that of the Council, held Purgatory to be a place for *believers*, not unbelievers, not where men who have lived and *died in God's wrath*, may gain pardon, but where those who have *already* been pardoned in this life, may be cleansed and purified for beholding the face of God. The Homily, then, and therefore the Article, does not speak of the Tridentine purgatory.

The mention of Prayers for the dead in the above passage, affords an additional illustration of the limited and conditional sense of the terms of the Article now under consideration. For such prayers are obviously not condemned in it in the abstract,

or in every shape, but *as offered to rescue the lost from eternal fire.*

Such doctrine, too, as the following may well be included in that which the Article condemns under the name of "Romish." The passage to be quoted has already appeared in these Tracts.

"In the 'Speculum Exemplorum' it is said, that a certain priest, in an ecstasy, saw the soul of Constantius Turritanus in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. But Bishop Theobald, standing upon a piece of ice to cool his feet, was nearer purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it, when he heard a poor soul telling him, that under that ice he was tormented; and that he should be delivered, if for thirty days continual, he would say for him thirty masses. And some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udalric in a pool of water; for the place of purgatory was not yet resolved on, till St. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him, which when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there, as ever Virgil dreamed of in his purgatory, or Cicero in his dream of Scipio, or Plato in his Gorgias, or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove purgatory. But because to preach false stories was forbidden by the Council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of St. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain, (and he had great reason surely) that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands, by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of St. Damianus, being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother, that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in purgatory.

"We do not think that the wise men in the Church of Rome believe these narratives; for if they did, they were not wise; but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it, and having served their turn of them, the master builders used them as false arches and centries, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority."
—*Jer. Taylor, Works*, vol. x. pp. 151, 152.

Another specimen of doctrine, which no one will attempt to prove from Scripture, is the following:—

"Eastwardly, between two walls, was a vast place of purgatory fixed, and beyond it a pond to rinse souls in that had waded through purgatory, the water being salt and cold beyond comparison. Over this purgatory St. Nicholas was the owner.

"There was a mighty bridge, all beset with nails and spikes, and leading to the mount of joy; on which mount was a stately church, seemingly capable to

contain all the inhabitants of the world, and into which the souls were no sooner entered, but that they forgot all their former torments.

“Returning to the first Church, there they found St. Michael the Archangel and the Apostles Peter and Paul. St. Michael caused all the white souls to pass through the flames, unharmed, to the mount of joy ; and those that had black and white spots, St. Peter led into purgatory to be purified.

“In one part sate St. Paul, and the devil opposite to him with his guards, with a pair of scales between them, weighing all such souls as were all over black ; when upon turning a soul, the scale turned towards St. Paul, he sent it to purgatory, there to expiate its sins ; when towards the devil, his crew, with great triumph, plunged it into the flaming pit. . . .

“The rustic likewise saw near the entrance of the town-hall, as it were, four streets ; the first was full of innumerable furnaces and cauldrons filled with flaming pitch and other liquids, and boiling of souls, whose heads were like those of black fishes in the seething liquor. The second had its cauldrons stored with snow and ice, to torment souls with horrid cold. The third had thereof boiling sulphur and other materials, affording the worst of stinks, for the vexing of souls that had wallowed in the filth of lust. The fourth had cauldrons of a most horrid salt and black water. Now sinners of all sorts were alternately tormented in these cauldrons.”—*Purgatory proved by Miracle*, by S. Johnson, pp. 8—10.

2. Pardons, or Indulgences.

The history of the rise of the Reformation will interpret “the Romish doctrine concerning pardons,” without going further. Burnet thus speaks on the subject.

“In the primitive church there were very severe rules made, obliging all that had sinned publicly (and they were afterwards applied to such as had sinned secretly) to continue for many years in a state of separation from the Sacrament, and of penance and discipline. But because all such general rules admit of a great variety of circumstances, taken from men’s sins, their persons, and their repentance, there was a power given to all Bishops, by the Council of Nice, to shorten the time, and to relax the severity of those Canons, and such favour as they saw cause to grant, was called *indulgence*. This was just and necessary, and was a provision without which no constitution or society can be well governed. But after the tenth century, as the Popes came to take this power in the whole extent of it into their own hands, so they found it too feeble to carry on the great designs that they grafted upon it.

“They gave it high names, and called it a plenary remission, and the pardon of all sins : which the world was taught to look on as a thing of a much higher nature, than the bare excusing of men from discipline and penance. Purgatory was then got to be firmly believed, and all men were strangely possessed with the terror of it : so a deliverance from purgatory, and by consequence an immediate admission into heaven, was believed to be the certain effect of it. Multi-

tudes were, by these means, engaged to go to the Holy Land, to recover it out of the hands of the Saracens: afterwards they armed vast numbers against the heretics, to extirpate them: they fought also all those quarrels, which their ambitious pretensions engaged them in, with emperors and other princes, by the same pay; and at last *they set it to sale* with the same impudence, and almost with the same methods, that mountebanks use in venting of their secrets.

“ This was so gross, even in an ignorant age, and among the ruder sort, that it gave the first rise to the Reformation: and as the progress of it was a very signal work of GOD, so it was in a great measure owing to the scandals that *this shameless practice* had given the world.”—*Burnet on Article XIV.* p. 190.

Again:—

“ The virtue of indulgences is the applying the treasure of the Church upon *such terms* as Popes shall think fit to prescribe, in order to the redeeming souls from purgatory, and from all other temporal punishments, and that for such a number of years as shall be specified in the bulls; some of which have gone to thousands of years; one I have seen to ten hundred thousand: and as these indulgences are sometimes granted by special tickets, like tallies struck on that treasure; so sometimes they are affixed to particular churches and altars, to particular times, or days, chiefly to the year of jubilee; they are also affixed to such things as may be carried about, to Agnus Dei's, to medals, to rosaries, and scapularies; they are also affixed to some prayers, the devout saying of them being a mean to procure great indulgences. The granting these is left to the Pope's discretion, who ought to distribute them as he thinks may tend most to the honour of God and the good of the Church; and he ought not to be too profuse, much less to be too scanty in dispensing them.

“ This has been the received doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome since the twelfth century; and the Council of Trent, in a hurry, in its last session, did, *in very general words*, approve of the practice of the Church in this matter, and decreed that indulgences should be continued; only *they restrained some abuses*, in particular that of *selling* them.”—*Burnet on Article XXII.* p. 305.

Burnet goes on to maintain that the act of the Council was incomplete and evaded. If it be necessary to say more on the subject, let us attend to the following passage from Jeremy Taylor:—

“ I might have instanced in worse matters, made by the Popes of Rome to be pious works, the condition of obtaining indulgences. Such as was the bull of Pope Julius the Second, giving indulgence to him that meeting a Frenchman should kill him, and another for the killing of a Venetian. . . . I desire this only instance may be added to it, that Pope Paul the Third, he that convened the Council of Trent, and Julius the Third, for fear, as I may suppose,

the Council should forbid any more such follies, for a farewell to this game, gave an indulgence to the fraternity of the Sacrament of the Altar, or of the Blessed Body of Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, of such a vastness and unreasonable folly, that it puts us beyond the question of religion, to an inquiry, whether it were not done either in perfect distraction, or, with a worse design, to make religion to be ridiculous, and to expose it to a contempt and scorn. The conditions of the indulgence are, either to visit the Church of St. Hilary of Chartres, to say a 'Pater Noster' and an 'Ave Mary' every Friday, or, at most, to be present at processions and other divine service upon 'Corpus Christi day.' The gift is—as many privileges, indults, exemptions, liberties, immunities, plenary pardons of sins, and other spiritual graces, as were given to the fraternity of the Image of our SAVIOUR 'ad Sancta Sanctorum;' the fraternity of the charity and great hospital of St. James in Augusta, of St. John Baptist, of St. Cosmas and Damianus; of the Florentine nation; of the hospital of the HOLY GHOST in Saxia; of the order of St. Austin and St. Champ; of the fraternities of the said city; of the churches of our Lady 'de populo et verbo;" and all those that were ever given to them that visited these churches, or those which should ever be given hereafter—a pretty large gift! In which there were so many pardons, quarter-pardons, half-pardons, true pardons, plenary pardons, quarantines, and years of quarantines; that it is a harder thing to number them, than to purchase them. I shall remark in these some particulars to be considered.

" 1. That a most scandalous and unchristian dissolution and death of all ecclesiastical discipline, is consequent to the making all sin so cheap and trivial a thing; that the horrible demerits and exemplary punishment and remotion of scandal and satisfactions to the Church, are indeed reduced to trifling and mock penances. He that shall send a servant with a candle to attend the holy Sacrament, when it shall be carried to sick people, or shall go himself; or, if he can neither go nor send, if he say a 'Pater Noster' and an 'Ave,' he shall have a hundred years of true pardon. This is fair and easy. But then,

" 2. It would be considered what is meant by so many years of pardon, and so many years of true pardon. I know but of one natural interpretation of it; and that it can mean nothing, but that some of the pardons are but fantastical, and not true; and in this I find no fault, save only that it ought to have been said, that all of them are fantastical.

" 3. It were fit we learned how to compute four thousand and eight hundred years of quarantines, and a remission of a third part of all their sins; for so much is given to every brother and sister of this fraternity, upon Easter-day, and eight days after. Now if a brother needs not thus many, it would be considered whether it did not encourage a brother or a frail sister to use all their medicine, and sin more freely, lest so great a gift become useless.

" 4. And this is so much the more considerable because the gift is vast beyond all imagination. The first four days in Lent they may purchase thirty-

three thousand years of pardon, besides a plenary remission of all their sins over and above. The first week of Lent a hundred and three-and-thirty thousand years of pardon, besides five plenary remissions of all their sins, and two third parts besides, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The second week in Lent a hundred and eight-and-fifty thousand years of pardon, besides the remission of all their sins, and a third part besides; and the delivery of one soul. The third week in Lent, eighty thousand years, besides a plenary remission, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The fourth week in Lent, threescore thousand years of pardon, besides a remission of two-thirds of all their sins, and one plenary remission, and one soul delivered. The fifth week, seventy-nine thousand years of pardon, and the deliverance of two souls; only the two thousand seven hundred years that are given for the Sunday, may be had twice that day, if they will visit the altar twice, and as many quarantines. The sixth week, two hundred and five thousand years, besides quarantines, and four plenary pardons. Only on Palm Sunday, whose portion is twenty-five thousand years, it may be had twice that day. And all this is the price of him that shall, upon these days, visit the altar in the church of St. Hilary. And this runs on to the Fridays, and many festivals, and other solemn days in the other parts of the year."—*Jer. Taylor*, vol. xi. p. 53—56.

The pardons then, spoken of in the Article, are large and reckless indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money payments.

3. Veneration and worshipping of Images and Relics.

That the Homilies do not altogether discard reverence towards relics, has already been shown. Now let us see what they do discard.

“What meaneth it that Christian men, after the use of the Gentiles idolaters, *cap and kneel* before images? which, if they had any sense and gratitude, would kneel before men, carpenters, masons, plasterers, founders, and goldsmiths, their makers and framers, by whose means they have attained this honour, which else should have been evil-favoured, and rude lumps of clay or plaster, pieces of timber, stone, or metal, without shapè or fashion, and so without all estimation and honour, as that idol in the Pagan poet confesseth, saying, ‘I was once a vile block, but now I am become a god,’ &c. What a fond thing is it for man, who hath life and reason, to bow himself to a dead and insensible image, the work of his own hand! Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, which is forbidden so earnestly by God’s word? Let such as so fall down before images of saints, know and confess that they exhibit that honour to dead stocks and stones, which the saints themselves, Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, would not to be given to them, being alive; which the angel of God forbiddeth to be given to him. And if they say they exhibit such honour not to the image, but to the saint whom it representeth, they are convicted of folly,

to believe that they please saints with that honour, which they abhor as a spoil of God's honour."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 191.

Again :

" Thus far Lactantius, and much more, too long here to write, of *candle-lighting* in temples *before images and idols* for religion ; whereby appeareth both the foolishness thereof, and also that in opinion and act we do agree altogether in our candle-religion with the Gentiles idolaters. What meaneth it that they, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, *burn incense, offer up gold* to images, *hang up crutches*, chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of wax, before images, as though by them, or saints (as they say) they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck ? Is not this ' *colere imagines*, ' to worship images, so earnestly forbidden in God's word ? If they deny it, let them read the eleventh chapter of Daniel the Prophet, who saith of Antichrist, ' He shall worship God, whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and with precious stones, and other things of pleasure : ' in which place the Latin word is *colet*." " To increase this madness, wicked men, which have the keeping of such images, for their great lucre and advantage, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, have reported and spread abroad, as well by *lying tales* as written fables, divers miracles of images : as that such an image miraculously was sent from heaven, even like the Palladium, or Magna Diana Ephesiorum. Such another was as miraculously found in the earth, as the man's head was in the Capitol, or the horse's head in Capua. Such an image was brought by angels. Such an one came itself far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Such an image of our Lady was painted by St. Luke, whom of a physician they have made a painter for that purpose. Such an one an hundred yokes of oxen could not move, like Bona Dea, whom the ship could not carry ; or Jupiter Olympius, which laughed the artificers to scorn, that went about to remove him to Rome. Some images, though they were hard and stony, yet, for tender heart and pity, wept. Some, like Castor and Pollux, helping their friends in battle, sweat, as marble pillars do in dankish weather. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's ass, who had life and breath in him. Such a cripple came and saluted this saint of oak, and by and by he was made whole ; and, lo ! here hangeth his crutch. Such an one in a tempest vowed to St. Christopher, and 'scaped ; and behold, here is a ship of wax. Such an one, by St. Leonard's help, brake out of prison, and see where his fetters hang." " The Relics we must kiss and *offer unto*, specially on Relic Sunday. And while we offer, (that we should not be weary, or repent us of our cost,) the *music* and *minstrelsy* goeth merrily all the offeratory time, with praising and calling upon those saints, whose relics be then in presence. Yea, and the water also, wherein those relics have been dipped, must with great reverence be reserved, as very holy and effectuous." " Because Relics were so gainful, few places were there but they had Relics provided for them. And for more *plenty* of Relics, some one saint had many heads, one in one place, and another in another place. Some had six arms,

and twenty-six fingers. And where our LORD bare His cross alone, if all the pieces of the relics thereof were gathered together, the greatest ship in England would scarcely bear them; and yet the greatest part of it, they say, doth yet remain in the hands of the Infidels; for the which they pray in their beads-bidding, that they may get it also into their hands, for such godly use and purpose. And not only the bones of the saints, but every thing appertaining to them, was a holy relic. In some place they offer a sword, in some the scabbard, in some a shoe, in some a saddle that had been set upon some holy horse, in some the coals wherewith St. Laurence was roasted, in some place the tail of the ass which our LORD JESUS CHRIST sat on, to be *kissed and offered unto* for a relic. For rather than they would lack a relic, they would offer you a *horse bone instead of a virgin's arm*, or the tail of the ass to be kissed and offered unto for relics. O wicked, impudent, and most shameless men, the devisers of these things! O silly, foolish, and dastardly daws, and more beastly than the ass whose tail they kissed, that believe such things!" "Of these things already rehearsed, it is evident that our image-maintainers have not only made images, and set them up in temples, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols; but also that they have had the same idolatrous opinions of the saints, to whom they have made images, which the Gentiles idolaters had of their false gods; and have not only *worshipped* their images with the same rites, ceremonies, superstition, and all circumstances, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols, but in many points also have far exceeded them in all wickedness, foolishness, and madness."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 193—197.

It will be observed that in this extract, as elsewhere in the Homilies, it is implied that the Bishop of the Church of Rome is Antichrist; but this is a statement bearing on prophetic interpretation, not on doctrine; and one besides which cannot be reasonably brought to illustrate or explain any of the positions of the Articles; and therefore it may be suitably passed over.

In another place the Homilies speak as follows :

"Our churches stand full of such great puppets, *wondrously decked and adorned*; garlands and coronets be set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks; their fingers shine with rings, set with precious stones; their dead and stiff bodies are clothed with garments stiff with gold. You would believe that the images of our men-saints were some princes of Persia land with their proud apparel; and the idols of our women-saints were *nice and well-trimmed harlots, tempting their paramours to wantonness*: whereby the saints of GOD are not honoured, but most dishonoured, and their godliness, soberness, chastity, contempt of riches, and of the vanity of the world, defaced and brought in doubt by such *monstrous decking*, most differing from their sober and godly lives. And because the whole pageant must throughly be played,

it is not enough thus to deck idols, but at last come in the priests themselves, likewise decked with gold and pearl, that they may be meet servants for such lords and ladies, and fit worshippers of such gods and goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these *golden puppets*, and *fall down* to the ground on their marrow-bones before these honourable idols; and then rising up again, *offer up odours and incense* unto them, to give the people an example of double idolatry, by worshipping not only the idol, but the gold also, and riches, wherewith it is garnished. Which thing, the most part of our old Martyrs, rather than they would do, or once *kneel*, or *offer up* one crumb of *incense* before an image, suffered most cruel and terrible deaths, as the histories of them at large do declare." "O books and scriptures, in the which the devilish schoolmaster, Satan, hath penned the lewd lessons of wicked idolatry, for his dastardly disciples and scholars to behold, read, and learn, to GOD'S most high dishonour, and their most horrible damnation! Have we not been much bound, think you, to those which should have taught us the truth out of GOD'S Book and his Holy Scripture, that they have shut up that Book and Scripture from us, and none of us so bold as once to open it, or read in it? And instead thereof, to spread us abroad these goodly, carved, and gilded books and painted scriptures, to teach us such good and godly lessons? Have not they done well, after they ceased to stand in pulpits themselves, and to teach the people committed to their instruction, keeping silence of GOD'S word, and become dumb dogs, (as the Prophet calleth them,) to set up in their stead, on every pillar and corner of the church, such goodly doctors, as dumb, but more wicked than themselves be? We need not to complain of the lack of one dumb parson, having so many dumb devilish vicars (I mean these idols and painted puppets) to teach in their stead. Now in the mean season, whilst the dumb and dead idols stand thus *decked and clothed*, contrary to GOD'S law and commandment, the poor Christian people, the lively images of GOD, commended to us so tenderly by our SAVIOUR CHRIST, as most dear to Him, stand naked, shivering for cold, and their teeth chattering in their heads, and no man covereth them, are pined with hunger and thirst, and no man giveth them a penny to refresh them; whereas pounds be ready at all times (contrary to GOD'S word and will) to *deck and trim* dead stocks and stones, which neither feel cold, hunger, nor thirst."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 219—222.

Again, with a covert allusion to the abuses of the day, the Homilist says elsewhere, of Scripture,

"There shall you read of Baal, Moloch, Chamos, Melchom, Baalpeor, Astaroth, Bel, the Dragon, Priapus, the brazen Serpent, the twelve Signs, and many others, unto whose images the people, with great devotion, invented *pilgrimages*, *precious decking* and *ceusing* them, *kneeling down* and *offering* to them, thinking that an high merit before GOD, and to be esteemed above the precepts and commandments of GOD."—*Homily on Good Works*, p. 42.

Again, soon after :

“ What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto GOD, doth not see and lament to have entered into CHRIST’S religion, such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of GOD’S holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart ? Never had the Jews, in their most blindness, so many *pilgrimages* unto images, nor used so much *kneeling, kissing, and censing* of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late years they have been among us : which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of religion, as most ungodly and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people ; keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance, ready to be sold ; and all things which they had were called holy—holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, holy beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar’s coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence ; or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, *in hope thereby to be saved* ? Which superstition, although (thanks be to GOD) it hath been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms it hath been, and yet is, used among many, both learned and unlearned.”—*Homily on Good Works*, pp. 45, 46.

Now the veneration and worship condemned in these and other passages are such as these : kneeling before images, lighting candles to them, offering them incense, going on pilgrimage to them, hanging up crutches, &c. before them, lying tales about them, belief in miracles as if wrought by them through illusion of the devil, decking them up immodestly, and providing incentives by them to bad passions ; and, in like manner, merry music and minstrelsy, and licentious practices in honour of relics, counterfeit relics, multiplication of them, absurd pretences about them. This is what the Article means by “ the Romish doctrine,” which, in agreement to one of the above extracts, it calls “ a fond thing,” *res futilis* ; for who can ever hope, except the grossest and most blinded minds, to be gaining the favour of the blessed saints, while they come with unchaste thoughts and eyes, that cannot

cease from sin ; and to be profited by "pilgrimage-going," in which "Lady Venus and her son Cupid were rather worshipped wantonly in the flesh, than GOD the FATHER, and our SAVIOUR CHRIST His SON, truly worshipped in the SPIRIT?"

Here again it is remarkable that, urged by the truth of the allegation, the Council of Trent is obliged, both to confess the above-mentioned enormities in the veneration of relics and images, and to forbid them :

"Into these holy and salutary observances should any abuses creep, of these the Holy Council strongly [vehementer] desires the utter extinction ; so that no images of a false doctrine, and supplying to the uninstructed opportunity of perilous error, should be set up. . . . All superstition also in invocation of saints, veneration of relics, and sacred use of images, be put away ; all *filthy lucre* be cast out of doors ; and all *wantonness* be avoided ; so that images be not painted or adorned with an *inmodest beauty* ; or the celebration of Saints and attendance on Relics be abused to *revelries and drunkennesses* ; as though festival days were kept in honour of saints by *luxury and lasciviousness.*"—*Sess. 25.*

4. Invocation of Saints.

By "invocation" here is not meant the mere circumstance of addressing beings out of sight, because we use the Psalms in our daily service, which are frequent in invocations of Angels to praise and bless God. In the Benedicite too we address "the spirits and souls of the righteous," and in the Benedictus, St. John Baptist.

Nor is it a "fond" invocation to pray that unseen beings may bless us ; for this Bishop Andrews does in his Morning Prayer, supplicating that "the Angel of peace, a faithful guide, may go before us, ever suggesting what is salutary." Indeed it is not unnatural, if "the seven Angels before the throne" have sent us, through St. John the Evangelist, "grace and peace," that we, in turn, should send up our thoughts and desires to them.

On the other hand, judging from the example set us in the Homilies themselves, invocations are not censurable, and certainly not "fond," if we mean nothing definite by them, addressing them to beings which we *know* cannot hear, and using them as interjections. The Homilist seems to avail himself of this proviso in a passage, which will serve to begin our extracts in illustration of the *superstitious* use of invocations.

“ We have left Him neither heaven, nor earth, nor water, nor country, nor city, peace nor war to rule and govern, neither men, nor beasts, nor their diseases to cure; that a godly man might justly, for zealous indignation, cry out, *O heaven, O earth, and seas*¹, what madness and wickedness against GOD are men fallen into! What dishonour do the creatures to their CREATOR and MAKER! And if we remember GOD sometimes, yet, because we doubt of His ability or will to help, we join to Him another helper, as if He were a noun adjective, using these sayings: such as learn, GOD and St. Nicholas be my speed: such as neese, GOD help and St. John: to the horse, GOD and St. Loy save thee. Thus are we become like horses and mules, which have no understanding. For is there not one GOD only, who by His power and wisdom made all things, and by His providence governeth the same, and by His goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all things of Him, by Him, and through Him? Why dost thou *turn from the CREATOR to the creatures*? This is the manner of the Gentiles idolaters: but thou art a Christian, and therefore by CHRIST alone hast access to GOD the FATHER, and help of Him only.”—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 189.

Again, just before—

“ Terentius Varro sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time: there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ: we had no fewer Christophers, Ladies, and Mary Magdalens, and other saints. Cœnomaus and Hesiodus shew, that in their time there were thirty thousand gods. I think we had no fewer saints, to whom we gave the honour due to GOD. And they have not only spoiled the true living GOD of his due honour in temples, cities, countries, and lands, by such devices and inventions as the Gentiles idolaters have done before them: but the sea and waters have as well special saints with them, as they had gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other; in whose places become St. Christopher, St. Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing, ‘Ave, maris stella.’ Neither hath the fire escaped their idolatrous inventions. For, instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles’ gods of the fire, our men have placed St. Agatha, and make litters on her day for to quench fire with. Every artificer and profession hath his special saint, as a peculiar god. As for example, scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory; painters, St. Luke; neither lack soldiers their Mars, nor lovers their Venus, amongst Christians. All diseases have their special saints, as gods the curers of them; the falling-evil St. Cornelio, the tooth-ache St. Apollin, &c. Neither do beasts nor cattle lack their gods with us; for St. Loy is the horse-leech, and St. Anthony the swine-herd.”—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

The same subject is introduced in connexion with a lament

¹ O cœlum, o terra, o maria Neptuni. *Terent. Adelph.* v. 3.

over the falling off of attendance on religious worship consequent upon the Reformation :

“God’s vengeance hath been and is daily provoked, because much wicked people pass nothing to resort to the Church, either for that they are so sore blinded, that they understand nothing of GOD and godliness, and care not with devilish example to offend their neighbours; or else for that they see the Church altogether scoured of such *gay gazing sights*, as their gross fantasy was greatly delighted with, because they see the false religion abandoned, and the true restored, which seemeth an unsavoury thing to their unsavoury taste; as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, ‘Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the *goodly sights* we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like *piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs*, that we could before?’ But, dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give GOD thanks, that our churches are delivered of all those things which displeased GOD so sore, and *filthily defiled* his house and his place of prayer, for the which he hath justly destroyed many nations, according to the saying of St. Paul: ‘If any man defile the temple of GOD, GOD will him destroy.’ And this ought we greatly to praise GOD for, that *superstitious and idolatrous* manners as were utterly naught, and defaced GOD’s glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved: and yet those things that either GOD was honoured with, or his people edified, are decently retained, and in our churches comely practised.”—*On the Place and Time of Prayer*, pp. 293, 294.

Again :

“There are certain conditions most requisite to be found in every such a one that must be called upon, which if they be not found in Him unto whom we pray, then doth our prayer avail us nothing, but is altogether in vain.

“The first is this, that He, to whom we make our prayers, be able to help us. The second is, that He will help us. The third is, that He be such a one as may hear our prayers. The fourth is, that He understand better than ourselves what we lack, and how far we have need of help. If these things be to be found in any other, saving only GOD, then may we lawfully call upon some other besides GOD. But what man is so gross, but he well understandeth that these things are only proper to Him who is omnipotent, and knoweth all things, even the very secrets of the heart; that is to say, only and to GOD alone? Whereof it followeth that we must call neither upon angel, nor yet upon saint, but only and solely upon GOD, as St. Paul doth write: ‘How shall men call upon Him, in whom they have not believed?’ So that *invocation or prayer* may not be made without faith in Him on whom they call; but that we must first *believe* in Him before we can make our prayer unto Him, whereupon

we must only and solely pray unto GOD. For to say that we should *believe* in either angel or saint, or in any other living creature, were *most horrible blasphemy* against GOD and his holy word; neither ought this fancy to enter into the heart of any Christian man, because we are expressly taught in the word of the LORD only to repose our faith in the blessed TRINITY, in whose only name we are also baptized, according to the express commandment of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, in the last of St. Matthew.

“But that the truth hereof may better appear, even to them that be most simple and unlearned, let us consider what prayer is. St. Augustine calleth it a lifting up of the mind to GOD; that is to say, an humble and lowly pouring out of the heart to GOD. Isidorus saith, that it is an affection of the heart, and not a labour of the lips. So that, by these plans, true prayer doth consist not so much in the outward sound and voice of words, as in the inward groaning and crying of the heart to GOD.

“Now, then, is there any angel, any virgin, any patriarch, or prophet, among the dead, that can understand or know the meaning of the heart? The Scripture saith, ‘it is GOD that searcheth the heart and reins, and that He only knoweth the hearts of the children of men.’ As for the saints, they have so little knowledge of the secrets of the heart, that many of the ancient fathers greatly doubt whether they know any thing at all, that is commonly done on earth. And albeit some think they do, yet St. Augustine, a doctor of great authority, and also antiquity, hath this opinion of them; that they know no more what we do on earth, than we know what they do in heaven. For proof whereof, he allegeth the words of Isaiah the prophet, where it is said, ‘Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not.’ His mind therefore is this, not that we should put any religion in *worshipping* them, or *praying* unto them; but that we should honour them by following their virtuous and godly life. For, as he witnesseth in another place, the martyrs, and holy men in time past, were wont, after their death, to be *remembered* and *named* of the priest at divine service; but never to be *invoked* or *called upon*. And why so? Because the priest, saith he, is GOD’s priest, and not theirs: whereby he is bound to call upon GOD, and not upon them. O but I dare not (will some man say) trouble GOD at all times with my prayers: we see that in king’s houses, and courts of princes, men cannot be admitted, unless they first use the help and means of some special nobleman, to come to the speech of the king, and to obtain the thing that they would have.

“CHRIST, sitting in heaven, hath an everlasting priesthood, and always prayeth to His FATHER for them that be penitent, obtaining, by virtue of His wounds, which are evermore in the sight of GOD, not only perfect remission of our sins, but also all other necessities that we lack in this world; so that this Holy Mediator is sufficient in heaven, and needeth no others to help Him.

“Invocation is a thing *proper* unto GOD, which if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth unto their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our

hands. When Paul healed a certain lame man, which was impotent in his feet, at Lystra, the people would have *done sacrifice* unto him and Barnabas; who, rending their clothes, refused it, and exhorted them to *worship* the true GOD. Likewise in the Revelation, when St. John *fell before the angel's feet to worship him*, the angel would not permit him to do it, but commanded him that he should worship GOD. Which examples declare unto us, that the saints and angels in heaven will not have us to do *any honour* unto them, *that is due and proper unto GOD.*—*Homily on Prayer*, p. 272—277.

Whereas, then, it has already been shown that not *all* invocation is wrong, this last passage plainly tells us *what kind* of invocation is not allowable, or what is meant by invocation in its exceptionable sense: viz. “a thing proper to GOD,” as being part of the “honour that is due and proper unto GOD.” And two instances are specially given of such calling and invocating, viz., *sacrificing*, and *falling down in worship*. Besides this, the Homilist adds, that it is wrong to pray to them for “necessaries in this world,” and to accompany their services with “piping, singing, chanting, and playing” on the organ, and of invoking saints as patrons of particular elements, countries, arts, or remedies.

Here again, as before, the Article gains a witness and concurrence from the Council of Trent. “Though,” say the divines there assembled, “the Church has been accustomed sometimes to celebrate a few masses to the honour and remembrance of saints, yet she *doth not teach that sacrifice is offered to them*, but to GOD alone, who crowned them; wherefore neither is the priest wont to say, *I offer sacrifice to thee, O Peter, or O Paul*, but to GOD.” (Sess. 22.)

Or, to know what is meant by fond invocations, we may refer to the following passage of Bishop Andrews' answer to Cardinal Perron:—

“This one point is needful to be observed throughout all the Cardinal's answer, that he hath framed to himself five distinctions:—(1.) Prayer *direct*, and prayer *oblique*, or indirect. (2.) Prayer *absolute*, and prayer *relative*. (3.) Prayer *sovereign*, and prayer *subaltern*. (4.) Prayer *final*, and prayer *transitory*. (5.) Prayer *sacrificial*, and prayer *out of, or from the sacrifice*. Prayer *direct, absolute, final, sovereign, sacrificial*, that must not be made to the saints, but to GOD only: but as for *prayer oblique, relative, transitory, subaltern, from, or out of the sacrifice*, that (saith he) we may make to the saints.

“For all the world, like the question in Scotland, which was made some fifty years since, whether the *Pater noster* might not be said to *saints*. For then they in like sort devised the distinction of—(1.) *Ultimate, et non ultimate*. (2.) *Principaliter, et minus principaliter*. (3.) *Primarie et secundarie: Capiendo stricte et capiendo large*. And, as for *ultimate, principaliter, primarie et capiendo stricte*, they concluded it must go to God: but *non ultimate, minus principaliter, secundarie, et capiendo large*, it might be allowed *saints*.

“Yet it is sure, that in these distinctions is the whole substance of his answer. And whensoever he is pressed, he flees straight to his *prayer relative*, and *prayer transitory*; as if *prier pour prier*, were all the Church of Rome did hold; and that they made no prayers to the saints, but only to pray for them. The Bishop well remembers, that Master Casaubon more than once told him, that reasoning with the Cardinal, touching the invocation of saints, the Cardinal freely confessed to him *that he had never prayed to saint in all his life, save only when he happened to follow the procession*; and that then he sung *Ora pro nobis* with the clerks indeed, *but else not*.

“Which cometh much to this opinion he now seemeth to defend: but wherein *others* of the Church of Rome will surely give him over, so that it is to be feared that the Cardinal will be shent for this, and *some censure come out against him* by the Sorbonne. For the world cannot believe that *oblique relative* prayer is all that is sought; seeing it is most evident, by their breviaries, hours, and rosaries, that they pray *directly, absolutely, and finally to saints*, and make no mention at all of *prier pour prier*, to pray to GOD to forgive them; but to the saints, to give it themselves. So that all he saith comes to nothing. They say to the blessed Virgin, ‘*Sancta Maria,*’ not only ‘*Ora pro nobis:*’ but ‘*Succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, resolve flebiles, accipe quod offerimus, dona quod rogamus, excusa quod timemus,*’ &c. &c. . . .

“All which, and many more, shew plainly that the *practice* of the Church of Rome, in this point of invocation of saints, is far otherwise than Cardinal Perron would bear the world in hand: and that *prier pour prier*, is not all, but that ‘*Tu dona cœlum, Tu laxa, Tu sana, Tu solve crimina, Tu duc, conduc, induc, perduc ad gloriam; Tu serva, Tu fer opem, Tu aufer, Tu confer vitam,*’ are said to them (*totidem verbis*): *more than which cannot be said to GOD himself*. And again, ‘*Hic nos solvat à peccatis, Hic nostros tergat reatus, Hic arma conferat, Hic hostem fuget, Hæc gubernet, Hic aptet tuo conspectui,*’ which if they be not *direct* and *absolute*, it would be asked of them, what is *absolute* or *direct*?”—*Bishop Andrews’ Answer to Chapter XX. of Cardinal Perron’s Reply*, p. 57—62.

Bellarmino’s admissions quite bear out the principles laid down by Bishop Andrews and the Homilist:—

“It is not lawful,” he says, “to ask of the saints to grant to us, as if they were the *authors* of divine benefits, glory or grace, or the other means of bless-

edness. This is proved, first, from Scripture, 'The LORD will give grace and glory.' (Psal. lxxxiv.) Secondly, from the usage of the Church; for in the mass-prayers, and the saints' offices, we never ask any thing else, but that at their prayers, benefits may be granted to us by GOD. Thirdly, from reason: for *what we need surpasses the powers of the creature*, and therefore even of saints; therefore we ought to ask nothing of saints beyond their impetrating from GOD what is profitable for us. Fourthly, from Augustine and Theodoret, who expressly teach that saints are not to be invoked *as gods*, but as able to gain from GOD what they wish. However, it must be observed, when we say, that nothing should be asked of saints but their prayers for us, the question is not about the words, but the *sense* of the words. For, as far as words go, *it is lawful* to say: 'St. Peter, pity me, save me, open for me the gate of heaven;' also, 'give me health of body, patience, fortitude,' &c., provided that we mean 'save and pity me *by praying for me*;' 'grant me this or that *by thy prayers and merits*.' For so speaks Gregory Nazianzen, and many others of the ancients, &c."—*De Sanct. Beat.* i. 17.

§ 7.—*The Sacraments.*

Art. xxv.—“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 (*pravâ imitatione*) of the Apostles, partly from states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of sacraments, (*sacramentorum eandem rationem*), with Baptism and the LORD’s Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.”

This Article does not deny the five rites in question to be sacraments, but to be sacraments in *the sense* in which Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are sacraments; “sacraments of *the Gospel*,” sacraments *with an outward sign ordained of God*.

They are not sacraments in *any sense*, unless the Church has the power of dispensing grace through rites of its own appointing, or is endued with the gift of blessing and hallowing the “rites or ceremonies” which, according to the twentieth article, it “hath power to decree.” But we may well believe that the Church has this gift.

If, then, a sacrament be merely *an outward sign of an invisible grace given under it*, the five rites may be sacraments; but if it must be an outward sign *ordained by God or CHRIST*, then only Baptism and the LORD’s Supper are sacraments.

Our Church acknowledges both definitions;—in the article before us, *the stricter*; and again in the Catechism, where a sacrament is defined to be “an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, given unto us, *ordained by CHRIST himself*.” And this, it should be remarked, is a characteristic of our formularies in various places, not to deny the *truth* or *obligation* of certain doctrines or ordinances, but simply to deny, (what no Roman opponent now can successfully maintain,) that CHRIST

for certain directly ordained them. For instance, in regard to the visible Church it is sufficient that the ministration of the sacraments should be "*according to CHRIST's ordinance.*" Art. xix.—And it is added, "in all those things that *of necessity* are requisite to the same." The question entertained is, what is *the least* that GOD requires of us. Again, "the baptism of young children is to be retained, as most agreeable to *the institution of CHRIST.*" Art. xxvii.—Again, "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by CHRIST's *ordinance* reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." Art. xxviii.—Who will maintain the paradox that what the Apostles "set in order when they came" had been already done by CHRIST? Again, "both parts of the LORD's sacrament, *by CHRIST's ordinance and commandment*, ought to be administered to all Christian men alike." Art. xxx.—Again, "bishops, priests, and deacons, *are not commanded by God's law* either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage." Art. xxxii.

On the other hand, our Church takes the *wider* sense of the meaning of the word sacrament in the Homilies; observing—

"In the second Book against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets, he [St. Augustin] calleth sacraments *holy signs*. And writing to Bonifacius of the baptism of infants, he saith, 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, they should be no sacraments at all. And of this similitude they do for the most parts receive the names of the self-same things they signify.' By these words of St. Augustine it appeareth, that he alloweth the common description of a sacrament, which is, that it is a *visible sign of an invisible grace*; that is to say, that setteth out to the eyes and other outward senses the inward working of God's free mercy, and doth, as it were, seal in our hearts the promises of God."—*Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments*, pp. 296, 297.

Accordingly, starting with this definition of St. Augustine's, the writer is necessarily carried on as follows:—

"You shall hear how many sacraments there be, that were instituted by our SAVIOUR CHRIST, and are to be continued, and received of every Christian in due time and order, and for such purpose as our SAVIOUR CHRIST willed them to be received. And as for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the *exact* signification of a sacrament, namely, for visible signs expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in CHRIST,

there be but two; namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the LORD. For although absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin; yet by the *express* word of the New Testament, it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not *expressly* commanded in the New Testament to be used in absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the LORD's Supper are: and therefore absolution is no *such* sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign and promise; yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other sacraments besides the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any *other* sacrament else, be *such* sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acception, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments, *in the same signification* that the two forenamed sacraments are. And therefore St. Augustine, weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing to Januarius, and also in the third Book of Christian Doctrine, affirmeth, that the sacraments of the Christians, as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number, and in both places maketh mention expressly of two, the sacrament of Baptism, and the Supper of the LORD. And although there are retained by order of the Church of England, besides these two, certain other rites and ceremonies, about the institution of ministers in the Church, Matrimony, Confirmation of Children, by examining them of their knowledge in the Articles of the Faith, and joining thereto the prayers of the Church for them, and likewise for the Visitation of the Sick; yet no man ought to take these for sacraments, in *such* signification and meaning as the sacraments of Baptism and the LORD's Supper are: but either for godly states of life, necessary in Christ's Church, and therefore worthy to be set forth by public action and solemnity, by the ministry of the Church, or else judged to be such ordinances as may make for the instruction, comfort, and edification of CHRIST's Church." —*Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments*, pp. 298—300.

Another definition of the word sacrament, which equally succeeds in limiting it to the two principal rites of the Christian Church, is also contained in the Catechism, as well as alluded to in the above passage:—"Two only, as *generally necessary* to salvation, Baptism and the Supper of the LORD." On this subject the following remark has been made:—

"The Roman Catholic considers that there are seven [sacra-

ments]; we do not strictly determine the number. We define the word generally to be an 'outward sign of an inward grace,' without saying to how many ordinances this applies. However, what we do determine is, that CHRIST has ordained two special sacraments, as *generally necessary to salvation*. This, then, is the characteristic mark of those two, separating them from all other whatever; and this is nothing else but saying in other words that they are the only *justifying* rites, or instruments of communicating the Atonement, which is the one thing necessary to us. Ordination, for instance, gives *power*, yet without making the soul *acceptable* to God; Confirmation gives *light and strength*, yet is the mere *completion* of Baptism; and Absolution may be viewed as a negative ordinance removing the *barrier* which sin has raised between us and that grace, which by inheritance is ours. But the two sacraments 'of the Gospel,' as they may be emphatically styled, are the instruments of inward *life*, according to our LORD's declaration, that Baptism is a new *birth*, and that in the Eucharist we eat the *living* bread."

§ 8.—*Transubstantiation.*

Article xxviii.—“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.”

What is here opposed as “Transubstantiation,” is the shocking doctrine that “the body of CHRIST,” as the Article goes on to express it, is *not* “given, taken, and eaten, after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the teeth;” that It is a body or substance of a certain extension and bulk in space, and a certain figure and due disposition of parts, whereas we hold that the only substance such, is the bread which we see.

This is plain from Article xxix., which quotes St. Augustine as speaking of the wicked as “carnally and visibly pressing with their teeth the *sacrament* of the body and blood of CHRIST,” not the real substance, a statement which even the Breviary introduces into the service for Corpus Christi day.

This is plain also from the words of the Homily:—“Saith Cyprian, ‘When we do these things, *we need not nhet our teeth*, but with sincere faith we break and divide that holy bread. It is well known that the meat we seek in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of the soul, a heavenly refection, *and not earthly*; an invisible meat, *and not a bodily*: a ghostly substance, *and not carnal.*’”

Some extracts may be quoted to the same effect from Bishop Taylor. Speaking of what has been believed in the Church of Rome, he says:—

“Sometimes CHRIST hath appeared in His own shape, and blood and flesh hath been pulled out of the mouths of the communicants: and Plegilus, the priest, saw an angel, showing CHRIST to him in form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took in his arms and kissed, but did eat him up presently in his other shape, in the shape of a wafer. ‘Speciosa certè pax nebulonis, ut qui

oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium,' said Berengarius: 'It was but a Judas' kiss to kiss with the lip, and bite with the teeth.'—*Bp. Taylor*, vol. x., p. 12.

Again:—

"Yet if this and the other miracles pretended, had not been illusions or directly fabulous, it had made very much against the present doctrine of the Roman Church; for they represent the body in such measure, as by their explanations it is not, and it cannot be: they represent it broken, a finger, or a piece of flesh, or bloody, or bleeding, or in the form of an infant; and then, when it is in the species of bread: for if, as they say, CHRIST'S body is present no longer than the form of bread remained, how can it be CHRIST'S body in the miracle, when the species being gone, it is no longer a sacrament? But the dull inventors of miracles in those ages considered nothing of this; the article itself was then gross and rude, and so were the instruments of probation. I noted this, not only to show at what door so incredible a persuasion entered, but that the zeal of prevailing in it hath so blinded the refiners of it in this age, that they still urge these miracles for proof, when, if they do any thing at all, they reprove the present doctrine."—*Bp. Taylor's Works*, vol. ix. p. ccccx.

Again: the change which is denied in the Article is accurately specified in another passage of the same author:—

"I will not insist upon the unworthy questions which this carnal doctrine introduces . . . neither will I make scrutiny concerning CHRIST'S bones, hair, and nails; nor suppose the Roman priests to be such *καρχαρόδοντες*, and to have such 'saws in their mouths:' these are appendages of their persuasion, but to be abominated by all Christian and modest persons, who use to eat not the bodies but the flesh of beasts, and not to devour, but to worship the body of Christ in the exaltation, and now in union with His divinity."—*On the Real Presence*, 11.

And again:—

"They that deny the spiritual sense, and affirm the natural, are to remember that CHRIST reprov'd all senses of these words that were not spiritual. And by the way let me observe, that the expressions of some chief men among the Romanists are so rude and crass, that it will be impossible to excuse them from the understanding the words in the sense of the men of Capernaum; for, as they understood CHRIST to mean His 'true flesh natural and proper,' so do they: as they thought CHRIST intended they should *tear Him with their teeth and suck His blood*, for which they were offended; so do these men not only think so, but say so, and are not offended. So said Alanus, 'Assertissime loquimur, corpus Christi vere a nobis contractari, manducari, circumgestari, *dentibus teri* [*ground by the teeth*], *sensibiliter sacrificari* [*sensibly sacrificed*], non minus

quam ante consecrationem panis,' [not less than the bread before consecration] . . . I thought that the Romanists had been glad to separate their own opinion from the carnal conceit of the men of Capernaum and the offended disciples . . . but I find that Bellarmine owns it, even in them, in their rude circumstances, for he affirms that 'CHRIST corrected them *not for supposing so*, but reproved them *for not believing it to be so*.' And indeed himself says as much: 'The body of CHRIST is *truly and properly manducated or chewed* with the body in the Eucharist;' and to take off the foulness of the expression, by avoiding a worse, he is pleased to speak nonsense: 'A thing may be manducated or chewed, though it be not attrite or broken.' . . . But Bellarmine adds, that if you will not allow him to say so, then he grants it in plain terms, that CHRIST's body is chewed, *is attrite, or broken with the teeth*, and that not tropically, *but properly*. . . How? under the species of bread, and invisibly.'—*Ibid.* 3.

Take again the statement of Ussher:—

"Paschasius Radbertus, who was one of the first setters forward of this doctrine in the West, spendeth a large chapter upon this point, wherein he telleth us, that CHRIST in the sacrament did show himself 'oftentimes in a visible shape, either in the form of a lamb, or in the colour of flesh and blood; so that while the host was a breaking or an offering, a lamb in the priest's hands, and blood in the chalice should be seen as it were flowing from the sacrifice, that what lay hid in a mystery might to them that yet doubted be made manifest in a miracle.' . . . The first [tale] was . . . of a Roman matron, who found a piece of the sacramental bread turned into the fashion of a finger, all bloody; which afterwards, upon the prayers of St. Gregory, was converted to its former shape again. The other two were first coined by the Grecian liars. . . . The former of these is not only related there, but also in the legend of Simeon Metaphrastes (which is such another author among the Grecians as Jacobus de Voragine was among the Latins) in the life of Arsenius, . . . how that a little child was seen upon the altar, and an angel cutting him into small pieces with a knife, and receiving his blood into the chalice, as long as the priest was breaking the bread into little parts. The latter is of a certain Jew, receiving the sacrament at St. Basil's hands, converted visibly into true flesh and blood."—*Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit*, pp. 62—64.

Or the following:—

"When St. Odo was celebrating the mass in the presence of certain of the clergy of Canterbury, (who maintained that the bread and wine, after consecration, do remain in their former substance, and are not CHRIST's true body and blood, but of a figure of it:) when he was come to confection, presently the fragments of the body of CHRIST which he held in his hands, began to pour forth blood into the chalice. Whereupon he shed tears of joy; and beckoning to them that wavered in their faith, to come near and see the

wonderful work of GOD; as soon as they beheld it they cried out, 'O holy Prelate! to whom the SON of GOD has been pleased to reveal himself visibly in the flesh, pray for us, that the blood we see here present to our eyes, may again be changed, lest for our unbelief the Divine vengeance fall upon us.' He prayed accordingly; after which, looking in the chalice, he saw the species of bread and wine, where he had left blood. . . .

"St. Wittekundus, in the administration of the Eucharist, saw a child enter into every one's mouth, playing and smiling when some received him, and with an abhorring countenance when he went into the mouths of others; CHRIST thus showing this saint in His countenance, who were worthy, and who unworthy receivers."—*Johnson's Miracles of Saints*, pp. 27, 28.

The same doctrine was imposed by Nicholas the Second on Berengarius, as the confession of the latter shows, which runs thus:—

"I, Berengarius . . . anathematize every heresy, and more particularly that of which I have hitherto been accused . . . I agree with the Roman Church . . . that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are, after consecration, not only a sacrament, but even the true body and blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST; and that these are *sensibly*, and not merely sacramentally, but in truth, handled and broken by the hands of the priest, and ground by the teeth of the faithful."—*Bowden's Life of Gregory VII.*, vol. ii. p. 243.

Another illustration of the sort of doctrine offered in the Article, may be given from Bellarmine, whose controversial statements have already been introduced in the course of the above extracts. He thus opposes the doctrine of *introsusception*, which the spiritual view of the Real Presence naturally suggests.

He observes, that there are "two particular opinions, false and erroneous, excogitated in the schools: that of Durandus, who thought it probable that the substance of the body of CHRIST in the Eucharist was *without magnitude*; and that of certain ancients, which Occam seems afterwards to have followed, that though it has magnitude, (which they think not really separable from substance,) yet every part is so penetrated by every other, that the body of CHRIST is *without figure*, without distinction and order of parts." With this he contrasts the doctrine which, he maintains, is that of the Church of Rome as well as the general doctrine of the schools, that "in the Eucharist whole CHRIST exists *with magnitude and all accidents*, except that relation to a heavenly location which He has as He is in heaven, and those things which are concomitants

on His existence in that location; and that the parts and members of CHRIST's body do *not* penetrate each other, but are so distinct and arranged one with another, as to have a *figure and order* suitable to a human body."—*De Euchar.* iii. 5.

We see then, that, by transubstantiation, our Article does not confine itself to any abstract theory, nor aim at any definition of the word substance, nor in rejecting it, rejects a word, nor in denying a "mutatio panis et vini," is denying *every kind* of change, but opposes itself to a certain plain and unambiguous statement, not of this or that council, but one generally received or taught both in the schools and in the multitude, that the material elements are changed into an earthly, fleshly, and organized body, extended in size, distinct in its parts, which is there where the outward appearances of bread and wine are, and only does not meet the senses, nor even that always.

Objections against "substance," "nature," "change," "accidents," and the like, seem more or less questions of words, and inadequate expressions of the great offence which we find in the received Roman view of this sacred doctrine.

In this connexion it may be suitable to proceed to notice the Explanation appended to the Communion Service, of our kneeling at the LORD's Supper, which requires explanation itself, more perhaps than any part of our formularies. It runs as follows:—

"Whereas it is ordained in this office for the Administration of the LORD's Supper, that the communicants should receive the same kneeling: (which order is well meant, for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of CHRIST therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the holy communion, as might otherwise ensue;) yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved,—It is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of CHRIST's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental blood and wine re-

main still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians; and the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of CHRIST's natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

Now it may be admitted without difficulty,—1. That "no adoration ought to be done unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received." 2. Nor "unto any *corporal* [*i. e.* carnal] presence of CHRIST's natural flesh and blood." 3. That "the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances." 4. That to adore them "were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians;" and 5. That "the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven."

But "to heaven" is added, "*and not here.*" Now, though it be allowed that there is no "*corporal* presence" [*i. e.* in locality] of "CHRIST's natural flesh and blood" here, it is a further point to allow that "CHRIST's natural body and blood" are "*not here.*" And the question is, how can there be any *presence* at all of His body and blood, yet a presence such, as not to be *here*? How can there be any *presence*, yet not *local*?

Yet that this is the meaning of the paragraph in question is plain, from what it goes on to say in proof of its position: "It being against the truth of CHRIST's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." It is here asserted then, 1. Generally, "no natural body can be in more places than one;" therefore, 2. CHRIST's natural body cannot be in the bread and wine, or there where the bread and wine are seen. In other words, there is no local presence in the Sacrament. Yet, that there is a presence is asserted in the Homilies, as quoted above, and the question is, as just now stated, "How can there be a presence, yet not a local one?"

Now, first, let it be observed that the question to be solved is the truth of a certain philosophical deduction, not of a certain doctrine of Scripture. That there is a real presence, Scripture asserts, and the Homilies, Catechism, and Communion Service confess; but the explanation before us adds, that it is philoso-

phically impossible that it should be a particular kind of presence, a presence of which one can say "it is here," or which is "local." It states then a philosophical deduction; but to such deduction none of us have subscribed. We have professed in the words of the Canon: "That the Book of Prayer, &c. containeth in it *nothing contrary to the word of God.*" Now, a position like this may not be, and is not, "contrary to the word of God," and yet need not be true; *e. g.* we may accept St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, as containing nothing contrary to Scripture, nay, as altogether most scriptural, and yet this would not hinder us from rejecting the account of the Phœnix—as contrary, not to God's word, but to matter of fact. Even the infallibility of the Roman see is not considered to extend to matters of fact or points of philosophy. Nay, we commonly do not consider that we need take the words of Scripture itself literally about the sun's standing still, or the earth being fixed, or the firmament being above. Those at least who distinguish between what is theological in Scripture and what is scientific, and yet admit that Scripture is true, have no ground for wondering at such persons as subscribe to a paragraph, of which at the same time they disallow the philosophy; especially considering they expressly subscribe it only as not "contrary to the word of God." This then is what must be said first of all.

Next, the philosophical position is itself capable of a very specious defence. The truth is, we do not at all know what is meant by distance or intervals absolutely, any more than we know what is meant by absolute time. Late discoveries in geology have tended to make it probable that time may under circumstances go indefinitely faster or slower than it does at present; or in other words, that indefinitely more may be accomplished in a given portion of it. What Moses calls a day, geologists wish to prove to be thousands of years, if we measure time by the operations at present effected in it. It is equally difficult to determine what we mean by distance, or why we should not be at this moment close to the throne of God, though we seem far from it. Our measure of distance is our hand or our foot; but as an object a foot off is not called distant, though the interval is indefinitely

divisible ; neither need it be distant either, after it has been multiplied indefinitely. Why should any conventional measure of ours—why should the perception of our eyes or our ears, be the standard of presence or distance ? CHRIST may really be close to us, though in heaven, and His presence in the Sacrament may but be a manifestation to the worshipper of that nearness, not a change of place, which may be unnecessary. But on this subject some extracts may be suitably made from a pamphlet published several years since, and admitting of one or two verbal corrections, which, as in the case of other similar quotations above, shall here be made without scruple :—

“ In the note at the end of the Communion Service, it is argued, that a body cannot be in two places at once ; and that therefore the Body of CHRIST is not *locally* present, in the sense in which we speak of the bread as being locally present. On the other hand, in the Communion Service itself, Catechism, Articles, and Homilies, it is plainly declared, that the Body of CHRIST is in a mysterious way, if not *locally*, yet *really* present, so that we are able after some ineffable manner to receive It. Whereas, then, the objection stands, ‘ CHRIST is not really here, because He is not locally here,’ our formularies answer, ‘ He is really here, yet not locally.’

“ But it may be asked, What is the meaning of saying that CHRIST is really present, yet not locally ? I will make a suggestion on the subject. What do we mean by being *present* ? How do we define and measure it ? To a blind and deaf man, that only is present which he touches : give him hearing, and the range of things present enlarges ; every thing is present to him which he hears. Give him at length sight, and the sun may be said to be present to him in the day time, and myriads of stars by night. The *presence*, then, of a thing is a relative word, depending, in a popular sense of it, upon the channels of communication between it and him to whom it is present ; and thus it is a word of degree.

“ Such is the meaning of *presence*, when used of material objects ;—very different from this is the conception we form of the presence of spirit with spirit. The most intimate presence

we can fancy is a spiritual presence in the soul ; it is nearer to us than any material object can possibly be ; for our body, which is the organ of conveying to us the presence of matter, sets bounds to its approach towards us. If, then, spiritual beings can be brought near to us, (and that they can, we know, from what is told us of the influences of Divine grace, and again of evil angels upon our souls) their presence is something *sui generis*, of a more perfect and simple character than any presence we commonly call local. And further, their presence has nothing to do with the degrees of nearness ; they are either present or not present, or, in other words, their coming is not measured by space, nor their absence ascertained by distance. In the case of things material, a transit through space is the necessary condition of approach and presence ; but in things spiritual, (whatever be the condition,) such a transit seems not to be a condition. The condition is unknown. Once more : while beings simply spiritual seem not to exist in place, the Incarnate SON does ; according to our Church's statement already alluded to, that ' the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven and not here, it being against the *truth* of CHRIST'S natural body to be at one time *in more places than one.*'

“ Such seems to be the mystery attending our LORD and SAVIOUR ; He has a *body*, and that *spiritual*. He is in place ; and yet, as being a Spirit, His mode of approach—the mode in which He makes Himself present here or there—may be, for what we know, as different from the mode in which material bodies approach and come, as a spiritual presence is more perfect. As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way,—probably is in some other way, since in some other way, (as it would appear) not gradual, progressive, approximating, that is, locomotive, but at once, spirits become present,—may be such as to be consistent with His remaining on GOD'S right hand while He becomes present here,—that is, it may be real yet not local, or, in a word, is *mysterious*. The Body and Blood of CHRIST may be really, literally present in the holy Eucharist, yet not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be

on God's right hand; so that, though they be present in deed and truth, it may be impossible, it may be untrue to say, that they are literally *in* the elements, or *about* them, or *in* the soul of the receiver. These may be useful modes of speech according to the occasion; but the true determination of all such questions may be this, that CHRIST'S Body and Blood are *locally* at GOD'S right hand, *yet* really *present* here,—present here, but not here in place,—because they are spirit.

“ To assist our conceptions on this subject, I would recur to what I said just now about the presence of material objects, by way of putting my meaning in a different point of view. The presence of a material object, in the popular sense of the word, is a matter of degree, and ascertained by the means of apprehending it which belong to him to whom it is present. It is in some sense a correlative of the senses. A fly may be as near an edifice as a man; yet we do not call it present to the fly, because it cannot see it; and we call it present to the man because he can. This, however, is but a popular view of the matter: when we consider it carefully, it certainly is difficult to say what *is* meant by the presence of a material object relatively to us. It is in some respects truer to say that a thing is present, which is so circumstanced as to act upon us and influence us, whether we are sensible of it or not. Now this is what the Catholic Church seems to hold concerning our LORD'S Presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily is with us in the way an object is which we call present: how He is so, we know not, but that He should be so, though He be millions of miles away, is not more inconceivable than the influence of eyesight upon us is to a blind man. The stars are millions of miles off, yet they impress ideas upon our souls through our sight. We know but of five senses: we know not whether or not human nature be capable of more; we know not whether or not the soul possesses anything analogous to them. We know nothing to negative the notion that the soul may be capable of having CHRIST present to it by the stimulating of dormant, or the development of possible energies.

“ As sight for certain purposes annihilates space, so other un-

known capacities, bodily or spiritual, may annihilate it for other purposes. Such a practical annihilation was involved in the appearance of CHRIST to St. Paul on his conversion. Such a practical annihilation is involved in the doctrine of CHRIST's ascension; to speak according to the ideas of space and time commonly received, what must have been the rapidity of that motion by which, within ten days, He placed our human nature at the right hand of GOD? Is it more mysterious that He should 'open the heavens,' to use the Scripture phrase, in the sacramental rite; that He should then dispense with time and space, in the sense in which they are daily dispensed with, in the sun's warming us at the distance of 100,000,000 of miles, than that He should have dispensed with them on occasion of His ascending on high? He who showed what the passage of an incorruptible body was ere it had reached GOD's throne, thereby suggests to us what may be its coming back and presence with us now, when at length glorified and become spirit.

"In answer, then, to the problem, *how* CHRIST comes to us while remaining on high, I answer just as much as this,—that He comes by the agency of the HOLY GHOST, *in* and *by the Sacrament*. Locomotion is the means of a material presence; the Sacrament is the means of His spiritual Presence. As faith is the means of our receiving It, so the HOLY GHOST is the Agent and the Sacrament the means of His imparting It; and therefore we call It a Sacramental Presence. We kneel before His heavenly Throne, and the distance is as nothing; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us.

"Let it be carefully observed, that I am not proving or determining anything; I am only showing how it is that certain propositions which at first sight seem contradictions in terms, are not so,—I am but pointing out *one* way of reconciling them. If there is but one way assignable, the force of all antecedent objection against the possibility of any at all is removed, and then of course there may be other ways supposable though not assignable. It seems at first sight a mere idle use of words to say that CHRIST is really and literally, yet not locally, present in the Sa-

crament ; that He is there given to us, not in figure but in truth, and yet is still only on the right hand of God. I have wished to remove this seeming impossibility.

“ If it be asked, *why* attempt to remove it, I answer that I have no wish to do so, if persons will not urge it against the Catholic doctrine. Men maintain it as an impossibility, a contradiction in terms, and force a believer in it to say why it should not be so accounted. And then when he gives a reason, they turn round and accuse him of subtleties, and refinements, and scholastic trifling. Let them but believe and act on the truth that the consecrated bread is CHRIST'S Body, as He says, and no officious comment on His words will be attempted by any well-judging mind. But when they say ‘this *cannot* be literally true, *because* it is impossible ;’ then they force those who think it is literally true, to explain how, according to their notions, it is not impossible. And those who ask hard questions must put up with hard answers.”

There is nothing, then, in the Explanatory Paragraph which has given rise to these remarks, to interfere with the doctrine, elsewhere taught in our formularies, of a real super-local presence in the Holy Sacrament.

§ 9.—*Masses.*

Article xxxi.—“The sacrifice (*sacrificia*) of *Masses*, in which it was commonly said, that the priests did offer CHRIST for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits (*perniciosæ imposturæ*).”

Nothing can show more clearly than this passage that the Articles are not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it, whether taken into its system or not. Here the sacrifice of the *Mass* is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced; but “the sacrifice of *Masses*,” certain observances, for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the Articles saw before their eyes, and knew to have been in force in time past, and which involved certain opinions and a certain teaching. Accordingly the passage proceeds, “in which it *was commonly said* ;” which surely is a strictly historical mode of speaking.

If any testimony is necessary in aid of what is so plain from the wording of the Article itself, it is found in the drift of the following passage from Burnet:—

“It were easy from all the rituals of the ancients to shew, that they had none of those ideas that are now in the Roman Church. They had but one altar in a Church, and probably but one in a city: they had but one communion in a day at that altar: so far were they from the many altars in every church, and *the many masses* at every altar, that are now in the Roman Church. They did not know what *solitary masses* were, without a communion. All the liturgies and all the writings of ancients are as express in this matter as is possible. The whole constitution of their worship and discipline shews it. Their worship always concluded with the Eucharist: such as were not capable of it, as the catechumens, and those who were doing public penance for their sins, assisted at the more general parts of the worship; and so much of it was called their mass, because they were dismissed at the conclusion of it. When that was done, then the faithful stayed, and did partake of the Eucharist; and at the conclusion of it they were likewise dismissed, from whence it came to be called the mass of the faithful.—*Burnet on the XXXIst Article*, p. 482.

These sacrifices are said to be “blasphemous fables and pernicious impostures.” Now the “blasphemous fable” is the teach-

ing that there is a sacrifice for sin other than CHRIST'S death, and that masses are that sacrifice. And the "pernicious imposture" is the turning this belief into a means of filthy lucre.

1. That the "blasphemous fable" is the teaching that masses are sacrifices for sin distinct from the sacrifice of CHRIST'S death, is plain from the first sentence of the Article. "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, &c." It is observable too that the heading of the Article runs, "Of the one oblation of CHRIST finished upon the Cross," which interprets the *drift* of the statement contained in it about masses.

Our Communion Service shows it also, in which the prayer of consecration commences pointedly with a declaration, which has the force of a protest, that CHRIST made on the cross "by His *one* oblation of Himself *once* offered, a *full, perfect, and sufficient* sacrifice, oblation, and *satisfaction* for the sins of the whole world."

And again in the offering of the sacrifice: "We entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant that *by the merits and death of Thy SON JESUS CHRIST*, and through faith in his blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain *remission of our sins* and all *other benefits* of His passion."

But the popular charge still urged against the Roman system as introducing in the Mass a second or rather continually recurring atonement, is a sufficient illustration, without further quotations of this part of the Article.

2. That the "blasphemous and pernicious imposture" is the turning the Mass into a gain is plain from such passages as the following:—

"With what earnestness, with what vehement zeal, did our SAVIOUR CHRIST drive the buyers and sellers out of the temple of GOD, and hurled down the tables of the changers of money, and the seats of the dove-sellers, and could not abide that a man should carry a vessel through the temple. He told them, that they had made His FATHER'S house a den of thieves, partly through their superstition, hypocrisy, false worship, false doctrine, and insatiable covetous-

ness, and partly through contempt, abusing that place with walking and talking, with worldly matters, without all fear of GOD, and due reverence to that place. What dens of thieves the Churches of England have been made by the *blasphemous buying and selling the most precious body and blood of CHRIST in the Mass*, as the world was made to believe, at dirges, at month's minds, at trentalls, in abbeys and chantries, besides other horrible abuses, (GOD's holy name be blessed for ever,) which we now see and understand. All these abominations they that supply the room of CHRIST have cleansed and purged the Churches of England of, taking away all such fulsomeness and filthiness, as through blind devotion and ignorance hath crept into the Church these many hundred years."—*On repairing and keeping clean of Churches*, pp. 229, 230.

Other passages are as follow :—

"Have not the Christians of late days, and even in our days also, in like manner provoked the displeasure and indignation of ALMIGHTY GOD; partly because they have profaned and defiled their Churches with heathenish and Jewish abuses, with images and idols, with numbers of altars, too superstitiously and intolerably abused, with gross abusing and filthy corrupting of the LORD's holy Supper, the blessed sacrament of His body and blood, with an infinite number of toys and trifles of their own devices, to make a goodly outward shew, and to deface the homely, simple, and sincere religion of CHRIST JESUS; partly, they resort to the Church like hypocrites, full of all iniquity and sinful life, having a vain and dangerous fancy and persuasion, that if they come to the Church, besprinkle them with holy water, *hear a mass, and be blessed with a chalice*, though they understand not one word of the whole service, nor feel one motion of repentance in their heart, all is well, all is sure?"—*On the Place and Time of Prayer*, p. 293.

Again :—

"What hath been the cause of this gross idolatry, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this *mummish massing*, but the ignorance hereof? Yea, what hath been, and what is at this day the cause of this want of love and charity, but the ignorance hereof? Let us therefore so travel to understand the LORD's Supper, that we be no cause of the decay of GOD's worship, of no idolatry, of no *dumb massing*, of no hate and malice; so may we the boldier have access thither to our comfort."—*Homily concerning the Sacrament*, pp. 377, 378.

To the same purpose is the following passage from Bishop Bull's Sermons :—

"It were easy to shew, how the whole frame of religion and doctrine of the Church of Rome, as it is distinguished from that Christianity which we hold in common with them, is evidently designed and contrived to *serve the interest and profit* of them that rule that Church, by the disservices, yea, and ruin of

those souls that are under their government. . . . What can the doctrine of men's playing an aftergame for their salvation in purgatory be designed for, but to enhance *the price of the priest's masses* and dirges for the dead? Why must a *solitary mass, bought for a piece of money*, performed and participated by a priest alone, in a private corner of a church, be, not only against the sense of Scripture and the Primitive Church, but also against common sense and grammar, called a Communion, and be accounted useful to him that buys it, though he never himself receive the sacrament, or but once a year; but for this reason, that there is *great gain*, but no godliness at all, in this doctrine?" —*Bp. Bull's Sermons*, p. 10.

And Burnet says,

"Without going far in tragical expressions, we cannot hold saying what our SAVIOUR said upon another occasion, 'My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.' A trade was set up on this foundation. The world was made believe, that by the virtue of so many *masses, which were to be purchased by great endowments*, souls were redeemed out of purgatory, and scenes of visions and apparitions, sometimes of the tormented, and sometimes of the delivered souls, were published in all places: which had so wonderful an effect, that in two or three centuries, *endowments* increased to so vast a degree, that if the scandals of the clergy on the one hand, and the statutes of mortmain on the other, had not restrained the profuseness that the world was wrought up to on this account, it is not easy to imagine how far this might have gone; perhaps to an entire subjecting of the temporality to the spirituality. The practices by which this was managed, and the effects that followed on it, we can call by no other name than downright *impostures*; worse than the making or vending false coin: when the world was drawn in by such arts to plain bargains, to *redeem* their own souls, and the souls of their ancestors and posterity, *so many masses were to be said*, and forfeitures were to follow upon their not being said: thus the *masses were really the price* of the lands.—*On Article XXII.*, pp. 303, 304.

The truth of these representations cannot be better shewn than by extracting the following passage from the Session 22 of the Council of Trent:—

"Whereas many things appear to have crept in heretofore, whether by the fault of the times or by the neglect and wickedness of men, foreign to the dignity of so great a sacrifice, in order that it may regain its due honour and observance, to the glory of GOD and the edification of His faithful people, the Holy Council decrees, that the bishops, ordinaries of each place, diligently take care and be bound, to forbid and put an end to all those things, which either *avarice*, which is idolatry, or *irreverence*, which is scarcely separable from impiety, or *superstition*, the pretence of true piety, has introduced. And, to say much in a few words, first of all, as to *avarice*, let them altogether forbid

agreements, and bargains of *payment* of whatever kind, and *whatever is given for celebrating new masses*; moreover importunate and mean extortion, rather than petition of alms, and such like practices, which border on simoniacal sin, certainly on *filthy lucre*. . . . And let them banish from the Church those musical practices, *when with the organ or with the chant any thing lascivious or impure is mingled*; also all secular practices, vain and therefore profane conversations, promenadings, bustle, clamour; so that the house of God may truly seem and be called the house of prayer. Lastly, lest any opening be given to superstition, let them provide by edict and punishments appointed, that the priests celebrate it at no other than the due hours, nor use rites or ceremonies and prayers in the celebration of masses, other than those which have been approved by the Church, and received on frequent and laudable use. And let them altogether remove from the Church a *set number of certain masses and candles*, which has proceeded rather from *superstitious observance* than from true religion, and teach the people in what consists, and from whom, above all, proceeds the so precious and heavenly fruit of this most holy sacrifice. And let them admonish the same people to come frequently to their parish Churches, at least on Sundays and the greater feasts," &c.

On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the Mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin; but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of or distinct from the Sacrifice on the Cross, which is blasphemy, and, on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition.

§ 10.—*Marriage of Clergy.*

Article xxxii.—“Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God’s law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.”

There is literally no subject for controversy in these words, since even the most determined advocates of the celibacy of the clergy, admit their truth. The duty of clerical celibacy is grounded not on God’s law, but on the Church’s rule, or on vow. No one, for instance, can question the vehement zeal of St. Jerome in behalf of this observance, yet he makes the following admission in his attack upon Jovinian :—

“Jovinian says, ‘You speak in vain, since the Apostle appointed Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, the husbands of one wife, and having children.’ But, as the Apostle says, that he has not a precept concerning virgins, yet gives a counsel, as having received mercy of the Lord, and urges throughout that discourse a preference of virginity to marriage, and *advises what he does not command*, lest he seem to cast a snare, and to impose a burden too great for man’s nature; *so also*, in ecclesiastical order, seeing that an infant Church was then forming out of the Gentiles, he gives the lighter precepts to recent converts, lest they should fail under them through fear.”—*Adv. Jovinian*, i. 34.

And the Council of Trent merely lays down :

“If any shall say that clerks in holy orders, or regulars, who have solemnly professed chastity, can contract matrimony, and that the contract is valid *in spite of ecclesiastical law or vow*, let him be anathema.”—*Sess. 24 Can. 9.*

Here the observance is placed simply upon rule of the Church or upon vow, neither of which exists in the English Church; “*therefore*,” as the Article logically proceeds, “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.” Our Church leaves the discretion with the clergy; and most persons will allow that, *under our circumstances*, she acts wisely in doing so. That she has *power*, did she so choose, to take from them this discretion, and to oblige them either to marriage or to celibacy, would seem to be involved in the doctrine of the following extract from the Homilies; though, whether an en-

forcement either of the one or the other rule would be expedient and pious, is another matter. Speaking of fasting, the Homily says :—

“ GOD’S Church ought not, neither may it be so tied to that or any other order now made, or hereafter to be made and devised by the authority of man, but that *it may lawfully, for just causes, alter, change, or mitigate* those ecclesiastical decrees and orders, yea, *recede wholly from them, and break them*, when they tend either to superstition or to impiety ; when they draw the people from GOD rather than work any edification in them. This authority CHRIST Himself used, and *left it to His Church*. He used it, I say, for the order or decree made by the elders for washing oftentimes, which was diligently observed of the Jews ; yet tending to superstition, our SAVIOUR CHRIST altered and changed the same in His Church into a profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our regeneration, or new birth. This authority to mitigate laws and decrees ecclesiastical, the Apostles practised, when they, writing from Jerusalem unto the congregation that was at Antioch, signified unto them, that they would not lay any further burden upon them, but these necessaries: that is, ‘ that they should abstain from things offered unto idols, from blood, from that which is strangled, and from fornication ;’ notwithstanding that Moses’s law required many other observances. This authority to change the orders, decrees, and constitutions of the Church, was, after the Apostles’ time, used of the fathers about the manner of fasting, as it appeareth in the Tripartite History. Thus ye have heard, good people, first, that Christian subjects are bound even in conscience to obey princes’ laws, which are not repugnant to the laws of God. Ye have also heard that CHRIST’S Church is not so bound to observe any order, law, or decree made by man, to prescribe a form in religion, but that the Church hath full power and authority from God to change and alter the same, when need shall require ; which hath been shewed you by the example of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, by the practice of the Apostles, and of the Fathers since that time.”—*Homily on Fasting*, p. 242—244.

To the same effect the 34th Article declares, that,

“ It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like ; for at all times they have been divers, and *may be changed* according to 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.”—*Article XXXIV.*

§ 11.—*The Homilies.*

Art. xxxv.—“The second Book of Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies.”

This Article has been treated of in No. 82 of these Tracts, in the course of an answer given to an opponent, who accused its author of not fairly receiving the Homilies, because he dissented from their doctrine, that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that regeneration was vouchsafed under the law. The passage of the Tract shall here be inserted, with some abridgment.

“I say plainly, then, I have not *subscribed* the Homilies, nor was it ever intended that any member of the English Church should be subjected to what, if considered as an extended confession, would indeed be a yoke of bondage. Romanism surely is innocent, compared with that system which should impose upon the conscience a thick octavo volume, written flowingly and freely by fallible men, to be received exactly, sentence by sentence: I cannot conceive any grosser instance of a pharisaical tradition than this would be. No: such a proceeding would render it impossible (I will say) for any one member, lay or clerical, of the Church to remain in it, who was subjected to such an ordeal. For instance; I do not suppose that any reader would be satisfied with the political reasons for fasting, though indirectly introduced, yet fully admitted and dwelt upon in the Homily on that subject. He would not like to subscribe the declaration that eating fish was a duty, not only as being a kind of fasting, but as making provisions cheap, and encouraging the fisheries. He would not like the association of religion with earthly politics.

“How, then, are we bound to the Homilies? By the Thirty-fifth Article, which speaks as follows:—‘The second Book of

Homilies . . . doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former *Book of Homilies.*' Now, observe, this Article does not speak of every statement made in them, but of the '*doctrine.*' It speaks of the *view or cast, or body of doctrine* contained in them. In spite of ten thousand incidental propositions, as in any large book, there is, it is obvious, a certain line of doctrine, which may be contemplated continuously in its shape and direction. For instance; if you say you disapprove the doctrine contained in the Tracts for the Times, no one supposes you to mean that every sentence and half sentence is a lie. I say then, that, in like manner, when the Article speaks of the *doctrine* of the Homilies, it does not measure the letter of them by the inch, it does not imply that they contain no propositions which admit of two opinions; but it speaks of a certain determinate line of doctrine, and moreover adds, it is '*necessary for these times.*' Does not *this*, too, show the same thing? If a man said, the Tracts for the Times are *seasonable* at this moment, as their title signifies, would he not speak of them as taking a certain line, and bearing in a certain way? Would he not be speaking, not of phrases or sentences, but of a '*doctrine*' in them tending one way, viewed as a whole? Would he be inconsistent, if after praising them as *seasonable*, he continued, '*yet I do not pledge myself to every view or sentiment; there are some things in them hard of digestion, or overstated, or doubtful, or subtle?*'

"If any thing could add to the irrelevancy of the charge in question, it is the particular point in which it is urged that I dissent from the Homilies,—a question concerning the fulfilment of prophecy; viz., whether Papal Rome is Antichrist! An iron yoke indeed you would forge for the conscience, when you oblige us to assent, not only to all matters of *doctrine* which the Homilies contain, but even to their opinion concerning the fulfilment of prophecy. Why, *we* do not ascribe authority in such matters even to the unanimous consent of all the fathers.

"I will put what I have been saying in a second point of view. The Homilies are subsidiary to the Articles; therefore they are of authority so far as they *bring out* the sense of the

Articles, and are not of authority where they do not. For instance, they say that David, though unbaptized, was regenerated, as you have quoted. This statement cannot be of authority, because it not only does not agree, but it even disagrees, with the ninth Article, which translates the Latin word ‘renatis’ by the English ‘baptized.’ But, observe, if this mode of viewing the Homilies be taken, as it fairly may, *you* suffer from it; for the Apocrypha, *being the subject of an Article*, the comment furnished in the Homily is binding on you, whereas you reject it.

“A further remark will bring us to the same point. Another test of acquiescence in the doctrine of the Homilies is this:—Take their table of contents; examine the headings; these surely, taken together, will give the substance of their teaching. Now I hold fully and heartily the doctrine of the Homilies, under every one of these headings: the only points to which I should not accede, nor think myself called upon to accede, would be certain matters, subordinate to the doctrines to which the headings refer—matters not of doctrine, but of opinion, as, that Rome is the Antichrist; or of historical fact, as, that there was a Pope Joan. But now, on the other hand, can *you* subscribe the doctrine of the Homilies under every one of its formal headings? I believe you *cannot*. The Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion is, in many of its elementary principles, decidedly uncongenial with your sentiments.”

This illustration of the subject may be thought enough; yet it may be allowable to add from the Homilies a number of propositions and statements of more or less importance, which are too much forgotten at this day, and are decidedly opposed to the views of certain schools of religion, which at the present moment are so eager in claiming the Homilies to themselves. This is not done, as the extract already read will show, with the intention of maintaining that they are one and all binding on the conscience of those who subscribe the Thirty-fifth Article; but since the strong language of the Homilies against the Bishop of Rome is often quoted, as if it were thus proved to be the doctrine of our Church, it may be as well to show that, following the same

rule, we shall be also introducing Catholic doctrines, which indeed it far more belongs to a Church to profess than a certain view of prophecy, but which do not approve themselves to those who hold it. For instance, we read as follows:—

1. “The great clerk and godly preacher, St. John Chrysostom.”—1 B. i. 1. And, in like manner, mention is made elsewhere of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. Cyprian, St. Hierome, St. Martin, Origen, Prosper, Ecumenius, Photius, Bernardus, Anselm, Didymus, Theophylactus, Tertullian, Athanasius, Lactantius, Cyrillus, Epiphanius, Gregory, Irenæus, Clemens, Rabanus, Isidorus, Eusebius, Justinus Martyr, Optatus, Eusebius Emissenus, and Bede.

2. “Infants, being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this Sacrifice washed from their sins . . . and they, which in act or deed do sin after this baptism, when they turn to God unfeignedly, they are *likewise* washed by this Sacrifice,” &c.—1 B. iii. 1. *init.*

3. “Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are *baptized or justified*,” &c.—1 B. iii. 3.

4. “By holy promises, we be made lively members of CHRIST, receiving the sacrament of Baptism. By like holy promises *the sacrament of Matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love.”—1 B. vii. 1.

5. “Let us learn also here [in the Book of Wisdom] by *the infallible and undeceivable Word of God*, that,” &c.—1 B. x. 1.

6. “The due receiving of His blessed Body and Blood, *under the form of bread and wine*.”—*Note at end of B. i.*

7. “In the Primitive Church, *which was most holy and godly* . . . open offenders were not suffered once to enter into the house of the LORD . . . until they had done open penance . . . but this was practised, not only upon mean persons, but also upon the *rich, noble, and mighty persons*, yea, upon Theodosius, *that puissant and mighty Emperor*, whom . . . St. Ambrose . . . did . . . excommunicate.”—2 B. i. 2.

8. “Open offenders were not . . . admitted to common prayer, and the use of the holy *sacraments*.”—*Ibid.*

9. "Let us amend this our negligence and contempt in coming to the house of the LORD; and resorting thither diligently together, let us there . . . celebrating also reverently the LORD's holy *sacraments*, serve the LORD in His holy house."—*Ibid.* 5.

10. "Contrary to the . . . most manifest doctrine of the Scriptures, and contrary to the usage of the Primitive Church, *which was most pure and uncorrupt*, and contrary to the sentences and judgments of the *most ancient, learned, and godly* doctors of the Church."—2 B. ii. 1. *init.*

11. "This truth . . . was believed and taught by the *old holy fathers*, and *most ancient learned doctors*, and received by the old Primitive Church, *which was most uncorrupt and pure.*"—2 B. ii. 2. *init.*

12. "Athanasius, a very ancient, holy, and learned bishop and doctor."—*Ibid.*

13. "Cyrillus, an old and holy doctor."—*Ibid.*

14. "Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamine, in Cyprus, a very holy and learned man."—*Ibid.*

15. "To whose (Epiphanius's) judgment you have . . . all the learned and godly bishops and clerks, yea, and the whole Church of that age," [the Nicene] "and so upward to our SAVIOUR CHRIST's time, by the space of about four hundred years, consenting and agreeing."—*Ibid.*

16. "Epiphanius, a bishop and doctor of such antiquity, holiness, and authority."—*Ibid.*

17. "St. Augustine, the best learned of all ancient doctors."—*Ibid.*

18. "That ye may know why and when, and by whom images were first used privately, and afterwards not only received into Christian churches and temples, but, in conclusion, worshipped also; and how the same was gainsaid, resisted, and forbidden, as well by *godly bishops and learned doctors*, as also by sundry Christian princes, I will briefly collect," &c. [The bishops and doctors which follow are:] "St. Jerome, Serenus, Gregory, the Fathers of the Council of Eliberis."

19. "Constantine, Bishop of Rome, assembled a Council of

bishops of the West, and did condemn Philippicus, *the Emperor*, and John, Bishop of Constantinople, of the *heresy of the Monothelites*, not without a cause indeed, but *very justly*."—*Ibid.*

20. "Those six Councils, *which were allowed and received of all men*."—*Ibid.*

21. "There were no images publicly by the space of almost *seven hundred years*. And there is *no doubt* but the Primitive Church, next the Apostles' times, was *most pure*."—*Ibid.*

22. "Let us beseech God that we, being *warned* by His holy Word . . . and by *the writings of old godly doctors* and ecclesiastical histories," &c.—*Ibid.*

23. "It shall be declared, both by *God's Word*, and the *sentences* of the ancient doctors, and *judgment* of the Primitive Church," &c.—2 B. ii. 3.

24. "Saints, whose souls *reign* in joy with God."—*Ibid.*

25. "That the law of God is likewise to be *understood* against all our images . . . appeareth further by the *judgment* of the old doctors and the Primitive Church."—*Ibid.*

26. "The Primitive Church, *which is specially to be followed*, as most incorrupt and pure."—*Ibid.*

27. "Thus it is declared by *God's Word*, the *sentences* of the doctors, and the *judgment* of the Primitive Church."—*Ibid.*

28. "The rude people, who specially as the *Scripture* teacheth, are in danger of superstition and idolatry; viz. Wisdom xiii. xiv."—*Ibid.*

29. "They [the 'learned and holy bishops and doctors of the Church' of eight first centuries] were the preaching bishops . . . And as they were most zealous and diligent, so were they of excellent learning and godliness of life, and by both of great authority and credit with the people."—*Ibid.*

30. "The most virtuous and best learned, the most diligent also, and in number almost infinite, ancient fathers, bishops, and doctors . . . could do nothing against images and idolatry."—*Ibid.*

31. "As the *Word of God* testifieth, Wisdom xiv."—*Ibid.*

32. "The saints, *now reigning in heaven* with God."—*Ibid.*

33. "The fountain of our regeneration is there [in God's house] presented unto us."—2 B. iii.

36. "Somewhat shall now be spoken of one particular *good work*, whose commendation is both in the law and in the Gospel [fasting]"—2 B. iv. 1.

37. "If any man shall say . . . we are not now under the yoke of the law, we are set at liberty by the freedom of the Gospel; therefore these rites and customs of the old law bind not us, except it can be showed by the Scriptures of the New Testament, or by examples out of the same, that fasting, now under the Gospel, is a *restraint of meat, drink, and all bodily food and pleasures from the body*, as before: first, that we ought to fast, is a *truth more manifest, then it should here need to be proved* . . . Fasting, even by CHRIST'S assent, is a withholding meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, &c."—*Ibid.*

38. "That it [fasting] was used in the Primitive Church, appeareth most evidently by the Chalcedon council, one of the *four first general councils*. The fathers assembled there decreed in that council that every person, as well in his private as public fast, should continue all the day without meat and drink, till after the evening prayer. . . . This Canon teacheth how fasting was used in the *Primitive Church*."—*Ibid.* [The Council was A.D. 452.]

39. "Fasting then, by the *decree* of those 630 fathers, *grounding* their determinations in this matter upon the sacred Scriptures . . . is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting."—*Ibid.*

40. "The order or decree made by the elders for washing oft-times, tending to superstition, our SAVIOUR CHRIST altered and changed the same in His Church, into a profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our *regeneration or new birth*."—2 B. iv. 2.

41. "Fasting thus used with prayer is of *great efficacy* and *weigheth much* with God, so the angel Raphael told Tobias."—*Ibid.*

42. "As he" [St. Augustine] "witnesseth in another place, the martyrs and holy men in times past, were wont after their

death to be *remembered* and *named* of the priest at divine service; but never to be invocated or called upon."—2 B. vii. 2.

43. "Thus you see that the *authority both* of Scripture and *also* of Augustine, doth not permit that we should pray to them."—*Ibid.*

44. "To temples have the *Christians* customably used to resort from time to time as to most meet places, where they might . . . receive His holy *sacraments* ministered unto them duly and purely."—2 B. viii. 1.

45. "The which thing both CHRIST and His apostles, *with all the rest of the holy fathers*, do sufficiently declare so."—*Ibid.*

46. Our godly *predecessors*, and the *ancient* fathers of the Primitive Church, spared not their goods to build churches."—*Ibid.*

47. "If we will show ourselves true Christians, if we will be followers of CHRIST our MASTER, and of those *godly fathers* that have lived before us, and now have received the reward of true and faithful Christians," &c.—*Ibid.*

48. "We must . . . come unto the material churches and temples to pray . . . whereby we may reconcile ourselves to God, be partakers of His holy *sacraments*, and be devout hearers of His holy Word," &c.—*Ibid.*

49. "It [ordination] lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all *other* sacraments besides the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any *other* sacrament else, be *such* sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are."—2 *Hom.* ix.

50. "Thus we are taught, both by the Scriptures and ancient doctors, that," &c.—*Ibid.*

51. "The holy apostles and disciples of CHRIST . . . the godly fathers also, that were both *before* and *since* CHRIST, *endued without doubt with the HOLY GHOST*, . . . they both do most earnestly exhort us, &c. . . . that we should remember the poor . . . St. Paul crieth unto us after this sort . . . Isaiah the Prophet teacheth us on this wise . . . *And the holy father Tobit* giveth this counsel. *And the learned and godly doctor Chrysostom* giveth this admonition. . . . But what mean these often admoni-

tions and earnest exhortations of the prophets, apostles, fathers, and holy doctors?"—2 B. xi. 1.

52. "The holy fathers, Job and Tobit."—*Ibid.*

53. "CHRIST, whose especial *favour* we may be assured by *this means to obtain*," [viz. by almsgiving]—2 B. xi. 2.

54. "Now will I . . . show unto you how *profitable* it is for us to exercise them [alms-deeds] . . . [CHRIST'S saying] serveth to . . . prick us forwards . . . to learn . . . *how* we may *recover* our health, if it be lost or impaired, and how it may be defended and maintained if we have it. Yea, He teacheth us also therefore to esteem that as a *precious medicine* and an *inestimable jewel*, that hath such *strength and virtue* in it, that can either *procure* or *preserve* so incomparable a treasure."—*Ibid.*

55. "Then He and His disciples were grievously accused of the Pharisees, . . . because they went to meat and washed not their hands before, . . . CHRIST, answering their *superstitious* complaint, teacheth them an especial *remedy* how to *keep clean* their souls, . . . Give alms," &c.—*Ibid.*

56. "Merciful alms-dealing is *profitable to purge* the soul from the *infection and filthy spots of sin*."—*Ibid.*

57. "The same lesson *doth the HOLY GHOST teach* in sundry places of the *Scripture*, saying, 'Mercifulness and alms-giving,' &c. [Tobit iv.] . . . The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same, when he says, that 'as water quenqueth burning fire,' " &c.—*Ibid.*

58. "A great *confidence* may they have *before the high God*, that show mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted."—*Ibid.*

59. "If ye have by any infirmity or weakness been touched and annoyed with them . . . straightway shall mercifulness *wipe and wash them away*, as *sulves and remedies* to heal their *sores and grievous diseases*."—*Ibid.*

60. "And therefore that *holy father* Cyprian admonisheth to consider how *wholesome* and *profitable* it is to relieve the needy, &c. . . . by *the which* we may *purge our sins* and *heal our wounded souls*."—*Ibid.*

61. "We be therefore *washed* in our baptism from the *filthiness*

of sin, that we should live afterwards in the pureness of life."—
2 B. xiii. 1.

62. "By these means [by love, compassion, &c.] shall we *move* GOD to be *merciful to our sins*."—*Ibid.*

63. "'He was dead,' saith St. Paul, 'for our sins, and rose again for our *justification*' . . . He died to destroy the rule of the devil in us, and He rose again to send down His HOLY SPIRIT to rule in our hearts, to endue us with *perfect righteousness*.'"—2 B. xiv.

64. "The *ancient Catholic fathers*," [in marg.] Irenæus, Ignatius, Dionysius, Origen, Optatus, Cyprian, Athanasius, "were not afraid to call this supper, some of them, *the salve of immortality and sovereign preservative against death*; other, the sweet dainties of our SAVIOUR, the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the resurrection; other, the *food of immortality*, the healthful grace, and the conservatory to everlasting life."—2 B. xv. 1.

65. "The meat we seek in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an *invisible meat*, and not bodily; a *ghostly substance*, and not carnal."—*Ibid.*

66. "Take this lesson . . . of Emissenus, a godly father that . . . thou *look up* with faith upon the *holy body and blood of thy God*, thou marvel with reverence, thou *touch* it with thy mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with thy inward man."—*Ibid.*

67. "The saying of the holy martyr of God, St. Cyprian."—
2 B. xx. 3.

Thus we see the authority of the Fathers, of the six first councils, and of the judgments of the Church generally, the holiness of the Primitive Church, the inspiration of the Apocrypha, the sacramental character of Marriage and other ordinances, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the Church's power of excommunicating kings, the profitableness of fasting, the propitiatory virtue of good works, the Eucharistic commemoration, and justification by inherent righteousness, are taught

in the Homilies. Let it be said again, it is not here asserted that a subscription to all and every of these quotations is involved in the subscription of an Article which does but generally approve the Homilies; but they who insist so strongly on our Church's holding that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist because the Homilies declare it, should recollect that there are other doctrines contained in them beside it, which they should be understood to hold, before their argument has the force of consistency.

§ 12.—*The Bishop of Rome.*

Article xxxviii.—“ The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.”

By “ hath ” is meant “ ought to have,” as the Article in the 36th Canon and the Oath of Supremacy show, in which the same doctrine is drawn out more at length. “ No foreign prince, person, *prelate*, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.”

This is the profession which every one must in consistency make, who does not join the Roman Church. If the Bishop of Rome has jurisdiction and authority here, why do we not acknowledge it, and submit to him? To say then the above words, is nothing more or less than to say “ I am not a Roman Catholic; ” and whatever reasons there are against saying them, are so far reasons against remaining in the English Church. They are a mere enunciation of the principle of Anglicanism.

Anglicans maintain that the supremacy of the Pope is not directly from revelation, but an event in Providence. All things may be undone by the agents and causes by which they are done. What revelation gives, revelation takes away; what Providence gives, Providence takes away. God ordained by miracle, He reversed by miracle, the Jewish election; He promoted in the way of Providence, and He cast down by the same way, the Roman empire. “ The powers that be, are ordained of God,” *while* they be, and have a claim on our obedience. When they cease to be, they cease to have a claim. They cease to be, when God removes them. He may be considered to remove them when He undoes what He had done. The Jewish election did not cease to be, when the Jews went into captivity: this was an event in Providence; and what miracle had ordained, it was miracle that annulled. But the Roman power ceased to be when the barbarians overthrew it; for it rose by the sword, and it therefore perished by the sword. The Gospel Ministry began in

CHRIST and His Apostles; and what they began, they only can end. The Papacy began in the exertions and passions of man; and what man can make, man can destroy. Its jurisdiction, while it lasted, was "ordained of GOD;" when it ceased to be, it ceased to claim our obedience; and it ceased to be at the Reformation. The Reformers, who could not destroy a Ministry, which the Apostles began, could destroy a Dominion which the Popes founded.

Perhaps the following passage will throw additional light upon this point:—

"The Anglican view of the Church has ever been this: that its portions need not otherwise have been united together for their essential completeness, than as being descended from one original. They are like a number of colonies sent out from a mother-country. . . . Each Church is independent of all the rest, and is to act on the principle of what may be called Episcopal independence, except, indeed, so far as the civil power unites any number of them together. . . . Each diocese is a perfect independent Church, sufficient for itself; and the communion of Christians one with another, and the unity of them altogether, lie, not in a mutual understanding, intercourse, and combination, not in what they do in common, but in what they are and have in common, in their possession of the Succession, their Episcopal form, their Apostolical faith, and the use of the Sacraments. . . . Mutual intercourse is but an *accident* of the Church, not of its essence. . . . Intercommunion is a duty, as other duties, but is not the tenure or instrument of the communion between the unseen world and this; and much more the confederacy of sees and churches, the metropolitan, patriarchal, and papal systems, are matters of expedience or of natural duty from long custom, or of propriety from gratitude and reverence, or of necessity from voluntary oaths and engagements, or of ecclesiastical force from the canons of Councils, but not necessary in order to the conveyance of grace, or for fulfilment of the ceremonial law, as it may be called, of unity. Bishop is superior to bishop only in rank, not in real power; and the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Catholic world, is not the centre of unity, except as having a

primacy of order. Accordingly, even granting for argument's sake, that the English Church violated a duty in the 16th century, in releasing itself from the Roman supremacy, still it did not thereby commit that special sin, which cuts off from it the fountains of grace, and is called schism. It was essentially complete without Rome, and naturally independent of it ; it had, in the course of years, whether by usurpation or not, come under the supremacy of Rome ; and now, whether by rebellion or not, it is free from it : and as it did not enter into the Church invisible by joining Rome, so it was not cast out of it by breaking from Rome. These were accidents in its history, involving, indeed, sin in individuals, but not affecting the Church as a Church.

“Accordingly, the Oath of Supremacy declares ‘that no foreign prelate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, or authority within this realm.’ In other words, there is nothing in the Apostolic system which gives an authority to the Pope over the Church, such as it does not give to a Bishop. It is altogether an ecclesiastical arrangement ; not a point *de fide*, but of expedience, custom, or piety, which cannot be claimed as if the Pope *ought* to have it, any more than, on the other hand, the King could claim the supremacy of Divine right ; the claim of both one and the other resting, not on duty or revelation, but on specific engagement. We find ourselves, as a Church, under the King now, and we obey him ; we were under the Pope formerly, and we obeyed him. ‘Ought’ does not, in any degree, come into the question.”

Conclusion.

One remark may be made in conclusion. It may be objected that the tenor of the above explanations is anti-Protestant, whereas it is notorious that the Articles were drawn up by Protestants, and intended for the establishment of Protestantism; accordingly, that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a Protestant drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, or in each separate part.

But the answer is simple:

1. In the first place, it is a *duty* which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties toward their framers.

2. In giving the Articles a Catholic interpretation, we bring them into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, an object of the most serious moment in those who have given their assent to both formularies.

3. Whatever be the authority of the Ratification prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, it sanctions the mode of interpreting them above given. For its injoining the "literal and grammatical sense," relieves us from the necessity of making the known opinions of their framers, a comment upon their text; and its forbidding any person to "affix any *new* sense to any Article," was promulgated at a time when the leading men of our Church were especially noted for those Catholic views which have been here advocated.

4. It may be remarked, moreover, that such an interpretation is in accordance with the well-known general leaning of Melancthon, from whose writings our Articles are principally drawn, and whose Catholic tendencies gained for him that same reproach of popery, which has ever been so freely bestowed upon members of our own reformed Church.

“Melancthon was of opinion,” says Mosheim, “that, for the sake of peace and concord many things might be given up and tolerated in the Church of Rome, which Luther considered could by no means be endured. . . . In the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and could not of consequence be considered as indifferent by his true disciples. For he regarded as such, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the necessity of good works to eternal salvation ; the number of the sacraments ; the jurisdiction claimed by the Pope and the Bishops ; extreme unction ; the observation of certain religious festivals, and several superstitious rites and ceremonies.”—*Cent. XVI.* § 3. part 2. 27, 28,

5. Further : the Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions, on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths, and are silent about their adjustment. For instance, they say that all necessary faith must be proved from Scripture, but do not say *who* is to prove it. They say that the Church has authority in controversies, they do not say *what* authority. They say that it may enforce nothing beyond Scripture, but do not say *where* the remedy lies when it does. They say that works *before* grace and justification are worthless and worse, and that works *after* grace and justification are acceptable, but they do not speak at all of works *with* God's aid, *before* justification. They say that men are lawfully called and sent to minister and preach, who are chosen and called by men who have public authority *given* them in the congregation to call and send ; but they do not add *by whom* the authority is to be given. They say that councils called *by princes* may err ; they do not determine whether councils called *in the name of CHRIST* will err.

6. Lastly, their framers constructed them in such a way as best to comprehend those who did not go so far in Protestantism as themselves. Anglo-Catholics then are but the successors and representatives of those moderate reformers ; and their case has been directly anticipated in the wording of the Articles. It follows that they are not perverting, they are using them, for an express purpose for which among others their authors framed them. The interpretation they take was intended to be admissible ; though not that which their authors took themselves.

Had it not been provided for, possibly the Articles never would have been accepted by our Church at all. If, then, their framers have gained their side of the compact in effecting the reception of the Articles, let Catholics have theirs too in retaining the Catholic interpretation of them.

An illustration of this occurs in the history of the 28th Article. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign a paragraph formed part of it, much like that which is now appended to the Communion Service, but in which the Real Presence was *denied in words*. It was adopted by the clergy at the first convocation, but not published. Burnet observes on it thus :—

“When these Articles were at first prepared by the convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign, this paragraph was made a part of them; for the original subscription by both houses of convocation, yet extant, shews this. But the *design of the government* was at that time much turned to the *drawing over the body of the nation to the Reformation*, in whom the old leaven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the corporeal presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament; therefore it was *thought not expedient to offend* them by so particular a definition in this matter; in which the very word Real Presence was rejected. It might, perhaps, be also suggested, that here a definition was made that went too much upon the principles of natural philosophy; which how true soever, they might not be the proper subject of an article of religion. Therefore it was thought fit to suppress this paragraph; though it was a part of the Article that was subscribed, yet it was not published, but the paragraph that follows, ‘The Body of CHRIST,’ &c., was put in its stead, and was received and published by the next convocation; which upon the matter was a full explanation of the way of CHRIST's presence in this Sacrament; that ‘He is present in a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that faith is the mean by which He is received.’ This seemed to be more theological; and it does indeed amount to the same thing. But howsoever we see what was the sense of the first convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign; it differed in nothing from that in King Edward's time: and therefore though this paragraph is now no part of our Articles, yet we are certain that the clergy at that time did not at all doubt of the truth of it; we are sure it was their opinion; since they subscribed it, though *they did not think fit* to publish it at first; and though it was afterwards changed for another, that was the same in sense.”—*Burnet on Article XXVIII.*, p. 416.

What has lately taken place in the political world will afford an illustration in point. A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state papers in

such moderate language, that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them, without compromising his own principles. The world, observing this, has considered it a circumstance for congratulation; as if the former minister, who acted a double part, had been caught in his own snare. It is neither decorous, nor necessary, nor altogether fair, to urge the parallel rigidly; but it will explain what it is here meant to convey. The Protestant Confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics now will not be excluded. What was an economy in the reformers, is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then, is a perplexity to Protestants now. We could not then have found fault with their words; they cannot now repudiate our meaning.

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Edw. Rogers

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 90.

To the Editor of the "Tracts for the Times."

SIR,

Our attention having been called to No. 90 in the series of "Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford," of which you are the editor, the impression produced on our mind by its contents is of so painful a character, that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. This publication is entitled "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles;" and, as these articles are appointed by the statutes of the University to be the text-book for tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

The tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of of the doctrines—

1. Of Purgatory,
2. Of Pardons,
3. Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,
4. Of the Invocation of Saints,
5. Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them in their "literal and grammatical sense," and does not "affix any new sense" to them. The tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the

prejudice of the pure truth of the gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty, in interpreting the formularies of our Church, which has been advocated by many of its most learned bishops and other eminent divines; but this tract puts forth new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University, and from the pulpits of our churches.

In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorized to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the tract, should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servants,

T. T. CHURTON, M. A., Vice-Principal and
Tutor of Brasen-nose College.

H. B. WILSON, B. D., Fellow and Senior
Tutor of St. John's College.

JOHN GRIFFITHS, M. A., Sub-Warden and
Tutor of Wadham College.

A. C. TAIT, M. A., Fellow and Senior Tutor
of Balliol College.

At a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, in the Delegates' Room, March 15th, 1841.

Considering that it is enjoined in the Statutes of this University, (Tit. III. Sect. ii. Tit. IX. Sect. ii. §. 3. Sect. v. §. 3.) that every Student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them; considering also that a Tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," being No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times, a series of anonymous Publications, purporting to be written by Members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself;

Resolved, That the modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them, with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned Statutes.

P. WYNTER,

VICE-CHANCELLOR.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I write this respectfully to inform you, that I am the author, and have the sole responsibility, of the Tract on which the Hebdomadal Board has just now expressed an opinion, and that I have not given my name hitherto, under the belief that it was desired that I should not. I hope it will not surprise you if I say, that my opinion remains unchanged of the truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the Tract, and of the necessity of putting it forth. At the same time I am prompted by my feelings to add my deep consciousness that every thing I attempt might be done in a better spirit, and in a better way; and, while I am sincerely sorry for the trouble and anxiety I have given to the members of the Board, I beg to return my thanks to them for an act, which, even though founded on misapprehension, may be made as profitable to myself as it is religiously and charitably intended.

I say all this with great sincerity, and am,

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

Oriel College,
March 16th, 1841.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the Globe.

SIR,

As allusions have been made in the House of Commons to the *Tracts for the Times*, reported to be written by members of the University of Oxford, it may be as well to call the attention of the nation to some of the statements made in a tract lately published by Rivington, entitled, "Remarks on certain Passages in the XXXIX Articles," being No. 90 of the series.

With regard to *Holy Scripture*, the language of the tract is as follows:—"We may dispense with the phrase 'Rule of Faith,' as applied to Scripture, on the ground of its being ambiguous,"—p. 8; and afterwards, "Perhaps its use had better be avoided altogether. In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith."—P. 11.

With regard to *Purgatory*,—None of these doctrines (the Primitive, the Catholic, the Tridentine, and the one maintained by the Greeks at Florence, having just been enumerated) does the Article condemn; any of them may be held by the Anglo-Catholic as a matter of private belief.—P. 25.

With regard to the *Veneration of Relics*,—A certain toleration of them is compatible with the meaning of the Article.—P. 24.

With regard to the *Invocation of Saints*,—Judging from two examples set us in the Homilies themselves, invocations are not censurable, and certainly not "fond," if we mean nothing definite by them, addressing them to beings which we know cannot hear, and using them as interjections.—P. 36.

With regard to *Transubstantiation*,—Let them believe and act on the truth that the consecrated bread is Christ's body, as he says, and no officious comment will be attempted by any well-judging mind. But when they say, "this cannot be true, because it is impossible,"

then they force those who think it *literally* true, to explain how, according to their notions, it is not impossible. And those who ask hard questions must put up with hard answers.—P. 58.

With regard to *Masses*,—Nothing can shew more clearly than this passage (a part of Article XXXI) that the Articles are not written against the creed of the Church of Rome, but against actual existing errors in it, whether taken into its system or not. Here the sacrifice of the *mass* is not spoken of, in which the special doctrine would be introduced, but the sacrifice of *masses*,—p. 59; and again, On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the *mass* in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin,—p. 63. The words of the Article alluded to are—

“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.” It may be as well to observe, that in the tract, the word priests is substituted for the word priest (*sacerdotem*), an important alteration, which is pregnant with meaning.

With regard to the *Marriage of the Clergy*,—That she (the Church) has power, did she so choose, to take from them this discretion, and oblige them either to marriage or celibacy, would seem to be involved in the doctrine of the Homilies.—P. 64.

With regard to the *Bishop of Rome*,—We find ourselves, as a church, under the King now, and we obey him; we were under the Pope formerly, and we obeyed him. “Ought” does not in any degree come into the question.—P. 79. This seems scarcely reconcilable with the words of the oath of supremacy—“No foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.”

It cannot be denied that extracts taken apart from the context may not fully explain the writer's views, who seems to leave more to be inferred than he chooses to state; but these passages are selected as elucidations of the theological statements of the Tractarians, which statements appear at length to have assumed a more definite form in this tract (No. 90.) There is an introduction, and a con-

clusion to it, both contributing to develop the writer's views. In the former he observes, "Religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little if they are the mere act of the majority;" to which passage a note is appended—"It is not meant to hinder acts of Catholic consent, such as occurred anciently, when the Catholic body aids one portion of a particular church against another portion." The import of this note is, that the minority of a particular church, when aided by the Catholic body from without, is justified in bringing about a change, which would be unjustifiable in the majority, unassisted by foreigners.

In the conclusion we find it stated, "In the first place, it is a duty we owe to the Catholic Church, and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties to their framers." And again, "Whatever be the authority of the ratification prefixed to the Articles (by Charles I. in 1628,) so far as it has any weight at all, it sanctions the mode of interpreting them above given. For its enjoining the 'literal and grammatical sense,' relieves us from the necessity of making the known opinions of their framers a comment upon their text; and its forbidding any person 'to affix any *new* sense to any Article,' was promulgated at a time when the leading men of our Church were especially noted for those Catholic views which have been here advocated." The sophistry of this remark is transparent, for the term "any new sense," in the declaration, is clearly opposed to the "literal and grammatical sense," or what is styled in a preceding clause "the true, usual, and literal meaning of the said Articles;" which "literal and grammatical sense" must have been the same in the reign of Charles I. as in the reign of Elizabeth, and must have represented the honest opinions of the framers, unless they are supposed to have been bad or foolish men, which, I think, has not yet been asserted of them.

The few last sentences of the conclusion are as follows:—"The Protestant confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics *now* will not be excluded. What was an economy in the reformers, is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then, is a perplexity to Protestants now. We

could not then have found fault with their words; they cannot now repudiate our *meaning*."

It is beyond the province of a letter to discuss the above observations. The argument throughout the tract is pretended to be based on logical considerations,—p. 64; but there is not much attempt at reasoning. A dexterous play of words, and some subtlety of interpretation, seem to be what the writer mostly trusts to; and as his readers are chiefly young men, such weapons may possess the desired efficacy. How far this method of interpretation will be allowed, rests mainly with our bishops and our universities, who, in proposing subscription to the XXXIX Articles as a test of the soundness of religious views, attach of course a definite meaning to the subscription; and to quote the words of Isidorus, "Quacunq; arte verborum quisque juret, Deus tamen, qui conscientiae, testis est, ita hoc accipit, sicut ille, cui juratur, intelligit."

Let me add, that no intelligent person reading these tracts, and other productions of the same school, can doubt that a most formidable party has at last openly declared its intention of destroying our venerable Church as by law established, and of reviving in its stead undisguised Popery. Whatever may be the particular view of the individuals who contribute to these tracts, whatever be their piety, whatever be their learning, the object of them as a party cannot be mistaken, and it is now at length plainly avowed.

A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Edw. Pryn

STRICTURES

ON

No. 90 OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY A MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

“I *M. N.* do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these *three* Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.”—*Canon 36.*

LECTURES ON ROMANISM.

LECT. X. p. 297.

Scripture is the foundation of the Creed; but belief in Scripture is not the foundation of belief in the Creed.

ART. VIII.

The three Creeds ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

OXFORD,

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. VINCENT.

1841.

P R E F A C E.

It seems hardly necessary for the writer of the following pages to apologize for publishing a defence of those Articles which he has solemnly sworn to observe, and especially as no answer as yet has been published in opposition to the most extraordinary method used in Tracts for the Times, No. 90, to explain away the grounds of subscription. The system pursued in this publication can need no defence, for standard authorities are constantly appealed to, and the authorized documents of our Church.

It must be evident, that although no excuse can be rendered for making an attack under cover of an anonymous publication, yet the present is perfectly justifiable, as being a defence, and not an attack.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text notes that without reliable records, it would be difficult to verify the accuracy of financial statements and to identify any irregularities.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific requirements for record-keeping. It states that all transactions must be recorded in a clear and concise manner, using a standardized format. This includes recording the date, amount, and nature of the transaction, as well as the names of the parties involved. The document also stresses the importance of retaining records for a sufficient period of time to allow for future audits and investigations.

3. The third part of the document discusses the role of internal controls in ensuring the accuracy of records. It explains that internal controls are designed to prevent errors and fraud by establishing a system of checks and balances. This includes separating duties, requiring authorization for transactions, and conducting regular reconciliations. The text notes that a strong internal control system is essential for maintaining the integrity of the financial system.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of transparency and accountability in financial reporting. It states that financial statements should be prepared in accordance with established accounting standards and should be audited by an independent third party. This ensures that the information provided is reliable and trustworthy. The document also emphasizes the importance of disclosing any potential conflicts of interest and providing clear explanations for any unusual transactions.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the consequences of non-compliance with the requirements outlined in the document. It states that failure to maintain accurate records or to follow the prescribed procedures can result in severe penalties, including fines and imprisonment. The text notes that non-compliance can also damage the reputation of the organization and lead to a loss of trust from investors and other stakeholders.

ON THE INTRODUCTION.

It is perhaps difficult at first sight to detect the latent meaning of sophistical sentences and to reduce them to a degree of explicitness, which is required before they can be satisfactorily controverted. But though the writer of No. 90 has begun with a considerable degree of caution and circumspection—though he has exhibited great fear lest *a certain party* should claim him as their own in revolutionary movements—yet he has explained with sufficient clearness his opinion of our dreadful state as a Church. He must be thanked, however, for *at last* exhibiting to his followers that the Articles offer no real difficulty—that they are so vague—that they are so much against the fancies of individual Romanists as to have forgotten the publicly professed dogmas of the Papal Church,—because, when our Articles have seemed even to his own party to “gall” them, it would have been unsatisfactory for the “disciples” not to have had the explanation of the master. Thanks must be rendered him for “approximating towards the argumentative answer to it, of which most men have an *implicit apprehension*, though they have *nothing more*.” For certainly, till the fantastic enlightenment thrown upon antiquity by the nineteenth century had undeceived them, men usually held our Articles “to be the text-book for tutors in their theological teaching,” and consequently supposed them to be a considerable restraint and check upon

any heretical opinions. Perhaps, however, they were led into this erroneous view from reading the Introductory Lecture to Mr. Newman's Lectures (p. 28), in which it is said, that "the Thirty-nine Articles are a second trial of our humility and self-restraint." Among other declarations of the intentions of the writer, we have this, that they will never further "a relaxation of subscriptions" . . . "against the wish of the great body of the Church." We should have thought that it would have been sufficient to leave this unsaid, if "the objection" to the Articles is "groundless," as the writer had written a few lines before. This, however, is a mere trifle; for some persons wish to be so explicit in their statements, that none of their opponents may be able to misunderstand them. Again, we have an explanation of the writer's views with regard to the opinions of a majority, and "never can he, without a great alteration of sentiment, be party to forcing the opinion or project of one school upon another." Now, all must admit this to be extremely satisfactory; but a note appended to the following sentence introduces a *possible* occurrence, which virtually establishes the principle before condemned. "This is not meant to hinder acts of Catholic consent, such as occurred anciently, when the Catholic body aids one portion of a particular Church against another portion." This, then, is to be the exception to so good a rule; this is to palliate so grave an admission; lest the Church should, in the writer's theory, be in the slightest degree injured. Foreign interference, however impracticable, yet seems too pleasant a topic altogether to be omitted.

In page 4, we have a sentence which appears to have escaped the writer, from the ardour with which he supports his principles. For we had read, that there were "real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the ecclesiastical position of our Church in the present day; yet the Articles, i. e. her Theological teach-

ing, were not among the number; but the disciple of the worthy fathers of our Church—Hammond, Andrews, and Hooker—now fully impressed with the burden and conscientious oppression which they had undergone, bursts forth into a declaration of the real, though implied, object of this Anglo-Catholic teaching: “Till her members are stirred up to this religious course,” (unity, and surrendering their private opinions,) “let the Church sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains; let her submit to her imperfections as a punishment; let her go on teaching with the *stammering lips* of ambiguous formularies, and inconsistent precedents and principles but partially developed; we are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker;” let us not faint under that body of death which they bore about in patience, nor shrink from the penalty of sins which they inherited from the age before them.” Either this passage means that the Church ought to change her present position, and ought to leave her present bondage, or I am utterly at a loss to understand the meaning of an English sentence. The writer of these Tracts allows that there may be a meaning extracted from *out* of any book, though the meaning be not on the surface. Now, let the reader turn to p. 3, and he will find this declaration, “A change in Theological teaching involves either the commission or the confession of sin; it is either the *confession* or *renunciation* of *erroneous doctrine*.” Thus, in a word, the Church ought to change, because in bondage and suffering for her sins; and all change implies *sin* previously existing, i. e. erroneous teaching. Is not then the

^a The mention of these great men would shew that the writer's intention, in this passage, was not to refer to restrictions of 1688 and 1689, as is done in Lectures on Romanism; but the mention of these names certainly will not prove their opinion to have been similar to those of the writer of No. 90, for Hooker, at least, seems to have been quite satisfied with our Church.

state of the Church of England one which confesses sin? for surely the writer will not avoid the dilemma which he himself has put. If we ought to change, it implies *past guilt* or *erroneous doctrine*. Further, "If it" (i. e. change) "does not succeed in proving the fact of past guilt, it *ipso facto* implies present." That is, if there is no past guilt to warrant a change, then the very change convicts its authors of guilt. Now, could the Tract writer then speak in such terms of a desire for unity, and its end a change in the teaching of the Church, unless he were truly convinced of her need of change, and consequently of her present guilt? Other members of our Church do not feel this galling bondage. Other members of the Church do not consider her to be afflicted with stammering lips, nor themselves to be restrained in preaching or *teaching* (for remember this word is used in the quotation) the Gospel, and expounding the Rule of the word of God. And so by the shewing of these very men, who have attacked the want of discipline and those changing regulations of a Church, *by their own showing* they are convicted of being members of a Church, whose state is that of sin and erroneous teaching. Can we sign that which we believe to be erroneous, and then deceive ourselves by an "*argumentative answer*" to any objections which may present themselves?

The importance of this view will not allow me to raise any minor objections, many of which must occur to all who read this Tract; but as the writer says that "these remarks are beyond our present scope," perhaps it is to be expected that he will explain his views more fully.

But before we enter upon this point, let me suppose a case which may illustrate the subject. If a friend express his intention of doing you a kindness by a letter written on the subject, would you, for a moment, think that his intentions were to be judged by some *collateral evidence*, and not by his

own declaration? If you doubted his word, you would evidence how little trust you had in the honesty of his intentions. Now what is the case as regards the Church? there is no friend dearer than the Church, and this Church explains her views in set Articles; and for what are Articles but the very purpose “of avoiding diversities of opinion, and for the establishing of *consent* touching true religion?” (it even tells you how you are to understand them, i. e. in “their literal and grammatical sense;” and yet some seem to prefer a rule of faith which the Church never sanctions—some seem to imagine that the collateral evidence—which however may be, and is of use—some seem to imagine that this is of more importance than the direct guide. In such a case, some believe the Church can explain herself better by “the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies,” than by the direct letter which is written to prevent heresy, to effectuate agreement. Why are those who call themselves Anglo-Catholics claiming the Liturgy as that on which doctrine is to be founded? why not be content with the plain meaning of the Articles, if the Articles support their views? If we have to distort and explain away a document, it is the strongest evidence of our mistrust of that document. Is Catholic doctrine sound? then the Articles which churchmen grant to be sound must be equally Catholic with the Liturgy; or if there is any superiority, all who have any confidence in our Church must believe, that that which it appointed as a guide of faith would be more suited for a guide, and would express its meaning more than something accidentally suitable to the purposes of devotion. In one word, the Articles are to expound the Liturgies, not the Liturgy the Articles. For if you reject the view that the Articles are a rule, you may well fear the Twentieth, which declares that “the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies

of faith." Nor is there any denial that this refers to a particular visible Church, and therein to our Church; for unless this be the case, our Church has, by an arbitrary act, constituted herself falsely as though having power, and her whole basis is unsound and wicked. If the authority declared in the Article, and signed by us all, belong to our Church, and to none other can any Anglican attribute it; then by refusing to acquiesce in any iota of her doctrine and the spirit of her teaching, we become inconsistent and self-contradicted members. In violation of this principle of common sense, those who rail the loudest at private judgment, even within the pale of our Church, question her authority, and set up for themselves a standard of one century, and discuss how far certain doctrines set forth by our Church (as they say to include Catholics) will *permit* them conscientiously and argumentatively to subscribe. "The Articles *may be* subscribed." Not "the spirit and doctrine of our Church is scriptural, and therefore do I hold them thoroughly;" but "I *can* subscribe the Articles *as not uncatholic*; I do rule myself by the prayers, because they preceded the Reformation." As though not to be written by our Reformers were a higher praise than to be the rule set forth by our Church, ay, and acknowledged as scriptural by all who have signed them. It seems that by signing the Articles we grant that the Church has power under certain limitations, and if, after granting this, we attack the Articles which are the result of that power, it becomes incumbent on us to shew how the Church has violated such limitations, (i. e. the word of God,) and if it has, we cannot stay within its pale, because it is incumbent on us to set forth doctrines contrary to the spirit and declarations of the Church; and this is as much a schismatical act, as openly to leave its communion. But are there members of our Church who do offer this insult to our

Church's exposition of the Rule of Faith, the word of God? There are, and many are the assaults which are made; but none with such success as in deteriorating the Articles, by comparing them with authorized formularies which is here the case; but let the writer speak for himself, and I will compare it with an extract from the Lectures on Romanism.

THE PRAYER-BOOK AS SUPERIOR TO THE ARTICLES.

Tract, No. 90. p. 4. Year 1841.

While our Prayer-book is acknowledged on all hands to be of *Catholic origin*,^b our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, *not uncatholic*, and *may be subscribed* by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine.

Lectures, p. 29. Year 1838.

No member of the English Church allows himself to build on any doctrine different from that found in our book of Common Prayer. That formulary contains the *elements* of our Theology, and herein lies the practical exercise of our faith, &c.

There we have extracts agreeing in spirit and matter; and the substance is, that the Prayer-book must be considered nearer the truth than the Articles; but I give a further illustration of this view: "There is no mistaking then in this day, in England, where the Church Catholic is, and *what her*

^b Tract, No. 9.—"Conscious of the incongruity of primitive forms and modern feelings, our Reformers undertook to construct a Service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the English language: they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early ritual," &c. &c. *Tempora mutantur*. Now the ritual is every thing, and the Articles are to be distorted. See further, No. 33. "But is there not certainly a distinction of doctrine and matter between the Liturgy and the Articles?" This is to shew how a clergyman is justified in preaching *more* than the Articles.

teaching.^c To follow her is to follow the Prayer-book, instead of following preachers who are but individuals:" and a few lines further on, "Did we receive the Creed as our Gospel, embrace and act upon the doctrine of our services, and if any where we differed, differ in silence?" &c. p. 321, Lectures. Thus we find the Creed as the guide of the Anglo-Catholic, and the Articles are not even mentioned. Now surely this cannot be very intelligible, unless we understand the writer to surrender the Articles at once; which would seem to be the case, as he does not refer to them as any part of the teaching of our Church in this Lecture (X.) I am, to say the least, not ignorant that an objection has been raised to our Articles, which, if granted, would appear a formidable support of this view: for if our Articles are *mere* protests against heretical views, and are dubious and uncertain, and we cannot understand them; of course, if we can understand the Creed and Formularies, we are bound to consider them the teaching of our Church.^d But remember that this, if true, proves either an imbecility or dishonesty on the part of our Church. Imbecile, if unable to explain; dishonest, if pretending to ex-

^c How the writer of these Lectures can be consistent with the writer of No. 90, will be best determined by comparing the passages.

Tract, No. 90.

"Let her go on *teaching* with the *stammering lips of ambiguous formularies,*" &c. &c.

Lectures, p. 320, ed. 1838.

"She professes to be the Catholic Church, and to transmit that one ancient Catholic Faith: and she does transmit it simply and INTELLIGIBLY; not the most unlettered of her members can *miss* her meaning. She speaks in her formularies and services." Again, "There is no *mis-taking,*" &c. as quoted above, p. 321.

^d This would appear contradictory, but the *writers* must reconcile their own writings, or where shall we refer for a *guide* in understanding the Church?

^e Nor let me be misunderstood in this matter, for there is *no distinction of doctrine* between the Formularies and Articles, and I only protest against a rejection of the Church's exposition (the Articles) to make room for the Prayer-book. Neither of these do I conceive in the least degree to support Tractarianism: but let each occupy the place assigned it by our Church.

plain and appoint a standard, it has set forth one for the purpose of its being distorted to all points, when her own rule of interpretation is observed, I mean "in a literal and grammatical sense."

First, then, let us refer to the Tractarian method of treating the Articles, and see how far they agree or differ in their opinions. We find (No. 5. p. 13) these words: "When corruptions, prevalent among the professedly Christian world, render it necessary for her to state the *substance* of her faith in *Articles*, (as was done in A.D. 1562,") &c. &c.; but in after Numbers their principles are explained in contradiction to this view. The Church stated the *substance* of her faith in Articles, says No. 5; but see the doctrines of No, 38 for the further development.^e

"There is a popular confusion on this subject. Our Articles are not a *body of divinity*, but in great measure only protests against certain errors of a certain period of the Church," (No. 38, near the end.) Again: "A statesman of the last century is said to have remarked, that we have Calvinistic Articles and a Popish Liturgy. This, of course, is an idle calumny. But is there not certainly a distinction of *doctrine* and manner between the Liturgy and the Articles? And does not what I have just stated account for it? viz. that the Liturgy, as coming down from the Apostles, is the depository of their complete teaching, while the Articles are polemical, and for the most part only protests against certain definite errors? Such are my views about the Articles," &c. Then we have an apology for preaching more doctrines than are contained in the Articles, on the ground that they are nearly

^e A quotation with reference to this and other developments from a high authority must be acceptable. "It is ever the tendency of *novelty and schismatical teaching*, to develop itself further, and detach itself more from the doctrines of the Church," &c. &c. Dr. Pusey's Preface to 4th edition of his Letter.

all mere protests against error; that they only condemn, and do not assert. If this be the case, how strange that we never call them protests, but Articles. For the very name will imply something more than denial—something of importance—something of assertion. How strange it would seem if I were to apply the same objection to the *Creed*, and assert, that because it was a protest against certain definite errors, that it contained nothing to guide me in my teaching. Now, I ask, what is to hinder any other latitudinarian from pursuing this course, and, upon a Tractarian's own ground, declaring that he had nothing to guide him? Is the Nicene Creed of no importance, because against a heresy? Did it not hereby give an opportunity to the Church to declare her opinion and exert her authority? Is not St. John's Gospel—to speak after the manner of men—attributable to the erroneous views held by "certain definite" heretics? To use any argument of this character is of such a dangerous tendency, that we should use it with particular caution.

If we grant the objection in part, yet there still remains strong ground against the assailants of the Articles, for doctrine may be conveyed in form of protest. If the worship of saints and angels is prohibited, much is to be inferred from it, and both Pagan and Popish idolatry is signified.

One more objection is urged, that not all doctrines are mentioned, and therefore our Articles cannot be a system of divinity. Now it seems difficult to discover what doctrines are omitted; and again the Tracts assist us: but only one doctrine have I found mentioned as an omission, and that is the inspiration of Scripture; but for the discussion of this point see section 1. It would seem, from the frequency with which this apparent omission is brought forward, and this only, that our Articles are nearly a religious system, a body of divinity. Hear the Lecturer, p. 352: "To which I answer by asking in

turn, why the Articles contain no recognition of the inspiration of Holy Scripture? There are, as all parties *must confess, great truths not expressly* stated in the Articles." Again, No. 41, p. 5: "All of us do believe, as essential, doctrines which nevertheless are not contained in the Articles, as, e. g. the inspiration of Holy Scripture." Again, No. 38: "Let me ask, do you not hold the inspiration of Holy Scripture? *C.* Undoubtedly.—*C.* Is it not a Clergyman's duty to maintain and confess it? *L.* Certainly.—*C.* But the doctrine is no where found in the Articles," &c. &c. More passages are unnecessary, and I will endeavour to answer the objection in the main. That because the Articles do not mention expressly some one or more doctrines, therefore they are not a system, or body of divinity; by which terms we understand a whole connected substance of doctrine.

Again I call to your minds the fact, that this same objection lies against the Creed, which some call *Regula Fidei*; and which, to use the words of Newman's Lectures on Romanism, p. 268, "was called the *Regula Fidei*, or Rule of Faith; as the formulary by which all statements of doctrine made in the Church were to be measured and estimated." Now if the Creed is so satisfactory, *a fortiori*, the Articles are—and here I again refer to No. 38, p. 9, to prove this point: "Our Articles are one portion of that accumulation," (i. e. the "accumulated wealth of ages.") "I look upon our Articles as, in one sense, an addition to the Creeds." (Ibid.) But, perhaps, some may fancy that the Creed had expositors, or that there was a latent doctrine; and on this point hear the Lectures, p. 272: "The Romanists would maintain that the Baptismal Creed was but a portion of the sacred deposit specially committed to the Church's keeping. But with the passages already cited before us, which expressly call the Creed the rule of teaching, is it possible to conceive that that rule of teaching

then comprised any thing that did not *naturally rise out of it, or was an explanation of it?* Even granting there were Articles of Faith, which as yet lay amid the general traditionary teaching, undefiled and unrecognised in public formularies, such as the divinity of the Holy Ghost, is it not plain that they still must have been *implied* and *virtually* contained in the Creed, if the Creed had any title to the name of Symbol, or Rule, or Summary of Christian doctrine?" Yet after this we may again hear that our Articles do not *contain* or *express* some Christian doctrine, even in open defiance of their own writer.^f

But we need not this authority or parallelism, for we can judge for ourselves by examining the Articles, and it may easily be inferred from their structure that they are a system of religious teaching. The first five regard the Deity; and surely these are not mere protests. The sixth gives the Rule of Faith, or sufficiency of Scripture; and the seventh shews how this Rule of Faith is to be adapted between the two Testaments. (In the sixth, the Church shews cause against some false introductions to the Canon, and certainly the *protest* is not the prominent part of the Article.) The next shews the standard authorities in their interpretation. From the ninth to the seventeenth inclusive, the concerns of individuals and the method of salvation is shewn, and, in the course, Romanist corruptions are exposed. The eighteenth appears to be a summary in a few words of the hope and profession of a Christian — he need to belong to some Church. The nineteenth defines *the particular visible Church*. Twentieth, its authority. Twenty-first, the authority of the Universal visible Church. The following regard the important matters in the Church, or a guide for its services and efficacy of its rites. Several follies which were prevalent with regard to

^f See this whole Lecture, to explain the method in which any thing added may be an explanation.

men's duties as citizens, conclude her system. Hear Bishop Jewel, whose Apology is an authorized work, though he be but as an "irreverent Dissenter:" "We have declared at large unto thee, the *very whole matter* of our Religion, what our faith is of God the Father, of his only Son Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, of the Church, of the Sacraments, of the Ministerie of Scriptures, of Ceremonies, and of every part of Christian belief." Now an objection may be raised to this, as being said not of the Articles, but of the Apology: and to this I answer, that the coincidence is stronger; for here Jewel mentions the whole matter of our Religion, (not the whole matter of the Popish controversy,) and yet he only mentions the points decided in the Articles. See, again, the very object of the Articles, and answer how far that could be accomplished, unless men had something definite as a "system and body of Divinity" to guide them, so as to produce "*a consent touching matters of Religion.*"^g See, further, the tendency and direct meaning of the Declaration^h prefixed to the Articles: "To conserve and maintain the Church committed to our charge in unity of true Religion, and in the bond of peace," &c. &c. Let me ask, how the unity of the Church can be preserved, if all heretics can *twist* the true meaning, or if the Articles are so vague as not to decide systematically upon matters of Faith? "The Articles . . . do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word:"—"prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles." "The true doctrine" surely cannot mean "a part

^g This is in the Canons, and therefore the Tractarians must have signed it; and perhaps its authority may be allowed literally, as it is not from the Articles.

^h This declaration was of the King: "We have, therefore, upon mature deliberation, and *with the advice of so many of our Bishops* as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make the declaration following." Thus we may regard this as at least Cranmer's act, and a necessary result of the Articles being agreed upon in Convocation.

of the true doctrine," therefore the Articles must contain the whole doctrine of our Church; and whence have Clergymen liberty to add of their *private judgment*? Or how can authorities "prohibit any difference," which from the vagueness of the Articles can never occur? Therefore the view quoted from the Tract No. 38, and the Lectures, and on which the assertion p. 4. of No. 90 depends, is, to say the least, not founded on reason or authority, and seems to be part of the "novel and schismatical teaching, the tendency of which is to develop itself more fully as it advances."

To enter upon the question more fully in this introduction is impossible; and as remarks with regard to the tendency of these views and subscription will be brought forward in the conclusion, to delay upon them longer will be unnecessary. But let the Tractarians consider, whether they are not producing all the dangers of change, without any of its beneficial results. That they are in error, and have not the consent of the Articles in their literal and grammatical sense, (the Church's rule,) their own words will shew; and how far sophistry and argumentative conviction may prevail, I know not; but of one thing I am fully conscious, that if their principles of interpretation prevail, we may have all doctrine preached in our pulpits, but that which is scriptural, catholic, and true.

That Jewel, as has been said, believed our Articles to be a system, will be evident if we refer to the 17th section, ch. i. of his Apology:—"So we therefore have thought it not unreasonable or unprofitable to propound *openly and freely the faith* in which we stand, and *all that hope* which we have in Christ Jesus, that all may see what we think of every part of the Christian Religion." &c. &c.: and in accordance with this view he immediately proceeds, and his next chapter "contains the doctrine received in the Church of England;"

and this we find to be the *same* as that propounded in the Articles; e. g. Of God. Christ. Of his going down into Hell. The Holy Ghost. The Church. The Pope's supremacy. The calling of Ministers. Their Authority and Keys. Matrimony. Canonical Scriptures. The Sacraments, and their Number. Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Presence of Christ. Transubstantiation. Purgatory, and the subjects of the other Articles.

Lest any persons should be inclined wrongly to suspect the writer of No. 90, of having pursued a novel method of explaining away our Articles, I subjoin an extract from Bishop Waterland, a high authority: "For does the faith of Christ lie in words only, or in things? or is the repeating of the bare letter of Scripture, after a man has spirited away the sense, delivering divine truths, or contradicting and defeating them? To make the case plainer, I shall illustrate it by a resembling instance. Franciscus a Sancta Clara, a known papist, (who published his book A.D. 1634,) *contrived* to make our Thirty-nine Articles speak his own sentiments, reconciling them with great dexterity and most amazing subtilty to the Council of Trent. Now put the question, whether upon his thus professing his faith in Protestant terms, popishly interpreted, he could justly claim every privilege of a Church of England man, and whether we were bound to receive him as a fellow Protestant? A very little share of common sense, I presume, will be sufficient to determine the question in the negative." Waterland on the Trinity, p. 211. ed. Camb. 1800.

1. *Holy Scripture, and the Authority of the Church.*
Articles VI. and XX.

HOWEVER much we may object to the method of quotation and parenthesis pursued, other matters of higher importance will occupy our attention; but we must continually bear in mind, that an "argumentative answer" is the *scope of this Tract*, and by this we are to interpret it. This section professes to inquire, (1.) what is meant by Holy Scripture? and we may infer that there is some difficulty to be explained away in reference to this point, or it would not have been discussed at all. The first words on this subject appear to say that the difficulty is not here: "And the books of Holy Scripture are enumerated in the latter part of the Article, so as to preclude question;" but this is not all, as the writer proceeds—"Still two points deserve notice." But before we enter upon these, we must digress to a point not here questioned, i. e. How far the Articles imply or express the inspiration of Scripture? for it seems a matter worthy of attention. Passages where our Articles are said not to mention it have been quoted.

The heading of the Article in the Latin is, "De *divinis* Scripturis, quod sufficiant ad salutem." The Article commences in the Latin, "Scriptura sacra continet omnia, quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria." Now let me ask, what is meant by "sacra" and "divina," unless some distinctive title is here given to *inspired* writings over all others? and that both of them refer to the Canonical books *only* is shewn from the words which follow, by which they are placed in connection with things necessary to salvation.

“Sacred and divine” are high words to apply to any writing; and who could apply them to any writings unless from God? But, further, they are said to contain all things necessary to salvation; and surely no writing can be of such awful importance, unless inspired and from God. From these we prove our faith, and know all things; and must they not then be more than human? These reveal the will of God to us; and shall we not call them a revelation? Can we discover a method of salvation for ourselves? and if we cannot, God must have revealed himself to us in some books, or in some way, and this our Article declares to be the Holy Scriptures. It would seem a contradiction to common sense to say, that such words as are used in our Articles could be said of any other writing than the revealed will of God; and if they can only thus be used, to whatever they are applied, to these also must be attached, that they are inspired. The attack on this Article is only another specimen of the method pursued by the Tractarian party, which must expose to all doubts and fears the people in this country, and that, too, on the most important points.^a

^a We may refer to another matter in Catholic teaching, which has also been omitted in No. 90. Let us compare two passages.

Lectures on Romanism, p. 399.

“Nothing, I think, is plainer from these extracts, than that the authors of them looked upon Scripture as the public standard of proof, the tribunal of appeal, in controversy, however conclusive the argument from Catholic Tradition might be for private conviction. Now how strikingly coincident with this view are the words of our Articles! ‘Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that’ (i. e. in such sense that) ‘whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man.’ The Article is altogether of a polemical character.”

Lectures on Romanism, p. 344.

“The Article is certainly engaged in stating a great *principle*; it begins with a formal enunciation, as if uttering what it felt to be a bulwark of the Truth and an antidote against the errors of the times.”

The first point discussed, is not of that importance to this subject, as to induce me to enter fully upon the question, and therefore let us turn to the second observation: "And next be it observed that the books, which are commonly called Apocrypha, are not asserted in this Article to be destitute of inspiration, or to be simply human, but to be not canonical; in other words, to differ from canonical Scripture, specially in this respect, viz. that they are not adducible in proof of doctrine." Examine this passage closely, and you will find no assertion in favour of the inspiration; yet no single individual can read it without understanding it to hint, that our Church does not negative the inspiration of the Apocrypha. Before we enter upon the question of authorities produced in support of this half-view, we will endeavour to shew, by the same line of argument as in the inspiration of Scripture, that our Church does declare to all who can "unfeignedly and *ex animo*" sign her Articles, "that she *rejects the inspiration* of the Apocrypha.^b If Holy Scriptures are canonical books, and canonical books alone are Holy Scriptures, as is shewn in the second clause of this Article, then what are other books? To say the least, not *holy*, not *divine*; for we have shewn the

"A bulwark of the Truth" seems little adapted to the concluding words of this paragraph, which is exactly as in the copy of the Lectures; and who is there that on reading this would not form an incorrect notion of our Article, from the method of punctuation observed, and from the words in Italics? See the 45th Tract, p. 4. where, by the same Article falsely, or rather short-quoted, the sense of it is quite altered, and contradicts the Homily. "For in Holy Scripture is *fully* contained what we ought to do," &c.

^b Suppose we pursue the Tractarian argument, and follow Augustine De Doctr. Chr. ii. 3, it is quite possible to *prove* that the words "those canonical books," mean those *of* the canonical books, of whose authority there never hath been any doubt, as though all books of the Old and New Testament were canonical, and the present received Bible was made up of such books as were never doubted. Now this might easily be done, and *proved* from Augustine, as we shall see. Yet, surely, we must understand *canon* in an *Anglican* sense, and by its received sense.

term *divina* to apply to the same thing as the *sacra*. Why do the Holy Scripture and the Apocrypha differ *especially* in point of doctrine? For now I take the Tractarian point, and will endeavour to shew, that if they differ on point of doctrine, it is quite enough to prove that they are not inspired. Inspiration must either render a man infallible, or leave him as he was before, fallible. If it renders him infallible, he must be so in all points; and therefore the writers cannot err in doctrine; but the Apocrypha does err in doctrine, therefore it is not infallibly inspired. Again, if the inspiration be but fallible, then it would have been absurd to mention it in the Articles; inasmuch as by confessing them profitable, they allow that they are, to a certain extent, inspired. But let there be no confusion as to this point, for the Apocrypha is not inspired in a scriptural sense; and it might be said with Chrysostom, "I know that many of the holy fathers have spoken of the creation, and have said many great and glorious things as the grace of the Holy Spirit measured unto them. Yet, though many great and glorious things have been spoken, nothing hinders us also to speak as the grace of the Holy Spirit may have guided us." (De Mundi Creat. l. i.) But infallible inspiration was implied in the Article as belonging to Holy Scripture; and from this Holy Scripture it excludes the Apocrypha, and declares it to be fallible; and how then can it be inspired? If it were inspired in any other sense than as Chrysostom, it would be an infallible authority, and consequently teach infallibly; but it teaches wrong in doctrine; (as the Article implies,) and therefore is not inspired in a sense which admits of being placed any higher than human. Thus much for proof from the Article: but a text of Scripture on this last point sets the matter at rest. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for

reproof," &c. All Scripture, (*πασα γραφη*;) (here there is no exception, no omission:) *all Scripture*—how can we say that the Apocrypha is profitable for these things? Our Article and Anglican teaching denies it of the Apocrypha, and consequently denies of the Apocrypha that it is a part of Scripture. Whence, then, its inspiration? Or, whence the need for our Church to assert the same thing over and over again, to convince those who might be disposed to raise objections and pervert them? The words which follow the quotation from Jerom place the views of the Tractarian beyond doubt: "That this is the limit to which our disparagement of them extends, is plain, not only because the Article mentions nothing beyond it, but also from the reverential manner in which the Homilies speak of them, as shall be incidentally shewn in Section XI." So our Church has *disparaged* the Apocrypha, but yet only to a certain limit; i. e. as hinted above, the Church^c considers them inspired, only not so inspired as to prove doctrine. Now we have shewn that they cannot be inspired, and that the Church does not consider them so: but the objection from the Homilies shall be answered incidentally, as in No. 90. (See Appendix A.)

If the Church be a witness of the truth, how can she surrender from the Canon that which has an equal claim to be contained in it?

But further on we have the authority of two fathers adduced to prove that "such reverence" (i. e. holding them inspired) is compatible with "such disparagement," (i. e. reject-

^c The Church might read the Homilies of Chrysostom, and some great admirers of this Father might claim him as a guide in matters of faith; and if the Church denied him as a guide, and yet said he had some good in him, shall we thenceforth rise up and say, the Church allows his inspiration?

ing them *from* the Canon,) “both of whom imply more or less *their* inferiority to *canonical* Scripture, yet use them freely and continually, and speak of them as Scripture. St. Augustine says,”

DE DOCT. CHRIST. 11. 8.

St. Augustine, as quoted p. 6.
No. 90.

“Those books which are received by *all the Churches* (the very language of the Article) should be preferred to those which are not received by all, and should be accorded greater authority.”

(Given exactly as in p. 6.)

St. Augustine, as in the Benedictine Edition.

“Tenebit igitur hunc modum in *Scripturis Canonicis* ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur *ecclesiis Catholicis*, præponat eis, quas quædam non accipiunt.”

Here I have given parallel the two quotations; and after shewing some few omissions, I shall shew to a certainty that Augustine has no more in this chapter to support the Tractarian view, than to overturn the Newtonian System. First, I have a charge that the writer has omitted the two most important words, and has given such a translation as entirely to alter the sense of the passage. This may perhaps appear a bold assertion, but yet perfectly true.

So extraordinary is this misapplication, that unless history had rendered it impossible that I can be mistaken, (as I will shew presently,) I should have feared to make the attack; but chapter and book are given, and the passage which I have placed in parallels is the only one in any degree alike. In this a rough *translation* is given, and these words are put in italics, and said to be the very language of the Article; a strange coincidence; whereas the original has “ab omnibus *ecclesiis Catholicis*,” which quite alters the parallel in words, and

proves that St. Augustine considered that there was *more than one* Catholic Church.

But there is another charge, that this quotation is turned so as to signify something utterly different from the original; and if a literal translation had been given, the passage never could have been here quoted. For instance, the writer of No. 90 wishes to give some authority to the Apocrypha, though "not canonical;" and the extract being only with regard to *canonical* Scripture, cannot apply *at all* to the Apocrypha *unless* it is canonical, since the Latin is *in Canonicis Scripturis*, and points out a rule for discriminating between them. Perhaps the best method of exhibiting this opposition will be to give that part of the chapter which refers to the matter. The chapter commences with an exhortation to read Scripture and avoid other books, and then commences as to these canonical books.

"In *Canonicis* autem *Scripturis* ecclesiarum Catholicarum quam plurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sint, quæ Apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in *Scripturis Canonicis*, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur *Ecclesiis Catholicis*, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures graviioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc facile inveniri non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto. *Totus autem Canon Scripturarum, in quo istam considerationem versandum dicimus, his libris continetur.*" Here follows an enumeration of Scripture, in which the *Apocrypha* is included. Thus, in a word, Augustine considers the Apocrypha *canonical*; and yet the writer of No. 90, well read in Patristic lore, we may presume, so far forgets himself and Augustine's views as to produce him as

one of two witnesses in proof of an assertion, that “we might disparage the Apocrypha by excluding it from the Canon, and yet treat it with some reverence.” How far then is the assertion verified? “both of whom (Augustine and Jerom) imply more or less their inferiority to canonical Scripture.”

The syllogism which follows is one which cannot stand.

The major premiss;=bad translation, as shewn.

The minor premiss contradicts the authority on which the major rests.

Minor Premiss.

Books which are canonical cannot have less authority than others.

Augustine, from whom the Major is a wrong translation, as shewn by parallel in p. 25.

In eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent.

That the words *in eis* can only refer to the *canonical Scriptures*, and that in consequence the authority of some *canonical books, in the opinion of St. Augustine*, is to be preferred to that of others, will be *plain and evident* to all who read the chapter above quoted.

The conclusion, then, only remains: “It follows, according to St. Augustine, that those books which are not received by all the churches are not canonical.” As the premisses, so the conclusion will be seen, by comparison with the passages above quoted, to be utterly contrary to Augustine’s meaning.

But historical testimony has been alluded to, and now let us examine it. History, as well as the chapter quoted, shews that Augustine received the Apocrypha as canonical; and

let us hear Bishop Marsh on this point: (Comparative View, p. 95.)

“Such was the state of things, when the Greek Bible was adopted by the early *Latin* Church, as a kind of *original* for the Old Testament. And, as the Latin translator or translators were unable to discriminate between books originally *Greek*, and books originally *Hebrew*, they translated them in the mass, and received them with *equal veneration*, (*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ.*) Hence the celebrated St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, whose reading was chiefly confined to works in his *native* language, regarded all the books of the *Latin* Version as books of *canonical* authority. In his treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, he has stated what he calls the ‘Whole Canon of Scripture,’ (Totus Canon Scripturarum;) and in this Canon he expressly names the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and two books of Maccabees.^d No notice indeed is taken in this Canon, either of the *apocryphal* parts of Esther and Daniel, or of the book of Baruch.

^d Totus autem Canon Scripturarum, in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur; quinque Moysesos, id est, Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio; et uno libro Jesu Nave; uno Judicum, uno libello, qui appellatur Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere: deinde quatuor Regnorum, et duobus Paralipomenon, non consequentibus, sed quasi a latere adjunctis, simulque pergentibus. Hæc est historia, quæ sibi annexa tempora continet, atque ordinem rerum. Sunt aliæ tanquam ex diverso ordine, quæ neque huic ordini, neque inter se connectuntur: sicut est Job, et Tobias, et Esther, et Judith, et Machabæorum libri duo, et Esdræ duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum et Paralipomenon terminatam. Deinde Prophetæ; in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres, Proverbiorum, Cantica Canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri, unus, qui *Sapientia*, et alius qui *Ecclesiasticus* inscribitur, de quadam similitudine *Salomonis* dicuntur; nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur; qui tamen, quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, *inter propheticos numerandi sunt.* Augustini Opp. tom. iii. p. i. p. 23. ed. Benedict. He then mentions by name each of the sixteen prophetic books; and concludes with the observation, His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti Veteris terminatur auctoritas.—His Canon of the *New Testament*, which is subjoined to his Canon of the *Old Testament*, is exactly the same with our own.

But as in the Latin Version the two former were *constituent* parts of Esther and Daniel, and Baruch was an appendage to Jeremiah, the very circumstance of his mentioning those books without an observation, shews that he received those books *entire*, (*libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus.*^e)

“At length, in the beginning of the *fifth* century, a *new* Latin translation of the Old Testament was published by Jerom.^f And *this* translation was made, not, like the *old* Latin translation, from the Greek *version*, but from the *Hebrew original*. From *that* period, the difference between the *Latin Canon* and the *Hebrew Canon* became generally known: and Jerom himself has clearly explained it in his *Prologus galeatus*.^g He has there *enumerated* the books contained in the Hebrew Bible, ‘that we may know, that whatever is *beside* them, should be placed among the *Apocrypha*.^h

“^e Though we are not at present concerned with the Canon of the *Greek Church*, it will not be superfluous to observe, that the *Greek Fathers* did not make such mistakes in regard to the *canonical writings* of the Old Testament, as the *Latin Fathers*. But even the *Greek Fathers* were sometimes led into mistakes by the use of the *Septuagint*, and its *intermixture* of apocryphal with canonical books. Modern writers on the Canon of the Old Testament have frequently attempted to explain the mistakes both of the *Greek* and of the *Latin Fathers*, by contending that, when they ascribe canonical authority to an *apocryphal* book, they do it only to a certain *degree*, or under certain *limitations*. Now a book is either *canonical*, or it is *not* canonical: there is no such thing as a medium. Indeed such explanations are mere subterfuges, founded on the false notion, that the Canon of the Old Testament must be regulated by the *opinions* of the *Fathers*. It must be regulated *wholly and solely* by the answer to the question; *What* books were contained in those Hebrew Scriptures, which received the *sanction* of our *Saviour*?

“^f It was *begun* before the end of the fourth century, but not finished till after the year 405. See Martianay’s second Prolegomenon to the *Divina Bibliotheca Hieronymi*.

“^g The *Prologus galeatus* was so called, because it was considered as a sort of *helmet*, at the head of Jerom’s translation of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, Jerom himself calls it *galeatum principium* omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum. It is called also *Præfatio Hieronymi de omnibus libris Veteris Testamenti*, and is printed under that name in the Benedictine edition of Jerom’s Works, vol. i. p. 318—322.

“^h Ut scire valeamus, quicquid *extra* hos est, inter *Ἀποκρυφα* esse ponendum. *Ib.* p. 322.

But though Jerom was far the most *learned* among the Latin Fathers, his opinion on the Canon of Scripture did not prevail in the Church of Rome. The books, which he had termed *apocryphal*, were not only *retained* in the Latin version, but retained *intermixed*, as before, with the books confessedly canonical. Thus the Canon of Augustine continued to be the Canon of the *ruling* party. But, as there were not wanting persons, especially among the *learned*, 'who, from time to time, recommended the Canon of Jerom, it was necessary for the Council of Trent to *decide* between the contending parties. And, as Luther, on the one hand, decided in favour of Jerom,ⁱ the Council of Trent, on the other hand, decided in favour of Augustine. Hence also we discover (what is not generally known) the *reason* why the Council of Trent *omitted* the third and fourth books of Esdras, with the Prayer of Manasses. They were omitted in the catalogue of Augustine.^k"

This quotation throws considerable light on the canonicity of Scripture, and also confirms the view given of Augustine's meaning. We may conclude, from most certain evidence, that the passage of Augustine is misapplied in consequence of *misquotation*, and made to distinguish between Canonical and Apocryphal books, which Augustine, it seems, does not.

After having found that this authority has fallen to the ground and has "rather" entangled the writer of No. 90, perhaps we shall discover something "more express and pertinent" in Jerom. But with regard to his authority,

ⁱ "The books, and parts of books, of which Jerom had said that they should be placed 'inter ἀπόκρυφα,' were separated in Luther's German translation from the books contained in the Hebrew Bible, and placed together by themselves under the title 'Apocrypha; that is, Books, which are not to be considered as equal to *Holy Scripture*, and yet are useful and good to read.'

^k "If it be asked why Augustine *himself* omitted them, an answer may easily be given. The *fourth* book of Esdras, or the *second apocryphal* book of Esdras, is neither contained in the *present* copies of the Septuagint, nor is it known to have *ever* occupied a place in it; though it once probably existed *elsewhere* in Greek. (See Fabricii Bib. Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 741. ed. Harles.)"

what is it? “he distinctly names many of the books which he considers not canonical, and virtually names them all by naming which *are* canonical;” and is this a proof of his reverence, or not-disparagement? If so, then also our Article proves the point, and the writer need not have referred to Jerom. Two quotations follow, and these do prove that Jerom mentions certain apocryphal books as not in the Canon: but this no one doubts; and I cannot understand the reason of their introduction, unless to supply a want of any single extract to prove the point asserted. This matter is concluded by an assertion utterly unsupported by any proof: but even if it were proved, it in no degree asserts the inspiration of the Apocrypha, unless reverence or respect for any thing necessarily implies an immediate divine origin. One observation occurs in reference to this point: why is there no distinction made between canonical and sacred writings (if there is any) in the standard writers of our Church? Why is this theory now broached for the first time, if this was the interpretation of *Catholics* in the days of the Reformation, and if this was their “argumentative answer?” The Homily on the Holy Scriptures makes no such distinction; for it never mentions the Apocrypha, nor does it even quote it. We need neither the Canon of Rome, nor any such perversion of the plain meaning of words. What again is the opinion of Hooker? Has he made this distinction in any shape or degree in his discussion on Holy Scripture? (book i.) On the contrary, he continually explains the necessary effects of Scripture, and agrees literally with the Article, yet never mentions the Apocrypha, nor does he imply the existence of other inspired writers; and surely in such a discussion it was necessary, if the Apocrypha be an inspired book. Again, hear Jewel, “The Scriptures are the word of God: What title can there be of greater value? what may be said to make them of *greater* authority, than to say

the Lord hath spoken them? that they came not by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." (Jewel on the Holy Scriptures.) This can in no degree be applied to the Apocrypha. See Bishop Hall, "No peace with Rome," section 14. "Six whole books should by their fatherhoods of Trent, under pain of a curse, imperiously be obtruded upon *God and his Church*." See also Usher, and other divines. It would not have any beneficial effect to give more quotations; nor is it required, as the view brought forward in No. 90 is not supported by any.

The next paragraph concerns the received version, and we find some observations of which the only end is to unsettle men's minds; for the translation is declared to have been "made and authorized by royal command, which cannot be supposed to have any claim upon our interior consent:" but surely this is not the most fair method of stating the fact; for our translation is not a selection by the King from a number of others, but merely his act, so far forth as he appointed those great and learned men the Translators. This act was merely the official part; and from the men engaged on the work, we have every reason to assent to the correctness of the translation.

3. The adjustment between the respective offices of Scripture and the Church.

"From this it appears, first, that the Church *expounds and enforces the faith*;" (*obtrudit*, or, as other copies, *obtendit*;) "for it is forbidden to expound in a particular way, or so to enforce as to obtrude: next, that it derives the faith *wholly from Scripture*: thirdly, that its office is to educe an *harmonious interpretation* of Scripture. Thus much the Article settles. Two important questions however it does not settle, viz. whether the Church judges, first, at her *sole discretion*; next, on her *sole responsibility*; i. e. first, what the *media* are by

which the Church interprets Scripture; whether by a direct divine gift, or Catholic tradition, or critical exegesis of the text, or in any other way: and next, who is to decide whether it interprets Scripture rightly, or not; what is her method, if any; who is her judge, if any. In other words, not a word is said, on the one hand, in favour of Scripture having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, *being the sole rule of faith*; nor, on the other, of the *private judgment of the individual* being the ultimate standard of interpretation." I have given the whole passage, because it is such an illustration of the method by which the plainest statements may be made unintelligible. For instance, the conclusion arrived at from the three points declared as the teaching of the two Articles is, that two points are unsettled. But if the Article had been allowed to explain itself, neither of these doubts could have arisen. The Article commences by an assertion of *authority*, yet the Tractarian omits that entirely; I will not say, because it is the turning point of the Article, but perhaps from oversight. Now let us examine the question more fully. *Authority* in matters of faith is declared to belong to the Church, and the first question which would suggest itself is, to what extent is that authority? If any one gives a friend authority to complete a purchase or transact other business, and does not give him any further advice, or confine him by any restrictions, then all would hold, that the person to whom the commission was given had unlimited authority. Again, if any one commissions his friend, and tells him, in the transaction, to avoid some one course or some two acts, the authority is limited so far, and so far only, as the words extend, and consequently a discretionary power is allowed in all other points. This must be granted by all as evidently the case, and therefore we may apply it to this Article. Does the Church receive her authority unshackled.

and are there no restrictions? Certainly, some restrictions are mentioned in the Article. To the authority it is attached, (1.) that it must not interpret contradictorily; (2.) that “besides the same, (i. e. Holy Writ,) it ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.” Now apply the instance taken to the Church, and we may say that the *authority* is limited so far, and so far only, as these two points, and that consequently a discretionary power is allowed *in all other* points. That these limitations form the exception to unlimited authority, is clear; and if any other limitations can be shewn, they are only joined to those previously existing, and in nowise disqualify the remaining authority. If this be correct, can it be said that the Article does not settle whether the Church judges *at her sole discretion*? No; for the limit (1.) is, that Scripture must be interpreted harmoniously;¹ (i. e. that Scripture must be interpreted according to Scripture:) (2.) that nothing must be added besides the Bible; (i. e. that tradition can never be brought forward to *prove* doctrine.) So that, also, it is *left to the Church* “to decide on the media by which she interprets Scripture;” and surely if the Church is an authoritative guide in interpreting Holy Writ—surely if this high dignity can be granted her, we may, at least, not wonder that the choice of means is also left to her authority. But in reading the Tract No. 90, and its summary, it might not occur to the reader, that the word authority had such importance: and this should be an example to writers, *carefully* to use the *very words* of the Article, before they make a charge of indistinctness.

Let us refer next to the second “important question” which our Church is said to have left undecided; i. e. “whether the

¹ The words of the Latin Articles, in the second clause, shew more clearly that these are the only limits, “*Quomodo Ecclesiam non licet*,” &c. “And yet it is not lawful,” in the English Articles.

Church judges on her *sole responsibility*; or who is to decide whether it interprets Scripture rightly or not?" I will not urge the evident distinction between *jus* and *auctoritas*, but will refer to the Article. The Church appoints *herself* limits, and consequently implies her own imperfection: and if the Church is confined to certain rules, then there must be some other party to judge how far she observes them; for if not, then the same party is judge as well as criminal, so to speak. As the Church is fallible, she may lead her members into *error*; and no one can be justified in following authority to do evil. Now that this is no strange view, will be seen from the following authorities.

Tract for the Times, No. 20, page 3: "True it is, were the Church to teach heretical doctrine, it might become incumbent on us (a miserable obligation) to separate from it."

No. 5, p. 13: "She puts the Bible into the hand of every member of her communion, and calls upon him to believe nothing as necessary to salvation which shall not appear, upon mature examination, to be set down therein, or at least to be capable of being proved thereby; but shewing at the same time her authority as its appointed interpreter, she cautions him not rashly, or without having fully weighed the subject, to dissent from her expositions, the results of the accumulated learning and labour of centuries. She warns him not without cause to run the risk of incurring the fearful sin of schism," &c.

BISHOP MARSH, (Compar. View, page 166): "Shall any man be bound to accept an interpretation of Scripture imposed on him by the will of another, if on mature deliberation he himself is convinced that such interpretation is false? Undoubtedly, he is not bound, nor does our Church impose the obligation."

It may be asserted, that Hooker is opposed to this; but that his remarks on submission only refer to non-essentials, is

plain from his words. (vol. i. p. 437. ed. Keble :) “The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as the desire of retaining conformity with them could be *no excuse*, if we did not perform that duty.” Thus we are inexcusable, according to Hooker, unless we perform our duty; and how can we perform our duty in hypocrisy? We must believe that which we assent to; and unless we can believe an interpretation, are we justified in doing violence to our conscience? The writer of “Lectures on Romanism” has seen the weight of this point, and sought to provide against it, and for this purpose he declares that the Creed is the only document of essential truth, and that the Church allows liberty as regards other matters. “I have said, that the Church was indefectible in the faith, or in the fundamentals of revealed religion, and that in consequence she superseded private judgment so far, and enforced her authoritative declarations of Christian truth; in other words, that she imposed a certain faith as a *condition of communion* with her, inflicting anathemas on those who denied it.”—p. 262. Now this plainly rests the unlimited authority of the Church upon its indefectibility, and on this matter let us hear Jeremy Taylor: “If the Church of Christ have an indefectibility, then it must be that which is in the state of grace and the divine favour. They whom God does not love, cannot fall from God’s love, but the faithful only and obedient are beloved of God; others may believe rightly, but so do the devils, who are *no part of the Church*,” &c. Since the *Church* (i. e. the visible Church) is defectible, and none but an indefectible Church can supersede private judgment, (as seen from the Lecture,) we may conclude that our private judgment is not superseded. But an answer remains, that though the Church may be said to be defectible, as Taylor meant it, yet as a witness of the essential truth,

and as transmitting the Creed, it cannot err. To this we must reply, that the mere document is no such proof of its own meaning as to refuse any but a sound interpretation,^m and that we have no *certain* guarantee for its continuance. All must remember, that at their *own risk* they will dissent, "to their own Master they stand or fall;" but surely the Church, by erring in fundamentals, or producing Articles contrary to God's word, would forfeit her compact, and transgress the limits which are self-appointed, or rather derived by herself from the word of God. In conclusion, we may safely assert, that neither in theory nor in practice does our Church deprive men of their judgment, and rest her decisions on the infallible word of God.

We must now refer more closely to the subject which was declared to be the first point undecided, and for that purpose let us again quote the Tract, p. 8. line 11: "In other words, not a word is said, on the one hand, in *favour* of Scripture, having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, *being the sole rule of faith.*"

Though the first part of this sentence is literally true, its spirit, or latent meaning, is by no means correct, as we have shewn previously, when discussing this subject; since we proved that the church uses her *sole discretion* in selecting her method of interpretation, only under two limits, (i. e. two negative methods of interpretation, as we shall shew presently.)

The second part of the sentence would lead us to conclude, (as will be seen by careful reading,) that Scripture cannot be the *sole rule of faith*, if it has any rule or method to fix its interpretation by. Or in other words, that Scripture "is not the sole rule of faith, if it has any rule to guide its interpreta-

^m See Waterland on the Insufficiency of Scripture Language to express one's Creed, p. 211.

tion." The best method of controverting this extraordinary statement is to quote from Waterland, (on the Trinity, p. 395. ed. 1800, Camb.) "It has been sometimes pleaded, that the Scriptures are in themselves a perfect rule of faith; what need therefore can there be of Fathers, with respect to fundamental Articles? (Whitby, Dissertat. de Scriptur. Inter. in Prefat.) p. 8, 9. To which we answer, that we produce not Fathers to superadd new doctrines to Scripture, but only to secure the old; *not to complete the rule*, but more strongly to assert and maintain both its true sense and whole sense. The more *perfect* the rule is, the more care and circumspection it demands, that we may preserve it entire, both as to words and meaning," &c. Here, then, Waterland holds Scripture to be a *complete* and *perfect rule*; and yet he reverences antiquity, and advises all to obtain assistance in the interpretation from every source in their power. In p. 406, he says, "There is a great deal of difference between *admitting either of them*" (i. e. reason and antiquity) "*to govern absolutely, and throwing them quite out*: and there is a just medium between giving each of them a *negative*, and making either of them sole umpire," &c. Waterland further quotes from Dr. Rogers, p. 407, and gives his method of interpretation, which he declares to agree in the main with his own. And Waterland says, in conclusion of it, "So this excellent writer resolves the *positive* character of true and just interpretation into immediate view, rational deductions and authority, all having their proper weight of evidence respectively, but in different degrees. The two *negative* characters are checks upon all the *positive* ones, to ascertain their application and to prevent the pushing any of them too far." These quotations prove satisfactorily, that Waterland believed it quite consistent that Scripture should be a *perfect* and *complete* rule of faith, and yet that we might have *rules of interpretation*

applicable to it. And here we see the result of placing the words "*sole rule of faith*," in that collocation; for by this is implied, that if Scripture has any rule of interpretation, then it cannot be the sole rule of our faith: but as we have shewn that the two have no connection, this subject may be dismissed.

The subject which follows has no connection whatever with the Twentieth Article, and could only have been drawn in by the confusion between *rule of faith* and *rule of interpretation*. The rule of faith is Holy Scripture, as shewn in the Sixth Article; and the interpreter and expounder (under certain limits) is the Church, as set forth in the Twentieth Article. That the authority of the Church implies a choice in the rules of interpretation, (except only as far as a limitation has been appointed,) has been proved. That our Church never violates the rights of conscience, has been shewn as implied in the Article, and as the opinion of several of her divines, to which are joined some testimonies from the *earlier* Tracts. That the Bible is the only authorized document, is clear from the Sixth Article, and consequently, in this sense, is the Rule of Faith.

Now to all impartially reading the Articles, the two points of discussion never could have occurred, and therefore it is hardly fair to raise difficulties which, in the end, are *shewn* to be the coinage of the *private judgment* of some one who is earnestly struggling to reconcile subscription of the Articles to his own and to the minds of his followers.

Remember, then, that there is no necessity for discussing the question of the Rule of Faith: but as it has been entered upon in the Tract, I am disposed to follow; and let us be careful to remember with Waterland, that the two rules are independent. To avoid all confusion, I repeat that the Church has fixed a rule of faith, a standard of doctrine, a measure of

faith in the Sixth Article, and that therefore to assail the Twentieth for omitting to settle the question is most absurd. But even the Twentieth Article does determine the question, by declaring that the Church, "beside the same, ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation," as if that there might be no doubt on the subject. Such is the Anglican rule; but what is the opinion of the Tractarians with regard to this point?

Let us hear No. 90: "Since it is often supposed to be almost a first principle of our Church, that Scripture is 'the Rule of Faith,' it may be well, before passing on, to make an extract from a paper, published some years since, which shews, by instances from our divines, that the application of the phrase to Scripture is but of recent adoption.

"We may dispense with the phrase 'Rule of Faith,' as applied to Scripture, on the ground of its being ambiguous; and, again, because it is then used in a novel sense; for the ancient Church made the Apostolic Tradition, as summed up in the Creed, and not the Bible, the *Regula Fidei*, or Rule. Moreover its use, as a technical phrase, seems to be of late introduction in the Church; that is, since the days of King William the Third. Our great divines use it without any fixed sense, sometimes for Scripture, sometimes for the whole and perfectly adjusted Christian doctrine, sometimes for the Creed; and, at the risk of being tedious, we will prove this by quotations, that the point may be put beyond dispute."

With the notion that we may dispense with any term because it is ambiguous, I cannot agree; and I fear this is too dangerous a rule to apply in the case of No. 90, which is rather indistinct in some *few* passages; or, again, in the case of the word Church, for this appears to be an ambiguous phrase to many, if not to all. In reference to the second charge, i. e. its use in a novel sense, because the ancient Church applied

this term to the Creed, we may answer, that if the phrase be ambiguous, as asserted two lines before, then there is no reason why it should not apply to two different things. For by a "rule of faith," neither Irenæus nor Tertullian mean a criterion or ground of doctrine, but the "leading Articles of Faith," (Dr. Hampden's Tradition, p. 45;) and to this the quotations from Tertullian and Irenæus, in p. 270, Lectures, bear witness. In fact, the very phrase itself must have a difference in its meaning, according to that to which it is applied; but yet, of course, it will always retain its own idea, and imply its own meaning. In other words, it can be applied to the *Creed* as well as to the *Scriptures*; but when applied to the Creed, all would understand it to mean a rule of the then essential truths: a rule of the fundamentals, and certainly not sufficient to attain all the ends of Holy Scripture, consequently not enough to guide us in all things relating to Heaven. And we cannot call it an absolutely perfect rule, unless it is equal to Holy Scripture. It may be a perfect rule so far forth as such a rule need be perfect, i. e. so far forth as a standard of doctrine is required. But that the words *regulæ fidei* admit of degrees is evident to all who consider the number of these little *regulæ fidei* which were in the primitive Church. Now let none imagine, that because we allow no *one* fixed and definite signification to these words, that therefore they are of no use as phrases; for the meaning of the Creed teaches fully what is the object of that rule, as applied to itself. The full sufficiency of Holy Scripture, as taught in our Sixth Article, shews what the meaning of Rule of Faith must be when applied to Holy Scripture.

With this view, then, we say that the subject matter decides, and therefore there need be no ambiguity as to this phrase; and hence we draw an inference as follows. If the Bible contains all things necessary to life and godliness, and

the Creed does not, then the one is more extensive than the other. In the Lectures, we have Creed set side by side with Revelation, and Tradition set as a part of a joint rule of faith, p. 334. Now this seems an erroneous view; for even if the Apostles' Creed be of Catholic antiquity, and of an authority, its authority to us, as members of the Anglican Church, never can reach beyond the Scriptures, because it is proved by the Scriptures. To use the words of Bramhall, "the Scriptures and the Creed are not two different Rules of Faith, but *one and the same rule*;" *dilated* in Scripture, *contracted* in the Creed." They both are one, because the Creed is the correct meaning of God's word. There is no opposition or joining, as of two *distinct* things, but one springs from the other. And to hold that the Scripture is not our rule of faith without tradition is *absurd*, as all the authority of the Creed is derived from the Scripture. (See Article viii.) If this view be correct, then we have no need to claim a distinct source of authority, or rule of faith in the Creed, nor can we fairly reject the phrase as ambiguous. It remains, therefore, that we refer to the authority quoted in No. 90, and explain those which appear to oppose this method of removing the objection, (i. e. that the Creed, as a Rule of Faith, means merely the leading Articles of Faith, and depends on the fact of its having been *proved* and *drawn* from Scripture; and that the Scriptures, as "the Rule of Faith," mean the measure and guide of our faith; and from the perfectness of the Scripture, that this is the supreme rule; and that Antiquity,^o or Tradition, or by whatever name it may be called, is an attestation of doctrines.) The first authority is that of Usher; but in what

^o See further explanation. "Thus we have seen what is the Rule of Faith," (the Holy Scripture,) "and by whom, and how far respectively, this rule is to be applied." Bramhall, as quoted in No. 73, p. 35.

^o As we have shewn from Waterland, p. 33.

sense Usher held the Creed as the *Rule of Faith*, will be evident from the following extract, in which he styles it *common principles of salvation*.

“ For we may not think that heaven was prepared for deep clerks only, and therefore beside that larger measure of knowledge whereof all are not capable, there must be ‘ a rule of faith common to small and great,’ which, as it must consist of few propositions, (for simple men cannot bear away many,) so is it also requisite that those Articles should be of so much weight and moment, that they may be sufficient to make a man ‘ wise unto salvation ;’ that howsoever in other points learned men may go beyond common Christians, and exceed one another likewise by many degrees, yet in respect of these radical truths, which is the necessary and common food of all the children of the Church,” &c. And a few lines further on, he calls this rule common principles: “ If then salvation by believing these common principles may be had, and to salvation none can come that is not first a member of the Catholic Church of Christ, it followeth thereupon, that,” &c.—(See p. 30, 31. *Catena Patrum*, No. 78.)

Jeremy Taylor follows next in order, but his works demand a separate notice.

Laud is quoted as calling the Creed, or rather *the Creed with Scripture, the Rule* ; but as he is controverting Romish heresy, the argument which he assumes is most on their own ground ; but an extract from the same conference will shew his opinion of the Rule of Faith : “ If any unfit mixture of state councils, if any departure from the rule of the word of God, if any thing else sway and wrench the council ; the whole Church upon evidence found in express Scripture, or demonstration of this miscarriage, hath power,” &c.—No. 78, p. 16.

We have taken the quotation from Bramhall already to

illustrate this view; and as the Tract declares Stillingfleet and Thorndike to say the same, they can only confirm the view here taken. "Elsewhere, Stillingfleet calls Scripture the *Rule*, as does Jackson. But the most complete and decisive statement on the subject is contained in Field's work on the Church, from which shall follow a long extract." And, accordingly, more than a page does follow *on the subject*, i. e. the subject of *interpretation*; ^p but as we shewed that Waterland could hold the *perfect rule of Scripture*, and besides have independent rules of interpretation, it is unnecessary to enter upon this matter again, although it may be proved to a demonstration, that the one does not affect the other. But perhaps the writer of No. 90 will excuse my suggesting a cause for this apparent confusion in his Tract, when I assert my belief, that it may easily happen to persons—who consider the Scriptures a sealed book without a commissioned interpreter—that it may most easily seem to such to consider the Scripture and its interpretation as synonymous. Hence, perhaps, also arises the notion of a joint rule. "Scripture and tradition, taken together, are the joint Rule of Faith." (Tract, No. 78, p. 2.) Or, again, in No. 90: "In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is not, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith."

Here it will be proper to adduce some Anglican testimony, from an impartial source, in opposition to this view.

1. BILSON, BISHOP.—"There can nothing be Catholic, unless it be confirmed two ways: first by the authority of God's law,

^p I cannot avoid giving in a note the conclusion arrived at by Field, which to a great extent supports the view taken in this Tract, in that the force of the words Rule of Faith is decided by that to which it is applied: "So, then, *we do not make Scripture the Rule of our Faith, but that other things in their kind are Rules likewise; in such sort that it is not safe, without respect had unto them, to judge things by the Scripture alone,*" &c.—iv. 14, p. 364, 365. This was believed to be so conclusive, that the writer of No. 90 has given it all in italics.

and next by the tradition of the Catholic Church: not that the Canon of Scripture is not perfect and sufficient enough for all points of faith, but because many men draw and stretch the Scriptures to their fancies, therefore it is very needful that the line of the prophetical and apostolical interpretation should be directed by the rule of the ecclesiastical and catholic sense.”—p. 9.

2. CONVOCATION OF A. D. 1603.—“Following the royal steps of our most worthy King, because he therein followeth the rules of the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive Church, we do commend to all the true members of the Church of England.”—Canon 30, p. 10.

3. WHITE, BISHOP.—“The reformed Churches reject not all traditions, but such as are spurious, superstitious, and not consonant to the prime rule of faith, to wit, the Holy Scripture.”—p. 15.

4. JACKSON, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—“Howbeit this unanimous tradition ecclesiastic, was not in these times held for any proper part of the Rule of Faith; but alleged only as an inducement to incline the hearts of such as before acknowledged the written word for the only Rule of Faith, to believe that the interpretations or decisions of those councils did contain the true sense and meaning of the rule acknowledged by all. So that the written tradition which Vincentius so much commends, was not by the Nicene Council used to any such purpose as the Romanists now use unwritten traditions.”—p. 25.

5. JACKSON, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—“First, we affirm with antiquity, and in particular with Vincentius Lirinensis, that the Canon of Scripture is a Rule of Faith, perfect for quantity, and sufficient for quality; that is, it contains all things in it, that are necessary to salvation, or requisite to be contained in any rule; and so contains them as they may be

believed and understood, without relying on any other rule or authority equivalent to them in certainty, or more authentic in respect of us, than the Scriptures.”—p. 23.

6. SHARPE, ARCHBISHOP.—“ We believe all the Holy Scriptures; and not only so, but we make them the rule of our faith.”—p. 83.

7. SHARPE, ARCHBISHOP.—Speaking of the Fathers, he says, “ By bringing their doctrines to be tried by the ancient usages and doctrines of the Apostolic Churches, and *especially* by the divine oracles of Scripture, which they looked upon as the *entire and only rule of Faith.*”—p. 84.

8. THORNDIKE, PRESBYTER.—*Of the Principles of Christian Truth.*—“ Whatsoever then is said of the rule of Faith in the writings of the Fathers, is to be understood of the Creed; whereof, though it be not maintained, that the words which pretenders were required to render by heart were the same, yet the substance of it, and the reasons and grounds which make every point necessary to be believed, were always the same in all churches, and remain unchangeable. I would not have any hereupon to think, that the matter of this rule is not, in my conceit, contained in the Scriptures. For I find St. Cyril (Catech. v.) protesting, that it contains nothing but that which concerned our salvation the most, selected out of the Scriptures. And, therefore, in other places he tenders his scholars evidence out of the Scriptures, and wishes them not to believe that whereof there is no such evidence.”—p. 55.

All the above references are to No. 78, Tract for the Times, and therefore they will be considered impartial. I will refrain from giving any more extracts, with the exception of the writings of Jeremy Taylor, to which I now refer.

In the first extract quoted in No. 90, in which Taylor calls the Apostles' Creed, “ the sufficient and perfect Rule of Faith,” we must allow him to explain himself; nor must we

forget that he believed the Creed to be the writing of the Apostles, and consequently of a higher authority than is asserted by our Church: and even, in explanation of this declaration, he declares, “with the whole Catholic Church of God in the primitive ages, that all things necessary to salvation are sufficiently contained in the plain places of Scripture,” we therefore need not enter upon this quotation more fully. The second quotation is only similar to *innumerable* passages in his writings, which say, “That the Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God,” &c. The third and fourth quotations are perfectly consistent with the Anglican doctrine, that Scripture is the sole Rule of Faith.” (In b. i. §. 4. he enters more fully into the question of the essentials of salvation.) See his treatise “Of the Church,” b. i. §. 1. “They who slighting the plain and perfect word of Scripture,” &c. See his b. i. §. 2. “Of the Sufficiency of Holy Scriptures to Salvation;” where his opinion is put forward most fully and satisfactorily. We have already explained in what way these two assertions are to be reconciled; and Jeremy Taylor, at least, is not in favour of the Tractarian view.

With these authorities we will dismiss the discussion of “the Rule of Faith,” especially as we have before shewn that it does not immediately concern the subject of discussion in this section.

2. *Justification by Faith only.*

IN this section, the writer proceeds to consider the great fundamental doctrine of Christianity, as laid down by the Church of England. By his method of interpretation he opens wide a door for almost every possible heresy on the subject. The present object is not to set up an interpretation of the Article contrary to that of the Tract, but only to prove this latter neither Anglican nor scriptural. We read—"1. They do *not* imply a denial of *Baptism* as a means and an instrument of justification, which the Homilies elsewhere affirm, as will be shewn incidentally in a later section." Now let us turn to this later section, and see how far the quotations from the Homilies contradict the assertion of the Article, and "do not imply a denial of Baptism as a means and an instrument of Justification."

I shall, without any remark, place side by side the quotation in the Tract and the passage in the Homily, book i. ch. 3. §. 1. page 23. (Oxford, 1832.)

Tract, p. 69.

"Infants being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins . . . and they which in act or deed do sin after this baptism, when they turn to God unfeignedly, they are *likewise* washed by this sacrifice," &c.

Homily.

The note at the side tells us that this passage speaks of "*the efficacy of Christ's passion and oblation.*" "Insomuch that infants being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children, and inheritors of his

kingdom of heaven. And they which in act or deed do sin after their baptism, when they turn again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins in such sort, there remaineth not any spot of sin, that shall be imputed to their damnation."

The next quotation in section 11. is taken from the Homily, book i. 3. part 3. page 34. "Our office is not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly after that we are *baptized* or *justified*, not caring how few good works we do to the glory of God, and profit of our neighbours." Now let the note in the margin explain this passage. "*They that preach faith only justifieth, do not teach carnal liberty, or that we should do no good works.*" Surely this is enough to shew, that *if* baptized and justified are used synonymously in the text, the Church would teach that *faith* is that *requisite* in Baptism which makes that sacrament a justifying one.

Again we must resort to parallel columns, to refute the insinuation implied against our Church in the next extract. The passage occurs in the Homily of Swearing, part i. page 72.

Tract, p. 69.

4. "By holy promises we be made lively members of Christ, receiving the Sacrament of Baptism. By like holy promises the *Sacrament of Matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love."

The note at the side is, "*Commodities had by lawful oaths made and observed.*" "By holy promises, with calling the name of God to witness, we be made lively members of Christ, *when we profess his religion, receiving the Sacrament of Baptism.* By like holy

promise, the Sacrament of Matrimony knitteth man and wife in perpetual love, that they desire not to be separated for any displeasure or adversity that shall after happen."

The next quotation in reference to Baptism is at page 252, on keeping clean churches: "*The fountain of our regeneration* is there presented unto us." Now this is no proof of Baptism being a justifying sacrament, unless regeneration is justification; and the language is only like that of the Article, which speaks of Baptism as "a sign of regeneration." The next quotation is page 266, and goes no further on this point than to speak of Baptism as "the sacrament of our regeneration, or new birth."

The last passage is at page 377: "Christ hath not so redeemed us from sin that we may safely return thereto again: but he hath redeemed us, that we should forsake the motions thereof, and live to righteousness. Yea, we be therefore washed in our baptism from the filthiness of sin, that we should live afterward in the pureness of life." This, no more than the preceding passages, proves Baptism in any sense to be a means of justification, unless we consider regeneration to be a synonyme for justification; or, in other words, that we are justified by an inherent righteousness. It is necessary to consider this point now, before we proceed with the notes of the Tract upon this Article. We have another instance of that reserve, so well illustrated in the eleventh section, in a quotation from the Homilies, intended to prove that the Church holds justification by inherent righteousness: it is No. 63. The Homily is of the Resurrection, p. 395. At page 75 of the Tract, the extract is thus inserted: "He was dead," saith

St. Paul, "for our sins, and rose again for our *justification*. . . . He died to destroy the rule of the devil in us, and He rose again to send down His Holy Spirit *to rule in our hearts*, to endue us with *perfect righteousness*." Now the second part of this extract is at page 397, two pages off the first part; and the word in the Homilies is "endow," not "endue." To *endue* is "to supply with mental excellencies;" but to *endow* "to enrich with a portion, to supply with any external goods, to enrich with any excellence."⁹ We do not deny, that Christ rose again both to endow and endue us with his Holy Spirit; but we do deny that the passage adduced is any proof, that the Church teaches justification and sanctification to be one and the same act of grace.

However, it may be well to shew that the doctrine of inherent righteousness, as justifying righteousness, is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. Peter Dens, on Justification, vol. ii. p. 446, (Coyne, 1832,) writes thus: "Quid est Justificatio." "Est translatio a statu peccati ad statum *gratiæ habitualis* et adoptionis filiorum Dei per Jesum Christum Salvator nostrum." "Nota etiam, quod sub *gratia habituali* comprehendantur habitus charitatis, virtutum et aliorum donorum, qui cum gratiâ sanctificante simul infunduntur."

"Argumentum gratiæ sanctificantis solet etiam vocari justificatio juxta hoc Apocalypsis ultimo v. 11. qui justus est justificetur adhuc."

Then, among the errors of heretics, the second is thus described: "Justificationem non fieri per gratiam habitualem inhærentem animæ, sed per solam justitiam Christi nobis imputatam." And the third: "Ad justitiam non requiri aliam dispositionem, quàm solam fidem." At page 449 is the following: "Conclude, ad justificationem cujusque peccatoris requiri

⁹ To *endue* may sometimes be used for *endow*, but to *endow* seems NEVER used for to *endue*. See Todd's Johnson.

hæc duo 1, gratiæ sanctificantis infusionem et 2, omnium peccatorum mortalium remissionem, quod perficiendum in parvulis per Baptismum sine ullâ præviâ dispositione, *non sic in adultis.*”

Now hear the decree of the Council of Trent, made in the sixth session, A.D. 1547, fifteen years before our Articles were first drawn up.

“C. VII. *Quid sit justificatio impii, et quæ ejus causæ.*”

“Hanc dispositionem seu preparationem justificatio ipsa consequitur, quæ non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum; unde homo ex injusto fit justus, et ex inimico amicus ut sit hæres secundum spem vitæ æternæ. Hujus sanctificationis causæ sunt, finalis quidem, gloria Dei et Christi ac vita æterna; efficiens vero, misericors Deus, qui gratuito abluit, et sanctificat signans et ungens Spiritu promissionis sancto; qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ; meritoria autem, delectissimus unigenitus suus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui, quum essemus inimici, propter nimiam charitatem, qua dilexit nos, sua sanctissima passione in ligno crucis nobis justificationem meruit, et pro nobis Deo Patri satisfecit; *instrumentalis item, sacramentum baptismi*, quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulli unquam contigit justificatio; demum unica formalis causa est justitia Dei non qua ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit, qua videlicet ab eo donati, renovamur spiritu mentis nostræ, et non modo reputamur, sed vere justî nominamur et sumus, justitiam in nobis recipientes uniusquisque suam secundum mensuram, quam Spiritus Sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et cooperationem.”

So much for Rome on this point. In Archbishop Usher's *Body of Divinity*, (London, 1670,) page 193, we read thus: “Justification is the sentence of God, whereby he of his grace

for the righteousness of his Son, by him imputed unto us, and through faith apprehended by us, doth free us from sin and death, and *account* us righteous unto life. For hereby we both have a deliverance from the guilt and punishment of all our sins, and *being accounted righteous in the sight of God by the righteousness* of our Saviour Christ *imputed* unto us, are restored to a better righteousness than ever we had in Adam.”

“Though there is a power of purging the corruption of sin, which followeth upon justification, yet it is carefully to be distinguished from it.” “The matter of justification, or that righteousness whereby a sinner stands justified in God’s sight, is not any righteousness inherent in his own person and performed by him, but a perfect righteousness inherent in Christ and performed by him.”

So also we find in Tract for the Times, No. 38, last page but one: “I consider that it is unscriptural to say with the Church of Rome, that ‘we are justified by inherent righteousness.’”

So Bishop Hall, in his “No peace with Rome,” says, “The Papists make this inherent righteousness the cause of our justification; the Protestants the effect thereof.”

In like manner the judicious Hooker speaks of three kinds of righteousness: one glorifying in the next world, both inherent and perfect; one justifying in this, perfect, but not inherent; one sanctifying, inherent, but not perfect.

We next read, “The instrumental power of faith cannot interfere with the instrumental power of baptism; because faith is the sole justifier, not in contrast to *all* means and agencies whatever, (for it is not surely in contrast to our Lord’s merits or God’s mercy,) but to all other graces. When then faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole *internal* instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind.” So says the ninth Canon of the sixth Session of the Council of

Trent: "Si quis dixerit sola fide impium justificari: anathema sit." This, Dens tells us, was directed against an error of Simon Magus, revived by Luther and Calvin.

Hear now the Homily of Salvation, page 27: "And yet that faith" (namely, justifying faith) "doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but *it shutteth them out from the office of justifying*. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether. Nor the faith also doth not shut out the justice of our good works, *necessarily to be done afterwards* of duty towards God; (for we are most bounden to serve God, in doing good deeds, commanded by him in his Holy Scripture, all the days of our life;) but it excludeth them, so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do be imperfect, and therefore not able to deserve our justification: but our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God, and of so great and free mercy, that, whereas all the world was *not able* of themselves *to pay any part* towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do *believe* in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked, Christ's justice hath supplied."

This doctrine is yet more fully asserted and proved in the following part of the Homily; and among the authorities quoted is St. Basil, who writes, "This is a perfect and whole

rejoicing in God, when a man advanceth not himself for his own righteousness, but acknowledgeth himself to lack true justice and righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ. And Paul saith he doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he looketh for the righteousness of God by faith."

Archbishop Usher speaks thus, (Body of Divinity,) page 417: "The promises of God touching justification, remission, adoption, are made and sealed in Baptism to every elect child of God; then to be actually enjoyed when the party baptized shall actually lay hold upon them by *faith*. Thus Baptism to every elect infant is a seal of the righteousness of Christ, to be *extraordinarily* applied by the Holy Ghost, if it die in its infancy; to be apprehended *by faith*, if it live to years of discretion."

The next paragraph is little more than a fresh statement of the dogma just discussed. It still speaks of Baptism as a "sole instrument of justification," but adduces not Scripture to prove it, nor any passage from the Homilies, or even any other authority. The Church Catechism only says, that it is "*generally* necessary to salvation:" now if it is to be "the hand of the giver," or in any respect an instrument of justification, which is to entitle us to salvation, it would be *universally* rather than *generally* necessary.

The doctrine of works, as instruments of justification, is next brought before us, as contradictory of the Article. Yet surely they are an evidence, rather than a means or instrument; and if we refer to the passage in St. James, where the matter is discussed, we find he rather describes the faith by which we are justified, than asserts works in opposition to faith, as the means of our justification. The very instance of Rahab, by which St. James illustrates his statement, tends to confirm this view. For the act was one of itself criminal

to her country, and therefore sin in the sight of God: but her faith made the work a work of faith, and so by it she was justified.

A reference is next made to sect. 11. on the Homilies, where we find eight extracts from the Homily on Alms-deeds. The first merely states the doctrine of the Article, that "Good works after justification are pleasing and acceptable unto God." The language of the others is strong; but is all thus explained a little further on in the Homily, p. 355: "Ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of the scripture before alleged, neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian, neither any other godly and learned man, when they in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins, and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean, that our work and charitable deed is the original cause of our acception before God, or that for the dignity or worthiness thereof our sins may be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity; for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud him of his glory. But they mean this, and this is the understanding of those and such like sayings; that God of his mercy and special favour towards them, whom he hath appointed to everlasting salvation, hath so offered his grace especially, and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by reason of their sinful living outwardly, they seemed before to have been the children of wrath and perdition; yet now the Spirit of God mightily working in them, unto obedience to God's will and commandments, they declare by their outward deeds and life, in the shewing of mercy and charity, (which cannot come but of the Spirit of God, and his especial grace.) that they are the undoubted children of God appointed to everlasting life. And so, as by their wickedness and ungodly living they shewed themselves, according to the judgment of men, which

follow the outward appearance, to be reprobates and castaways; so now by their obedience unto God's holy will, and by their mercifulness and tender pity, (wherein they shew themselves to be like unto God, who is the fountain and spring of all mercy,) they declare openly and manifestly unto the sight of men, that they are the sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation." This plainly sets works and alms-deeds forth as an *evidence*, rather than a *mean* or *instrument* of justification; and does neither contradict our Article, which says, "by faith only we are justified;" nor scripture, which says that we are "justified by faith without the works of the law;" and are saved by grace, through faith, and that not of ourselves, but the gift of God.

As the theory and statements contained in the next paragraph appear to be overturned by what has already been brought forward, I shall make no remarks upon it.

We now come to the inquiry, "*In what sense* Faith only does justify?" two only are mentioned.

"1. It is the pleading or impetrating principle that constitutes our *title* to justification; being analogous, among the graces, to Moses' lifting up his hands on the mount, or the Israelites eyeing the brazen serpent; actions which did not merit God's mercy, but asked for it." If this were the case, we should receive justification *for*, not *by* Faith. God's promises constitute our title, and that faith which he worketh in us is only an evidence that the title is in our possession.^r "Faith is the hand of the receiver," as stated in the opposite page of the Tract; how then can it be the thing received by that hand?

^r Eph. ii. 8. "By grace ye are saved *through faith*, and that not of yourselves, it is the *gift of God*;" more like a channel than a title. Eph. i. 13, 14. "In whom" (that is Christ) "after that ye believed ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of his glory."

The twelfth chapter of the Catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas gives a confirmation of this view; it was an act of faith by which Israel prevailed over Amalek: and the eyeing of the brazen serpent was not an asking for a cure, because this they had previously done, but looking unto it by faith they were saved; a work resulting from faith. The title to the use of the brazen serpent was their need, and God's command; while by faith, by looking, they applied it at once to themselves, and did not by that act apply only for it.

But to continue. "A number of means *go to effect* our justification. We are justified by Christ alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by faith alone, in that faith asks for it; by Baptism alone, for Baptism conveys it; and by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it."* This I cannot admit. These matters meet in justified persons, and of necessity result from one another. The lower ones may be found apart from the rest, but then they have no justifying efficacy, and do not argue the existence of any one place of the series above them. But when we find the highest, we may be sure the rest are not separated from it. Let us hear the Church in her Homilies on this matter, page 27, Homily on Salvation: "In these foresaid places, the Apostle toucheth specially three things, which must *go together in* our justification. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace; upon Christ's part, justice; that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption, by the offering of his body, and shedding of his blood, with fulfilling of the law perfectly and throughly; and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, which yet is not ours but by

* So Dens, ii. 452. "Si fides non adsit, si eleemosyna non detur, si non adsit spes, non potest fieri justificatio;" and we are given this canon of interpretation, that where it is said we are justified by any one thing alone, we are to understand "si cetera adsint."

God's working in us: so that in our justification, is not only God's mercy and grace, but also his justice, which the Apostle calleth the justice of God; and it consisteth in paying our ransom, and fulfilling of the law: and so the grace of God doth not shut out the justice of God in our justification, but only shutteth out the justice of man; that is to say, the justice of our works, as to be merits of deserving our justification. And therefore St. Paul declareth here nothing upon the behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith, which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work without God." So that, according to our Homilies, the "interpreters of our Articles," instead of "a number of means going *to effect* our justification," there are "three things which must go together *in* our justification."

The last paragraph only in this section remains for examination. It speaks of the second sense in which faith justifies. "Faith, as being the beginning of perfect or justifying righteousness, is taken for what it tends towards and will ultimately be.¹ It is said, by anticipation, to be that which it promises; just as one might pay a labourer his hire before he began his work. Faith working by love is the seed of divine graces, which in due time will be brought forth and flourish—partly in this world, fully in the next." Now the Article plainly denies that faith is the beginning or any part of our justifying righteousness: "Christ is the author and finisher of our faith." "The Lord our Righteousness." Faith is the means only by which we apprehend this righteousness; but however perfect that faith may be, it has been shewn that it never can constitute a title to a justifying righteousness, much less that righteousness itself. Nor is faith the work for which we receive a reward: Christ paid the full price of our redemption

¹ In the Council of Trent, Session 6. c. 8. Faith is called "Humanæ salutis initium, fundamentum et radix omnis justificationis."

for us," and his merits for ever absolve us from every debt. "He died *once for all*, and perfected for ever them that are sanctified."^x And in the words of the Homily, "this justification or righteousness, which we receive of God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God for our perfect and full justification."

The "confusions" of the Tractarians on this subject, have been refuted in an answer to Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, by a resident member of the university and clergyman of the diocese. No direct reply having been given to this publication, it will be unnecessary, *at present*, to enter further upon the question.

^u "That Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the *purchased possession*, unto the praise of his glory." Eph. i. 13, 14.

^x "The Church of God, which He purchased with his own blood." Acts xx. 28.

3. *Works before and after Justification.*
Articles XII. and XIII.

It will be unnecessary to dwell at any considerable length on this section, as it is so nearly connected with the last, and is only a result of the doctrine there refuted; namely, that of justification by inherent righteousness, with the same Romish error running all through, of justification by habitual grace.

We will commence our strictures with the last paragraph, at page 15: "The Article contemplates these two states,—one of justifying grace, and one of the utter destitution of grace; and it says, that those who are in utter destitution cannot do any thing to gain justification; and, indeed, to assert the contrary would be Pelagianism. However, there is an intermediate state of which the Article says nothing, but which must not be forgotten, as being an actually existing one." "It is quite true, that works done *with* divine aid, and in faith, *before* justification, *do* dispose men to receive the grace of justification; such were Cornelius's alms, fasting, and prayers, which led to his baptism." This view is supported by the Church of Rome, in Canon vii. Sess. 6, in the Council of Trent: "Si quis dixerit, opera omnia quæ ante justificationem fiunt, quacunque ratione facta sint, vere esse peccata, vel odium Dei mereri, aut quanto vehementius quis nititur se disponere ad gratiam, tanto eum gravius peccare: anathema sit." Dens also describes the state of mind necessary to precede justification, evidently founded on the doctrine of baptismal justification; and on deserving grace of congruity and congruity he writes as follows: (ii. page 450. nota q.) "Quòd dispositiones præviæ non sint meritoria de

condigno justificationis, adeo ut justificatio nostra semper sit gratuita, prout docet. Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. cap. 8, juxta illud ad Rom. cap. 3. v. 24: Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius ‘ potest tamen peccator divinâ gratiâ adjutus per actus fidei, spei, dilectionis, etc. illam de congruo mereri.’

“Dispositiones, quæ conjunguntur cum ipsa gratia sanctificante in primo instanti justificationis, possunt dici de condigno meritoria vitæ æternæ, quæ nondum habetur, non tamen gratiæ, quæ jam habetur.”

Now let us see if our Articles be not very “*precise*” on this point. The Tenth Article speaks thus: “Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.” The Twelfth Article speaks of “good works, which are the fruits of faith, being pleasing and acceptable to God:” while the Thirteenth Article evidently speaks of works before justification, as works done before the grace of Christ, and as not springing from faith. Now, what possible state can there be between having no faith, and having some faith, even so small a portion, that he who has it must be said to be only “*faithful in the least*:” yet, inasmuch as works done by such a person are grateful and pleasing to God, they must be works of faith, and be done after the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of the Spirit; which has before been shewn to be a *consequence* of justification, and by no means its *precursor*. With respect to Cornelius, it is said that he was one who “feared God:” he can hardly be brought forward as a case in point, since he appears to have been a Jewish proselyte; one who possessed all that was necessary for any to possess under the old dispensation to render his services pleasing and acceptable to God. The writer then attempts to draw a nice and subtle distinction, and asserts

that it is not the *works* done, but the *grace* imparted, which makes us meet to receive justification, and that this grace is the "portion of the baptized;" very differently from Archbishop Usher, who asserts, "that the sacrament of baptism is effectual in infants, only to those, and to all those who belong unto the election of grace." And it is also implicitly denied in the Twenty-seventh Article on Baptism, where it states that at that sacrament "grace is" (not then first given to make us meet to receive the grace of justification, but) "increased by virtue of prayer to God;" certainly implying the pre-existence of grace in the recipient of the sacrament. The Homily of Faith also asserts, (page 39,) "that without it (faith) can no good works be done, that shall be acceptable and pleasant to God."

We now come to the concluding passage of this section. "If works *before* justification, when done by the influence of divine aid, gain grace, much more do works *after* justification. They are, according to the Article, '*grata*,' 'pleasing to God;' and they are accepted, '*accepta*;' which means, that God rewards them, and that of course according to their degree of excellence." I presume, that we shall probably find some explanation of this statement in the twenty-fourth Canon of the sixth Session of the Council of Trent. "Si quis dixerit, justitiam acceptam non conservari atque etiam augeri coram Deo per bona opera; sed opera ipsa fructus solummodo et signa esse justificationis adeptæ, non autem ipsius augendæ causam: anathema sit." St. Paul says, that when men are called, and obey the calling, they do it by grace: now if this obedience be a work pleasing to God, as we believe it is, yet they do it after, not before the grace of Christ, but as a fruit of faith, (else, according to our Article, it cannot be "*grata*" or "*accepta*" to God,) it is a work *after* justification. Thus no place is left for the intermediate state spoken of above;

and the consequence "that works after justification gain grace," *falls at once*.

Scripture calls *Faith* the "work of the Spirit," Gal. v. 22. And in Isaiah we read, "Thou hast wrought all our works in us." Heb. xi. 6. "Without Faith it is impossible to please God." Rom. viii. 8. "They that are in the flesh, cannot please God;" "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? even so every *good* tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree *cannot* bring forth evil fruit, neither *can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.*" Matt. vii. 16—19. "No fountain can yield both salt water and fresh." James iii. 12. "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Rom. viii. 9. "Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates." 2 Cor. xiii. 5. "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: without me ye can do nothing." John xii. 4, 5. "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." Rom. ix. 16. "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 1 Cor. iv. 7. "Now to him that worketh is the *reward*, not reckoned of grace but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that *justifieth the ungodly*, his faith is counted for righteousness." Rom. iv. 4, 5. "Whatsoever is not of Faith is sin." Rom. xiv. 23.

§. 4. *The Visible Church.*

ARTICLE XIX.—"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 *Jerusalem*, *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.”

Tract, p. 17.

This is not an abstract definition of a Church, but a description of *the* actually existing One Holy Catholic Church diffused throughout the world; as if it were read, “The Church is a certain society of the faithful,” &c.

Dens, ii. 119.

“Calvinus et Sectarii duas dumtaxat Ecclesiæ notas constituunt, nimirum, sinceram Verbi Dei prædicationem, et legitimum Sacramentorum usum. Per notam ecclesiæ intelligitur quoddam signum et proprietas, per quam vera ecclesia potest cognosci et discerni ab omnibus aliis cœtibus. Quæ duo, licet in vera Christi ecclesiæ reperiantur inapte tamen ecclesiæ notæ statuuntur; nam notæ debent esse notiores re, quam notare debent: sed ad minus tam difficile est cognoscere, quænam sit sincera Verbi Dii prædicatio, quisnam legitimus Sacramentorum usus, quam quæ vera sit ecclesiæ.^a

The last quotation given by the writer of this Tract to prove his statement, is from Estius, Chancellor of Douay. “There is a controversy between Catholics and Heretics as to what the word Church means. John Huss, and the Heretics of our day who follow him, define the Church to be

^a The notes put forward by the Church of Rome, are well refuted by Sherlock.

the University of the predestinate; Catholics *define* it to be the *Society of those who are joined to each other by a right Faith and the Sacraments.*" Here it is admitted that these two further notes, as he calls them, (p. 18.) are said to "*define*" the Church. It is not, however, my intention to press this point, but, to shew how this Article is a logical definition of the Church, and that this is the opinion of authorities in the Anglican Church.

The *cætus fidelium* is a definition of any Church, whether sound or unsound; but if the notes in this Article be really true of any Church, then that Church is sound, and we are bound to submit to it. Thus, for instance, the Church of Rome is a *cætus fidelium*, but has not these notes, and consequently cannot claim submission.

The quotations, it may be well to notice before proceeding, adduced in page 17, must be shewn to refer to the subject of the present article, before they can be allowed to support in any degree the opinion to which they are appended. They do not require a separate investigation, but one or two will be incidentally noticed as we proceed.

Our first authority is Archbishop Usher, page 396.

"Sith God doth not reveal the covenant of grace, nor afford sufficient means to salvation to the whole world, but only to the Church: explain here what you mean by the Church?"

"We speak not here of that part of God's Church which is *triumphant* in glory; who, being in perfect fruition, have no need of these outward means of communion with him, (Rev. xxi; xxii; xxiii:) but the subject here is the Church *militant*. And that we consider also, as *visible*, in the parts of it; consisting of divers assemblies and companies of believers, making profession of the same common faith: howbeit many times, by force of persecution, the exercise of the public ordinances may for a time be suspended among them.

“But are none to be accounted members of this Church, but such as are true believers, and so inseparably united unto Christ their head?”

“Truly and properly none other. (1 John ii. 19.) Howbeit, because God doth use outward means with the inward, for the gathering of his saints; and calleth them as well to outward profession among themselves, (Acts ii. 42; Cant. vii.) as to inward fellowship with his Son, whereby the Church becomes visible: hence it is, that so many as partake of the outward means, and join with the Church in league of visible profession, are therefore in human judgment accounted members of the true Church, and saints by calling, until the Lord (who only knoweth his) do make known the contrary. As we are taught in the parable of the tares, and of the draw-net, and of the threshing-floor, where lieth both good corn and chaff.

“Hath Christ then his Church visible upon earth?”

“Yea, throughout the world, in the particular congregations of Christians, (Rom. iii. 3,) called to the profession of the true Faith and obedience of the Gospel. In which visible assemblies, and not elsewhere, the true members of the true Church invisible, on earth, are to be sought, (Rom. xi. 5.) and unto which, therefore, all that seek for salvation must gladly join themselves. (Isa. lx. 4.)

“What are the marks and infallible notes whereby to discern a true visible Church, with which we may with safety join?”

“First, and principally, the truth of Doctrine which is professed, and the sincere preaching of the Word; together with the due administration of the Sacraments, according to the commandment of Christ our Saviour. (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.)

“Secondarily, the right order which is kept; with a sincere and conscionable obedience yielded to the Word of God.

“Is not the Church always visible in her parts?”

“The persons are always visible. For Christ hath, and ever

had from the beginning, his Church visible upon earth, (Rom. ii. 1—4.) that is, some companies of believers making profession of the same common faith.”

Let us now take the judicious Hooker, in the third book of his Polity, chapter 2. “That Church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven with Christ, and the rest that are on the earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds, by intellectual conceit, are able to apprehend, that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture, concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper object thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, ‘I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand.’ They who are of this society, have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not objects unto our sense; only God, who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. (3.) And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness belong to the mystical Church; even so, on the other side, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom it doth concern is a sensibly known company. And this visible Church, in like sort, is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world, to the last end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ; that part which, since the

coming of Christ, partly hath embraced and partly shall embrace the Christian Religion, we term, as by a more proper name, the Church of Christ. * * The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ, consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they all profess themselves; that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge; that *one Baptism*, wherewith they are all initiated. * *

(7.) “ We speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, ‘One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.’ In whomsoever these things are, the church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers in whom these things are not found. * * All men are, of necessity, either Christians or not Christians. *If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ*, and Christians by external profession they all are, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned; yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, cast out for notorious improbity. Such, withal, we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such.

(9.) “ For lack of diligent observing the difference, first, between the Church of God, mystical and visible; then between the visible, sound, and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed.

(10.) “ The Church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end: of which Church, all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. * * In St. Paul’s time, the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reprov’d; they of Galatia much more out of square. In St. John’s time, Ephesus and Smyrna in far

better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still.

(11.) "Where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be where *sound* belief wanteth.

(14.) "By the Church, therefore, in this question, we understand no other than only the visible Church. * * The Catholic Church is, in like sort, divided into a number of distinct societies, every of which is termed a Church within itself. In this sense, the Church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society."^b

The next authority is that of Jeremy Taylor, whose opinions are very nearly coincident with those just given from Hooker. The quotations are taken from the second part of his *Dissuasive from Popery*, book i. sect. 1. "The Church is a company of men and women professing the same doctrine of Jesus Christ. This is the Church 'in sensu forensi,' and *in the sight of men.*"

Then, speaking of the Church visible and invisible, he declares that they are not two churches, or societies: "no, these two churches are but one society; the one is within the other."

"If any part of mankind will agree to call the universality of professors by the title of the 'Church,' they may if they will; any word, by consent, may signify any thing: but if by 'Church,' we mean that society which is really joined to Christ, which hath received the Holy Spirit, which is heir to the promises and the good things of God, which is the body of which Christ is head; then the invisible part of the visible

^b Hooker's theory of the Church appears to be as follows:

- I. Mystical, known only to God.
- II. Visible: (1) sound, (2) unsound.

Church, that is, the true servants of Christ only, are the Church; that is, to them only appertain the spirit and the truth, the promises and the graces, the privilege and advantages of the gospel.

“If it be asked, ‘What is the Catholic Church? the Apostles’ Creed defines it: it is *communio sanctorum*,’ (not ‘*cætus fidelium*.’) To the same sense, Clemens of Alexandria defines the Church to be ‘the congregation of the elect.’ But more full is that of St. Austin, who spends two chapters in affirming, that only they who serve God faithfully, are the Church of God. * * We have seen what is the true meaning of the Church of God, according to the Scriptures, and Fathers, and sometimes persons formerly in the Church of Rome. In the next place, let us see what now-a-days they mean by the Church, with which name or word they so much abuse the world. Therefore, by Church, sometimes they mean the whole body of them that profess Christianity: * * all the number of the baptized, except excommunicates, that are since cut off, make this body. * * * They are bound up in common by the union of Sacraments and external rites, name, and profession; but by nothing else. * * And this, to my sense, all the *churches* in the world seem to say; for when they excommunicate a person, then they throw him out of the Church: meaning, that all his being in the Church of which they could take cognizance, is but by the communion of sacraments and external society.

“So that which *we* call the Church, is *permixta ecclesia*, as St. Austin is content it should be called.

“Here are two senses of the word ‘Church,’ God’s sense and man’s sense; the sense of religion, and the sense of government; common rites, and spiritual union.

“Of the Church, in the first sense, St. Paul affirms, it is ‘the pillar and ground of truth.’ He spake it of the Church of

Ephesus, or the holy Catholic Church over the world; for there is the same reason of one and all, if it be, as St. Paul calls it, *Ecclesia Dei vivi*. If it be united to the head, Christ Jesus, every Church is as much 'the pillar and ground of truth,' as all the Churches; which, that we may understand rightly, we are to consider, that what is commonly called the 'Church,' is but *domus Ecclesiæ veræ*, as the *Ecclesia vera* is *Domus Dei*: it is the school of piety, the place of institution and discipline. Good and bad dwell here; but God only and his Spirit dwell with the good."

On the term "Catholic Church" we quote from the same eminent writer: "— but so it is in the case of every particular Church, as really as of the Catholic, that is, as to all Churches; for that is the meaning of the word Catholic; not that it signifies a distinct being from a particular Church; and if taken abstractedly, nothing is effected by the word; but if taken distributively, then it is useful, and material, for it signifies, that in every congregation, 'where two or three are gathered in the name of Christ, God is in the midst of them' with his blessing, and with his spirit; it is so in all the Churches of the saints; and in all of them, as long as they remain such, the truth and faith is certainly preserved. * * * There is no Church Catholic really distinct from all particular Churches; and therefore there is no promise made to a Church in the capacity of being Catholic or universal; for that which hath no distinct being can have no distinct promises, no distinct capacities, but the promises are made to all Churches, and to every Church: —" *

Such are the opinions on this subject of the three highest authorities that can be produced. To these we may add the authority of Archbishop Laud, as quoted in Tracts for the

* So Sherlock, in his Examination of the Popish Notes of the Church: "Catholic does not declare what a Church is, but in what communion it is."

Times, No. 78, p. 18: "For where it is said that Christ makes to himself a Church without spot or wrinkle, (Eph. v.) that is not understood of the Church Militant, but of the Church Triumphant: and to maintain to the contrary is a branch of the spreading heresy of Pelagianism. Nor is the Church on earth any freer from wrinkles in doctrine and discipline than she is from spots in life and conversation." These extracts plainly prove that our Article is a *definition*, not a mere *description*, and that not of the "One Holy Catholic Church diffused throughout the world," but of an individual portion of it, one of its component parts. That "*cœtus fidelium*" means a congregation of *professedly* faithful men; or, as Taylor says, "The congregation of all that profess the name of Christ; of whom every particular that is not known to be wicked is presumed to be good." They also throw a very clear light upon the long list of sentences quoted from Papists, Popes, and Fathers, shewing that *in all probability* they refer to the mystical Church; though, as the writer has not thought fit to give the places where they are to be found, they could not now easily be verified. Taylor, however, quotes two of them in reference to the mystical Church, and one other from Augustine is to be found in the Catechism authorized by the Council of Trent, (*De nono articulo*, q. 2,) where it is evidently used in connection with true believers united in the invisible Church.

But the Article appears to decide for itself to what the word "visible Church of Christ" refers: for how are we to understand the last part of the Article, *which is not quoted in the Tract*, except by supposing naturally, that after describing the visible Church, it proceeds to deny its infallibility; and to declare, that as certain Churches erred in olden time, so of late the Church of Rome hath erred, even in matters of Faith.

In addition to this, the following Article (the twentieth) goes on to assert the authority of the Church. Now to what Church does this Article refer, if not to the one just defined? And if the Church therein *described* (if the writer still prefer that expression) be the "One Holy Catholic Church diffused throughout the world" as has before been asserted, then the Church of England has committed a grievous and heretical act, in exerting the authority assigned in the twentieth Article only to the Church Universal.

It only remains to allude to the extract from the Homily. The writer, to save trouble, informs us, that "it is quoted not for all it contains," but only "as far as it is an illustration of the Article." The Church is mentioned three times in it. The first and second time, it plainly refers to the elect of God; and the third need only be placed in *juxta* position with the Article, to shew how unfounded is the writer's conclusion, after the extracts already given from standard authorities of the Church of England.

Homily.

"The true Church is an *universal congregation, or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people,*" &c.

Article.

"The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men," &c.

We have shewn that the *cetus fidelium* of our Article does not mean the elect, or mystical Church, therefore these two extracts cannot refer to the same Church; and it remains to shew how this Homily is to be understood. Hooker says, that the Church of the elect cannot be discerned by men. By which, of course, he means, that no men, as *units* of the mystical Church, can be distinguished. Yet here are notes mentioned, and to reconcile this Homily to itself, (i. e. to use the only fair method of interpretation,) we

must understand it to refer to the general notes of the mystical Church. None belong to Christ's elect, or mystical Church, unless they have, as a general note, the description appended.

Thus we see, that though the notes belong alike to the true Church of Christ, diffused throughout the world, and also to every visible professing Church, they by no means prove, that because the Homily refers to the former, the Article must also. As Taylor and the Twenty-sixth Article teach, in the visible Church the evil is ever mingled with the good, but in the universal congregation of God's people, who are faithful and elect, evil cannot exist; in Christ they are complete; for them he hath wrought out a perfect righteousness, and at the last day he will be able to present unto his Father that blessed company without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing. To this Church may we all belong; and I trust nothing has occurred in the preceding pages inconsistent with this hearty desire. They are indited in a spirit of love; and should any apparently harsh words be let fall, may they be attributed rather to oversight and infirmity, than to any desire to wound or afflict. May the Lord heal all the distractions of his Church, and hasten the time when more properly it may become one fold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord.

These Strictures will be concluded in a Second Part, with Observations on the State of the Controversy.

“IF the Romanist asks, whether belief in Scripture is an essential part of the Faith? which he is apt to do; I ask him in turn, whether the infallibility of the Church is or is not in his system an article of Faith? It is nowhere so declared; how then is it less defective in the Creed of Romanism to omit so cardinal a doctrine, than in our own Creed to omit the inspiration and canonicity of the Scriptures? Whatever answer he gives in his own behalf, will serve for us also. If he says, for instance, that the whole of Romanism implies, and is built upon the principle of infallibility; that the doctrines which it holds as fundamental could not be such, were not the Church an infallible oracle; that every truth must have some truth beyond it until we come to the ultimate principles of knowledge; that a creed could never recount all the previous steps by which it became a creed; and that, after all, the doctrine in question is at least indirectly expressed in Pope Pius’s Creed; I answer, that much the same pleas may be offered in explanation of Scripture not being recognised in the Apostolic Creed. It may be something more than a fundamental of Faith; it may be the foundation of the fundamentals, and may be passed over in the Creed as being presupposed and implied in it. This might be said in explanation. But in truth it is really recognised in it as the standard of appeal; viz. in those Articles which, after St. Paul’s pattern, speak of our Lord’s resurrection as being ‘according to the Scriptures.’ What happens to be expressed in one instance, as regards the Old Testament, is a kind of index of what is tacitly signified throughout. This, indeed, is no proof to a Romanist, who denies that the Bible *was* considered by the original framers of the Creed, as the fundamental record of the Gospel: but it goes as far as this, to shew that the Bible *may have been* so considered by them, to shew that our doctrines is consistent with itself. As far as the facts of the case go, that *may* be, which we say really *is*. The indirect manner in which Scripture is alluded to in the Creed, while it agrees with the notion that the Creed contains all the fundamentals, seems also to imply that Scripture is their foundation.”—*Lectures on Romanism*, p. 293—5.

John Henry
CERTAIN

DOCUMENTS,

&c. &c.

CONNECTED WITH

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES,

No. 90.

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OXFORD,

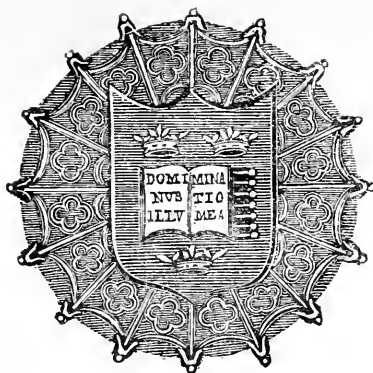
PRINTED BY W. BAXTER.

1841.

The Tract No. 90 bears the date of Monday, January 25, but it was not published in Oxford before Saturday, February 27, 1841.

The Letter of the Four Tutors, by which public attention was first called to the Tract, was circulated in Oxford on the morning of Tuesday, March 9, 1841.

The Resolution of the Hebdomadal Board was circulated in Oxford on the morning of Tuesday, March 16, 1841.



At a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, in the Delegates' Room, March 15, 1841.

CONSIDERING that it is enjoined in the STATUTES of this University, (TIT. III. SECT. 2. TIT. IX. SECT. II. §. 3. SECT. V. §. 3.) that every Student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them; considering also that a Tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled "Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," being No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times, a series of Anonymous Publications purporting to be written by Members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself;

RESOLVED, That modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned STATUTES.

P. WYNTER,
Vice-Chancellor.

(From the *Standard* of March 20, 1841.)

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—As some of the correspondents of the morning papers seem to be at a loss to understand the nature of the official document lately issued at Oxford with the Vice-Chancellor's signature, it may be as well to make it known, that it is an authoritative declaration of the executive of the University as to the meaning of the statutes, and is intended as a notice to all Tutors of Colleges and Public Examiners, by virtue of certain statutes recited in the preamble, that if they adopt such modes of interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles as are suggested in No. 90 of the "Tracts for the Times," they will do so at their peril.

ACADEMICUS.

(From the *Standard* of March 26, 1841.)

TO THE EDITOR.

Oxford, March 25.

SIR,—As a morning newspaper has said that the late condemnation of Mr. Newman's Tract was the act of a small majority of the "Hebdomadal Board," I think it right to acquaint you, that the resolution to take public and official notice of the Tract passed the Board with only two dissentient voices; and that one of the two Gentlemen who formed this minority expressed his sense of the danger and mischief of this particular Tract. These circumstances are perfectly well known to every one here, although there is no official publication of the divisions or debates of the Board.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ACADEMICUS ALTER.

THE LETTER OF THE FOUR TUTORS.

To the Editor of the "Tracts for the Times."

SIR,—Our attention having been called to No. 90 in the series of "Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford," of which you are the Editor, the impression produced on our minds by its contents is of so painful a character, that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. This Publication is entitled "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty Nine Articles;" and, as these Articles are appointed by the Statutes of the University to be the text-book for Tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective Colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

The Tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines,

1. Of Purgatory,
2. Of Pardons,
3. Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,
4. Of the Invocation of Saints,
5. Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them in their "literal and grammatical sense," and does not "affix any new sense" to them. The Tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the

very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the Scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church, which has been advocated by many of its most learned Bishops and other eminent divines; but this Tract puts forward new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the Author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches.

In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope, that you may be authorized to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking, that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask, that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the Tract, should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents.

We are, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servants,

T. T. CHURTON, M.A.

Vice-Principal and Tutor of Brase-nose College.

H. B. WILSON, B.D.

Fellow and Senior Tutor of St John's College.

JOHN GRIFFITHS, M.A.

Sub-Warden and Tutor of Wadham College.

A. C. TAIT, M.A.

Fellow and Senior Tutor of Balliol College.

Oxford, March 2, 1841

(From the *Standard* of March 17, 1841.)

Mr. Newman has at length avowed himself the author of the 90th number of the "Tracts for the 'Times.'" The following is the avowal of the Rev. Gentleman:—

"Oriel College, March 16, 1841.

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—I write this respectfully to inform you, that I am the author, and have the sole responsibility, of the Tract on which the Hebdomadal Board has just now expressed an opinion, and that I have not given my name hitherto, *under the belief that it was desired that I should not.* I hope it will not surprise you if I say, that my opinion remains unchanged of the truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the Tract, *and of the necessity of putting it forth.* At the same time, I am prompted by my feelings to add my deep consciousness, that every thing I attempt might be done in a better spirit, and in a better way; and, while I am sincerely sorry for the trouble and anxiety I have given to the Members of the Board, I beg to return my thanks to them for an act, which, even though founded on misapprehension, may be made as profitable to myself as it is religiously and charitably intended.

"I say all this with great sincerity, and am,

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN HENRY NEWMAN."

This is a badly written letter; but it is not our business to criticise style. We have, in order to direct our readers' attention to them, printed in italic characters a few words which we think stand in need of explanation; first, Mr. Newman says he acted "*under the belief that it was desired that he should not give his name.*" By whom did he believe

that the desire was entertained? From the first he must have been well aware that the University, and every friend of the University, was anxious to relieve the University of all responsibility for the Tracts, which could not be done in any other way so well, as by showing that they were the work of a man of no authority, mark, or influence in that learned body; and after the four Tutors had called for the name of the Author of the Tract No. 90, it must have been quite apparent to Mr. Newman that *the desire* entertained was precisely the reverse of that which he pretends to have believed to be entertained.

Again, Mr. Newman speaks of the necessity of promulgating his Popish doctrines, but does not condescend to explain the ground of this necessity. The following extract from a correspondent, to whom we are deeply indebted for many favours, may, perhaps, supply the deficiency:—

“The ‘necessity’ supposed to be meant by him is said to be that certain of his followers began to feel themselves obliged to go over to the Roman Catholics, and he therefore took rather a bolder line than hitherto, to enable them to satisfy themselves without leaving the Church of England. I should imagine that his method, instead of stopping the few, will hasten the many. It is quite certain that ardent imaginations, over inflamed with the views that he suggests they may indulge in with impunity, will not content themselves with the withered and shrunken Popery that he would fain substitute in the place of our Scriptural Church and sound moderation of religious views. It is expected that another more formal reply will be issued by the party. The chief objection to Mr. N.’s letter is the assertion of the ‘honesty of the principle,’ for this must apply to the principle of interpretation. If there was a necessity of his publishing the Tract, it is a necessity of his own making, or of the party’s imagining,

“ and is only a still stronger proof of the dangerous effects
 “ of the principles which have been so long advocated in an
 “ under-current.”

(From the *Times* of March 9, 1841.)

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—I have read with deep concern your remarks, in last Saturday's paper, on the character of the religious party lately formed by some members of the University of Oxford. I trust that your object was merely to do justice, and to recall what you considered to have been unjust censure in times past. But it seems to me that in doing this you have overstepped the line of impartiality, and expressed yourself in terms which convey high praise, and almost deny the existence of any ground for censure. To find *The Times* absolutely embarked in the cause of a small, and, I cannot but fear, a most dangerous party in the Church, would be lamentable indeed. In the hope that this is not the case, I would crave a small space for a few brief remarks on the article in question.

I would offer an exception or two as to the terms of praise applied to the Oxford Tractarians.

1. “ That they are learned and pious persons.”—To be learned is surely no very remarkable distinction among the members of the University of Oxford. To be earnest and pious after their own fashion is a praise that cannot be withheld from Beckett, or Hildebrand, or Loyola, or even from many founders of most mischievous sects in Protestant days. Few sects or parties in the Church, indeed, have been formed by other than “ learned and pious persons.”

2. “ That they have propagated their opinions without “ agitation.”—Men who have the best possible vantage-ground need not to resort to outcries. Wesley or Irving

would have gladly relinquished all their out-of-doors excitement, could they but have been allowed to instil their notions into the minds of our college youth.

3. “That to *their* teaching the great reaction which is “visible in favour of the Church is mainly owing.”—The fact of such a reaction is obvious enough; but its connexion with the *Oxford Tracts* is about as clear as the connexion between the Goodwin Sands and Tenterden steeple. Nine years ago the Liberals would have outpollled the Conservatives on an East Surrey election in the proportion of two to one. Now the Conservatives can outpoll the Liberals in the same proportion. But how many of these electors have ever seen the *Oxford Tracts*? Not a score!

4. “That their doctrines have gained access to the minds “of the greater part of the clergy.”—Never was there a greater miscalculation! I know, indeed, that these gentlemen occupy a prominent position, and are active; but they surely cannot persuade themselves that they constitute even a respectable minority in the Church. I remember lamenting, a few months back, their increase, in the presence of an aged rector of this metropolis; when he stopped me by asking how many there were of all the hundreds of clergy in London and its vicinity who preached these doctrines; and I found, to my surprise, that it was difficult to point out a dozen out of all the hundreds so located!

But there is a still better test just now before the public.

Some months since the *Oxford Tract* party put forth a proposal for the publication of a series of works, selected from the writings of the Laudian divines and the Nonjurors. About the same time another scheme came forth, for the publication of the works of the Reformers—a class of divines especially disliked by the Tractarian school. The subscribers to the first of these two schemes are about *seven or eight hundred*: the subscribers to the second plan are nearly *four thousand*!

5. "That their doctrines are calculated to win back the people to the Church."—Very strangely adapted to such a purpose, seeing that they are filled with complaints and fault-finding. Mr. Froude declared that he "hated the Reformers," that he "liked Bonner," and thought Bishop Jewell "an irreverent Dissenter." Mr. Newman speaks of our communion service as filling him with "grief and impatient sorrow." And the very last number of the "Tracts for the Times" exhorts us to "let the Church sit still; let her be content to be *in bondage*; let her work *in chains*; let her go on teaching with the stammering lips of *ambiguous formularies* and *inconsistent precedents*, and principles but partially developed." Whether this is the sort of language which is likely to recommend the Church to the people, let any reasonable man decide!

6. "That their obedience to all lawful authority should lead us to leave them to the judgment of the Bishops."—To that judgment we must leave them: but of the tendency of their publications, poured forth upon the public in swarms, the public must of course form and express an opinion. That the Tractarian party are giving the Bishops much trouble, is abundantly notorious; that the Bishops of Exeter, Chester, and Chichester, have felt it their duty publicly to warn their clergy against them, is matter of record; that the Bishop of London has had rebukes to administer, the Bishop of Winchester cautions to inculcate, the Bishop of Salisbury injunctions to issue, is all sufficiently well known. But, while we interfere not between the diocesan and his clergy in these matters, we may, as bystanders, regret the rise of a system which already involves so many injurious discussions, and must inevitably strengthen the hands of dissent.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very respectfully,

A PROTESTANT.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of March 15, 1841.)

It is generally thought, by those who have considered the subject attentively, that the authors of the Oxford Tracts have presumed too much on their supposed success with the clergy of the establishment. The Tract No. 90 could hardly go down with a Protestant nation like the English. The people of this country generally believe, that the doctrines of the Church of England not only differ, but differ essentially, from the doctrines of the Church of Rome; and an attempt to prove that the difference is imaginary is rather too bold an experiment on the settled conviction of the nation. The authors of the Tracts have been very industrious in paving the way for Popery, but they have over-rated the effect produced on the public mind by their labours, if they suppose that the time is at length arrived for proclaiming that a Roman Catholic and a Church-of-England-man labour under a misapprehension when they attribute to each other a difference in doctrines.

(From the *Standard* of March 6, 1841.)

Lord Morpeth and his master, Mr. O'Connell, have, to some extent, succeeded in their attempt to injure the cause of religion, by imputing to the Established Church and to the University of Oxford an inclination to the doctrines of the "non-Protestant" sect that has lately risen to smooth the path for Popery. We are no theologians; we are contented with the Scriptures and the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church—Articles and Liturgy which, as far as the judgment of unlearned men can aid us to know the truth, seem to rest upon a Scriptural foundation; but if we must look beyond these instructors, we shall certainly prefer, to

the guidance of men who prove the comprehensiveness of their views by a devotion to copes and tippets—by denying to the Protestant Churches of Scotland and of the Continent the means of salvation which they allow to the Church of the Inquisition and of St. Bartholomew—by refusing to Baxter and Doddridge that blessed hope which they extend to Alexander the Sixth and M'Hale—by telling us that “the *sure* word of prophecy” has not given warning of an apostacy now of twelve centuries' duration—who, in short, would distract mankind by disputes upon the credentials of the messenger and the proper formalities of his introduction, to the utter neglect of the full and faithful promulgation of the message—we would prefer, we say, to the guidance of *such* men, writing bad Latin and badly expounding plain Greek, the guidance of the learned and pious fathers of the Reformation, who have told us that Popery *is* the great apostacy foretold—that the Pope, as a *corporation sole* (to borrow a phrase familiar to lawyers), *is* Antichrist—*is* the man of sin; and after the fathers of the Reformation, we would follow the wise and learned and pious men of our own day, who have received the sacred mantle with their offices. Few of the Bishops have as yet spoken of the “non-Protestant” sect, but the few who have spoken have proved how little they countenance its doctrines. We think it seasonable to offer proofs, and we shall begin with one to whom all the sincere Protestants of the empire look up with hope and gratitude. The following is an extract from a Charge lately delivered by the Bishop of Exeter. Speaking of the “non-Protestants,” his Lordship says—

“I lament to hear them speak of adherence to ‘the Bible and nothing but the Bible’ as ‘an unthankful rejection of another great gift equally from God.’ I lament to see them state ‘as the sounder view, that the Bible is the *record* of necessary truth, or of matters of faith, and the Church

“ Catholic’s tradition is’—not a most venerable witness, or
 “ most useful assistant in interpreting it, but—‘ *the* interpreter
 “ of it.’

“ I lament to see them following indeed the order of Bishop
 “ Hall, but widely departing from his truly Protestant senti-
 “ ments on more than one important article. Of the ‘ *worship*
 “ of images,’ (for so that great divine justly designates what
 “ they more delicately call ‘ the *honour* paid to images,’) they
 “ say only that it is ‘ dangerous in case of the uneducated,’
 “ that is, of the great part of Christians. But Bishop Hall
 “ treats it, as not merely dangerous to some, but as sinful in
 “ all; as ‘ against Scripture:’ ‘ the book of God is full
 “ of his indignation against this practice;’—and ‘ against
 “ reason.’

“ I lament to read their advice to those who are contending
 “ for the truth against Romanists, that ‘ the controversy about
 “ transubstantiation be kept in the back ground, because it
 “ cannot be well discussed in words at all without the sacri-
 “ fice of godly fear :’—as if that tenet were not the abundant
 “ source of enormous practical evils, which the faithful ad-
 “ vocate of truth is bound to expose.

“ I lament too the encouragement given by the same
 “ writers to the dangerous practice of prayer for the dead.”
 “ I cannot but deplore the rashness which has prompted them
 “ to recommend to private Christians the dedication of parti-
 “ cular days to the religious commemoration of deceased men,
 “ and even to furnish a special service in honour of Bishop
 “ Ken, founded apparently on the model of an office in the
 “ Breviary to a Romish Saint.”

“ ‘ If after having been then (in baptism) washed once for
 “ all in Christ’s blood, we again sin, there is no more such
 “ complete ablution in this life.’ Passages like this, however
 “ they may be explained, tend to rob the Gospel of the blessed
 “ Jesus of much of that assurance of the riches of the goodness

“ and mercy of God in Christ which is its peculiar message—
 “ its ‘ glad tidings of great joy:’—‘ come unto me *all ye* that
 “ labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’ Our
 “ Church teaches us to apply this blessed promise to those who
 “ are ‘ heavy laden with sins’ committed after baptism.”

“ Lastly, I lament, and more than lament, the tendency at
 “ least, if not the direct import of some of their views, ‘ on
 “ reserve in communicating religious knowledge ;’ especially
 “ their venturing to recommend us to keep back from any
 “ who are baptized the explicit and full declaration of the
 “ doctrine of the atonement. I know not how such reserve
 “ can be made consistent, not only with the general duty of
 “ the Christian minister, to be able to say with St. Paul, that
 “ he has ‘ not shunned to declare all the counsel of God,’ but
 “ also with the special and distinct requirement of our own
 “ Church.”

Not less explicit is the rebuke of the Bishop of Chester:—

“ It is daily assuming a more serious and alarming aspect,
 “ and *threatens a revival of the worst evils of the Romish*
 “ *system*. Under the specious pretence of deference to an-
 “ tiquity, and respect for the primitive models, the founda-
 “ tions of our Protestant Church are undermined by men
 “ who dwell within her walls ; and those who sit in the
 “ Reformers’ seat are traducing the Reformation. It is again
 “ becoming matter of question, whether the Bible is sufficient
 “ to make man wise unto salvation ; the main article of our
 “ national confession,—justification by faith,—is both openly
 “ and covertly assailed ; and the stewards of the mysteries of
 “ God are instructed to reserve the truths which they have
 “ been ordained to dispense, and to hide under a bushel those
 “ doctrines which the apostles were commanded to preach to
 “ every creature.”

The learned Bishop of Chichester speaks with equal plain-
 ness :—

“ I cannot, nor do I wish to conceal my opinion that the
 “ doctrines which they advocate, should they become popular,
 “ would in other hands be *essentially injurious to the cause*
 “ *of pure Protestantism*, and with it to sound Christianity in
 “ this country. In this case, the respectability of the advo-
 “ cates must not make us blind to the danger likely to ensue
 “ from the principles which they adopt. The integrity and
 “ sufficiency of the written revelation of God’s will has been
 “ openly impugned by them.

“ When they teach, that the Eucharist is *a continually*
 “ *renewed sacrifice for reconciliation with God, and for the*
 “ *expiation of sin*, I think they are deviating from the original
 “ institution, and setting up their own fancies in the place of
 “ God’s ordinances.”

Not one member of the Right Rev. Bench has dropped a syllable in approbation of the doctrines of the sect. We shall add the testimony against it of a distinguished colonial Bishop, the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta:—

“ It is to me a matter of surprise and shame, that, in the
 “ 19th century, we should have *the fundamental position of*
 “ *the whole system of Popery* virtually re-asserted in the
 “ bosom of that very Church which was reformed so deter-
 “ minately three centuries since from this same evil, by the
 “ doctrine, and labours, and martyrdom of Cranmer and his
 “ fellow-sufferers. What ! are we to have all the fond tenets
 “ which formerly sprung from the traditions of men re-intro-
 “ duced, in however modified a form, amongst us ? Are we
 “ to have a refined transubstantiation ; the sacraments, and
 “ not faith, the chief means of salvation ; a confused and
 “ uncertain mixture of the merits of Christ and inherent
 “ grace, in the matter of justification ; remission of sins and
 “ the new creation in Christ Jesus confined, or almost con-
 “ fined, to baptism ; perpetual doubt of pardon to the
 “ penitent after that sacrament ; the duty and advantage of

“ self-imposed austerities ; the innocency of prayers for the
 “ dead ; and similar tenets and usages, which generate a
 “ spirit of bondage, again asserted among us ? And is
 “ the paramount authority of the inspired volume, and
 “ the doctrine of the grace of God in our justification by
 “ the merits of Jesus Christ, which reposes on that autho-
 “ rity, to be again weakened and obscured by such human
 “ superadditions, and a new edifice of will-worship, and
 “ ‘ voluntary humility,’ and ‘ the rudiments of the world,’
 “ as the apostle speaks, to be erected once more, in the place
 “ of the simple gospel of a crucified Saviour ?”

The Scriptures, Articles, Liturgy, the writings of the fathers of the Reformation, the declaration of so many of the living prelates as have spoken—and if others have been silent, it is because they would not give too much encouragement to sectarians whose ruling vice is vanity—these are surely enough to acquit the Church of any inclination to *non-Protestant* doctrines. And to the rest of the clergy who respect the episcopal order without adoring it, such advice as we have quoted from such men must be sufficient. If there are any who, as it is said, take liberties with the Liturgy, their number must be small, for we have never heard of them ; but, if there are any, their misconduct is no apology for a relapse, however slight, into Popish practices and Popish doctrines. Popery is *the* enemy, and he is no true Protestant who is ingenious in searching for any other.

(From the *Standard* of March 25, 1841.)

TO THE EDITOR.

Oxford, March 24.

SIR,—Although you have declined entering into any further controversy respecting the “ Tract for the Times,”

recently condemned by the authorities of the University of Oxford, I hope that you will not refuse the admission into your columns of a plain matter of fact of some importance. "It is said," observes a writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, "that the leaders of the Tract party are in possession of correspondence with high ecclesiastical authorities, which protects them from ecclesiastical censure." Now it happens that letters have been received by members of this University from the Bishops of London, Winchester, Chester, Chichester, and Ripon, strongly condemning the Tract in question, independently of the more general censures of the Bishops of Exeter and Calcutta, which you put before your readers in a leading article the other day.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

A MEMBER OF CONVOCATION.



(From the *Standard* of March 9, 1841.)

TO THE EDITOR.

Oxford, March 8, 1841.

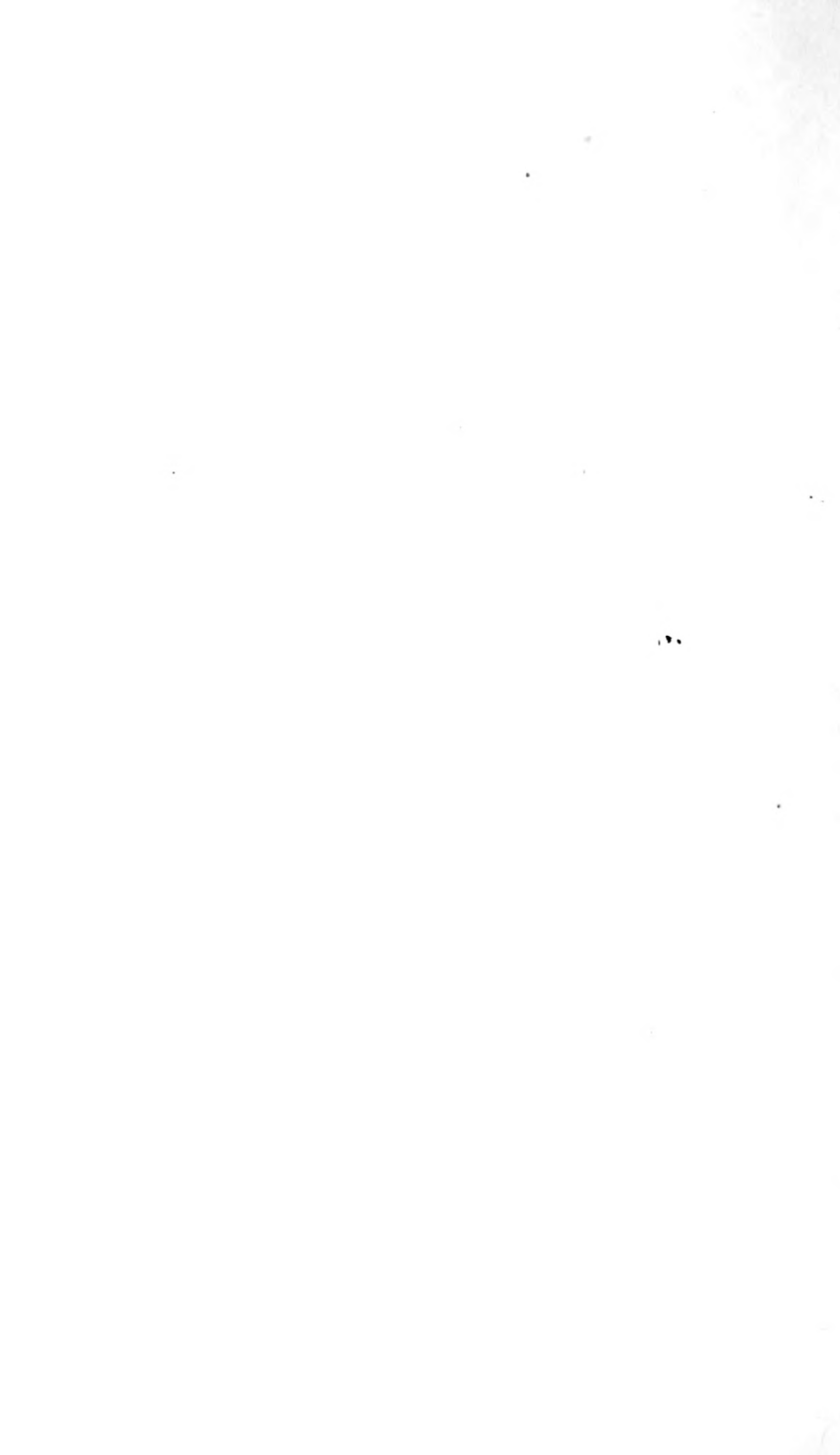
SIR,—The bearing of this communication upon certain recent statements and imputations will at once be understood when the well-known connection of Mr. Newman with the "Tracts for the Times" is taken into account.

In November, 1839, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and the Bishop of the Diocese, each separately and independently disapproving of the doctrine inculcated from St. Mary's pulpit by a gentleman, a follower and friend of Mr. Newman, and appointed by him to preach there as his deputy, officially admonished and reprovved him.

In support of this assertion I enclose you my name and address, and am, your obedient Servant,

A MEMBER OF CONVOCATION.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.



Wm. Rogers
SOME PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF
TRACT FOR THE TIMES,

No. 90, &c.

WITH AN APPENDIX AND NOTES.

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2. Remarks on Mr. Newman's Letter, from the Morning Post.
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APPENDIX.

1. The Sixth Article of Religion, with the Church's Comment.
 2. Quotations from Chillingworth, Bishop Marsh, &c.
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OXFORD :

W. GRAHAM, HIGH STREET,

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

—
1841.

SOME PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

TRACT FOR THE TIMES, No. 90, &c.

FROM THE MORNING POST OF MARCH 24TH.

To the Editor.

SIR,

Every little that may help towards forming a dispassionate judgment on the subject of the *Tracts for the Times* has its value at the present moment of excitement, and perhaps the very simple *facts* which follow, may be worth considering with such a view.

In the preface to a volume of sermons, published in the year 1830, by a member of the University of Oxford, an opinion was expressed that “there must be many earnest and reflecting Christians at that time little satisfied with the complexion and appearances of religion in this kingdom.” And, among other classes specified as likely to feel uneasiness, it was asked—

“Must there not be considerable numbers who shrink from the too probable effects (the fruits already ripening, as it appears to them) of a religious restlessness, and feverishness of speculation in divine things, of such a sort as seems not only tending to root out, but bent on rooting out, the very notion of all visible and outward bonds of unity among us; which little less than mocks at discipline and Church authority; nor only that, but which—in any way of natural consequence—can only be expected to un-

settle or impair the personal faith of thousands, by leaving it no manner of distinct standard to which to make appeal, and under which to seek and find an honest shelter in the hour of storm and tempest? * * * * *

“What, again, must be *their* fear and opinion, to whom it seems as plain as any such thing well can be, that almost every sect and party, in this same all-important province of religion, is doing (as it were) its adversary’s work? Now, *Calvinism* (*e. g.*) is by a natural re-action, and under a new form of that so frequent turn in men’s opinions—the meeting of extremes—enlisting numbers in the ranks of *Arianism*, or *Socinianism*. Again, how the outrageousness of an enthusiasm derived from broodings over dark unaccomplished prophecy * * * or the blind spirit of unjust and indiscriminating condemnation, derived from no authority but that of an habitual unreflecting prejudice, is taking the *most likely* course to cause a rally and diversion in favour of *Popery*, in many minds that can be least spared from the communion of our Church—I mean, in dispositions of a more devotional, and at the same time a more dutiful, complexion—reflecting, meek, patient—minds, therefore, which can never follow such a fiery zeal to all its lengths, yet do not seem to find that settled anchorage of faith and hope which they desire in fellowship with some communion of their brethren, except it shall be bound with cords of *virtual infallibility*?”

I beg it may be observed that this preface bears date April 22, 1830, and that the date of the earliest *Oxford Tract* is September 9, 1833, nearly three years and a half later.

Keeping these *facts* in mind (for it is to the facts of the case that I wish to draw attention,) let the foregoing passage be compared with language in Mr. Newman’s Letter to Dr. Jeff, of the 13th inst. “The age,” he says, “is moving towards something (deeper and truer than satisfied

the last century,) and, most unhappily, the one religious community among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic. The question, then, is, whether we shall give them up to the Roman Church or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system, which has of late years, indeed, been superseded, but which has been and is quite congenial (to say the least,) I should rather say proper and natural, and even necessary, to our Church. But, if we do give them up, then we must give up the men who cherish them. We must consent either to give up the men or to admit their principles."

Now, I say, (continues Mr. Newman,) I speak of what especially comes under my eye, when I express my conviction that this is a very serious question at this time. It is not a theoretical question at all—I may be wrong in my conviction—I may be wrong in the mode I adopt to meet it; but still the Tract (No. 90) is grounded on the belief that the Articles *need* not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and *ought* not to be for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose or distress to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome, or to the necessity of withdrawing from the Church as established, or to the misery of subscribing with doubt and hesitation. And, as to myself, I was led especially to exert myself with reference to this difficulty from having had it earnestly set before me by parties I revere to do all I could to keep members of our Church from straggling in the direction of Rome; and as not being able to pursue the methods commonly adopted, and as being persuaded

that the view of the Articles I have taken is true and honest, I was anxious to set it before them. I thought it would be useful to them without hurting any one else."

Such is the simple evidence here submitted. In begging attention to it, let it be granted that it is but an atom out of a vast mass; that there are wide differences between the views taken in the one extract and in the other; that the interpretations of phenomena in the earlier (by no means powerfully or happily expressed) may be deficient or wrong; in short, let no special credit be claimed for *that*, of any sort whatever. But it is adduced here as testimony to fact; and surely, *as a fact*, it is impossible not to perceive, and unreasonable not to admit, that its description contains the germ (so to express it) of that bitter fruit described in the conclusion of Mr. Newman's statement, distinctly seen in embryo *at the date assigned*, whether then rightly or wrongly accounted for. This last point is immaterial; nay, it is but of secondary importance if (which is possible) the tone of some of the Oxford Tracts may have since contributed to hasten its growth. The material point to be acknowledged and digested is, that other causes *must* have sewn the seed of an uneasiness, affording room for fear of a specific apprehended issue, so plainly traceable and left on record more than three years before these Tracts had any existence. And probably no single cause had been, or since has been, *more* operative towards such unwelcome result than that advancing usurpation of the Puritanical or Calvinistic spirit in the Church of England, *which always has assumed an infallibility of its own**, and always been intolerant of any comprehensive or Catholic construction of the *Articles* in particular; in

* "Of all the repulsive peculiarities of the holy discipline, as it exhibited itself in his (Archbishop Laud's) time, there was none, perhaps so remarkable, as its coarse, hard-featured, resemblance to that very Popery, which was the object of its professed abhorrence. The Presbyterian sys-

other words, which has so doggedly contended for that partial and *un-catholic closing* of them, which Mr. Newman deprecates. At all events, it is demonstrable that there have long been those who have anticipated the precise results which Mr. Newman states to have ensued, and that among the almost identical dispositions specified in each of the foregoing extracts, from causes not only not connected with the Oxford Tracts*, but utterly at variance with them.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

THE WRITER OF THE PREFACE REFERRED TO.

tem was, in its original principles, as sternly and avowedly intolerant as the pontifical chair. ["Beware¹, lest out of cowardice ye *tolerate* what God would not have tolerated," said one of their preachers in his sermon before the Commons. "Take heed of *toleration*" said another, in his sermon before the Lords; "For God's sake, my Lords, let us not leave a *Reformation*, which may need a *toleration*."] It extended no hope of salvation, beyond the pale of its own communion. It affected a dominion, paramount to all earthly magistracy. It proclaimed a war of extermination against heresy. It was ready to compass earth and sea for proselytes. Violence and terror were employed to establish its claim to infallibility. And if Popery had its Council of Trent, Calvinism had its Synod of Dort. If it abjured the idolatry of the mass, it may fairly be said to have found a substitute in the ordinance of preaching, &c.—*Laud's Conference with Fisher, the Jesuit*, p. 100." *Le Bas' Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 367.

¹ Bishop Marsh on the consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer Book with the Bible, p. 25.

* "Oxford Tracts, or rather "Tracts for the Times," their title and their right title, for the *times* called for them. People were wearied in the ways of the "various denominations;" error was preached at every step; and so soon as a man had become a Wesleyan, he was urgently provoked by the Baptist; and so on *ad infinitum*, until he was prompted to ask who can be right? and, moreover, *what standard shall decide the right?* when once these questions took an earnest possession of the mind, it was clear that the private *ipse dixit* of intemperate preachers were at an end, and that we must seek the decision of a worthy and unimpassioned tribunal. We might have been in danger of preferring Rome, or anything rather than the uneasy position in which we found ourselves.

CATHOLICUS CHRISTIANUS."

Morning Post.

[For another important reason why the Tracts should not be designated the Oxford Tracts, see Mr. Barter's Letter below.]

FROM THE MORNING POST OF MARCH 24TH.

MR. NEWMAN has perhaps not written so cautiously as he might have written, and this he frankly and dutifully expresses :

Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment? No man.

but Mr. Newman, in conjunction with others, has, under Providence, accomplished a mighty work for the Church. It no longer slumbers nor sleeps. The sober dignity and authoritative teaching of the Church are now again zealously maintained. *The Church system and its inestimable value is far more generally understood and more dutifully and effectually appreciated than it was some years ago.* For these *advantages, which we cannot think likely to lead to schism, but quite the contrary,* we must be content to pay the price of some misconstruction and some temporary disturbance.

The hurricane at Oxford occasioned by Tract No. 90, and by what has been said of it by many eminent and valuable men, has been painful to behold, but we have good hope that the results upon the whole, and in various ways, will be found beneficial.

The first of these results has been the Letter of Mr. Newman to Dr. Jelf. This appears to be regarded by the most competent judges as a masterly performance, and has given great satisfaction and comfort to those friends of strict Church principles, who had been offended or disquieted by Tract No. 90*. We observe, however, (and we hope we may be pardoned if some indignation mingle with

* The Tract is fortified with copious quotations from the Homilies, which the author truly says are especially authoritative where they *bring out* the sense of the Article. Now as to the *literal* Interpretation which the Declaration prefixed to the Articles especially enjoins, and which the writer of the tract presses, being *seemingly* not accordant with the opinions

our regret at having to make the observation) that the publications which have been most forward to present to their readers, with aggravated comments, the views of those authorities who objected to the Tract, have been careful not to present in the same way, the explanation which Mr. Newman has given. And yet with very little study—for it is to be found in the second page of his Letter—they might have found the principal matter explained.

The gentlemen of the University who misunderstood the Tract—perhaps not so much from any fault of theirs as from the modes of expression adopted by Mr. Newman—considered that the Tract maintained that the Articles of our Anglican Church did not condemn certain errors as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome, but only certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate. Mr. Newman answers *that he is the writer of the Tract, and that this is not his opinion*; but, on the contrary, his opinion is that the Articles of our Church *do* contain a condemnation of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome.

The argument of Mr. Newman, as he explains it, appears to be, that the Articles of our Church are not directed against the decrees of the Council of Trent, be-

of the framers of the Articles in king Edward's reign, one cannot but think that if the Translators of our Bible, and the Bishops of the Savoy Conference, in other words, the Divines whose works are now being republished in the Anglo-Catholic Library, if these Divines, then, differed in some of the points now under discussion from the framers of the Articles and yet, *though having full power to do so*, did not attempt to alter the wording of the Articles, at either the Hampton Court or Savoy Conferences, not thinking that the Text of the Articles was at all inconsistent with the catholic view they took of them—If this be the case, one cannot see how the writer of the tract can be accused of inconsistency when he holds *that* interpretation of them held by these great Divines of our Church, and taught by the Clergy of the Church till within the last century.

P.S. This view is confirmed by the following passage from the second edition of the Tract:

“ We have no duties toward the framers (of the Articles); nor do we receive the Articles from their original framers, but from several successive convocations after their time; in the last instance, from that of 1662.” p. 80. See also sect. 3, p. 80. *Id.*

cause they were written before those decrees existed. That other senses short of the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome may fulfil the letter of those decrees and may now be held in that Church, and that it is useful to see by what extent of reformation in the Church of Rome it may be brought into agreement with our Church. The Letter to Dr. Jelf says at page 17 :—

“ Nothing more then is maintained in the Tract than that Rome is *capable* of a reformation ; its *corrupt* system indeed cannot be reformed ; it can only be destroyed, and that destruction is *its* reformation. I do not think that there is anything very erroneous or very blameable in such a belief ; and it seems to be a very satisfactory omen in its favour, that at the Council of Trent such protests as are quoted in the Tract, were entered against so many of the very errors and corruptions which our Articles and Homilies also condemn. I do not think it is any great excess of charity towards the largest portion of Christendom to rejoice to detect such points of agreement between them and us, as a joint protest against some of their greatest corruptions, though they in practice cherish them, though they still differ from us in other points besides. That I have not always consistently kept to this view in all that I have written, I am well aware, yet I have made very partial deviations from it.”

So, then, it appears that while shallow and violent persons have been exclaiming that Mr. Newman and his fellow-labourers were trying to lead Church of England folks to Romanism, the truth is *they have been labouring to prevent that*, and, on the other hand, *so* to satisfy the members of the Romish Church of the corruptions in the present authoritative teaching of that Church, that they may be induced to approach more and more nearly to our Anglican doctrine and discipline.

FROM THE CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL OF MARCH 20TH.

It is we feel unnecessary for us to do more than call the attention of our readers to the following admirable letter, with which we have been honoured :—

To the Editor of the Conservative Journal.

Sir,

Believing that the Authors of the *Tracts for the Times*, are the authors also of an increasing reverence for our Church, as a Divine institution, and, believing that in times of danger they have made known to us the real strength of her position, and the only legitimate means by which she may be defended, I am not surprised that unlearned and unstable men should have attacked them in the worst spirit of religious controversy. Such opponents, however, might safely be disregarded, and permitted without a comment, to persevere in their violent and contradictory accusations. But, it seems to me, that any among us who feel gratitude to these men for their exertions in our sacred cause, would do well to state their reasons for this feeling of firmness and moderation, when the same charges are advanced by men of piety and acknowledged talent. I have read with much pleasure your remarks on Lord Morpeth's speech; what you have said on the hostility manifested by some Members of our Church to the Book of Common Prayer, touches a chord to which my feelings so completely respond, that I cannot but hope that you will not decline giving to the few remarks which I shall make the benefit of your extensive circulation. With regard to the attack which his lordship has thought fit to make on the University of Oxford, if he considers the matter impartially, he must be convinced that the University of Oxford is not more answerable for the publication of the

Tracts for the Times, than for the able speeches which he delivers in the House of Commons. It would be a hard measure to call that venerable seat of learning to account for every production of those who have had the benefit of its instructions. As to the tendency of the doctrines advanced in the *Tracts for the Times* to Popery, his lordship would see immediately, if he gave any attention to the matter, that even those who professed precisely the same principles in their day, are among the most able defenders of our Church, against the errors and encroachments of *that* superstition, and the names of many such may be found in the list of those who, in the time of James the Second, periled their liberties and lives, by putting themselves in the first rank of its opponents. But I am not surprised that Lord Morpeth has fallen into this mistake; the same error has been committed by men of high talent and station in our Church, who have also gone further than he, and have ventured to enter into controversy with these men, without fully comprehending the nature of the principles which they have attempted to beat down. The most popular charges which are brought of late against writers of the *Tracts for the Times* are these: A desire to set up a new system of Doctrine in our Church, and to put aside the principles of the Protestant Reformation. I will say as few words as possible on each of these subjects.

The first of these charges is an attempt to set up a new system of Christian Doctrine in this country, as if the men who write in these publications were now, for the first time, disclosing a system hitherto unheard of, and, in fact, the offspring of their own imaginations. Now, the truth is, they have never endeavoured to recommend a single opinion or doctrine of their own; they have attempted to turn the attention of their brethren solely to the pure creed of the primitive Church of Christ. To their innocence in

this respect, their enemies themselves bear witness, the most able of whom* has allowed (as every one must who does not shut his eyes to the truth) that the doctrines they advocate, are the doctrines of primitive Christianity—so much for the novelty of their creed. Then as to their setting aside the principles of the Protestant Reformation, or disarming them as it has been said, of their poignancy and efficacy, on account of which, every sincere friend of that reformation has been called upon openly to declare his dissent from these doctrines—The following I consider a satisfactory answer :—

The principle of the Protestant Reformation is a wide term, almost as wide as that of the Protestant religion, it may mean any thing or nothing ; but the true, the avowed principle of the Protestant reformation in the English Church, was nothing else but to restore the doctrine of the primitive Church of Christ, purified from Romish corruptions ; this was the only principle of reformation professed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and the principle is the all-prevailing one of the *Tracts for the Times*, so that were the real friends of the Protestant Reformation to declare their dissent from these doctrines, they would make a desperate and very unwise attack upon themselves and their own tenets. But, it may be asked if the writers of the virtues of the *Tracts for the Times* are pure in doctrine and blameless and harmless, why is so loud a voice raised against them ? Why are grave men in authority, periodicals of conflicting religious opinions, newspapers without number, unwearied in their attacks ? Some with more polished weapons, others *stipitibus sudibusque præustis*, of vulgar and coarse abuse ? A plain answer is this, because these men have put themselves forward as defenders of the

* The author of the History of Enthusiasm.

[For a refutation of his work see several articles in the British Magazine, 1819, by φιλόκαλος.]

fortress of the Church of England—the Book of Common Prayer; it is for this book, and not for these men that I fear, let them be trampled under foot, let them be accused of favouring errors which their soul abhors, was not their Master crucified for aiming at the government of a petty province, when he had refused all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them ?

To suffer under false accusation is a severe trial, but they may support it with christian patience, and great will be their reward in heaven. But this I know, that, if they are beaten down, their adversaries will have gained no victory while the Book of Common Prayer remains unmul-tilated. In that book the principles of the primitive church *must* circulate widely through the land. The congregations of the Church of England must still address their God in the words and in the spirit of the primitive Church of Christ. In those prayers, in the forms of Baptism, of Burial, and the rites of Confirmation, of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, they must find the main doctrines of the *Tracts for the Times*, set forth in as plain terms as the wisdom of man could devise; and in the Catechism, in which, (if they act honestly) they are bound to instruct their children, they will find not a word to favour the modern gloss on the doctrine of justification by faith, but the whole in perfect harmony with that doctrine as held by the primitive Church of Christ. Would that all who loved this sacred deposit read the history of former times, and judged by the perils it has escaped of its present danger. When Laud was beheaded there would have been no triumph to independent principles had not, on the same day, the use of the Book of Common Prayer ceased throughout the land; then, indeed, it gained a short-lived victory. Let us consider for a moment *the state of the Church of England when these tracts were first published.*

Independent principles had for a long time silently gained ground within its pale. The Liturgy, and especially the church services, were in many instances mutilated according to the caprice of those who, though independent in principle, had become inconsistent ministers of the Church of England. The Catechism was frequently discarded from schools superintended by the clergy of our church as unfit for the instruction of children in the doctrines of christianity. Curtailments in the morning and evening service of our church, and alterations in our creeds, were spoken of with as much freedom as men would discuss alterations in the shape of a garment, in order to meet the varying fashion of the present hour. Publications, in which the tenets of Calvin and John Knox could only be sincerely maintained (for the authors professed their creed and were not of our communion), had crept into the families of many pious churchmen, and, if they had done nothing worse, had lessened their reverence for the real and characteristic doctrines of the church of England. Tracts were circulated by thousands to propagate a modern system of Christianity, from which all mention of the sacrament of baptism was excluded, as a subject, not of sufficient importance to demand attention, and although such things were done avowedly under the sanction and by the aid of ministers of our church, no authoritative voice was lifted up to check the evil.

In the mean time Popery was numbering her converts by thousands in our land; and, notwithstanding the examples of America and Scotland, in which the increase was proportionably greater—it was attributed to the want of lively reformation principles, with the same truth as some mediciners of the present day attribute the bad health of their patients to not imbibing a sufficient quantity of their noxious specifics. Nor was this all the danger; the clergy of the church of England were un-

armed, the dissenters claimed the victory, when opposed on principles falsely termed evangelical; and claimed it with justice, and the right cause was on the point of being overborne by the number and violence of its assailants. The Book of Common Prayer stood alone in the midst of the troubled waters. It stood a beautiful fortress of the olden time, but as it was constructed, as if in perfect contempt of the rules of modern art, its mutilation or destruction was contemplated as an easy task, to be contemplated at leisure, whenever its enemies might agree on the style of building they would wish to raise in its stead. It was at this juncture that God raised up pious and learned men in its defence, and the firmness of the rock, on which they built their outwork, may be known by the foam of the waters which have dashed against it, and the violence of their recoil.

So far, then, from exhorting my younger brethren of the clergy not to meet these men fairly in argument, advice which has emanated indeed from a very high and liberal quarter, so far from advising them a dogged adherence to their own opinions, I would call on them to inquire diligently whether these men are employed in vindicating the doctrines of Scripture and of primitive Christianity; and if they find it to be so, I would advise them to defend not these men, who are subject to error, but the faith they possess, which was delivered to the saints, and is treasured in the Holy Catholic Church. Above all I would exhort them not to meddle with those who are given to change. If one of Raphael's tablets were in your possession (I would ask them) how would you act? would you venture to retouch or to repaint it? would it not rather be your care, if it were possible, to cleanse it from all stains, to bring out beauties which had been obscured by the effect of time, and to restore every tint of the glorious original; and will you treat the sacred deposit of catholic truth

committed to your charge with less reverence? God forbid! Oh guard it from those who would not hesitate to daub the sacred relic with the coarse colouring of modern art—suffer not Geneva cloaks to be substituted for its graceful and flowing drapery, *take your side with the Church of the Martyrs*; and if their memory is assailed with the grossest ribaldry, who cannot be disturbed in their place of rest, is it not plain that the same spirit is at work* which opposed that holy army 1700 years ago; and that it should be met on our part as it was on theirs, with the same entire devotion to the cause of primitive Christianity.

WILLIAM BRUDENELL BARTER,

RECTOR OF HIGHCLERE AND BURGHCLERE, HANTS.

P. S. I write against the spirit in which the *Tracts for the Times* are opposed; I do not agree with all the opinions advanced in those writings, especially on the subject of sin after baptism, and reserve in communicating religious knowledge. Divines, however, who prefer the authority of the pious and eloquent Mr. Cecil to that of

* [“It cannot surely escape our observations,” says Le Bas, “there is at this day, a spirit on the wing, which is ready to combine itself with Popery,—or with Dissent, in all its manifold varieties;—with any society, in short, or with any interest, which may be supposed to contain, within itself, the seeds of discontent or disaffection. It is a spirit which is ready to become all things to all men. To the Nonconformist, it will become as a nonconformist: to the Romanist, it will become as a Romanist. To the weak, it will become as weak; and will use the accents of candour and of moderation. To the daring, it will show itself full of hardihood and strength; and will speak openly of the things which pertain to anarchy and demolition. Its secret object is, to banish all fear of God, and all reverence to the powers that be. But, nevertheless, it can take the form of an angel of light; and burn, like a seraph, when pointing to the glories of that period, which is to witness the regeneration and the perfection of the human race. It is a spirit, too, which is constantly labouring to enter into the herd, and to possess them: and, if it should be suffered, the end would be, that they must be driven down the steep; where, at last, they would struggle and perish.”] *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 384.

the Fathers of our Church, the friends and companions of the Apostles, should recollect that he acted precisely on this principle of reserve, when he first entered on his ministry in St. John's Chapel. Dr. Platt, his biographer, when he mentions this fact says that the religious part of his auditory, "not comprehending his aim, were ready to pronounce on his plan, as shunning to declare the whole counsel of God; yet he was wisely following the example of his Master in delivering the truth, as they who heard were able to bear it, and forming a lodgment in their minds, and preparing them for the full display of all the doctrines of the Gospel." Those, therefore, who profess to hold Mr. Cecil in high esteem might, on this point, consistently abstain from any *very violent* denunciation of the *Tracts for the Times*.

FROM THE CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL OF MARCH 26th.

There is too much strictness of writing, too much deep thought, and too much philosophy in the *Tracts for the Times* for the great mass of readers who have been so long accustomed to one interpretation of the Scriptures and the Articles, and to one system of divinity that they are startled and staggered with any thing which is opposed not to the Scriptures or to the Articles, for it may be most exactly in agreement with them, but with *their own* view or interpretation of them.

We have none of that pretended fear of Mr. Newman and others of the writers of the Oxford Tracts, going over to Popery. They are, in fact, too good *Catholics* to become *Papists*. And Popery is making, and ever will make incomparably more proselytes from the dissenting sects, and low and loose Churchmen, than from sound Catholics,

who believe, hold, teach, and advocate the doctrine of the apostolical succession* and other such Catholic facts and truths. In short, Popery can only be effectually opposed by sound Catholics †. Dissenters and low Churchmen can never overthrow the arguments with which the Papists very properly attack them; and hence the reason why Dissenters and low Churchmen fall a prey to Popery, [as for instance at Bath,] if they be not led, by the blessing of God, to embrace the scriptural and catholic principle of sound and consistent Churchmen. It is because so many are every day abandoning dissent of every description and embracing these sound principles, that the Dissenters and their publications so violently, and bitterly, rail against what they are pleased to call "Puseyism," but what are in reality scriptural and immutable truths.

* It is lamentable to see a Morning Paper of professedly Church principles, and which has at times done good service to the Church, making an article against the *Tracts for the Times*, the vehicle for attacking, or rather ridiculing, a doctrine which mainly¹ distinguishes the Church from the countless sects which surrounded her, viz. the doctrine of the apostolical succession. Bitter would be the thought, if it should prove that the shafts, thus aimed at the Church's panoply, though dipt in venom, were winged with a feather from the Church's wing.

¹ The doctrine of a spiritual grace in the holy sacraments is perhaps equally characteristic of the Church.

† See Rev. W. Dodsworth's Sermon, "Romanism opposed successfully only on Catholic Principles."

APPENDIX.

THE SIXTH ARTICLE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS
FINALLY SETTLED IN 1571, AND A CANON OF 1571.

VI. *De Divinis Scripturis, quod sufficient ad Salutem.* VI. *Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.*

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ ad salutem sunt necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, *neque inde probari potest*, non sit a quoquam exigendum, ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, *nor may be proved thereby*, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

The best comment on the above Article is the Canon "De Concionatoribus" put forth with the signatures of those Bishops who had just set their hands to the Thirty-nine Articles. Among the signatures will be found the names of Matthew, (Parker) Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, (Jewell) Bishop of Salisbury, &c.

EXTRACT FROM THE CANONS, AGREED UPON, AT THE
 SYNOD, HELD AT ST. PAUL'S, ON THE 3RD
 OF APRIL, SQ. 1571.

“Imprimis vero videbunt (concionatores) ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti *quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina catholici patres, et veteres episcopi collegerint.*” WILKINS'S CONCILIA, vol. 4, p. 267.

FROM THE DEDICATION OF BISHOP JEWELL'S WORKS TO
 KING JAMES THE FIRST.

“THE principal end of these Treatises, the one of Reply, detecting the weak grounds of the Roman Religion, and the other in Defence of the Apology of the Church of England; (written both of them about forty years since, by Bishop Jewell, of worthy memory,) to show to the equal and Christian-minded Reader, that this is and hath been the open profession of the Church of England, to defend and maintain no other Church, Faith, and Religion, than that which is truly Catholic and Apostolic, and for such warranted, not only by the written word of God, but also by the testimony and consent of the Ancient and Godly Fathers. For further proof whereof; the Church of England, in a Synod, A.D. 1571, (soon after the second impression of the Defence of this Apology) did set out, (together with the Articles of Religion repeated and confirmed again by subscription) this Canon, amongst others, for the directions of those who were Preachers and Pastors, viz. *that they should never teach any thing as matter of faith religiously to be observed but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and collected*

out of the same doctrine by the Ancient Fathers and Catholic Bishops of the Church. Whereby the public profession of our Church, for consent with antiquity, in the articles of faith and grounds of religion doth plainly appear; howsoever particular men may have otherwise their opinions, and take some liberty of dissenting from the Ancient Fathers, in matters not belonging to the substance of faith and religion, and in divers expositions of some places of Scripture, so long as they keep themselves within the compass of the Apostles rule of the proportion of faith, and platform of sound doctrine." Rom. xii. 6. 2 Tim. i. 13. See also *Strype's Annals*, vol. 2, p. 73.

The following Remarks by the late Bishop Marsh, on a much-perverted Truth, are well worth the attention of the reader.

Extract from the Appendix to Bishop Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome.

"A Pamphlet has been published, entitled "The Bible, and nothing but the Bible, the Religion of the Church of England." I have not seen the Pamphlet, and therefore do not pretend to judge of it; but the *title* is certainly a very injudicious one.—For it contains a proposition which is not only false in one sense, though true in another, but it is false in *that* sense, in which it is most likely to be understood and applied. The proposition is true in reference to the *authority* of the Bible: for the Church of England founds its Articles of Faith on the "Bible and nothing but the Bible," whereas, the Church of Rome founds its Articles of Faith on the Bible and Tradition. But the proposition is not true, when it is understood with reference to the *use and distribution* of the Bible. The religion of the Church of England is promoted by the use

and distribution of both Bible and Prayer Book. Take away the Prayer Book, and though we remain Protestants, we become Dissenters. It should not be forgotten that the rejection of the Prayer Book, in the time of Charles I. was the very thing which *overturned* the Church.”

The Texts bearing on the subject of Tradition are thus classified in Paget's *Tales of the Village*.—Second series, page 112.

| DIVINE. | HUMAN. |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Cor. xi. 2, marg. ref. | Matt. xx. 2, 6. |
| 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6. | Col. ii. 8. |
| | 1 Peter i. 18. |

To the earnest Christian spirit, sound argument and fine taste of this excellent book, every one who has read it through will gladly bear his testimony.

The following passages from a writer whose Protestantism is unquestionable, should be well weighed by every one who glories in the name of Protestant.

“Malice alone can deny,” says Chillingworth, “that the intent (of our reformers) was to reduce religion to that original purity from which it was fallen.” And after comparing some differences among the reformers, “they,” he says, “did best who followed *Scripture, interpreted by Catholic written Tradition*; which rule the reformers of the Church of England proposed to themselves to follow.”

Quoted by Rev. E. Churton, in Letters of a Reformed Catholic.

“We are ready to receive Scripture and the sense of Scripture on the authority of original Tradition.”

Quoted in British Magazine, Nov. 1840.

The *first* sentence of the following passage is all that is *commonly* seen of Chillingworth. The context is here given with the late Bishop Marsh's Remarks.

“The Bible, I say, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants! Whatsoever else they believe besides it and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as *matter of opinion*: but as the *matter of faith* and religion, neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it in others.” Page 354, fol.

“Besides It (viz. the Bible) and the plain *irrefragable and indubitable* consequences of it.”—But Protestants of *every* description, however various and even opposite in their opinions, claim severally for themselves the power of deducing from the Bible “irrefragable and indubitable consequences.” The doctrine of *conditional salvation* is an “indubitable consequence” to the Arminian; the doctrine of *absolute decrees* an “indubitable consequence to the Calvinist. The doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Atonement*, and the *Sacraments*, which the Church of England considers as “indubitable consequences” of the Bible, would *not* be so, if the Unitarians and the Quakers were right in the consequences which *they* deduce from the Bible—but the consequences, which *they* deduce appear “indubitable” to *them*: and since they appeal as well as ourselves to the *Bible alone*, we cannot according to Chillingworth's own definition refuse them the title of *Protestants*.

Bishop Marsh on the Consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer Book with the Bible. Page 21.

“The Communion of the Primitive Church we shall embrace, her Doctrines we shall follow, her Judgment we shall rest in, if we believe the Scripture, endeavour to find the true Sense of it, and live according to it.”

Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, p. 103. Ed. 1742.

Wm. Rogers

FEW WORDS

IN SUPPORT OF No. 90

OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES,

PARTLY WITH REFERENCE TO

MR. WILSON'S LETTER.

OXFORD,


JOHN HENRY PARKER;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

HAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

A
FEW WORDS,
§c.



ACQUIESCING as I do in the general principles advocated in Tract XC, and deeply grateful to its author for bringing forward in it a view of our formularies, full of comfort to myself and many others with whom I am acquainted, I am induced to say a few words with regard to Mr. Wilson's recently published Letter; not as being unmindful of the great evils to which direct theological controversy, unless great care be used on both sides, is apt to lead, but still considering that in the present case a view of part of our Articles, new in great measure at least to the present generation, will hardly meet with general acceptance till after full and fair discussion, and that those who feel difficulties in that view have a fair claim on those who advocate it that their objections shall at least be considered. I should not do justice to my own feelings if I did not add, that another reason which

would less disincline one to controversy on the present occasion than on most others, is the most remarkably temperate and Christian tone of the paper to which Mr. Wilson was a party, and which began the contest: a tone which may well encourage in us sanguine hopes, that the beginning having been made in such a spirit, whatever may be said on either side may be said on the whole in a temper not unworthy of the grave importance of the subject.

Mr. Wilson begins with considering the use of the word 'authoritative teaching' in the Letter of the Four Tutors. On this point I do not deny that Mr. Newman seems to have misunderstood them, but still they also appear first to have misunderstood him. I think the Tract *did* imply, that on the points mentioned in their Letter, the Articles do not condemn the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that in point of fact there is no *necessity* for any Roman Catholic either then or at the present day to hold on these points opinions which the Articles condemn. And this view of what the Tract implied is made certain by the following passage of Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, 'The simple
' question is, whether taken by themselves in their
' mere letter, they (the decrees of Trent) express it,
' (the present corrupt teaching of the Church of
' Rome,) whether in fact other senses short of the
' sense conveyed in (her) present teaching
' will not fulfil their letter, *and may not even now in*

‘*point of fact be held in that Church.*’ On the other hand, when the Four Tutors consider that the Tract ‘suggests’ that the XXXIX Articles ‘do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines of Purgatory &c., as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome, but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do,’ they seem to have misunderstood the Tract which actually says, as quoted by Mr. Newman in his Letter, p. 10. ‘What is opposed is the *received doctrine of the day and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrine of the Roman Schools.*’ As things have turned out, it is perhaps to be lamented that Mr. Newman did not repeat this caution in each head of Art. xxii. and he says himself, (Letter, p. 9.) ‘this distinction . . . would have been made in far stronger terms had I not often before spoken against the actual state of the Roman Church, or could I have anticipated the sensation which the appearance of the Tract has excited.’ And in the second edition, the Tract seems as explicit on the subject as can possibly be desired. Let me quote successively its statement on the first four of the five subjects mentioned in the Tutor’s Letter.

‘Let it be considered then, whether on the whole the ‘Romish doctrine of purgatory’ which the Article condemns, and which *was generally believed in the Roman Church three centuries since as well as now*, viewed in its essence, be not the doctrine that the punishment of unrighteous

Christians is temporary not eternal, and that the purification of the righteous is a portion of the same punishment: together with the superstitions and impostures, for the sake of gain, consequent thereupon.' p. 28.

'The doctrine then of Pardons spoken of in the Article is the doctrine *maintained and acted on in the Roman Church*, that remission of the penalties of sin in the next life may be obtained by the power of the Pope, with such abuses as money-payments consequent thereupon^a.' p. 31.

'On the whole, then, by the Romish doctrine of the veneration and worshipping of images and relics, the Article means all maintenance of those idolatrous honours *which have been and are paid them so commonly throughout the Church of Rome*, with the superstitions, profanities, and impurities consequent thereupon.' p. 36.

'By the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, then, the Article means all maintenance of addresses to them which trench upon the incommunicable honour of God alone, *such as have been, and are in the Church of Rome*, and

^a This would seem one of the passages alluded to in Mr. Newman's Postscript, in which the apparent vagueness arose 'from the circumstance, that, the main drift of the Tract being that of illustrating the Articles from the *Homilies*, the doctrines of the Articles are sometimes brought out only so far as the Homilies explain them, which is in some cases an inadequate representation.' In the first edition it stood, 'the pardons then spoken of in the Article are large and reckless indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money-payments:' which not unnaturally seems to have given many persons the impression, that the Tract did not consider the doctrine of the Pope claiming power to remit the penalties of sin in the next life, condemned by the Article, when such remission was not 'obtained on money-payments.'

such as equally with the peculiar doctrine of purgatory, pardons, and worshipping and adoration of images and relics, *as actually taught in that Church*, are unknown to the Catholic Church.' p. 42.

Mr. Newman's opinion then is, that the doctrines on these subjects condemned by the Articles are *not* taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome in the sense of *being obligatory on the belief* of each individual member of the Church, or so that *that Church is irrevocably bound to them*; they *are* taught authoritatively in that they are not merely 'practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do,' but, 'maintained and acted on in the Roman Church,' 'actually taught in that Church,' 'an existing *ruling spirit and view in the Church*,' which is 'a corruption and perversion of the truth,' and, 'against which I think the XXXIX Articles speak.' (Letter, p. 10.) The whole passage in Mr. N.'s Letter, p. 26. from 'for instance,' to 'actually have done,' would make all this still more clear if there were room to quote it. *Authoritative teaching* may naturally mean the *teaching of those in authority*: but then individuals, members of the Roman Church, are not bound to believe such teaching, except so far as it is borne out by *that Church's authoritative statements*: the Tract considers the Articles as directed against *the authoritative teaching* so lamentably prevalent throughout the Roman Church, not the *authoritative statements* of that Church herself.

And now for the more important part of Mr. Wilson's Letter. The point which most people will perhaps feel to be brought out most forcibly in Mr. Wilson's Letter, he has expressed as follows ;

‘ I am not inclined either to restrain or to expand the sense of the Articles, as men may think the Homilies expound them ; nor do I recognise the Homilies as the sole or best interpreter of their sense, though they are most valuable historical documents, and contain a doctrine necessary for the times when they were composed. But Mr. N. undertook to make out his principles as applied to the XXII. and XXXI. Articles, chiefly by a reference to them as representing the sense of the Articles. “ The Homily and therefore the Article,” p. 26. He rested his case on ground chosen by himself ; his own ground even betrays him.’ p. 17.

And we are thus led to two topics for discussion ; first, Are the Homilies legitimate interpreters of these Articles ? and, secondly, Has the Tract fairly represented the teaching of the Homilies with respect to them ? and I will take the two Articles (the twenty-second and thirty-first), to which Mr. Wilson confines his observations, separately.

Before proceeding however with the subject, let me beg persons to consider, that the mere fact of an interpretation appearing at first to them a forced interpretation, is no argument whatever that it is really so, but only that it is *new* to them. I suppose many of us may remember doctrines or opinions on various subjects which when first broached appeared to us quite ex-

travagant, and which we now hold almost as first truths. Any thing which takes us quite by surprise appears forced. I am not denying that in parts of the Tract interpretations are given which to me do not seem the most obvious, (see post, p. 26.) but I cannot consider that of the twenty-second Article as in the number. On the contrary, it does seem that nothing but long habit could have made us imagine, e. g. that ‘*doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio*’ means *all* teaching of Purgatory, or ‘*doctrina Romanensium de invocatione Sanctorum*’ means *all* invocation of Saints. I have heard it said in the last fortnight, that the same principles which reconcile subscription to the twenty-second Article with the opinions maintained in the Tract, might reconcile subscription to the second Article with the Socinian heresy. Now I would almost stake the whole case on the fair issue of that question. Can any thing be more dissimilar in manner and tone than those two Articles? The second contains an accurately drawn up dogmatic positive statement of the high mystery on which it treats, such as the Church has ever had recourse to for the preservation of the Faith committed to her, and such as it is the tendency of the present day to consider subtle and overstrained. The twenty-second contains *no one positive statement*: it puts together four or five topics, which cannot be said to be all very closely connected with each other, and declares that ‘*doctrina Romanensium*’ on those topics is

a fond thing, &c. Would not any one naturally infer from this opposition what Mr. Newman *does* infer? that the framers of the Articles see two things before their eyes, the Creeds which have come down to them from the early ages of the Church, and the corrupt system in existence practically to a great extent overlaying these Creeds; that the former they hand down as they have received them, the latter they protest against, as they see it, generally and in the mass: not being careful to draw up accurate statements of those true principles which are contradictory to the existing abuses, nor again tracing up the latter to their ultimate principles and condemning *them*; but without busying themselves with such investigations, requiring as they would leisure, accuracy of thought, and *unity of opinion*, condemning what they saw *as* they saw it, energizing and practically active throughout the Church. Such would, I feel convinced, be the natural impressions made on our minds by this Article, but for long habit of viewing it in a different light. Still did statements of a different character exist in the Homilies, serious doubt would be thrown over such a conclusion. The Homilies are the *sole* contemporary document recognised by our Church in addition to the Prayer Book and Articles; and did they contain, what the Articles do not, carefully drawn up dogmatic statements on the subjects mentioned in this twenty-second Article, we might well consider them as our

Church's authoritative explanation of her words 'doctrina Romanensium.' These are words so general and indeterminate, as to compel us to resort for an explanation of them elsewhere : were there no other contemporary document sanctioned by our Church, then to history ; but there being such, to that document. Such then is the force as regards this Article of an appeal to the Homilies : not of course that we are bound to every sentence and paragraph in them, (see Tract, p. 66.) but that the general scope and tone of them on this subject will give us at least the nearest approach to our Church's authoritative explanation of what has absolutely no meaning without such explanation, the words 'doctrina Romanensium.' And that on the whole the tone of the Homilies is precisely what we should à priori have expected from the wording of the Article, I think few will deny : we find there long and detailed protests against the existing practical system, but no attention given to the task of drawing up a consistent antagonist view : *their* tone is as negative as that of the Article.

Nor does Mr. Wilson on the whole seem to deny this, for he rather joins issue on detached sentences from the quotations in the Tract, than on the general tendency of the teaching of the Homilies^b. Still I cannot agree in his criticisms on the particular passages he does criticize. Let us first take

^b There is one exception in p. 16, to which I shall presently allude

his extract from the quotation in the Tract on the subject of purgatory.

‘ Where is, then, the third place which they call purgatory? or, where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? S. Augustin doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such in all Scripture.’ p. 8.

Now even taking this sentence by itself, surely it is rather straining it to imply that the writer disbelieved *any* intermediate state in which the souls of the just should remain between death and the day of judgment. Yet if it do not mean this, it can mean nothing to Mr. Wilson’s purpose; for if the wording of it will admit the belief of *any* intermediate state for those who die in God’s faith and fear, it will admit the belief of a state of gradual purification, whether with pain or without: and if it be supposed to deny any intermediate state whatever, we must impute to the homilist not only a strange ignorance of what is so commonly connected with St. Augustine’s name, viz. his advocacy of a doctrine very much resembling the received Roman doctrine of purgatory, but also we must suppose that his own belief was (for I can think of no other alternative) that the soul is in a state of insensibility, from the time of its leaving the mortal body until the Great Day: a belief far from being common surely in our Church from that day to

this, and formally condemned in the Articles put forth in the time of Edward the Sixth^c. But whatever comes of the criticism on this sentence by itself, take the whole passage together, and the account given of it by the Tract will I really think commend itself to most minds as a very fair account. We need not of course suppose, that the homilist kept distinctly before his mind from first to last any definite doctrinal view: see p. 11. But the very words which follow, ‘*Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward: and St. Cyprian saith, &c.*’ shew what the writer had in his mind in the sentence before us. Here then shall follow the quotation from the Homily as made in the Tract, and the Tract’s comment upon it: the summing up in the second edition of the Tract, as to the doctrine concerning purgatory which it is supposed the Articles condemn, has been already introduced.

“ Now doth St. Augustine say, that those men which are cast into prison after this life, on that condition, may in no wise be holpen, though we would help them never so much. And why? Because the *sentence of God is unchangeable*, and cannot be *revoked again*. Therefore let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help others, or others may help us, by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, ‘ When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth,

^c ‘ Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt unà cum corporibus mori . . . ab orthodoxâ fide . . . prorsùs dissentiunt.’

there it lieth :’ meaning thereby, that every mortal man *dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation*, according as the words of the Evangelist John do plainly import, saying, ‘ He that believeth on the SON of GOD hath eternal life ; but he that believeth not on the SON, shall never see life, but the wrath of GOD abideth upon him, ’—where is then the third place, which they call purgatory ? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead ? St. Augustine doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all Scripture. Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that, unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward. And St. Cyprian saith, that, after death, repentance and sorrow of pain shall be without fruit, weeping also shall be in vain, and prayer shall be to no purpose. Therefore he counselleth all men to make provision for themselves while they may, because, when they are once departed out of this life, there is no place for *repentance*, nor yet for satisfaction.”—*Homily concerning Prayer*, pp. 282, 283.

“ Now it would seem, from this passage, that the Purgatory contemplated by the Homily, was one for which no one will for an instant pretend to adduce even those Fathers who most favour Rome, *viz.* one *in which our state would be changed*, in which GOD’s sentence could be reversed. ‘ The *sentence of GOD*,’ says the writer, ‘ is *unchangeable*, and cannot be revoked again ; there is no place for *repentance*’^d. ”

On the subject of pardons, the introduction made in the 2d edition of the Tract as quoted (p. 6.) will perhaps be a sufficient explanation of the author’s meaning.

On the subject of ‘ worshipping and adoration as

^d See Appendix.

well of images as of relics,' Mr. Wilson complains of the Tract as doing the same thing I had just now occasion to complain of him for doing, taking a passage apart from its context, and so laying undue stress upon it. But it will still perhaps appear to many people, that the additional passages quoted by Mr. Wilson do not really alter the state of the case. To do justice to both sides, it will be necessary to make rather a long extract from Mr. Wilson's Letter, (p. 14, 15.)

“ Here I wish to draw your attention to the passage referred to, with the quotations from the Homilies.

Tract, p. 23. “ And a verification of such an understanding of the Article is afforded us in some sentences in the Homily on Peril of Idolatry, in which, as far as regards relics, a *certain* ‘ veneration’ is sanctioned by its tone in speaking of them, though not of course the Romish veneration.

“ The sentences referred to run as follows:—

“ In the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, the Ninth Book, and Forty-eighth Chapter, is testified, that ‘ Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles: and that after his death, devils, *being expelled at his grave or tomb, did roar.*’ Thus you see what authority St. Jerome (who has just been mentioned) and that most ancient history give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius.”

“ Here the quotation in the Tract ends, but the Homily goes on.

“ *Thus you see what authority St. Jerome, and that most ancient history, give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius, whose judgment of images in churches and temples, then beginning by stealth to creep in, is worthy to be noted.*”

“ His judgment having been shewn in

“ That when he entered into a certain church to pray, he found there a linen cloth hanging on the church door painted, and having in it the image of Christ as it were, or of some other saint; therefore when I did see the image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, I did tear it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the church that they should wind a poor man that was dead in the said cloth, and so bury him.”
Hom. ib.

Again:—

“ St. Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor, saith, ‘ Helena found the Cross, and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely (for that is an heathenish error and the vanity of the wicked) but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and whose Name was written on the title,’ and so forth. See both the godly empress’s fact, and St. Ambrose’s judgment at once; they thought it had been an heathenish error, and vanity of the wicked, *to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our SAVIOUR CHRIST’S own precious blood.*”—*Peril of Idolatry*, part 2, circ. int.

“ In these passages the writer does not positively commit himself to the miracles at Epiphanius’s tomb, or the invention of the true Cross, but he evidently wishes the hearer to think he believes in both. This he would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong.”—*Tr.* p. 24.

But if the latter passage is finished to the end of its paragraph, it stands thus:—

“ *They thought it had been an heathenish error to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our Saviour Christ’s own precious blood. And we fall down before every cross piece of timber, which is but an image of that cross.*”
—Hom.

“ This is but an argument *a fortiori*, by no means shewing that the writer wished the hearer to think he believes in the invention of the true Cross, but—if they who thought they had found it would not worship even that, much less, &c. Neither does the Homilist at all concern himself as to his hearers believing in the miracle at Epiphanius’s tomb. The miracles (he says) were believed of old, which shows in what great estimation he was held. And if he of so great estimation tore a cloth painted with an image &c. neither of the passages bear upon the question of relics, much less convey any judgment of the Homilist.

“ This is a very small matter in itself, that in extracting a quotation, a line or two of the succeeding context should have escaped the eye; but in this case these few lines would give a totally different character to the passages taken, and to the thread of the argument of the writer. The inference from these citations was very material; an inference which depends solely on the places, and which I do not believe could be derived from any other extracts from the Homilies, unless equally incomplete.”

But ‘ the thread of the argument of the writer ’ in these passages is surely of no importance. Who *denies* that it is an *a fortiori* argument? The plain question is, would he have expressed himself in the course of it as he did in the two passages quoted by the Tract, had he considered *all* veneration of relics forbidden by the Church of England, ‘ as a fond thing . . . rather repugnant to the word of God?’ Few surely will think so. As to the first quotation, what veneration of relics *can* the Tract be supposed to advocate as lawful, *beyond* that

implied in a belief that relics may work miracles : ‘ that most ancient history’ professes such belief, and, as all must feel, is not spoken of in a tone which would be adopted in speaking of a veneration forbidden by the Church of England. As to the second quotation, not to lay stress on the miracle by which tradition reports the discovery of the true cross to have been made, (which would make the case stronger,) at all events, to feel an interest in such discovery shews a *certain* ‘ veneration of relics.’ Nay what force in saying they did not *worship* the true Cross unless they paid it *some* veneration. Are St. Ambrose then and the ‘ godly empress’ spoken of as if entertaining a feeling condemned by our Articles? rather as the continuation cited by Mr. Wilson makes still more clear, they are spoken of as authorities to be deferred to. Consider too the very tone of the passage, ‘ the cross which was embued with our Saviour Christ’s own precious blood.’

Mr. Wilson’s next quotation from the Homilies is the following, (p. 17.) cited by him to shew ‘ that the homilist would deem even the ‘ *having* of images if not Popish, unlawful:’ but of course the enquiry is, what light do the Homilies throw on the phrase in the Articles ‘ *doctrina Romanensium?*’ and therefore the only pertinent question is, what veneration of images they consider ‘ *Popish?*’ But indeed the passage shews plainly, that what the writer considers *doc-*

trinally forbidden is *idolatry*, and gives as his opinion that to have images in churches is (not in itself wrong, but) most *dangerous* for the *peril* of idolatry.

‘ Wherefore the images of God, our Saviour Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, and others of notable holiness, are, of all other images, most dangerous for the peril of idolatry, and therefore greatest heed to be taken that none of them be suffered to stand in Churches and Temples.’—*Peril Idol.* 3rd part.

In the last passage Mr. Wilson has quoted, he has pointed out that Mr. Newman’s transcriber or printer has made a mistake; but the introduction of the words omitted only makes the summing up in the Tract more closely accurate. The passage in the Homily, which had been accidentally mutilated in the Tract, when read in full is this: ‘ Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, *adoration* of them, which is forbidden so earnestly by God’s word?’ And the summing up in the Tract is as follows; ‘ Now the veneration and *worship* condemned in these and other passages are such as these, *kneeling before them, &c.*’ p. 36. ‘ Kneeling before them’ is mentioned in the Tract as being part of that *adoration* of them condemned by the Article.

It should be added in fairness, that there remains a passage quoted by Mr. Wilson in p. 14, against which nothing has been said: let it have its weight: it seems certainly to speak of *having*

images as 'contrary to the authority of the Scriptures.' But let me also cite a passage from the Homilies quoted by Mr. Wilson in a different connexion, but drawing the same distinction we have seen before between 'having' them and 'worshipping' them. p. 30.

'And thus you see how, from having of images privately, it came to public setting of them up in churches and temples, although *without harm* at the first, as was then of some wise and learned men judged: and from simply having them there, it came *at the last* to worshipping of them.'

On the whole then, does not the case seem made out by the 'four close pages from the Homilies' quoted by the Tract, that the main tendency of their teaching is a vehement protest against the corruptions they saw around them, not the assertion of any one systematic view in opposition? Nay, let it be asked, who is there among us all in any degree religiously-minded, who having in his possession a piece of sculpture on a religious subject, would treat it as though it were a common ornament? and if not, what does he shew but a *certain* 'veneration of images,' 'though 'of course not the *Romish*?'

The last subject under the twenty-second Article is the Invocation of Saints. And in this too the quotations from the Homilies introduced in the Tract *do* seem to shew, that the writers had not in view the task of assigning the exact limits within

which the realizing of our Communion with departed Saints may be lawful to the spiritually-minded Christian, but, as before, that of bearing witness against the practical corruptions they found actually in existence". As to the three first quotations, any reader must surely grant this; and as to the fourth from which Mr. Wilson has introduced an extract, (p. 20.) an attentive perusal of the whole will, I think, lead to the conclusion expressed in the Tract: that the idea in the mind of the writer as to what he was attacking, was what he saw in men's practice on all sides of him: a habit of addressing Saints in such a manner as to make them *at the time the ultimate object of thought*. The passages put in italics in the Tract would seem to my mind to put this beyond fair doubt. Of course it is not necessary to maintain that the Catholic Christian will readily go along with the line of argument adopted in the Homily; the mere question is, what was the religious practice against which he was writing as corrupt and 'Romish?' Mr. Wilson has introduced another quotation from the Homilies which shall here be inserted, (the italics are not Mr. Wilson's:) p. 21.

' For it is evident, that our image-maintainers have the same opinion of saints which the Gentiles had of their false gods, and thereby are moved to make them images, as the Gentiles did. If answer be made, that they make saints but intercessors to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God; that is, even after the

^a See also p. 30.

Gentiles' idolatrous usage, *to make them of saints, gods,* called *Dii Medioximi*, to be mean intercessors and helpers to God, *as though he did not hear, or should be weary if he did all alone.* So did the Gentiles teach, that there was one chief power *working by other, as means;* and so they made all gods subject to fate or destiny; as Lucian in his Dialogues feigneth, that Neptune made suit 'to Mercury, that he might speak with Jupiter. And therefore in this also, it is most evident, that our image-maintainers be all one in opinion with the Gentile idolaters.' *Against Peril of Idolatry, part 3.*

Now does the drift of this passage seem fairly applicable to the case of any holy and self-denying man whose thoughts are in Heaven, ever resting upon God his Supreme Good, and who may feel himself drawn to the practice of asking the prayers of departed Saints to that God, as he does the prayers of his living brethren? does the idea of such a person seem to have been for a moment present to the mind of the writer? On the other hand, to one kind of error (which certainly exists, perhaps to a very great extent, as *matter of opinion* in the Roman Church at the present day, and most probably at that day also,) it is remarkably applicable: viz. such as the opinion that the Blessed Virgin is appointed by our Lord the *sole necessary channel through* which His grace shall flow to His Church, so that in fact addresses to her are more *immediate* applications for a supply of grace than to our Lord Himself: and opinions which are far from going to

^d The following passages, taken from Archbishop Ussher's answers to a Jesuit, have been shewn me since the above was

this shocking extent, but which tend in the same direction, may well be aimed at in this passage ; as

written ; and they will serve both to make my meaning clearer, and also to shew the existence at that period (S. Bernardinus lived in the 15th century) of writings which would be altogether adequate objects for the strictures in this passage of the Homily. The quotations are given on the authority of the Cambridge edition of Ussher, 1835.

A tempore enim quo Virgo mater concipit in utero Verbum Dei, quendam, ut sic dicam, jurisdictionem seu auctoritatem in omni Spiritus sancti processione temporalis, ita quod nulla creatura aliquam a Deo obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius piæ matris dispensationem. Bernardin. Senens. Serm. lxi. Artic. i. cap. 8.

Et quia talis est mater Filii Dei qui producit Spiritum sanctum, ideo omnia dona virtutis et gratiæ ipsius Spiritus sancti, quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, et quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur. Id. ibid.

Nulla gratia de cælo nisi ea dispensante ad nos descendit. Hoc enim singulariter officium divinitus ab æterno adeptæ est, sicut Proverb. viii. ipsa testatur, dicens, Ab æterno ordinata sum ; scilicet dispensatrix cælestium gratiarum. Id. ibid. Artic. iii. cap. 3.

In Christo fuit plenitudo gratiæ sicut, in capite influente, in Maria vero, sicut in collo transfundente. Unde Cantic. vii. de Virgine ad Christum Salomon ait, Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Nam sicut per collum vitales spiritus a capite descendunt in corpus, sic per Virginem a capite Christo vitales gratiæ in ejus corpus mysticum transfunduntur. Id. ibid. Artic. i. cap. 8. et Artic. ii. cap. 10. ex Pseudo-Hieronymi Sermone de Assumpt. Mariæ. Sicut enim a capite, mediante collo, descendunt omnia nutrimenta corporis, sic a Christo per beatam Virginem in nos veniunt omnia bona et beneficia quæ Deus nobis confert. Nam ipsa est dispensatrix gratiarum et beneficiorum Dei. Joan. Herolt. in Sermon. Discipuli de

certainly no one will doubt that to whatever extent they did exist, to whatever extent Saints were allowed to obscure in the mind the vision of the one God, such opinions would be part of the 'doctrina Romanensium' condemned by the Article.

On the subject of the thirty-first Article, I hardly know what to say. If Mr. Wilson considers that the doctrine is condemned in it of the Eucharist

Tempore, Serm. clxiii. Per collum Virginis apud Deum gratia et intercessio intelligitur, ita ut ejus intercessio sit veluti collum, per quod a Deo omnes gratiæ præsidiaque in homines transfunduntur. Blas. Viegas in Apocalyps. cap. xii. Comment. ii. sect. 10. num. 1. Collum enim dicitur, quia per Virgine universa in nos a Deo, tanquam a capite, beneficia derivantur. Id. ibid. num. 2.

Quasi sublato Virginis patrocinio, perinde atque halitu intercluso, peccator vivere diutius non possit. Viegas, ibid. sect. ii. num. 6.

Tot creaturæ serviunt gloriosæ Virgini Mariæ, quot serviunt Trinitati. Omnes nempe creaturæ, quemcumque gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut angeli sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora cælestia vel elementa, et omnia quæ sunt in cælo et in terra, sive damnati sive beati, quæ omnia sunt divino imperio subjugata, gloriosæ Virgini sunt subjecta. Ille enim qui Dei Filius est et Virginis benedictæ, volens, ut sic dicam, paterno principatui quodammodo principatum æquiparare maternum, ipse qui Deus erat matri famulabatur in terra. Unde Lucæ ii. scriptum est de Virgine et glorioso Joseph, Erat subditus illis. Præterea hæc est vera, Divino imperio omnia famulantur et Virgo; et iterum hæc est vera, Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur et Deus. Id. ibid. cap. 6.

being an offering for the quick and dead, he must condemn some of our most respected Divines almost from that day to this. But the whole scope of the Article, as is plain from both its title and wording, is to vindicate the soleness and all-sufficiency of the One Sacrifice.

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, ut that alone. *Wherefore* the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Carit for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.”

The ‘ sacrifices of masses ’ are only introduced as bearing upon this point: they saw that practically ‘ masses as observed in the Church of Rome ‘ actually impaired or obscured the doctrine of the ‘ one Atonement ; ’ (Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 27.) and condemned them *as* so doing^b: they considered most justly any thing which did so as a ‘ blasphemous fable,’ and we find from the Homilies as well as other sources that the particular observances which had this effect, were also so full of other shameful abuses, as to deserve the name of ‘ perniciosæ imposturæ’ as well. With regard to Mr. Wilson’s quotation from Bishop Jewel, it is only necessary to remark that no one has maintained

^b See page 30.

that belief in the Eucharistic Sacrifice is *required* of those who subscribe our formularies ; and that Bishop Jewel's writings have never been recognized by our Church as of authority.

I trust I have now succeeded in vindicating the Tract's interpretation of the twenty-second and thirty-first Articles from the difficulties which have prevented Mr. Wilson from receiving it. As my object in writing is to support the Tract, not to engage in controversy with him, no further remarks on his Letter seem necessary: but I am naturally led on to consider what seems certainly to me a more difficult question than those which Mr. Wilson has raised, and which has been alluded to in a very unassuming and pleasing spirit, by 'one who owes much to the Tracts for the Times:' I mean the Article on General Councils. I fear that what may be said on it may possibly displease some whom it is most painful to displease ; I mean that most highly respected class of our living divines, who consider the spirit in which the English Reformation was carried on by its human agents not to have been on the whole uncatholic. Such persons do not feel the difficulty which some others may feel: they would join issue with those who claim the Articles as ruling matters on the Protestant side, by denying that any powerful party at the time could have wished so to rule them : to them it will have never occurred to doubt, I quote the words used in a private letter by one deeply venerated

person, 'that *General Councils* were never meant to include *Œcumenical*.' Some will probably carry this principle still further, and consider our Articles to *exclude* the adherents of Protestantism, (or as they would rather call it ultra Protestantism,) such as we find them at the present day.

But still as several persons remain who, with all their anxiety to follow such revered authorities, cannot bring themselves to acquiesce in this view of the case, and as their feelings have met with sanction not less high than that of the editors of Mr. Froude's *Remains*, (see preface to the 2d part of that work,) it seems no wanton outrage on feelings which must ever command our highest respect, but direct necessity which compels them in self-defence to express their view of our formularies, and of the ground on which such as they consider they may honestly subscribe them. They cannot deny, that to them there appears an obvious leaning to Protestantism in the wording of some few of the Articles; the point on which they join issue being, whether this leaning has actually been allowed to have its full effect. Two alternatives are open to them: either we may consider, that those who drew up the Articles had before their minds all through their task the thought of an opposite party in the Church whom they must not offend, and whose views if they *actually contradicted* in the Articles, the sanction of Convocation (the sole Church authority of the time) was not to be expected, (*Tract*, p. 82.

second edition): or it remains that God's merciful providence watched over this branch of His Church, (favoured as she has ever been far beyond our deserts, and all the dearer to us her faithful children from her present captivity, and from the imminent dangers which have threatened her,) so watched over her, I say, amidst all the excesses of that period, as *without the intervention of human agency* to protect her from herself, and graciously save her from any *formal* admission of the unhappy errors then prevalent. But I think that without falling back on the latter of these suppositions, there is abundant internal evidence in our formularies themselves (without going to the historical question which *well deserves an attentive investigation*) to convince us of the former. If persons will not reject this notion at once as forced and sophistical, but allow themselves to carry it with them as they look at the Articles, I am persuaded they will see more and more probability of its truth; they will see in the Articles in dispute (which at last are but few) a remarkable attempt on the part of the framers to present an imposing external appearance of Protestantism, while nothing is really decided which might prevent those who deferred more really than they did to primitive authority from subscribing. This of course is the meaning of the last paragraph in the Tract, and it well deserves our careful attention.

For instance (see Tract, p. 44.) the passage in the 28th Article, 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Sup-

‘ per was not *by Christ’s ordinance* reserved, carried
 ‘ about, lifted up, or worshipped;’ in the 25th, ‘ the
 ‘ Sacraments *were not ordained by Christ* to be gazed
 ‘ upon or to be carried about;’ and in the 32d,
 ‘ Bishops, Priests, and Deacons *are not commanded by*
 ‘ *God’s law*, either to vow the estate of single life
 ‘ or to abstain from marriage;’ would bear an appear-
 ance to Foreign Protestants of a spirited protest
 against what they considered corruptions, (part of
 them of course really were so); but when those at
 home who were more nearly concerned, as having
 to sign them, came to look more closely, they would
 find nothing asserted beyond the very plain truth,
 that such ordinances were not *ordained by Christ*,
 and so might *lawfully* (even the question of expedi-
 ency being waived) be discontinued by the Church.
 And so again the 14th Article, while it bears on
 its surface the mark of a loud protest against Rome,
as actually worded is barely more than a truism:
 the question of course being, not whether we can
 do more for His sake than *of bounden duty is required*,
 which no orthodox believer ever dreamt of holding,
 (God forbid !) but whether it is possible for His sake
 to do more, to make higher advances in holiness,
 than the *least* which in His great mercy for the
 merit of Christ’s death, He will accept as sufficient
 to salvation. And to deny this, seems necessarily
 either to deny that holiness *as such* is required for
 salvation, (I mean independently of that degree of
 holiness which will in the judgment of some neces-

sarily result from the news of forgiveness, apprehended by faith,) or to assert that the least falling short of holiness, attainable by us through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, will entail on us eternal ruin. Now on all these Articles if persons of different sentiments protested, they might be triumphantly challenged to point out the statement to which they objected: they could find none, *any more than we can at the present day*. Indeed it is worth the consideration of any person studying the Homilies, especially as illustrating part of the Articles, whether there is not in a large number of passages a remarkable union of *truth* in point of *doctrine*, and *error* in point of *fact*, (of course on such points they have no claim upon us): *truth of doctrine* in declaring certain opinions condemnable, *error in fact* in considering them held by the more religious Roman Catholics". Great part of what appears to have struck some persons as disingenuousness in

° Even as to the Articles there is nothing to interfere with the supposition (not an impossible one) that both in the 14th and 31st the framers were mistaken as to the matter of fact, what was the doctrine held by serious Roman Catholics. Such a mistake would seem a natural result, from their apparent tendency to view religious opinions *from without*, rather looking at them in their effects on the mass of men, than applying themselves to the enquiry, what might be their meaning, and what place they might legitimately hold in the mind of the more religious. Of course mistakes of this sort no more prevent subscription, than their ascribing the Athanasian Creed to St. Athanasius, or a passage to St. Augustine in the 29th Article, which Porson pronounces spurious.

portions of the Tract, is I am persuaded referable to this cause.

Accordingly, to come nearer our present more immediate purpose, notwithstanding the strong protests made in favour of Holy Scripture in the sixth and twentieth Articles, as well as the one before us, a very remarkable silence is maintained on the question, *who is to be judge* of the scripturalness of a doctrine alleged as necessary: a silence which there seems absolutely no way of accounting for, except some such desire of comprehension as I have spoken of. Another thing very much to be observed, and perfectly inexplicable on the hypothesis of Protestant principles having had their full freedom in the reconstruction of our formularies, is, that the necessity of proof from Scripture is every where confined to truths *necessary to salvation*: this is so not only in the sixth, twentieth, and twenty-first Articles, but also in the Ordination Service; so that it cannot possibly be the result of accident.

The Bishop. ‘ Are you persuaded that the Holy
 ‘ Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines *required*
 ‘ *of necessity for eternal salvation* and are you
 ‘ determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct
 ‘ the people committed to your charge, and to
 ‘ teach nothing as required *of necessity to eternal*
 ‘ *salvation*, but that which you shall be persuaded
 ‘ may be concluded and proved by the Scrip-
 ‘ ture?’ It is needless to point out how very
 unlike such a form as this is to what would
 be the free and unrestrained expression of

persons, who held either that the individual or that the local Church had *no* authority to guide them on doctrinal points, except the letter of Scripture. The qualification as to truths 'necessary to salvation' would have actually no meaning in the mouths of such persons. On the other hand, the result has been that the later English Church, as distinguished from other Churches, has borne a most remarkable witness to the truth which appears to have been altogether Catholic, that *all* points of necessary faith are contained (whether on the surface or latently) in Scripture, and that it is the duty of the Church to draw them from thence for the edification of her children: not merely to say to them, 'believe this for the Church believes it,' but 'believe this, for the Church has ever seen it in these certain passages of Scripture; dwell on them carefully and reverently yourselves, that you may go on more and more to see it there too.'

For the proof of the Catholicity of this doctrine the reader is referred to the thirteenth of Mr. Newman's Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church: and it is one which it seems to have been the peculiar office of the English Church to preserve in these later ages. To say so, it may be hoped, involves no uncharitableness to other Churches; it is consistent with a full and grateful acknowledgment, that on other Catholic truths they have borne a more *explicit* testimony than we have, nor is it meant to imply that they

have formally denied this, (of course we are speaking of the formal statements of each Church, not of the practical corruptions in either): but has there not been a tendency in the later Roman Church, arising naturally from the absence of a *full* and *prominent* statement on her part of this truth, to teach saving truth more exclusively on her own authority than the example of the early Church would warrant, and so to be remiss in the duty of encouraging in the laity the reverent study of the Sacred Volume? and may we not by the way allude to this as one out of the numberless marks we have on us of being a living branch of Christ's Church, that the Roman Church and ours *together*[†] make up so far more an adequate representation of the early Church, (our several defects and practical corruptions as it were protesting against each other,) than either separately[‡]?

Having then so far cleared our way, let us enter upon the consideration of the twenty-first Article; and see whether any thing more Pro-

[†] The Greek Church is not mentioned, because its practice on such matters is understood to be much the same with the Roman.

[‡] It is much to be wished that Roman Catholic writers would remember that it is not incumbent on any member of our Church to maintain our superiority to them either in formal statement or in practice. We do not deny *their* Communion to be part of the Universal Church, though they deny *ours* to be so.

testant has really been introduced into it than this characteristic, and most honourable feature of the English Church? I suppose most people on reading it first are struck with this impression, that it is contrasting the authority of General Councils with that of Scripture; and saying that the former being composed of fallible men, are themselves fallible; and therefore claim at our hands, or else at the hands of the local Church, no deference beyond the point to which we can see that Scripture bears out their decrees; nor is it necessary to deny either that this would be the private opinion of the framers, or that they wished it should at first sight convey this impression.

‘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 have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared (*nisi ostendi possint*) that they be taken out of holy Scripture.’

Perhaps most readers will agree, that this certainly at first sight seems to run very smoothly according to the purport I have mentioned; but I have omitted a few words, which when introduced spoil the natural course of the argument altogether; nay it is not too much to say make it impossible

to construct the argument out of the Article as it really stands.

‘ Things ordained by them *as necessary to salvation* have neither strength nor authority, &c.’

Now as these words are just the introduction of what has been mentioned as the characteristic excellence of the later English Church, so on the other hand have they not every appearance of being introduced in consideration of the wishes of men more Catholicly minded than the framers? That they found their way there accidentally, no one will for an instant think, who observes the very same clause in the sixth and twentieth Articles, and also in the Ordination Service. Yet on what Protestant principle, on what principle *denying authority on religious doctrines to all General Councils*, have they any meaning whatever? No one will maintain that *all* religious truths are *necessary to salvation*; why then on those *not* necessary have General Councils authority independently of Scripture, according to the words of the Article, and not on others? No! I feel persuaded that fair minded men will see in this Article the result of a compromise with the opposite party, and an intentional abstinence from determining the question whether *some* General Councils *have given them authority by Christ to determine religious doctrine with infallible truth*; ruling at the same time so much as this, that any General Council which

determined that to be a point of *necessary faith* which should not be contained and *able to be pointed out* (ostendi possint) in Holy Scripture, would err in so doing, and therefore would not be so far such infallible Council. And if it be asked, what remains in that case as the force of the Article at all? an obvious answer is found in the very general opinion, that the Roman Church had considered those to be Œcumenical Councils which were not so; and with regard to which one mark of their not being so was, that they seemed to rule as points necessary to salvation, what they did not even profess to see in Scripture; while on the other hand practically doctrines which the Reformers desired to oppose were grounded (with or without reason) on the decrees of such General Councils: against which they declare ‘General Councils may err and have erred, &c.’ For the importance of this test of the Catholicity of a General Council, see Newman’s Prophetic office of the Church, Lect. viii. where he brings out the fact, that the first General Council ‘which professed to ground its decrees not on ‘Scripture sanction but mainly on tradition,’ was ‘the first which framed as an *Article of faith* what ‘was beside and beyond the Apostles’ Creed,’ was ‘the Council which decreed the worship of images,’ and was the first which took place *certainly* after the schism had taken place between the East and West.

It will perhaps be hardly cogent in arguing

on this subject to bring forward the names of our divines who have held the infallibility of *some* General Councils, as they will only be included in the charge of inconsistency with their subscription: but it will be very cogent to introduce the canon of the Convocation of 1571, the very same Convocation which sanctioned our Articles, as shewing that that assembly was little likely to have assented to formularies which taught the Protestant rule of Private Judgment. ‘Preachers shall be careful that they never teach ought in a sermon to be religiously held and believed by the people except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, *and which the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine.*’ It may be added, that in the second edition of the Tract the writer has made more clear his method of reconciling the wording of the Article with those opinions which I have just been arguing were intended to be admitted by it, by introducing into the passage which follows the words in brackets, ‘General Councils then may err [*as such—may err*] *unless* in any case it is promised,’ &c.

Before leaving the subject of this Article, it may be as well to add, that the first clause so congenial in its wording with the prevalent Erastianism of that day, is nevertheless strictly in accordance with primitive usage, as the Tract

observes; and with regard to a difficulty felt by the anonymous writer of the few pages to which I have before alluded, it will be seen by an attentive reader, that when the Tract speaks of those General Councils which are gathered together *in the name of Christ*, it plainly does not mean those Councils which *profess* to be so gathered together, but which are *really* so; for as it implies afterwards, it is an important question and not an easy one 'to determine—*what those conditions are which fulfil the notion of a gathering in the name of Christ.*' p. 22.

The same writer has found a difficulty in the Tract's explanation of the twenty-eighth Article, and considers that the Article 'denies that the elements are altered at all.' Controversy is not necessary on the word 'altered,' if he will bear in mind that the following paragraph was *added* in the XXXIX Articles, not having been in the forty-two, and must therefore be taken as explanatory of the former. 'The Body of Christ is *given, taken, and eaten, &c.*' the inference from which is obvious. Again, this paragraph about transubstantiation, as urged I think quite successfully in the Tract, is plainly of the same nature with the twenty-second Article, and directed in a general way against the existing superstitions of the time.

On the thirtieth Article (to which however I am not aware of objection having been as yet expressed) the Tract has not altogether satisfied me:

‘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.’

This certainly seems to contain a protest against the habit in the Roman Church of denying the cup to the laity, in the indiscriminate and unnecessary manner she has adopted for so many years; so that if a person considered that point of discipline in her communion a legitimate or justifiable use of that power which the Church of course has, I should have doubts of his being able to sign the Article^b. It is very comforting to know, that it *is* a mere point of discipline which she might revoke at any moment: nor on the other hand does the Article seem to determine the question whether there may not be individual cases in which administration in one kind would be a pious procedure. Persons of infirm health (to whom the wine might be seriously prejudicial) afford one example; the ancient solitaries, to whom the Consecrated Bread was carried out, afford another; a case where the danger of profanation from the Wine becoming corrupted, had the Cup also been brought them, is obviousⁱ. And indeed

^b At the same time it is certainly possible to take the first clause of the Article in a sense parallel to Art. XXXII, ‘non est denegandus, *as things are in our Church*, since (without judging others) we prefer having it according to Christ’s ordinance and commandment.’

ⁱ ‘As to the other part of the question,—whether the

this latter, recognized as it was in the Church in the ages which the Convocation of 1571 must certainly have contemplated when it speaks of the Ancient Fathers and Bishops, cannot be considered as condemned in the Articles which that Convocation sanctioned.

Before concluding, it may be as well to add a few words in explanation of such expressions as the following in the Tract ; ‘ in such a sense Scripture is not *on Anglican principles* a rule of faith,’ p. 11. the *Article* is ‘ as it were pointing to the ‘ Catholic Church diffused throughout the world, ‘ which being but one cannot be mistaken,’ &c. p. 18. ‘ Another of these conditions,’ (viz. of a General Council being Catholic) *the Article goes on to mention*, p. 22. ‘ Therefore,’ *as the Article* ‘ logically proceeds,’ p. 64 ; and so a still stronger expression in Tract 82, (the same Tract from which a large quotation is made in Tract 90, p. 66.) ‘ I ‘ look forward to success not by compelling others ‘ to take my view of the Articles, but by convinc- ‘ ing them that *mine is the right one.*’ vol. iv. p. xxxi.

‘ ancients did not in some private or extraordinary cases ‘ administer the Sacrament in one kind, we have no dispute ‘ with Bona.’ ‘ Bona himself tells us that there are *some* ‘ instances of the Communion being carried in both kinds to ‘ hermits and recluses.’ ‘ As to the other instances of the sick, ‘ or infants, or men in a journey, who communicate only in one ‘ kind, (if they were never so true, as we see *many* of them are ‘ false,) they are private and extraordinary cases,’ &c. Bingham, book xv. chap. 5.

Many persons seem to consider that such statements imply that persons, who subscribe the Articles in a different sense, do what in point of fact (of course dishonesty is not supposed to be imputed to them) they are not warranted in doing. And such further ways of speech as ‘*the Church of England teaches*’ certain doctrines, or ‘*we hold against the Roman*’ ‘*controversialist such a point,*’ are often considered to imply, that our formularies *as we have them* really are sufficient, if people would take them fairly, to witness this alleged truth. But these expressions need not be taken to imply so much; and *if* they need not be, it is important to state this, not only from the great desirableness that persons of opposite opinions should not consider their conduct to be spoken against when it is not, (the one great hope of our Church’s well doing at the present time and escape from her ‘unhappy divisions,’ is a loving and temperate consideration of the points at issue with as little as may be of reproach and imputation on either side,) but also from the light it throws on such parts of Mr. Newman’s Letter to Dr. Jelf, as the following: ‘I should rejoice if the ‘members of our Church *were all of one mind*, but ‘they are not; and till they are, one *can but submit* ‘to what is at present the will or rather the chastisement of Providence.’ p. 29.

Such statements then as the preceding do not necessarily (I believe do not in the mind of the writer really) mean more than this: that if our

Church be looked upon *as a branch of the Church Catholic*, (in our sense of the words,) she must be considered to mean certain doctrines when she uses certain statements. It is not implied that our formularies *rule* it that we are a branch of the Church Catholic in this sense: many persons it is well known consider the English Church to be a Protestant Establishment, dating from the time of Edward VI.: and of these, some lay great stress on our being governed by Bishops; others consider the form of 'Church Government' to be a matter of very small importance: there is no necessity for denying that either class may subscribe our formularies, that is a point for their serious consideration, on which we are not called on to form an opinion^k. If they do so, they will receive them in a very different sense from that to which they give utterance in *our* ears. To *us* they come as the words of some old and revered friend, whom we have known long and well, and who has long

† It is much to be wished that persons, who, from the apologetic air which to them the Tract may appear to wear, are led to consider it a sophistical attempt at explaining away our formal statements of doctrine, would consider the appearance which would be presented in their own case *if they placed on paper one after another the passages in our formularies* (whether Prayer Book or Articles,) which *give them difficulties*, without explicit allusion to the many parts which seem to them to be of an opposite tendency, and then put down in words the explanation of them in which they acquiesce, and by help of which they subscribe.

taught us high and holy lessons ; and if after such long experience we hear from him words which at first sound strangely, we interpret them *if possible* in accordance with his well-known spirit. If they absolutely refuse to be so explained, we recognise with sorrow that we have mistaken his character ; but in proportion to our experience of the preciousness of his former counsels, in proportion to our perception of the plain traces he still bears upon him of his former self, are we unwilling to believe that any of his expressions may not be so interpreted. This of course is Mr. Newman's meaning when he speaks of giving the Articles ' the most Catholic sense they will admit.' Tract, p. 80. In a word then, we raise no question about others who interpret our formularies by the spirit of Cranmer and Jewel, why are they found fault with who interpret them by St. Gregory and St. Augustin¹? or why are we to be suspected of lukewarmness in affection for our own Church, because, together with far higher feelings of the awfulness of privilege entrusted to it than others have, we

¹ If ever there were a point not determined by our Church, it is that she takes her date from the Reformation. The very name Protestant *is not once used in our whole Services or Articles.* The Prayer Book, no insignificant part of our formularies, dates for the most part from a far earlier period. The temporal rights of our Bishops, of our Chapters, the external framework of our Church, the divisions of our Dioceses, &c. &c. all call us back to St. Augustin rather than to Cranmer.

also add a far longer train of sympathies with her, and give her a far more extensive catalogue of saints?

One reason in addition may be mentioned, why to remain in our own Church, and by God's help endeavour to elevate its tone, cannot be looked on by the Catholic Christian as the cold performance of a duty, (though a plain duty of course it is,) but a labour of love. Many persons, who have been by God's grace led into what they deem the Truth, are most deeply sensible, that in the number of those who think otherwise, are still very many persons, so much their superiors in religious attainment, that the idea of even a comparison is most painful. Yet religious truth is the especial inheritance of such persons, who nevertheless, whether by the prepossessions of education, or the inadequate way in which that Truth has been brought before them, have hitherto failed to recognise God's mark upon it. Can there be a task more full of interest and hope, than in all possible ways, especially by the careful ordering of our own lives and conversations, to do what in us lies to set before such persons in a manner which may overcome their adverse impressions, that one image of the Catholic Church, which, could they but see it, is the real satisfaction for their restless cravings, and the fit reward for their patient continuance in well doing? yet such a task is exclusively ours as members of the *English Church*, and may well

add one to the many associations and bonds of love which binds us to that Holy Mother, through whom we received our new-birth. May we all have grace to labour worthily in the pious task of building her up in truth and purity, with loving tenderness indeed towards all branches of the Catholic Church, but with an especial and dutiful attachment to *her*.

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APPENDIX.

AN additional quotation of Mr. Wilson's on purgatory from the Homilies, p. 24. escaped my notice in writing what goes before. In the Homily it *immediate'y follows* the quotation in the Tract: a few further extracts from the same passage, while they seem to require some little modification of the argument I had grounded on the previous passage, still on the whole will tend perhaps to shew more clearly the points I have insisted on: first, that the homilist was not writing with a determined and accurate view of his own any way; and secondly, that the general *drift* of the passage is to deny a 'place of repentance' for those who die in sin; though incidentally he takes up several positions the soundness of which we may well doubt. And let it never be forgotten, that the more inconsistency of general view we find in the Homilies, the stronger becomes the argument urged in the foregoing pages: viz. that the Reformers did not occupy themselves with the investigation of *principles* on these subjects, but with vigorous attacks on the existing corrupt creed of the mass of men^a.

' Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are any thing at all holpen by our prayers: but, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing out of the body, *goeth straightways either to Heaven, or else to Hell*, whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption. The

^a See p. 30.

only purgatory wherein we must trust *to be saved* is the death and blood of Christ, &c. This then is that purgatory wherein all Christian men put their whole trust and confidence, nothing doubting, but if they truly repent them of their sins, and die in *perfect* faith, that then they shall forthwith pass from death to life. If this kind of purgatory will not serve them, let them never hope to be released by men's prayers. He that *cannot be saved by faith in Christ's Blood*, how shall he look to be delivered by man's intercessions? But *we must take heed that we call upon this Advocate while we have space given us in this life, lest when we are once dead, there be no hope of salvation left unto us.* For as every man *sleepeth* with his own cause, so every man shall *rise again* with his own cause' [compare 'goeth *straightways* either to Heaven or to Hell' just before,] 'and look in what state he dieth, in the same state he shall be also judged, whether it be *to salvation or damnation.* Let us not *therefore* dream either of purgatory, or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead,' &c.

In this short passage then the writer is in a formal contradiction with himself, on a subject not less closely connected with purgatory, than the question whether there is *any* intermediate state: he first states, and afterwards denies, that the soul goes *at once* to Heaven or Hell. The former statement being in positive contradiction to the doctrine of *a Day of Judgment.* He waives the question as to those who die in *imperfect* faith; he seems to speak of a purgatory, the believers in which *so far* renounce their trust in Christ's Atonement, &c. &c. At the same time the other words in Italics, especially the final 'therefore,' seem to shew what is all the time the current of his thoughts.

THE END.

Edw. Rogers
THE CRISIS COME,

BEING REMARKS ON

MR. NEWMAN'S LETTER TO DR. JELF,

AND ON

TRACT FOR THE TIMES, No. 90.

BY THE

REV. J. JORDAN, B. A.

VICAR OF ENSTONE, OXON.

OXFORD,

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1844.



THE CRISIS COME,

§c. §c.

PAINFUL as it must be to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and Him crucified, in sincerity and truth, to contemplate the events that have been for some years past occurring, and that still are endeavouring to force an unholy progress amongst us; painful as it must be to others, who have vainly hoped and persuaded themselves that better things were intended, and that out of the School of the Tract Writers were to arise those, who were to revive in pristine vigour the presumed pure Christianity of an earlier age; it is no longer to be denied or dissembled that we have reached a Crisis the most important that has fallen upon the Church of England since the days of the Reformation itself. Not that we have now to fear the fagot and the stake, for I have no surmisings of any such extravagance as that, and therefore would at once renounce all idea of such a thing. The contest we have now to engage in is not one of blood, but of faith—one of first principles and truth: for now “when for the time we ought to be teachers,” to a world lying in darkness and the shadow of death, “we have need that one teach us again which be the first principles of the Oracles of God.” Heb. v. 12. It is for the Bible, and Bible truths, that we have again to strive, and that manfully, against “oppositions of science falsely so called, which some professing have erred from the faith,” 1 Tim. vi. 20, and would force upon us “another gospel, which is not another; but there be some that trouble us, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ.” Gal. i. 6, 7. We have need to raise once more the banner of the Reformation, and to take our stand upon the great principle maintained by Chillingworth, the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. It is not the Church that is

in danger—the Church of Christ can never fall. The fiat has been spoken by the Eternal One upon earth, and can never be reversed—“The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” But while the Church cannot perish, we may lose our Churchism, by relinquishing its Scriptural truth, which is the life and spirit of the body. Without this we are but as the clay moulded by the hands of the Almighty workman, into the form and fashion of Adam, beautiful to behold and fair to look upon, but dead and inanimate until God breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a living soul.

It is nothing, too, for us of the Church of England to unfurl the standard of our faith, and to point to our Scriptural Articles, as maintaining the simplicity and integrity of Scripture truth. The purity of these is the very question in dispute, and it is unblushingly affirmed that these were not intended to denounce and to repudiate the very errors they emphatically condemn; that they were directed against heresies of a different age and character, and consequently that they may include within them those who now again advance, and would propagate amongst us the very same errors which they condemn. The question, then, in dispute being what truths our Articles do contain, and what heresies they condemn; their validity in fact as standards being impugned, and their plain and simple meaning according to the words used being controverted, it is impossible to appeal to them in their own defence; and consequently we must go to that pure source and fountain whence they rise and flow. In one respect let us rejoice at this, thank God, and take courage. The appeal is to Scripture, and to its unimpeachable authority. The final issue of the contest, then, is safe. Truth must and will prevail. Her struggles may be great, her throes may be awful, but she shall at last assuredly “see of the travail of her soul, and be satisfied.”

The writings which contain such assertions and pretensions as these at the present moment, for others have before attempted this unscriptural work, are No. 90. of Tracts for the Times, and a Letter to Dr. Jelf, by Mr. Newman, the avowed author of the Tract, in explanation of it. The object of both these publications is to sap the strength of the Articles, to render them in a Romish and superstitious sense, and to claim for the author, and for those who think with him, licence from his brethren in the ministry, by

their silence and concurrence to maintain these errors, and at the same time to maintain communion with the Church of England, and to propagate these errors under the garb of her scriptural teaching. This is undisguisedly set forth in the concluding pages of the Letter; and Mr. Newman invites his brethren in the ministry to yield this to him, his coadjutors, and their views, in the following words:—"Let me now implore my brethren to submit, and not to force an agreement at the risk of a schism." p. 29. To leave such an invitation unreplied to, to treat it with a melancholy silence, and thereby to encourage this vain hope, were treason against the Majesty of heaven, who condescended to die for us on earth, and against the supremacy of that written Word in which he has revealed himself to man. By all we hold dear in religion on earth, by all we hope for on high, by the love we have for Christ, by the charity we have for the souls of mankind, and by every fond anticipation we rejoice in of living in the presence of God for evermore; we are bound to speak out and to refuse compliance with this request.

It may be, indeed, that I have not conceived Mr. Newman aright, in supposing him to address the ministry at large, rather than his own immediate friends, whom he has possibly intended to denote by the term "my brethren." However this may be, for the passage is so far ambiguous, it is clear that whether he has directly proposed the thing here, or not, he has certainly aimed at it both in the Tract and in his Letter; and the whole scope and tenor of his teaching is steadily directed to this end, an assimilation of the minds and views of the ministry and the people to those of himself and his coadjutors.

And what is it that Mr. Newman invites us to concede? In Tract 90. first, and in his Letter to Dr. Jelf since, he would have us so explain and understand the Articles of the Church of England, as to believe and confess that they do not condemn the authoritatively taught errors of the Church of Rome according to the only authority which that Church allows, the decrees of the Council of Trent; that so far from condemning these, they mainly agree with them—that there is, therefore, no doctrinal difference between us and Rome, but that Rome is only practically in error, needing a small reformation to revive her, and to fit her for re-union with us; and that consequently those who hold and confide in the decrees of Trent, may also adhere to the Articles of the Church of England, provided that these last are

not "so closed as the received method of teaching closes them." The Letter of Mr. Newman, even more than the Tract No. 90, explicitly maintains these extraordinary proposals to the ministry of the Church of England. We will, therefore, first of all examine the former of these.

In the Letter a most unjustifiable attempt is made to draw a distinction between what is called the "authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome," and "the decrees of Trent." This "authoritative teaching" is represented as existing both before the Tridentine decrees and since, as at the present time. That there was what is technically called "authoritative teaching" in the Church of Rome before those decrees is unquestionable, for the multitude of her Councils testify of this, and bear witness to her manifold errors. But since those decrees, where has her "authoritative teaching" existed, but in the maintenance and exposition of those very decrees? They are in fact her last and most authoritative teaching, and none other is there that she will recognize and allow.

But why the desire to establish such a distinction as this?—Why any necessity at all for separating between the decrees of Trent and the teaching of Rome before and since?—It is a grievous subtilty to make a distinction where there is none, that on it may be grafted the pretence, that the Articles of the Church of England, while they deny and repudiate the "authoritatively taught" errors of Rome, do not deny and repudiate the very same identical errors in the decrees of Trent. For, it is most speciously argued, how could they?—"Whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees." With as much truth and reason it might be said, "Whereas the Scripture was written before the decrees of Trent, it was not directed against those decrees."

But was ever fallacy invented so transparent as this? What if the Articles were "written" before the decrees of Trent?—What if they were "drawn up" previously?—Would this make them not condemn errors published subsequently, merely because they have been revived at a late day?—If so, the Articles are utterly valueless, for then they are of no force or validity against any revived error, however plainly and emphatically they may condemn it. And in the same way Scripture itself cannot be held to condemn errors which have originated since its publication.

But where is the TRUTH of the assertion that the Articles were "written" and "drawn up" before the decrees of Trent?—It is in letter, not in spirit. It is true in letter, it is false in spirit. The 42 Articles of Edward VI. were published in 1552, during the Sessions of the Council of Trent, which lasted from 1545 to 1563; but these Articles were modified and reduced to 39 in the reign of Elizabeth, and published in 1562. This might seem to bring them within the period of the Council, and so to favour the notion that they were not directed against its decrees. But when was the Ratification affixed to them? In 1571, after the decrees of Trent, when the errors of those decrees had been some years before the world, and when consequently the damning force of them must have been directed against the decrees themselves.

For, in truth and honesty, what matters it whether the Articles were written before or after the promulgation of those decrees? It is not the decrees, so much as the errors they contain, that are condemned, and though the Article speaks of those included in the Romish doctrine, then and since prolific of them, yet it equally condemns the same errors, whether found in the Romish Church or elsewhere, and whether existing in the Romish Church at that time or subsequently revived in it.

And here for the moment I cannot avoid noticing the contradiction that Mr. Newman has fallen into of his friend and co-adjutor Dr. Pusey. When it suited Dr. Pusey's purpose in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford to give a late date and authority to the Articles, in order that we might not appeal to the framers of them, our martyred Reformers, whose praise is in all the Churches, he set up the subtil distinction, "We have not the 42 Articles of Edward VI. but the 39 of Elizabeth; and these have their authority to us from the agreement of our Church in 1562 and 1571," p. 32. Now that Mr. Newman wishes the Articles to have an early date and authority, he tells us they were "written" and "drawn up" before the decrees of Trent. Dr. Pusey, to suit himself, will have them late; Mr. Newman, for his turn, will have them early. How are these gentlemen to be reconciled?—How are they to be pleased?—They are like children sitting in the market place, and crying one to another, and saying, "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced, we have mourned unto you and ye have not wept."

In truth, what matters it whether the Articles of the Church of England were written before or since the decrees of Trent, so that they condemn and utterly repudiate as they do the damnable heresies and doctrines which those decrees contain?—This is their excellency and their glory, and it must continue to be such so long as there is truth and honesty in the Ministry, who have vowed the maintenance of them. To prove them otherwise, however, is to draw us nearer to Rome, to make our difference from that heretical Church a mere visionary fancy, and not a reality, and thus in fact to merge us once more in the swamp of her blasphemies. Such is Mr. Newman's aim, now no longer concealed beneath the veil of a pretended agreement with the Articles. He avows his "belief that the Articles *need* not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and *ought* not to be for the sake of many persons," p. 28; and that he is desirous of so opening them, that the age may pass unsuspectingly to the enjoyment of the "something" it wants, and which something is only to be found in the Church of Rome.

Here there is no disguise, and that there may be no mistake of his design, let us see it in full. At page 27 he remarks, "In truth, there is at this moment a great progress of the religious mind of our Church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century." From the depth of my heart I echo this sentiment, with thanksgivings to God for it, but not one jot in the sense Mr. Newman intends. I believe that there is in the religious mind, not of our Church only, but of all the Churches of Christ in this kingdom, something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century. Then indeed religion was well nigh dead, the great doctrines of the Gospel were unknown; its morality was disregarded, its heavenly affections were ridiculed and despised, and we had almost come to the completion of George Herbert's prophecy, for

*Religion stood a-tiptoe in the land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,*

or to find a resting place for herself wheresoever she could. But there were yet some "seven thousand left, all the men that had not bowed the knee" falsely. The day of grace came. The revival began. It has gone on and prospered. The truths and promises of Scripture are now the ground of our hope. The

Bible is in the hands of the people, millions having been circulated here at home. It is spreading the Divine seed abroad. Our missionaries are breaking up the ground for its reception. Renewed calls are made upon God for increased energies of His Spirit. They are answered by the successful ministrations of the Word. The idols are falling. The people are awaking from their sleep of ages. India, China, the isle-bespangled Pacific, even "the servant of servants," Africa, are receiving the light of truth. These great acts of our God return upon us to bless us, and to strengthen us to renewed exertions. We seek to him again for increased favour, for greater outpourings of his Spirit. While we marvel at these things, and piously exclaim, What hath not God wrought! we look at ourselves with fearfulness and trembling; we enquire whether we are keeping pace in our growth in holiness with his mercies vouchsafed to us, and thus we make progress indeed to "something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century," or even the age that has preceded us, grateful as we are to it for the blessings it has, under God, been the means of opening upon us.

But does Mr. Newman mean anything of this sort? Not at all. He looks not to the ministers or missionaries of God's Word, to test the progress that is making, but he is satisfied with "the poets and philosophers of the age!" forgetful of the exhortation of the Apostle, "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence." Mr. Newman, however, sees the spirit of the times through a medium very different from that which I have represented above. In his view, "The age is moving towards something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome." So then this same Church of Rome, who by her "authoritative teaching" at the present day of the decrees of the Council of Trent, in which she "goes beyond those decrees," is the only commu-

nion "practically in possession of the something" which the religious fervour of the age desires. How a church can have grossly corrupted and perverted her own corrupt and perverse decrees, which very decrees are admitted by Mr. Newman to have a "tendency to foster and produce" those corruptions and perversions, and yet at the same time maintain herself so far right, as, "amid all the errors and evils of her practical system," to be "practically in possession of the something" needed, it is most difficult to comprehend according to the instructions of Scripture. There we are taught, that if the fruit be good, the tree is good also, and that the tree can only be known by its fruits. How her fruits, her "practical possession" can be good, and she herself so in error as to be condemned by our Articles, it is impossible to imagine, to comprehend, or to reconcile.

We come, at length, however, to the enquiry as to what this "something" is, which poets, and philosophers, and enthusiasts bear testimony to the cravings of the age for. "Most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic." And is this all? What a melancholy picture, in sooth. Catholic all these may be, but where is Christianity in them? Where are the "weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith?" Where is the message of reconciliation to fallen man? Where is the peace of God which passeth all understanding? Where is charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues? Where is the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ? Where are the promises of free grace? Where is the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit? Where are the joy and peace of believing? In one word, where is the Gospel, its gladdening promises, its renovating principles, and its invigorating grace and truth? No gleam of its brightness can be discerned amidst the thick cloud of darkness, yea of gross darkness, with which it is thus attempted to enshroud the people. Instead of simple evangelical truth, "awe and mystery" are to be revived amongst us, and we are once more invited to taste of the golden cup in the hand of

her upon whose forehead is inscribed the name, "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."

That this is the consummation Mr. Newman desires there can be no doubt about. He advances it plainly in the following words:—"The question then is, whether we shall give them (the feelings of awe, mystery, &c.) up to the Roman Church, or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system, which has of late years indeed been superseded, but which has been, and is, quite congenial (to say the least), I should rather say proper and natural, or even necessary, to our Church. But if we do give them up, then we must give up the men who cherish them." Here then is the issue to be joined. Here is the Crisis we are called upon to act in. We must either allow an elasticity to the Articles, in order to preserve these Romish principles and men, and suffer them to prevail until they bind us in the trammels of their destructive errors; or else, maintaining the scriptural truth and simplicity of our Articles, upholding the plain and simple truths of the Holy Scripture, we must leave these men to do what they ought long since to have done, not to "subscribe with doubt and hesitation," but to relinquish their connection with a Church from which they entirely dissent, and the doctrines of which they are endeavouring to undermine and destroy.

And now let us turn to the Tract No. 90, that we may see the manner in which Mr. Newman has attempted practically to work out his views. The object of the Tract is fully developed in the concluding sentences of the introduction. It is designed to show "that while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine." I will delay no longer over the assumption made here, that the Prayer Book is of Catholic origin, further than to protest against it. I have rather to do with the avowed object and design of the Tract, which is to make out and to strain such a perversion, I will not say understanding, of the Articles, that those who are of what the author calls a Catholic spirit may subscribe them. What he intends by a Catholic spirit, "Catholic in heart and doctrine,"

there can be no difficulty in understanding from the subtle distinction he has drawn between the "authoritative teaching" of the Church of Rome and the Tridentine decrees. It is evident that they who are of his catholicity do not differ from or disagree with these decrees, and accordingly his sole object is to distort the Articles into such a form, that they may appear not to be contrary to, if they do not altogether square with the decrees of Trent.

The Articles are arranged in twelve sections, and there is a commentary upon each, conceived in the above spirit. The first, fourth, and fifth sections treat of the sixth and twentieth Articles, the nineteenth, and the twenty-first. I select these sections first, because these same Articles have been dealt with, in precisely the same manner that Mr. Newman here deals with them, by Dr. Pusey in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford in 1839, a fact which I desire may be especially noted, as a warning to those who have hitherto shut their eyes to the direct tendency of the Tracts altogether, and who have suffered the most valuable of our Protestant symbols to be explained away, and the most precious truths of the Gospel to be questioned, and only at length arouse themselves to their danger when the gross errors of Romanism are offered to us instead. Had the contest begun, as it should have begun, long since, when the sole supremacy of Scripture was first denied, when the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the alone merits of Jesus Christ was first trifled with and despoiled of its excellency and power, we should not now have heard of such questions as purgatory and comprecation with the saints, and others of a like import. It is no new thing then to read as in this Tract, "We may dispense with the phrase 'Rule of Faith,' as applied to Scripture, on the ground of its being ambiguous; and, again, "because it is then used in a novel sense; for the ancient Church made the Apostolic Tradition, as summed up in the Creed, and not the Bible, the *Regula Fidei*, or rule." And again, "In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles the Rule of Faith." In this way it is attempted to get rid of Scripture, and to destroy the efficacy of our sixth Article, which affirms that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," and consequently must be, and is, the only Rule of Faith. I intend not, however,

here to dwell upon the several sections I have cited above, because I can refer the reader to a recent publication of mine, "A Review of Tradition as taught by the Writers of the Tracts for the Times," in which he will find that I have contended with Dr. Pusey for the true and scriptural understanding of these several Articles, and have there sufficiently proved, what I am now therefore relieved from with respect to these Articles, that both himself and Mr. Newman have in vain attempted to destroy the force and value of them altogether.

I gladly, therefore, pass on to another Article, our eleventh, treated of in the second section of the Tract, because here we have to grapple with the most important doctrine of the Gospel. This is the sum and substance of the Gospel. The doctrine of Justification by Faith is the very essence of truth, and the preaching of it in simplicity and truth was justly declared by the great Luther to be the sign of a falling or rising Church. I will do what Mr. Newman has not done, and set out the Article unmutilated. I am not afraid to see it entire, and I pray God I may never cease to make it the one end, and aim, and subject of all my preaching, to His great honour and glory through His Son Jesus Christ.

Of the Justification of Man.—We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

But why did not Mr. Newman in commenting on the Articles set out and observe upon the whole of this the most essential one? Because, first, the Article states plainly and broadly that there is one only means of salvation "the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith," even as the Scripture says "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shall be saved;" and again, "there is no other name given amongst men whereby we must be saved, but that of the Lord Jesus Christ and Him crucified." And secondly, because Mr. Newman will have not one means of salvation only, but several. He says, "A number of means go to effect our justification. We are justified by Christ alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by faith alone, in that faith asks for it; by baptism alone, for baptism conveys it; and

by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it." The issue, then, between Mr. Newman and the Article is simply this. The Article says we are justified by Christ alone. Mr. Newman says we are justified by Christ alone, by faith alone, by baptism alone, by newness of heart alone. The Article allows only one means of salvation—Mr. Newman will have four means, and will have each of these alone, and consequently independent of one another. The Article refers us to the Homily for a more complete exposition of the truth of its assertion; and if the reader consult it, as it deserves to be consulted at large, he will find abundant proof in it from Scripture, and such a faithful explanation of the doctrine, as will both demonstrate the truth of the Article and condemn the error of Mr. Newman.

With this, however, I will not at present rest satisfied. My appeal against Mr. Newman's judgment is to Scripture, and to it only do I go to prove the fallacy of the doctrine he endeavours to maintain as that of justification. I shall proceed to shew the truth of the Article, as affirmed in the following words: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith." It only needs that I cite Scripture itself upon the subject, without observation or comment, for its declarations are so plain as to require no human aid to enforce them. "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." Acts ii. 21. Rom. x. 13. "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." Acts iv. 12. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts xvi. 31. "We shall be saved from wrath through him." Rom. v. 10. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, thou shalt be saved." Rom. x. 9. "God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Thess. v. 9. "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." 1 Tim. i. 15. and elsewhere frequently. "All mankind have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Rom. iii. 23, 24. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. v. i. "Being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." *Ibid.* 9. "Ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the

Spirit of our God." 1 Cor. vi. 11. "A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." Gal. ii. 16. "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith." Gal. iii. 24.

I have now done with Mr. Newman's Letter and Tract. I could easily extend the subject of these pages by entering in detail into the various topics treated of in the Tract. But I must leave this work to others. I have defended the great doctrine of our holy religion, Faith, which is in Christ Jesus; I have before now contended with Dr. Pusey against the same perversions of the 6th, 20th, and 21st Articles, that are here maintained by Mr. Newman; I have shewn the fallacy of the distinction he has attempted to draw between the "Tridentine decrees" and the "authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome; I have shewn the nature of the Crisis that now impends over the Church; I have raised my voice in disclaimer of the proposal made to widen our Articles for the admission of so called Catholics, but in truth of Papists in spirit though they choose not to acknowledge the name; and I would therefore humbly hope that, however unworthily I have done my part. It only remains that I invoke my brethren in the ministry to do theirs. I would implore them by our common faith, common to high and low, to rich and poor, to the sovereign in his palace, and to the beggar on the dunghill; I would entreat them by the precious gift of God's most Holy Son, by the promises in Him, and by the hope set before us of eternal life, to arouse themselves from the lethargy in which they have hitherto been sunk, and to buckle on in defence of truth the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God. Let not the present Crisis pass without completing the work. If having been aroused the Church fall once more into slumber she may awake again when it is too late." It is said by some, that we need men of the greatest ability and learning to cope with our opponents, who are themselves men of great attainments, and of indefatigable research. It is not to be denied that they are, and it makes it only the more painful to reflect that their talents are not consecrated to the honour of God and of his Christ. But to suppose that they are to be met with their own weapons, and to be controverted by wisdom such as they rejoice in, is utterly to mistake the nature of the truth for which we have to contend. It is not for what they pretend as truth, and in search of which they would

carry us through the interminable mazes of ecclesiastical antiquities and history, that we must exert ourselves, but for that which lies open to the comprehension of all, philosopher and peasant, who will seek it humbly in the revealed will of God in Scripture. If antiquity were anything we could boast a more ancient system than any that they can shew, for we can point to our Articles and say, See what our Reformers modelled in the sixteenth century from that Holy Volume which dates from the day of Moses to that of Christ. But such things as antiquity are nothing. If it were probable that God at this day should give us a new revelation of his will, its novelty would no more detract from it now than it did in the day of Abraham. Its antiquity, therefore, cannot add to it, nor make it more true now than it was eighteen hundred years since. It is its verity alone that ought to give it value in our eyes. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is, like himself, the same. The Scripture partakes of the nature of that God who gave it, and is unchangeable. Nothing can add to, nor diminish from its sanctity. Truth is still the same. "Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; for he is faithful that promised;—but he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed to and fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive.

THE
ARTICLES
TREATED ON IN TRACT 90

RECONSIDERED

AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

VINDICATED

IN A LETTER

TO THE

REV. R. W. JELF, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

WITH AN APPENDIX FROM ABP. USSHER ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
ANCIENT AND MODERN ADDRESSES TO SAINTS.

BY THE

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,
LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER ;
J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
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MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE deep interest which you have ever taken in all which concerns the well-being of our Church, both when serving her, away from your home, in aiding to form (under God) a valuable character which may be, by His blessing, of importance to thousands, and more recently, since you have been restored to us, leaves me no doubt that you will gladly allow yourself again to be addressed on the subject, out of which so much agitation has recently been raised. And this the rather, since, although you have uniformly from the first held "that form of doctrine which was delivered" to us, and wherein your mind was moulded, you have, by your absence, been detached from the efforts of those who have been of late endeavouring to restore it to others, and so also, from the imperfections, infirmities, or errors, which may have clung to any of us in the execution of our task. Agreeing with us as to our general principles on the authority of the Church, the value of "Catholic consent" as a guide to the meaning of Holy Scripture, the high dignity of the Sacraments, the necessity of a higher

standard of holiness, self-denial, self-discipline, almsgiving, than has of late been common among us, you are not committed to any thing which we have said on these subjects in detail. You are come among us, I hope, to assist, under God's guidance,—separately, yet one in heart and object,—in the restoration of a higher sense of our privileges and duties as members and Ministers of the Apostolic Church of this land.

Nor would I, by any thing I write, seek to identify you with myself; enough that we are bound by the privileges of our common duty, and the friendship of most of our lives hitherto.

Nor, again, do I wish to enter into a vindication of the Tract, which has been the centre of this excitement. That, I am convinced, is best left in the hands of its writer; nor do I wish to make him, who views things far more deeply than I can, responsible for my construction of its details. I wish only to help to relieve, if I may, the perplexity of some minds, who think principles which they hold, involved in the censure passed upon the Tract, as also the anxieties of another class, who fear lest the adoption of the principles therein inculcated, should lead to a relaxation of the mode in which the Articles are subscribed. As an instance of this perplexity, I may mention, that calm and conscientious persons have been seriously perplexed, whether they could retain their offices, as Tutors, after the sentence of condemnation passed

on the Tract by the Heads of Houses. In this place, where the advice of elders can easily be had, such could readily be reassured, that the sense in which they understood the Tract, and consequently the way in which they subscribed and explained the Articles, was not that which the Heads of Houses meant to condemn. The perplexity however would be much more extensive and embarrassing, if any of our Bishops should hereafter advert to the Tract, and, without explaining their own views, seem to countenance the general condemnation by the Heads; among those, who coincide with the real views of the Tract, are many by whom the slightest word of their Bishop would be deeply felt; and who yet would find a difficulty in explaining themselves to him; circumstances, to which I need not here advert, have added to the distance at which a Presbyter must naturally feel himself removed from his Bishop; such persons would naturally too shrink from wearying their already overburthened Bishop with explanations, which would necessarily require much detail, and exhibition of their own personal feelings and views. "Why speakest thou any more of thy matters?" would be the feeling of such persons. And thus they would seem left to decide, as they best might, whether they could continue to serve in a Diocese in which their views of the Articles, on subscribing which they had been admitted to their cure, seemed to have been censured, whether it might not give scandal, even if otherwise allow-

able, whether they ought not silently to withdraw, and yet whether such withdrawing would not be a tacit admission, that the sense in which they had hitherto signed the Articles was an "evasion." On these and other grounds, valuable persons, whose labours our Church could ill spare, might be much harassed, if a Bishop should, by any unexplained reference to the censure of the Heads, seem to lay down that the Articles could not be conscientiously signed on the principles of the Tract, whereas such would, in fact, sign them or adhere to them, not on the principles objected to, but on such, as would be recognized by their Bishops themselves. On the other hand, I have had reason to know, that one chief fear of those who have blamed the Tract, has been lest it should introduce lax ways of signing the Articles generally, or sanction their being signed by persons, who had parted even with the most essential truths which they embody.

On these grounds, I examined (as I was able) the Tract itself, with the view to ascertain what was the amount of the relaxation of the Articles involved in it. It is the result of that examination with which I am now going to trouble you.

Some of the causes, which may have led to misapprehension, the Author of the Tract has, with that simplicity and candour which we so well know, mentioned to yourself in his Letter to you, and its Postscript. But what I wish to draw

attention to is something distinct. The Author had, apparently, two objects in view; one, to vindicate the Catholic interpretation of the Articles against a modern popular system of interpreting them, and to shew that our Articles, fairly construed, were in no case opposed to any teaching of the Church Catholic; secondly, to shew, that certain opinions or practices, which, *though not Catholic*, are to be found more or less prevalent in the early centuries, may yet be held as private opinions by individuals, without hindering any from signing the Articles with a safe conscience. In few words, that *our Articles neither contradict any thing Catholic, nor are meant to condemn any thing in early Christianity, even though not Catholic, but only the later definite system in the Church of Rome.* Perhaps these two points would be better elicited without reference to the Tridentine decrees, since this part of the question relates rather to the hope of the future repentance and restoration of Rome, than to any thing which concerns ourselves at this moment.

Now it appears to me, 1st, that the proposed interpretation of the Articles relates almost entirely to the first of these two points, on which no question would be raised, at least by none, except those of extreme views; 2dly, that there is so broad a line between any practices or doctrines occurring any where in earlier Christianity, and any later corruptions in the Church of Rome, that

there is no grounds whatever to think that the framers of the Articles, in condemning the latter, had any view to the former. I cannot then but think, that apart from the construction which has been put upon expressions in the Tract, its main, real, principles will be acknowledged, at once or gradually, to be true.

The point which I have put second, is necessarily matter of detail. The first, as I have stated it, (and it alone is of essential moment,) was, I conceive, never objected to, although it would seem to be included in the general condemnation of "the modes of interpretation suggested by the Tract."

For it would be generally admitted, except by those trained in a modern school, that any particular Church owes obedience to the Universal Church, of which it is a part; that what can be proved to have been universally received in the primitive ages, is more likely to be true than any view promulgated by individuals in modern times; that what in times near to the Apostles was universally received by the Church, is more likely to be Apostolic, than any system formed now. For myself, you are aware, I hold much more than this, and, with the current of our great Divines, believe that what in early ages can be proved, according to the rule of Vincentius, to have been held "every where, at all times, and by all," is, if matter of doctrine, binding still. But

at the least, such a principle would not be condemned by those who hold the chairs of Laud, Jackson, and Fell, or in the University of Hooker, Sanderson, Hammond, and Bull. Considering the reverence which our Church has ever paid to Christian Antiquity, the mode in which our Homilies join its teaching with that of Holy Scripture itself^a, and in which the Convocation, which enforced subscription to the Articles, refers us to it, as our guide to the doctrine of those Scriptures^b; considering, again, the reception of the four or six first General Councils, the directions obtained by our Bishops for the studies of this very University^c, the tone which has prevailed among

^a e. g. "contrary to the most manifest doctrine of the Scriptures, and contrary to the usage of the Primitive Church, which was most pure and uncorrupt, and contrary to the sentences of the most ancient, learned, and godly doctors of the Church." Quoted Tract 90, p. 70. n. 10. "being warned by God's holy word, and by the writings of the old godly doctors and ecclesiastical historians." *ib.* no. 22. add nos. 23. 27. 43. 45. 50. 51.

^b "They [preachers] shall in the first place be careful never to teach any thing from the pulpit to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and collected out of that very doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops." Canons of 1571.

^c "Let young Students of Theology be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England; and incited to bestow their times in the Fathers, the Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies; and not to insist too long on compendiums and abbreviations, making them the grounds of their study in Divinity."

"7th Direction which the most wise King James, (A.D.

her great Divines, it is little to say that her present Heads could not have meant to have prescribed to the Tutors of their respective Colleges to expound the Articles according to the private interpretations of modern schools, or the supposed opinions of the framers, in contradistinction to the teaching of Catholic Antiquity.

But yet further, the framers of our Articles themselves had no such wish. Our Reformers did not wish that we should be Cranmerites or Ridleyans; they did not wish to stamp their own image and superscription upon our portion of God's Church; whatever imperfections they may as men have been subject to, they wished only to clear the fine gold from any tarnish which had come over it; we have remained since the Reformation, as before, a branch of the Church Catholic; we were placed on no new platform; our Reformers did not, like Luther, form for us any new system of doctrine, such as that which bears his name; they ever appealed to Catholic Antiquity; submitted their own judgment to hers. "To depart," says Bishop Ridley, "from that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow, without any warrant of God's word, I cannot think it any Godly wisdom." And even Cranmer, at a very solemn

1617.) *by the advice of the Bishops, addressed to the University of Oxford, the Vice-Chancellor, the Governors of Colleges and Halls, the two Professors, to be by them diligently observed.*" *Bp. Bull, Apologia pro Harmonia, S. 1. §. 4.*

moment^c, professed his readiness “in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God and of the holy Catholic Church.” And confessed,

“In all my doctrine and preaching both of the Sacraments, and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge, as the Catholic Church and the most holy Fathers of old meant and judged, but also, I would gladly use the same words that they used and not any other words; but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the Sacraments, and to keep still their interpretation.”

It were, also, manifestly, a grievous yoke, and such as it has not been ever attempted formally to lay upon us, so to tie us down to the opinions of (to use a favourite expression of a modern school) “fallible men,” that we should be compelled to search up and down the works of the Reformers in order to expound the Articles according to their insight into Divine truth, and to take, as authoritative, all which, in the perplexity of controversy, may have dropped from them. The difficulty of ascertaining the meaning of Catholic Antiquity is sometimes urged by the opponents of its authority as an argument against its use; yet its language in matters of faith is clear and definite; but what a task were it to turn us adrift in writings, whose authors on some points

^c Appeal at his degradation, Works, vol. iv. p. 126, 7.

confessedly changed their views ; who had a difficulty in fixing their language, lest while avoiding prevalent errors, they should unsettle kindred truth ; who were embarrassed by all that perplexity, which any change of rooted opinions, for the time, almost of necessity, involves ; who were surrounded by opposing errors ; were, in some degree, joined in one common cause of removing abuses with men, like the Swiss Reformers, themselves involved in grievous error, and so must and did sympathize with them, and wished to mould them with themselves in one Reformed Church^d. If it be thought difficult in Christian Antiquity to separate what is Catholic from what may be peculiar to the mind of the writer, what a task were it to take the works of such a period as this, for the rule of our theological teaching !

Again, (as has been often stated,) we have not our Articles from their framers ; the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. were never accepted by the Church at large^e ; though mainly the same, they were still modified, when formed into the Thirty-nine ; primitive and essential words of our Liturgy were then restored ; our Services were then, in expression certainly, restored to a more primitive mould than under the Reformers ; why then is our Church to be bound to go back to the Re-

^d See Tract 81, p. 27. note on the origin of the Forty-two Articles.

^e Strype's Crammer, ii. 27, 34. Heylyn, p. 121.

formers, for the exposition of Articles, which in their present forms he did not receive from them, and whose work in other respects she reformed upon the primitive model?

The last Convocation from which we received them, was at a period (1662) when the deference owed to Catholic Antiquity, which the Reformers felt, was most fully developed and understood.

One needed not to have used many words on this subject but for a recent tendency to set up the Reformers—not as instruments only of God's good Providence in removing error, but—as the founders of a system of faith, and the authorized expositors of our belief. This is the real point at issue, of which there were other indications before this controversy arose. Men must lean upon some authority; they cannot guide themselves; they who think they derive their faith immediately and exclusively from Holy Scripture, for the most part follow human guidance more rigidly than others; the only real question is, from whom, under God's guidance, we shall learn the meaning of those Scriptures, from ancients or from moderns.

Whatever then individuals may practise for themselves, it will not, I conceive, be generally objected to any of us, as a grave error, that we hold that the Articles are to be interpreted according to the teaching of the Church Catholic. Let me then request you, as briefly as may be, to go through with me the several Articles relating to the points

in controversy between us and the Romanists, and so see whether the main objects of the Tract be not what I have said. If, even on points of doctrine or practice not-Catholic, there be a distinct line between what is early and what is Romanist, it will, of course, be no relaxation of the Articles to maintain, that when they speak of what is “ Romish,” they do not contemplate any thing in early Christianity ; on the other hand, in what forms, as we shall see, the main object of the Tract—to shew on points, where there is a Catholic doctrine, that our Articles are in harmony with the teaching of the Church Catholic ;—this view, so far from relaxing the meaning of the Articles, gives them greater stringency, and lays us under a deeper obligation ; since now we are bound to receive them not only on the authority of our immediate mother, but of her, “ the Jerusalem from above, who is the” common “ mother of us all.”

Articles vi. and xx.

“ Holy Scripture and the Authority of the Church.

“ Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. . . . The Church hath power to decree (statuendi) rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith ; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain (instituere) 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 (decernere) any thing against the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce (obtrudere) any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."

With regard to these two Articles, little has been done except to combine their teaching ; an Ultra-Protestant sense can only be given to the sixth Article by detaching it from the twentieth. Alone, it only *declares*, what is the *source* of the articles of faith, Holy Scripture ; how those articles are to be derived from that source, is *implied* only ; it stands over against the Romanist system, which requires things to be believed as articles of faith, which are " not read in Holy Scripture nor can be proved by it : " who is so to prove it, who has the power of " requiring " what can be so proved, to be believed as an Article of the Faith, is reserved for the twentieth. Only, (as observed elsewhere,) in speaking of " requiring," it *implies* that some one has the right to require ; and that right the twentieth declares to be vested in the Church ; " the Church has authority in controversies of faith." The same Article implies that the Church has a right to " expound Scripture " and " enforce things to be believed, which can be proved thereby ; " for it were idle to say that " it is not lawful for the Church so to expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another," unless, within these

limits she were its lawful expositor ; or to say that “ besides Holy Writ, she ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation,” unless out of Holy Writ she might so enforce them. And this power of the Church we ourselves practically acknowledge whenever we repeat the Athanasian Creed.

This the Tract sums up thus :

“ First, the Church *expounds and enforces the faith* ; for it is forbidden to expound in a particular way, or so to enforce as to obtrude ; next, that it derives the faith *wholly from Scripture* ; third, that its office is to educe an harmonious interpretation of Scripture.”

Indeed, the Tract, so far from pressing, as I think it might, that in points of faith, or things necessary to salvation, “ private judgment” is excluded, contents itself with saying that it is at least an open question ; “ nothing is said [in the Article] of the *private judgment of the individual* being the ultimate standard of interpretation :” nor on the other does it assert any thing as to catholic tradition being the Church’s guide in interpreting Holy Scripture, but only negatively that “ not a word is said in favour of Scripture having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as is commonly expressed, *being the sole rule of faith.*” So that, so far from drawing the Article to any extreme view, our friend only shews that it does not contain any thing contradicting the authority of the Church and tradition, leaving others free possession of

their opinion, provided that they ascribe not to the Article un-Catholic statements, to which it is rather opposed. At the same time, he maintains fully against the Romish error, that the faith is derived “*wholly from Scripture,*” discarding only the term “sole rule of faith” as ambiguous. For where Scripture is by moderns termed “the sole rule of faith,” it is used in the sense of the sole “source of faith,” or the sole “ultimate standard of faith,” as opposed to any other independent documents of the Faith; where the title “rule of faith” is given to the Creeds, it means the rule whereby the soundness of the faith of individuals or Churches may be tested. Scripture is the rule of the Creeds; the Creeds, of the faith of individuals or particular Churches.

Since, however, any mention of tradition is thought to favour errors in the Church of Rome, (often as it has been shewn that those errors do not rest upon Tradition but are opposed to it,) it may be well to set down some words of Thorndike^f, shewing that any reliance upon it is in fact opposed to the doctrine of infallibility, as on the other hand any appeal to human authorities is to that of Scripture being the sole guide to the faith.

“Always it is easy for me to demonstrate that this resolution, ‘That the Scripture, holding the meaning of it by the tradition of the Church, is the only means to decide controversies of Faith,’ is nearer to the common terms, that the Scripture is the only rule of faith, than to that infallibility which is pretended for the Church

^f Epilogue i. 32. p. 196.

of Rome; having demonstrated, that, to depend upon the infallibility of the present, and the tradition of the Catholic Church, are things inconsistent, whereas this cannot be inconsistent with that Scripture, which is no less delivered from age to age than tradition is, though the one by writing, the other by word of mouth, and serving chiefly to determine the true meaning of it, when it comes in debate."

And a little before;

"For as I have argued, that those who maintain the infallibility of the present Church, do contradict themselves, whensoever they have recourse either to the Scripture or to any words of the Church, to evidence the sense of the Scripture in that, which otherwise they profess the authority of the Church alone infallibly to determine: so, those who will have the Scripture alone to determine all controversies of faith, and yet take the pains to bring evidence of the meaning thereof, from that which had been received in the Church, may very well be said to contradict themselves."

With the same moderation is the subject of the "Apocrypha" touched upon; and as the Author has since stated, it has been one source of the imputation of vagueness cast upon the Tract, that he did not wish to press his own conclusions, but only negatively to secure a fair liberty for those for whom he wrote, against un-Catholic interpretations, which a popular system would identify with the Articles.

It is needless to say to you how deeply some persons, mostly but little acquainted with the Apocrypha, condemn it, how they offend foreign

Churches by translating and circulating the Bible without it, how they would gladly displace it from the order of our Lessons, how they have in fact succeeded in removing it from the Bible in ordinary circulation among us. In opposition to this, the Tract states, p. 6.

“ that the books which are commonly called Apocrypha, are not asserted in this Article to be destitute of inspiration or to be simply human, but to be not canonical; in other words, to differ from Canonical Scripture, specially in this respect, viz. that they are not adducible in proof of doctrine. ‘ The other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, and yet doth not apply them to establish any doctrine.’ ”

It might have said much more; and our Church, in this as in other instances, by taking up the position of the early Church, takes away the vantage-ground of Romish Controversialists. For these, in opposition to such as deny the Apocrypha any value, or look upon it as a mere human book, can easily appeal to its being read in Churches together with the Canonical Scriptures, or to passages of the fathers, in which they cite from it, under the title of “ Scripture, Divine Scripture,” and the like. The subject is far too wide to adduce the proof thus incidentally; yet I may mention as the result of a long and careful investigation, that I found full evidence that no other Canon of the Old Testament as possessing *plenary* Inspiration, was

ever received in any Church, than that of the Hebrew Scriptures ; and yet, that the same fathers, who were fully aware of this, did, in every Church, without scruple, cite the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, as being in a sense inspired beyond the writings of any men after the Apostolic age. They do indeed use the word “ Inspiration” in a wide sense, from the plenary and infallible inspiration of Holy Scripture, down to the “ holy inspiration whereby we think those things that be good ;” they pray that in searching out the meaning of Holy Scripture, God would “ inspire” them with the same Spirit, whereby that Scripture was written ; but they do not use the terms “ Scripture,” &c. of any other books not in the primary Canon, except the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. One or two add some of the writings of the corresponding period in the New Testament, the Apostolic age, but the designation of the Apocrypha as Scripture is universal. And herein their practice remarkably corresponds with that of our own Church ; the mode in which our Homilies cite the Apocrypha is in exact accordance with, and illustrates the language of the Ancient Church ; both knew that they were not, in the same sense, Scripture, as the authoritative Hebrew Canon ; yet, as by both they were publicly read in their worship, so both cite them at times indiscriminately with the higher Scriptures, and under the same titles ; believing apparently that, even after the Spirit of prophecy

was suspended in its fulness and authoritativeness, during the intervening period before It again descended in Its fulness on our Lord, It still continued to guide the thoughts of some in a more authoritative way than was permitted to any after our Lord came, not as an independent revelation, but commenting on, developing, and applying, the meaning of the earlier, until the Sun of righteousness arose.

Article xix.

“ The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men (*cœtus fidelium*), 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 for the same.

This Article seems to have been treated of, rather for completeness and for truth’s sake, than for any immediate subject of controversy. For few would not now shrink from holding that all the Churches under the obedience and in the Communion of Rome were not in such sense true Churches, as to be a portion of the one Visible Church. Words nearly corresponding in the Confession of Augsburg are indeed in their “ Apology for the Confession ” so interpreted as to seem to deny to the Roman Churches the title of a Church ; for, while admitting that a society which holds the foundation, remains a Church, although it build

thereon hay, straw, stubble, it goes on to say^g, “Most of those things which our adversaries mention *overthrow the faith*, as that they condemn the article of remission of sins, in which we say that remission of sins is received by faith.” Such, however, (though the like sentiments may have been and are still held by some in our Church,) is not the current opinion of the Divines of our Church; nor though our reformers borrowed, with some modifications, the language of the Confession of Augsburg, can we be any way tied to Lutheran expositions of it, which would be to acknowledge them as authoritative documents in our Church.

With regard then to the Church of Rome, to take such as rather lean to the opposite side, Bp. Hall^h adopts the

“charitable profession of the zealous Luther, ‘We profess that under the Papacy there is much Christian good, yea, all, &c. I say, moreover, that under the Papacy is true Christianity, yea the very kernel of Christianity, &c.’ and that, on the very ground, that it held the fundamental truth in the Creeds, ‘Neither do we censure that Church for what it hath not, but for what it hath; fundamental truth is like that Maronean wine, which if it be mixed with twenty times so much water, holds its strength; the sepulchre of Christ was overwhelmed by the Pagans with earth and rubbish,—yet still, there was the sepulchre of Christ; and it is a ruled case of Papinian, that a sacred place loseth not the holiness with the demolished walls; no more doth the Roman lose

^g Apol. p. 117. ed. Tittm.

^h The Old Religion, c. 1.

the claim of a true visible Church by her manifold and deplorable corruptions; her unsoundness is not less apparent than her being; if she were once the spouse of Christ and her adulteries are known, yet the divorce is not sued out."

And Bp. Davenantⁱ, almost commenting on the notes of a Church mentioned in the Article, alleges both sufficiently to exist in the Romish Church;

"For the being of a Church does principally stand upon the gracious action of God, calling men out of darkness and death, unto the participation of light and life in Christ Jesus. So long as God continues this calling unto any people, though they (as much as in them lies) darken this light, and corrupt the means which should bring them to life and salvation in Christ; yet where God calls men unto the participation of life in Christ, by the word and by the Sacraments, there is the true being of a Christian Church, let men be never so false in their expositions of God's word, or never so untrusty in mingling their own traditions with God's ordinances. Thus the Church of the Jews lost not her being of a Church when she became an idolatrous Church. And thus under the government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who voided the commandments of God by their own traditions, there was yet standing a true Church, in which Zacharias, Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour Himself was born, who were members of that Church, and yet participated not in the corruptions thereof. Thus to grant that the Roman was and is a true visible Church, (though in doctrine a false, and in practice an idolatrous Church,) is a true assertion, and of greater use and necessity in our controversy with Papists about the perpetuity of the Christian Church, than is understood by those that gainsay it."

ⁱ Letter to Bp. Hall appended to the *Old Religion*, t. ii. p. 77.

Amid this strong language as to the actual state of the Romish Church, Bp. Davenant holds that to be a "true Church," in which men may be saved, the "pure word of God" being, as Bp. Hall says, those "fundamentals of the faith," the doctrines of the Creed, into which we are baptized. It is indeed to be feared that the Romish Communion, as a whole, has, in the loss of the Cup, sustained a grievous privation; but they who against the Churches in the Communion of Rome would on this ground press the words "duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same," should shew how (sad as the loss is) it is more essential, than the absence of consecration by a Minister, who through the Apostles has derived his commission from Christ.

The latter part of the Article (the omission of which has been animadverted on) states only, what all in our Church lament, that "the Church of Rome has erred in matters of faith" also; it does not affirm it to have erred in such articles of faith as endanger salvation. Nor, again, has it appeared clear that our Article means more than to affirm that the Church of Rome, having erred, is consequently not infallible. It says not, in the present, "errs in matters of faith," but speaks in the past, "hath erred," just in the same way as it says of "the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch," that they "have erred," which was in time past.

A recent writer^k says on this Article,

“ The Article only affirms that the Roman Church has erred in matters of faith, e. g. in the case of Liberius and Honorius ; there is no assertion, that it does now err in faith. The object is to deny the infallibility of the particular Church of Rome.”

At all events, it should ever be borne in mind, that the Church of Rome has, amid her corruptions, continued to be a faithful witness to the saving truths as to the Blessed Trinity, which were denied by the heretics of the early centuries, and which our Church, by retaining the Apostles' Creed as her summary of faith in her Baptismal Service and the Visitation of the Sick, acknowledges to be the substance of saving Faith.

Article xxi.

“ 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, in things pertaining to God.”

This being the only remaining Article on the Church considered in the Tract, we may as well take it now, although it relates only to a “ private opinion” which the Author wishes to be regarded as admissible. It is, that there are certain Coun-

^k Palmer on the Church, p. i. c. xi. §. 8. t. i. p. 316.

cils, viz. Œcumenical, which are not liable to err, and that the Article meant to take the term “General” in a popular sense, not denoting Councils strictly Œcumenical, but, as it is commonly used, Councils composed of Bishops from different Provinces, as opposed to “Provincial” or “National.” And this last is plainly the meaning of the Article; for in that it says, not only that “General Councils *may* err,” but that they “sometimes have erred,” it does not mean to include Œcumenical Councils, since our Church receives the six Œcumenical Councils¹, and our best Divines speak of there having been six^m or fourⁿ Œcumenical Councils *only*, according as they include the fifth and sixth in the third or fourth to which they were supplementary, or no.

¹ See Authorities, “Letter to the Bp. of Oxford,” p. 44.

^m The Homilies speak of “those¹ six Councils, which were allowed and received by all men,” and of the last of the “four first General Councils²” as giving instruction even for matter of practice.

ⁿ Hooker, v. liv. 10. ed. Keb. Hammond on Heresie, sect. vii. and ix. expressly including the fifth and sixth. (In sect. 15. he says, “the first four or, if you will, six, or indeed any of the Œcumenical Councils truly so called.”) Bp. Andrews defends K. James naming four (ad Card. Bell. resp. e. i. p. 20. c. vii. p. 160, l.) in the latter place he accepts the sixth when it agrees with the four first, [i. e. excluding the spurious Acta,] but thinks the fifth and sixth *may* have been inferior.

¹ Against Peril of Idolatry, Part II, p. 190, ed. Oxf. 1822.

² On Fasting, Part I, p. 262.

Thus Field^o:

“ Concerning the General Councils of this sort, that hitherto have been holden, we confess that in respect of the matter about which they were called, so nearly and essentially concerning the life and soul of the Christian Faith, and in respect of the manner and form of their proceeding, and the evidence of proof brought in them, they are, and ever were, expressly to be believed by all such as perfectly understand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore it is not to be marvelled at, if Gregory profess, that he ‘honoureth the first four Councils as the four Gospels;’ and that whosoever believeth them not, though he seem to be ‘a stone elect and precious,’ yet he lieth beside the foundation and out of the building. Of this sort there are only six; the first defining the Son of God to be co-essential, co-eternal, and co-equal with the Father. The second defining that the Holy Ghost is truly God, co-essential, co-eternal, and co-equal with the Father and the Son. The third, the Unity of Christ’s Person. The fourth, the distinction and diversity of His Natures, in and after the Personal Union. The fifth, condemning some remains of Nestorianism; more fully explaining things stumbled at in the Council of Chalcedon, and accusing the heresy of Origen and his followers touching the temporal punishments of Devils and wicked cast-aways; and the sixth, defining and clearing the distinction of Operations, Actions, Powers, and Wills in Christ according to the diversity of His Natures. These were all the lawful General Councils (lawful I say both in their beginning, and proceeding, and continuance) that were ever holden in the Christian Church, touching matters of faith.”

Œcumenical Councils then are very limited in number, and different in kind from mere General

^o Of the Church, v. 51.

Councils ; they are Councils of the whole Church, *which have been subsequently received by the whole Church*; and of these there are but six; the seventh General Council which is received by the Greeks, (the Deutero-Nicene Council,) was formally rejected at the time in the Western Church^p; the several General Councils received by the Churches of the Roman obedience, are not received by the Greek Church, or by ourselves. Romanist theologians, on the contrary, as Bellarmine (whose definition of a General Council is “one^q, in which the Bishops of the whole Church may and ought to be present, unless they be lawfully hindered, and in which no one rightly presides except the Pope or one in his name,” and who holds it to be “matter of faith that General Councils, confirmed by the Pope, cannot err either in faith or morals^r,”) count, in

^p The second Council of Nice was not at first recognized universally even in those Churches in which it was received, the Eastern and Rome. Only six General Councils are spoken of in the East, nearly 600 years after; (A. D. 1339,) by Pope Nicolas, a century after it, (A. D. 859,) and by Pope Adrian. (A. D. 871.) It was rejected by 300 Bishops of Gaul, Aquitain, Germany, and Italy, at the Council of Frankfort, (A. D. 794.) and called “a pseudo-synod” by Gallican and German writers from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Its degree of reception was owing to its being interpolated in the *Liber Diurnus* by Gratian, and then inserted in the Canon law; but the Council of Frankfort which rejected it, was never rescinded. See further, and authorities, in *Palmer on the Church*, p. iv. c. 10. sect. iv. add *Perceval on the Roman Schism*, p. 73 sqq.

^q *De Conc.* i. 4.

^r *Ib.* ii. 1.

all, eighteen such; “other Romanist theologians contend for nine or ten, others for various larger numbers; those who follow Bossuet agree in principle with ourselves, that the subsequent acceptance of a General Council by the universal Church alone makes it Œcumenical^s.”

Thus then there is ample scope for our Article in asserting, that “General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred,” without touching upon Œcumenical^t. The framers of our Articles were not here concerned with abstract propositions, but with matters of fact; it was not their object to settle whether there were or were not certain Councils, which God might hereafter protect from error, as He had hitherto;—such, namely, as have been received by the Church universal—but, both in defence and warning, to maintain that “General Councils” had in themselves no binding authority, nor were infallible. Were they so, our Church would of course be in error, in that she has pronounced contrary to Councils which the Roman Church counts general; the Article was also a pro-

• Palmer on the Church, iv. 7.

^t “The Article speaketh of General Councils indefinitely, without precisely determining which are General, which not, what is a General Council, what not; and so may and doth include reputed or pretended General Councils, univocè general, though not exactly and truly indeed, (such as was the Council of Ariminum,) whereof I did not so much as intend to speak, my speech being limited with true and lawful, of which sort are not many to be found.” Bp. Montague, Appeal, p. 125.

test beforehand against any thing which might be enacted against the truth she maintained, by any Council such as could then be brought together, and claiming to itself the title of “General,” as did the Council of Trent: it remains a valuable warning to all Councils beforehand, before God has set His seal upon them. As in the case of individuals, so it may be with the Church. We know that there are individuals, who will finally persevere; but who they are is not known even by themselves, unless God specially reveal it to them; and this knowledge when He vouchsafes, He has probably always given, as to Daniel and St. Paul, towards the close of life. Earlier, He gives hopes, earnest, dim intimations, to His faithful ones, and to most, probably, according to their faithfulness; but it seems from His dealings, as though the certain assurance that any one would be saved, were too much for an individual during “the burthen and heat of the day.” In like way, it might be injurious for any number of individuals, such even as a General Council, to know beforehand that they would be infallibly guided into truth; it might lead to presumption, might weaken that sense of dependence, humility, the diligent preparation and watchfulness, and the earnestness of the prayers, upon which their inerrancy depends; and yet as there are some such Councils which God has preserved from error, so there may be a certain class, which it has been ever His purpose, secret to

themselves, so to preserve ; and we may hope that should He allow any Council hereafter, like the six Œcumenical, to receive the sanction of the Universal Church, He will preserve this also from error. Certainly, this case is not liable to the risk of presumption which attends the theory of infallibility prevalent in the Romish Church, since, whether the Council is Œcumenical or no, is known by the event, depending upon its *subsequent* reception by the universal Church". And again, since our Lord's promise is to the whole Church, but no General Council hitherto has, or probably could, in itself*, at the time of its assembling, fully represent the Universal Church, but would probably consist of the *minority* of her Bishops, who might be misled, and might be disowned by the

" Hammond on Heresy, sect. xiv. rests the " inerrableness of General Councils," chiefly on their " finding approbation and reception among all those Bishops and Doctors of the Church diffused, which were out of the Council," since this makes it the act of the whole Church. In this the more moderate Theologians in the Romish Communion agree with him. (Palmer on the Church, p. iv. c. 7. p. 151.)

* Hammond, *ib.* sect. vi. §. 7. 8. 15. " For that any Council of Bishops, the most numerous that ever was in the world, (much less a but major part of those few, that be there present,) is not yet really the Universality of Christians, is too evident to be doubted of. It can only then be pretended, that it is the Universal Representative, or such an assembly, wherein is contained the virtues and influences of the whole Universal Church. And thus indeed I suppose it to be, as often as the doctrines there established by universal consent (founded in Scripture and tradition), have either been before discussed and resolved in each provincial Council, which have sent their delegates thither from

Churches which they professed to represent, it would follow that no General Council could claim to itself the guiding Presence of its Lord, with the same confidence as we may trust that it is pledged to the Church Universal. Certainly, there would be something so shocking in the thought that the whole Church should accept an erroneous decision in a matter of the Faith, that one should think it would be a relief to any one, not to think himself obliged to aver, (as a thing certainly determined,) that Councils, in such sort Œcumenical, “may err.” But, in truth, I feel convinced that, as such Councils were not in the minds of the framers of the Articles, so neither were they contemplated by such as objected to the interpretation given, and that this objection will be readily dismissed. Hammond certainly sets it down, without offence, as a pious opinion, that Œcumenical Councils would not err^z.

all the parts of the world, or else have Post-factum, after the promulgation, *been accepted by them* and acknowledged to agree with that faith which they had originally received. When a doctrine is conciliarly agreed on, it is then promulgated to all, and the Universal, though but tacit, approbation and reception thereof, the no considerable contradiction given to it in the Church, is a competent evidence, that this is the judgment and concordant tradition of the whole Church, though no such resolution of provincial Synods have preceded.”

^z Of Heresie, sect. ix. “Of such [Councils truly General] none yet ever erred, that ever I yet read or observed, in points fundamental, and therefore I saw and see no cause but a man may say, such a Council shall never err in fundamentals.” Bp. Montague, Appeal, p. 123. add, more at length, sect. 14.

“ Though I make it no matter of faith, because delivered neither by Scripture nor Apostolical tradition, yet I shall number it among the ‘ *Piè credibilia*,’ that no General Council, truly such, 1. duly assembled, 2. freely celebrated, and 3. universally received, either hath erred, or ever shall err, in matters of faith.”

I may add in illustration, that some of our own Divines^a instance the Council of Ariminum as a General Council which erred, although in the end confirmed by the Pope Liberius, but not universally received. And herein some of the Divines in the Romish Communion agree.

“ Thus^b Waldensis expressly affirmeth, that ‘ General Councils have erred and may err, and confidently delivereth, that it is no particular Church that hath assurance of holding the truth and not erring from the faith, neither that of Africa, which Donatus so much admired, nor the particular Church of Rome, but the Universal Church; nor that Universal Church which is gathered together in a General Council, which we have found to have erred sometimes, (as that at Ariminum under Taurus the Governor, and that at Constantinople under Justinian the younger in the time of Sergius the Pope, according to Bede and certain others,) but that Catholic Church of Christ, which hath been dispersed throughout the whole world, by the ministry of the Apostles, and others their successors, ever since the Baptism of Christ, and continued unto these times, which undoubtedly keepeth the true faith and the faithful testimony of Christ, teaching babes heavenly wisdom, and retaining the truth constantly in the midst of all extremities of errors.’ ”

^a e. g. Field, v. 51. p. 664.

^b Field, l. c. p. 663. see other opinions, *ibid.*

And in this, it should be observed, that there is a drawing near of Divines in the Romish Communion to the principles of our Church, not of ours to theirs; and on the ground which these take in common with ourselves, they might, if God hereafter should give them repentance, rescind the Council of Trent, as not being a Council truly General or Œcumenical, being neither free, nor adequately representing the whole Church, (but being rather an Italian Council,) nor having been subsequently received by the Church Catholic. But they approach to us, by abandoning what is Romish, and adhering to what is Catholic in their Church, and we maintain what is Catholic and approach not to what is Romish. For it is not the holding Œcumenical Councils not to have erred, or trusting assuredly that they never will err, which approximates to Romanism, but holding that General Councils (be the Bishops present exceeding few, as the non-Italian Bishops at the Council of Trent) are Œcumenical and authoritative, if confirmed by the Pope. Rather the Romanists, in so far as they are such, disparage even Œcumenical Councils, in order to make room for the authority of the Pope. As Field says^c,

“ And therefore howsoever we dare not pronounce that lawful General Councils are far from danger of erring, (as some among our adversaries do,) yet do we more honour and esteem and more fully admit all the General Councils,

^c l. c. 31. 51. fin.

that ever hitherto have been holden, than they do, who fear not to charge some of the chiefest of them with error, as both the second and the fourth for equalling the Bishop of Constantinople with the Bishop of Rome, which I think they suppose to have been an error of faith."

And this then may serve as an instance how an approximation between us and certain Divines of the Romish Communion does not necessarily imply any advances on our part to Romanism, and may open a prospect (however faint and distant it may now be) how, without the sacrifice of any truth, the Church may, on the principles of our own, again, if God vouchsafe, become one.

Article xxv.

"These five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following (pravâ imitatione) of the Apostles, partly from states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of sacraments (sacramentorum eandem rationem) with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained by God."

On the same ground, that our Church did not contradict itself, it is plain that the exposition given of this Article in the Tract is the correct one, that

"this Article does not deny the five rites in question to be [in some sense] sacraments, but to be Sacraments in the sense in which Baptism and the Lord's Supper are Sacraments; (Sacraments of the Gospel) sacraments with an outward sign ordained of God."

For since the Homilies call marriage a “ Sacrament^h,” it follows that the Articles do not reject the five rites as being in *any* sense “ Sacraments.” They neither restrain “ Sacramental rites” to these five, nor deny that these five may in some larger sense be Sacraments. There is also a remarkable correspondence between the Articles and the Homilies, in that both use qualifying and guarded expressions in speaking of the title of these rites to be called “ Sacraments.” Our Articles do not introduce words at random. It has then some meaning when our Articles say, they “ are not to be counted for *Sacraments of the Gospel*,” that they “ have not *like* nature of Sacraments ;” or the Homilies “ that in the *exact signification of a Sacrament* there be but two,” or that “ Absolution is *no such Sacrament* as Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are,” or that “ neither it *nor any other Sacrament* else be *such* Sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are,” or that “ the ancient writers in giving the name not only to these five, but also to divers other ceremonies, did not mean to repute them as Sacraments *in the same signification* as the two ;” or that “ S. Augustine, in the *exact meaning* of the word, makes mention expressly of two.” And with this coincides the definition of our Catechism, that there are “ two only, generally [i. e. universally] necessary to salvation,” the others so entitled, not being of universal obligation, but relating to

^h Sermon on Swearing, Part I.

certain conditions and circumstances of life only. Certainly persons, who denied these rites to be in any way Sacraments, (according to those larger definitions of S. Augustine, “ a sacred sign^l” or “ a sign^k applied to things of God,” or of the Schoolmen^l “ a sign of a sacred thing,”) would have said so at once, and not have so uniformly and guardedly said on each occasion, that they were not such, in the “ *exact* ” or “ the *same* signification,” the “ *exact* meaning,” “ *such*,” “ of the *like* nature ;” nor, of one which they regarded as in no sense a Sacrament, would they have said “ neither it, nor any other Sacrament else.”

Nor is this, as I have elsewhere^m pointed out, any approximation to the Romish view of the seven Sacraments ; since 1) (which is of most moment) the Romanists studiously confound the difference between the two great Sacraments, which derive into us the very life of our Lord, and the other rites, which may be, and some certainly are, (if faithfully received) means of grace, “ but are not, (to use our friend’s wordsⁿ of the two great Sacraments) “ *justifying* rites, or instruments of communicating the Atonement, which is the one thing

^l De Civ. D. x. 33.

^k De Doctr. Christ. iii. 6. quoted by Bp. Jewel, Answ. to Hard. p. 82.

^l P. Lombard, l. iv. dist. 1. ib.

^m Letter to the Bp. of Oxford, p. 106 sqq.

ⁿ Newman on Justification, lect. 6. v. fin.

necessary to us;” 2) our Church does not, as he also observes, “ strictly determine the number.”

This view of the relation of these five rites to the two great Sacraments, was clearly stated, without offence, by the sound and judicious Thorn-dike“.

“ That which remaineth for this place is, the consideration of the nature and number of the Sacraments, which being essentially ceremonies of God’s service, the right resolution of the controversy concerning it must needs consist in distinguishing the grounds upon which, and the intents to which they are instituted; the difference whereof must make some properly Sacraments, the rest, either no Sacraments at all, or in a several sense and so to a several purpose. And truly, of all the controversies which the Reformation hath occasioned, I see not less reason for either side to stand upon their terms, than in this; which stands upon the term of a Sacrament, being not found in the Scriptures attributed either to seven or to two. For being taken up by the Church, that is to say, by those writers whom the Church alloweth and honoureth, what reason can deny the Church liberty to attribute it to any thing, which the power given the Church enableth it to appoint and to use, for the obtaining God’s blessing upon Christians? Why should not any action appointed by the Church to obtain God’s sanctifying grace, by virtue of any promise which the Gospel containeth, be counted a Sacrament? At least, supposing it to consist in a ceremony, fit to signify the blessing which it pretendeth to procure. For it is manifest, that Baptism also, and the Eucharist, are ceremonies signifying visibly that invisible grace, wherewith God sanctifieth Christians. But there will be therefore no

° Epilogue, book iii. p. 342.

consequence, that Baptism and the Eucharist should be counted Sacraments for the same reason and in the same nature and kind, for which any thing else is or can be counted a Sacrament. No, not though they may all in their proper sense be truly called Sacraments of the Church, because the dispensing of them all is trusted with the Church.—These two Sacraments have the promise of grace absolutely so called, that is, of all the grace which the Gospel promiseth; which it is to be acknowledged and maintained, that no other of those actions, that are or may be called Sacraments of the Church, doth or can do, upon the like terms as they do.”

The distinction which he lays down between the two great Sacraments and the five rites is, that

“ These ” two immediately bring forth God’s grace, as instruments of His promise, by His appointment; the rest must obtain it by the means of God’s Church, and the blessing annexed to communion with it.”

“ Upon these terms,” he proceeds to shew that all the other five rites may, in their right use, “ very well be counted Sacraments of the Church,” and thus sums up^u,

“ In fine, the name and notion of a Sacrament, as it hath been duly used by the Church and writers allowed by the Church, extendeth to all holy actions, done by virtue of the office which God hath trusted His Church with in hope of obtaining the grace which He promiseth. Baptism and the Eucharist are actions appointed by God, in certain creatures, utterly impertinent to the effect of

^u *ib.* p. 341.

^u *ib.* p. 349.

grace, setting aside His appointment; but apt to signify all the grace which the Gospel promiseth, by virtue of that correspondence which holds between things visible and sensible, and things intelligible and invisible: both, antecedent for their institution to the foundation of the Church; the society whereof subscribeth, upon condition of the first, and for communion in the second. The rest are actions appointed to be solemnized in the Church by the Apostles, not always every where precisely with the same ceremonies, but such as always may reasonably serve to signify the graces, which it prays for, on the behalf of them who receive them; the hope of that Grace being grounded upon God's general promise of hearing the prayers of His Church which the constitution thereof involveth. Nor am I solicitous to make that construction, which may satisfy the decrees of the Councils of Florence and Trent, who have first taken upon them to decree under Anathema, the conceits of the school in reducing them to the number of seven; but seeing the particulars so qualified by ancient writers in the Church, and the number agreed upon by the Greek Church as well as the Latin; I have acknowledged that sense of their sayings, which the primitive order of the Catholic Church enforceeth. For though I count it a great abuse to maintain simple Christians in an opinion, that the outward works of them, not supposing the ground upon which, the intent to which, the disposition with which, they are done, secures the salvation of them to whom they are ministered, which opinion the formal ministering of them seemeth to maintain, yet is it a far greater abuse, to place the reformation of the Church in abolishing the solemnities rather than in reducing the right understanding of the ground and intent of those offices, which they serve to solemnize.

You will well know that neither in this, nor in any thing else which I may allege, do I wish to

assimilate our language to that of the Church of Rome, or even to use that of our Homilies, when they call Marriage a "Sacrament:" it would be unnatural and affected and worse; I would (since in these days one must speak of self, and may more naturally in writing to a friend) rather use the language of the fathers as to other things than to these, lest I should seem to be speaking not in a Catholic but in a Romish sense; yet one need do neither; on the contrary, since the word "Sacrament" has been misused to place the five rites on a level with the two great Sacraments, and there is no necessity for retaining it, it were wrong and cruel to risk perplexing person's minds by reviving it; the truth which our Homilies imply may also be conveyed in other ways^r: but in truth it is not our language, but our feelings towards holy rites, which we need to have altered; and I feel assured that a more reverend estimation and a more hallowed use of these gifts of the Church, as means whereby grace is bestowed, or enlarged, or restored, so far from placing them on a level with the two high Sacraments, would the rather raise men's veneration for these, as being so far above them. Men's real objection to considering these rites as in any degree "Sacramental," arises, it is to be feared, partly in their low estimate of

^r e. g. Mysteries, sacramentals, see Hooker, E. P. iv. 1. 2, ed. Keble. Beza calls the imposition of hands, "this as it were sacrament." *Ib.*

God's gifts thereby, or of the sanctity required of the confirmed, the married, the Priesthood, or of the grievous hindrance which sin interposes to the shining in of Christ's light and grace upon the soul, which Absolution tends to remove, but partly also in their inadequate thought of the two great Sacraments. When these, instead of being instruments of knitting the soul to Christ, are regarded, in the ordinary sense, as "means of grace" only, i. e. aids to spiritual improvement, there is no room for inferior sacramental actions. But if we regard these as instruments of conveying grace, and yet the two Sacraments as so removed above them, as to be instruments of a different kind, then will these the rather take the place which our Lord gave them in the Christian life, as the appointed channels for applying the Atonement to the soul, the communication of Himself and His life. On the other hand, it would tend indefinitely to raise the whole tone of our life and conversation, were we, after the manner of the fathers, to look on holy actions as having in them something sacramental, as being, although inferior to the great Sacraments, employed, in a mysterious way, to convey His grace to us, and so as being mysteries; if we habitually regarded institutions, some of which are even now accounted "means of grace," as being such, in that (whereby alone they could be such) God gives them power, which of themselves they could not have, and endows them with heavenly virtue;

if we looked on God's part in them rather than our own; if we regarded "preaching" such, because He puts His words into our mouths, and "sends His blessing, that His word spoken by our mouths, may have such success that it be not spoken in vain^s;" or, with those of old, accounted "fasting" sacramental^t, because, as our Homily^u says, "fasting used with prayer is of great efficacy and weigheth much with God," and "obtaineth notable things at His hand;" and our Lord says, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting^x;" or the "Creed^y," because its recital is not only a confession of our faith and a praise of God, but because He makes it a means of deepening in us the faith which we profess; or "prayer^z," because it is the voice of God within us to Himself; or our "Lord's prayer," because it hath "such wealth of

^s Prayer in Ordination of Priests.

^t Sacramentum Esuritionis, S. Hilary, ap. Jewel Defence of the Apology, p. 215.

^u On Fasting, Part II. p. 272.

^x Matt. xvii. 21. quoted *ib.* in proof of the efficacy of fasting.

^y "Receiving the Sacrament of the Gospel Creed, inspired by the Lord, instituted by the Apostles, of which the words are few, the mysteries great," Liturgy of Gelasius ap. Ass. cod. lit. i. 11. so also the old Gothic and Gallican (*ib.* 30) speaks of "the Sacrament (or mysterious meaning) of the whole Creed." In the Old Gallican (*ib.* 41.) the Creed is called "the seal of the Catholic Faith, the Sacrament of eternal life." Much of the language is from S. Augustine, who also (Serm. 228 fin.) speaks of the "Sacrament of the Creed, which they ought to believe, the Sacrament of the Lord's prayer, how they ought to ask."

^z S. Hilary in S. Matt. c. 5.

spiritual virtue," we "offer to God of His own, and the Father recognizes the Son's own words"; or "Holy Scripture^b," because it has a Divine power placed within it, as the word emanating from the Word; or "Martyrdom^c," because it is a renewal of Baptism, being a sharing of the Baptism, wherewith our Lord was baptized.

And, while this would be beneficial to ourselves and no approximation to any error, it could not fail to attract the respect of our brethren in the Romish Communion, when they saw that we denied to these rites the name and character of true Sacraments of Christ, not as undervaluing them as His gifts through His Church, nor from an irreverent habit of mind, but rather from exceeding reverence for those two,—one of which, Holy Baptism, it is the tendency of their own system to lower, but—which are the special witnesses of His Presence in the Church, the pledges of His love, engrafting and cementing the members of His Church into Himself, and deriving His life into them; those two which issued from His pierced Side, in the hour when our Redemption was completed.

Article xxviii.

"Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine, in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be

^a S. Cyprian de Orat. Dom. §. 5. and l. he speaks §. 5. of the "Sacraments of the Lord's prayer." See also S. Aug. note y.

^b S. Hil. ap. Jewel, l. c.

^c S. Jerome Ep. 69. ad Ocean. quoted ib.

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.”

A right notion of what is meant by Transubstantiation is of the more importance to us, because there is no more common hindrance to the reception of the true doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, than the confused ideas prevalent about it. Nothing is more common than for any high statements of that doctrine to be attacked under the name of Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation. Persons acknowledge in act, (there is reason to trust,) what they dare not realize in words. They rightly dread the gross and carnal doctrine, rejected by our Church as Transubstantiation ; they rightly shrink from that of Consubstantiation, as being an approach to it ; and more justly might they reject both doctrines as novel, unauthorized, and rationalizing ways of explaining the *mode* of Divine mysteries ; “ how these things can be.” But not having any clear notions what is meant by these statements, they dread to acknowledge any spiritual unseen presence of that blessed Body and Blood, and thus incur the risk of losing much of the awe with which those holy Mysteries should be approached and received, the belief of the actualness of their own union with Christ, the reality of their being temples of the Holy Ghost, and their own consequent consecration, and the comforts which they might also have in the belief of this union of earth and Heaven, of their real incorpo-

ration in the mystical Body of their Lord, and their receiving in themselves the pledge of their Resurrection, the earnest of their acceptance at the Day of Judgment. Not knowing what Presence it is which is implied in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as defined in the Roman schools, and popularly received, they shrink from holding any actual Presence at all, other than in the believer's soul, which they dimly apprehend; not knowing what change is implied by Transubstantiation, they dread to avow that there is any change at all, but look on the consecrated elements, as remaining *simply* what they were before, and what to sight they seem. This is a very serious practical evil; and I have stated but the least portion of it; for it is doubtless one concurrent cause why many, it is to be feared, think of the Holy Eucharist solely as a commemorative rite, approach it and depart from it carelessly, or are lukewarm about it, and neglect it altogether. The infrequency of our Communion has been abated, the devoutness of Communicants (as you will yourself have observed in this place among others) has much increased, in proportion as the higher doctrines have been received.

In opposition then to these vague apprehensions, our friend has stated what the doctrine of Transubstantiation opposed in the Articles is ;

“ The shocking doctrine, that ‘ the Body of Christ,’ as the Article goes on to express it, is not ‘ given, taken, and

eaten after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the teeth;’ that it is a body or substance of a certain extension and bulk in space, and a certain figure and the due disposition of parts, whereas we hold that the only substance such, is the bread which we see.”

And a little afterwards^d, in summing up,

“ We see then, that, by Transubstantiation, our Article does not confine itself to any abstract theory, nor aim at any definition of the word substance, nor in rejecting it, rejects a word, nor in denying a ‘ mutatio panis et vini,’ is denying every kind of change, but opposes itself to a certain plain and unambiguous statement, not of this or that Council, but one generally received or taught both in the schools and in the multitude, that the material elements are changed into an earthly, fleshly, and organized^e body, extended in size, distinct in its parts, which is there where the outward appearances of bread and wine are, and only does not meet the senses, nor even that always. Objections against ‘ substance,’ ‘ nature,’ ‘ change,’ ‘ accidents,’ or the like, seem, more or less, questions of words, and inadequate expressions of the great offence which we find in the received Roman views of this sacred doctrine.”

^d p. 51.

^e e. g. Bonaventura in answer to the question, “ Whether the Body of Christ is on the Altar in its own natural dimensions” (quantitas) argues, “ The Body of Christ is living; and if living, organic; and if organic, hath dimensions (si organicum, quantum), therefore if on the Altar it be not detached from life, neither is it from dimensions,” also “ The Body of Christ or Christ sees them and hears, although It speaks not, lest It be discovered, but the outward senses presuppose dimensions; therefore it is there in dimension.” L. iv. dist. 10. art. i. q. 2.

One may add, that the same appears from the very words of the Article itself, for it is this carnal doctrine alone which “is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture,” (in that S. Paul speaks of that received by Communicants as “bread,” 1 Cor. x. 17. xi. 27, 28.) it also “overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament,” as being “an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace,” whereas on this theory of Transubstantiation what we see would not be a sign but the reality.

The same view of the Article, that it is “not *any* change which is meant,” is given by Bishop Jewel ;

“We affirm that the bread and wine are the holy and heavenly mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ, and that by them Christ Himself, being the true Bread of eternal life, is so presently given unto us, as that by faith we verily received His Body and Blood. Yet say we not this so as though we thought, that the nature and substance of the bread and wine is clearly changed and goeth to nothing.”

Or to take the statement of a modern Romanist ^b, commenting on the articles of Trent,

“The bread and wine after consecration are in the eyes of faith nothing else than the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, not that the bread and wine are annihilated, but because faith thenceforth contemplates there nothing but the Presence of Jesus Christ. This is the sense in which the ancients spoke of a change, but this is not that of the

^b Courayer on P. Sarpi Hist. du Conc. du Trente, l. iv. t. i. p. 623.

Council, which teaches that the *whole substance of bread and wine is annihilated*, and that there remains nothing but the accidents and appearances. *This was then the received doctrine of the Roman schools*, although even to the present day many of their theologians give this opinion only as one simply probable."

The more common statement among the Schoolmen, and in Bellarmine^c, differs in words only,

"The bread is in truth not annihilated, *although nothing remains of it after the consecration.*"

It is intended only to convey the same doctrine with more philosophical accuracy, inasmuch as "annihilation" implies "not merely^d that nothing remains of a thing, but that it passeth into nothing," "but the elements are not supposed to be reduced to nothing, but to be changed as to their entire substance," "into a better substance," i. e. the Body and Blood of Christ. The other mode of speaking, however, also occurred^e.

This, and no other, is the doctrine of Transubstantiation opposed by our Articles and our great writers; they confess fully the reality of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, they only do not define the mode of His Presence; they will not so tie down the Omnipotence of Almighty God that the Bread and Wine should not also be the Body

^c De Euch. iii. 18.

^d Bonav. l. iv. dist. xi. q. 3. "What is changed into any thing is not annihilated." Thom. Aq. l. iv. Hist. xi. q. 1. art. 2.

^e It is mentioned by P. Lombard, l. iv. dist. xi. art. 2.

and Blood of Christ ; they agree with Catholic antiquity that there is a change, but only not such a change, whereby (in Bishop Jewel's words) "the nature and substance of bread and wine goeth to nothing." This is the received doctrine in the Romish Church, though happily (one must in candour add) not so defined in the Council of Trent.

I need not, for your information, set down any of these passages ; this contrast runs through all our writers ; a real change, as I said, they gladly accept ; a true, real, substantial, Sacramental, Presence of our Lord and His Flesh, the Very Flesh which was born of the Virgin Mary, and is now glorified at God's right hand, they reverently confess ; they only confess not, that carnal, scholastic theory which would explain away the Mystery, that the Elements, although the Body and Blood of Christ, are also Bread and Wine. They confess the truth ; the mode of its being they leave, like the mystery of the Incarnation whence it is derived, undefined because incomprehensible by man.

Thus, to take some, for the most part already collected to our hands.

Bishop Ridley ".

" Both you and I agree in this ; that *in the Sacrament* is the very, true, and natural, Body and Blood of Christ ;

* Fox, *Acts and Mon.* p. 1598, quoted by Laud against Fisher, §. 35.

even that which was born of the Virgin Mary; which ascended into heaven; which sits on the right hand of God the Father; which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being. We confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I confess Christ's natural Body to be in the Sacrament by spirit and grace, &c. You make a grosser kind of being, inclosing a natural Body under the shape and form of Bread and Wine."

And Bishop Andrews^f.

"The Cardinal is not, unless 'willingly, ignorant,' that Christ hath said, 'This is My Body,' not 'This is not My Body *in this mode*.' Now about the object we are both agreed; all the controversy is about the *mode*. The 'This is,' we firmly believe; that 'it is in this mode' (the bread, namely, being transubstantiated into the Body), or of the mode whereby it is wrought that 'it is,' whether *in*, or *with*, or *under*, or *transubstantiated*, there is not a word in the Gospel. And because not a word is there, we rightly detach it from being a matter of faith; we may place it amongst the decrees of the schools, not among the articles of faith. What Durandus is reported to have said of old, (Neand. Synop. Chron. p. 203.) we approve of. 'We hear the word, feel the effect, know not the manner, believe the Presence.' The Presence, I say, we believe, and that no less true than yourselves. Of the mode of the Presence, we define nothing rashly, nor, I add, do we curiously enquire; no more than how the Blood of Christ cleanseth us in our Baptism; no more than how in the Incarnation of Christ the human nature is united into the same Person with the Divine. We rank it among Mysteries, (and indeed the Eucharist itself is a

^f Answer to Bellarmine, c. i. p. 11.

mystery,) ‘that which remaineth, ought to be burnt with fire,’ (Ex. xii. 13.) that is, as the Fathers elegantly express it, to be adored by faith, not examined by reason.”

And Bishop Montague^g, (alleging Bishop Bilson,)

“The disagreement is only in *de modo præsentiaë*, the thing is yielded to on either side, that there is in the holy Eucharist a real Presence. ‘God forbid,’ saith Bishop Bilson, ‘we should deny that the Flesh and Blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the Lord’s table. It is the doctrine that we teach others, and comfort ourselves withal.’ (p. 779 of the subject.)

And again^h,

“Be contented with, that it is “The Body of Christ,” and do not seek and define how it is so, and we shall not contest nor contend, which God forbid the Church of England should maintain, said Bishop Bilson.”

Bishop Forbesⁱ.

“The doctrine of those Protestants and others seems most safe and true, who are of opinion, nay, most firmly believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ is truly, *really*, and *substantially* present in the Eucharist, and received, but in a manner incomprehensible in respect of human reason and ineffable, known to God alone, and not revealed to us in the Scriptures, not corporal, yet neither in the mind alone, or through faith alone, but in another way, known, as was said, to God alone, and to be left to His Omnipotence.”

^g Appeal, c. 30. init. p. 289.

^h *ib.* fin. p. 297.

ⁱ *Consid. Modestæ, De Euchar. l. i. c. i. §. 7.*

Archbishop Laud ^k.

“ His Altar, as the greatest place of God’s residence upon earth, (I say the greatest,) yea, greater than the pulpit. For there ’tis ‘ Hoc est Corpus Meum,’ ‘ This is My Body.’ But in the pulpit ’tis at most, ‘ Hoc est verbum Meum,’ ‘ This is My word.’ And a greater reverence (no doubt) is due to the Body than to the word of our Lord. And so in relation, answerably to the throne, where His Body is usually present, than to the seat where His word useth to be proclaimed.”

Bp. Taylor again fully admits, that the terms “ real,” “ substantial,” and even “ corporeal,” Presence might have a sound sense, if this last be understood as opposed to “ figurative” or “ in type ;” and that the very words of the article of Trent, “ the Saviour is sacramentally present with us in His Substance,”

“ if’ they might be understood in the sense, in which the Protestants use them, that is, really, truly, without fiction or the help of fancy, but “ in rei veritate” so as Philo calls spiritual things, ἀναγκασιόταται οὐσίαι, ‘ most necessary, useful, and material substances,’ might become an instrument of united confession.”

Nor does he hesitate to acknowledge what some, accustomed to the modern generalizing way of speaking, would at once identify with Transubstantiation, that by the “ real Presence” is meant the

^k Speech in the Star Chamber 1637, p. 47.

^l Of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament init.

Presence of that very Body which our Blessed Saviour took of the Virgin Mary.

“ It is enquired^m, whether when we say, we believe Christ’s Body to be ‘ really’ in the Sacrament, we mean ‘ that Body, that Flesh, that was born of the Virgin Mary,’ that was crucified, dead, and buried. I answer, I know none else that He had or hath, there is but one Body of Christ natural and glorified ; but he that says, that Body is glorified, which was crucified, says, it is the same Body, but not after the same manner : and so it is in the Sacrament, We eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ, that was broken and poured forth : for there is no other Body, no other Blood of Christ : but though it is the same we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner. And therefore when any of the protestant Divines or any of the Fathers deny that Body which was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, to be eaten in the Sacrament, as Bertram, as St. Hierom, as Clemens Alexandrinus expressly affirm, the meaning is easy ; they intend that it is not eaten in a natural sense.”

I would add one more extract on the Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, both as containing in itself several other testimonies, and as occurring in a Chargeⁿ, animadverting upon some of the language used on other subjects in our Tracts.

“ When any of us speak of this great mystery in terms best suited to its spiritual nature ; when, for instance, we speak of the real Presence of Christ’s Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist, there is raised a cry, as if we were symbolizing with the Church of Rome, and as if this

^m V. ib. §. 8.

ⁿ Bishop of Exeter’s Charge, p. 69—71.

Presence, because it is real, can be nothing else than the gross, carnal, corporeal, presence indicated in Transubstantiation. Now here, as with respect to Baptism, I will not argue the point, but will merely refer to the language of our Church in those authorized declarations of its doctrine to which we have assented, and in those formularies which we have both expressly approved and solemnly engaged to use.

“ It is very true, that none of these declarations or formularies use the phrase ‘ real Presence ;’ and therefore, if any should attempt to impose the use of that phrase as necessary, he would be justly open to censure for requiring what the Church does not require. But, on the other hand, if we adopt the phrase, as not only aptly expressing the doctrine of the Church, but also as commended to our use by the practice of the soundest Divines of the Church of England, in an age more distinguished for depth, as well as soundness, of Theology than the present—such as Abp. Bramhall^o, Sharp^p, and Wake^r, (all of whom do not only express their own judgment, but also are witnesses of the general judgment of the Church in, and before, their days ; ‘ No genuine son of the Church of England,’ says Bramhall, ‘ did ever deny a true real Presence ;’) if, I say, we adopt the phrase, used by such men as these, and even by some of those, who at the Reformation sealed with their blood their testimony to the Truth against the doctrine of Rome, (I allude especially to Bishops Ridley and Latimer^s—and even to Cranmer, who, when he avoided the phrase so abused by the Romanists, did yet employ equivalent

^o Works, i. p. 15.

^p Sermons, vol. vii. p. 368.

^r Discourse on the Holy Eucharist, c. 2. “ Of the real Presence acknowledged by the Church of England.”

^s Ridley in Fox, p. 61. Latimer *ib.* p. 65. Cranmer, Preface to book against Gardiner, &c.

words,) it will be sufficient for the justification both of them and of us to shew, that the language of the Church itself does in fact express the same thing though in different terms. Still, I fully admit, that Christian discretion would bid us forbear from the use of the phrase, if the objection to it were founded on a sincere apprehension of giving offence to tender consciences; and not, as there is too much reason to believe, on an aversion to the great truth which it is employed to express.”

Again, Thorndike^t thus speaks of the change made by Consecration, only denying it to be *such* a change as involves the abolition of the Elements.

“ Upon these premises, I am content to go to issue as concerning the sense of the Catholic Church in this point. If it can any where be shewed, that the Church did ever pray that the Flesh and Blood might be substituted instead of the elements, under the accidents of them, then I am content, that this be counted henceforth the Sacramental presence of them in the Eucharist. But if the Church only pray that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit; then is it not the sense of the Catholic Church, that can oblige any man to believe the abolishing of the elements, in their bodily substance; because, supposing that they remain, they may nevertheless become the instrument of God’s Spirit to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than His Flesh and Blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth. And that I suppose is reason enough, to call it the Body and Blood of Christ Sacramentally, that is to say, as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It is not here to be denied, that all Ecclesias-

^t Epilogue iii. 4. p. 30.

tical writers do, with one mouth, bear witness to the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Neither will any one of them be found to ascribe it to any thing but the consecration, or that to any faith, but that, upon which the Church professeth to proceed to the celebrating of it. And upon this account, when they speak of the elements, supposing the consecration to have passed upon them, they always call them by the name not of their bodily substance, but of the Body and Blood of Christ which they are become."

And, after having shewn this in detail, he thus sums up the evidence" of the Fathers, in contradistinction to the modern view which would make the only Presence of Christ in the believer's soul, and that as resulting, not from the consecrating words, but from the believer's faith.

" I will go no further in rehearsing the texts of the Fathers, which are to be found in all books of controversies concerning this, for the examination of them requires a volume on purpose. It shall be enough, that they all acknowledge the elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; though as in a Sacrament, that is, mystically: yet therefore by virtue of the consecration, not of his faith that receives."

He then establishes " on the other side^x that this change is to be understood with that abatement, which the nature and substance of the elements requires, supposing it to remain the same as it was," shewing from the same authors^y, and from

* p. 31.

x p. 32, 3.

y p. 33, 4.

the Canon of the Mass, that they imply that “ the heavenly grace hinders not, nor destroys the earthly nature,” and thus concludes :

“ And upon these premises, I conclude, that, as it is by no means to be denied that the elements are really changed, translated, turned, and converted into the Body and Blood of Christ ; (so that whoso receiveth them with a living faith, is spiritually nourished by the same, he that with a dead faith, is guilty of crucifying Christ ;) yet is not this change destructive of the bodily substance of the elements, but cumulative of them, with the spiritual grace of Christ’s Body and Blood ; so that the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, turns to the nourishment of the body, whether the Body and Blood in the truth, turn to the nourishment and damnation of the soul.”

Again, such writers as Bp. Cosins and the holy Bp. Ken, think it no contradiction to the words of our rubric that “ the *natural* Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here,” to affirm that “ Christ’s Flesh comes to us to be our food,” that “ Christ Who is in heaven, is also on the Altar,” i. e. that He is there really, though not in a carnal manner.

Bp. Cosins^z.

“ We confess with the Fathers, that the ‘ mode’ is ineffable and unsearchable, that is, not to be enquired and searched into by reason, but to be believed by faith alone. For although it seems incredible, that in so great a distance of place, Christ’s Flesh should come to us, to be

^z Hist. Trans. c. 3. §. 3.

our food; yet we must remember, how much the power of the Holy Spirit is above our understanding, and how foolish it is to measure His immensity by our capacity. But what our understanding comprehends not, let faith conceive."

Bp. Ken^a.

"O God Incarnate, how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed; how Thou Who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy love and on Thy omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the manner of doing it I cannot comprehend."

Of course, great care and wisdom must be used by any in reclaiming a term, which, like that of the "real Presence," has acquired a sense very different from its original, lest they seem to be using it in a Romish, rather than in a Catholic, sense; and indeed, on this whole subject, great reverence is needed, that none take a sort of pleasure in reclaiming words, because the use of them is now unwonted; for myself, I have preferred keeping to the words of our formularies; they are so full of doctrine that one seems to need no more, and they come with authority; yet other turns of expression, such as are sanctioned by some of the great writers above quoted, that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are really present,' might often be adopted without offence, when the words 'real Presence'

^a Exposition of Church Catechism, licensed 1685.

would, from long use, rather suggest to the mind the Romish *mode* of defining that Presence. But, whether any use the term or no in ordinary instruction, it is very important to vindicate it in the abstract, and shew that our Church in excepting against Transubstantiation, objects only to the scholastic mode of explaining the great doctrine which she holds,—a true, ‘real Presence.’

It will be familiar to you, that scarcely any argument is now more common among Romanist controversialists than one founded on the wrong use of this term; they prove, at once, from Scripture, the doctrine of the “Real Presence,” and then infer (as though involved in it) that of Transubstantiation², i. e. they affirm the truth, and then infer from it their own mode of defining that truth; and whereas our writers above quoted affirm that the question between us relates not to the Presence, but to the *mode* of the Presence, these, having proved the Sacred Presence, assume the only point at issue, the *mode* of the Presence. And this is, on their part, not unnatural, as having,

² Dr. Wiseman, Lectures 1836, Lect. 14—16, entitled on “Transubstantiation.” In the Advertisement to vol. 2. it is said, “the tenth lecture was upon the Real Presence or Transubstantiation,” as though they were altogether the same. So also Dr. Butler’s “Truths of the Catholic Religion,” Lect. 1—5. Bellarmine treats the two doctrines (as they are) as distinct; the “Real Presence,” de sacr. Euch. l. i. ii. Transubstantiation or “the *mode* of the existence of the Body of the Lord in the Eucharist.” l. iii.

out of our Church, to do with those who deny any peculiar Presence of Christ in the Sacrament ; yet, on the other hand, will it tend to draw away from our Church those of affectionate minds and childlike belief, who, seeking a real, substantial, union with their Redeemer,—to be, by the communication of His Body and Blood “ verily and indeed” to their souls, knit in one to Him, “ be one with Him and He with them,”—are, through inadequate statements of the reality of this holy Mystery, taught to seek in the Romish Communion, what is stored up for them in our own. Such minds enter not into any of the difficulties of the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation ; they acknowledge it, not in the sense of the Roman schools, but as implying the same real change which our own authors assert ; they acquiesce in it as a name, but believe, under that name, that doctrine only, for whose sake they received it, the real true unfigurative Presence of their Redeeming Lord.

Article xxxi.

“ The sacrifices (*sacrificia*) of Masses in which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits (*perniciosæ imposturæ*). ”

In explanation of this Article, our friend con-

tends, that by the "sacrifices of masses" is not meant "the sacrifice of the Mass;" much less then the Primitive practice of commemorating the faithful departed at the Holy Eucharist, or the belief that they derived benefit thereby. He says,

"Here the sacrifice of the Mass is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced; but the sacrifice of Masses, certain observances for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the Articles saw before their eyes and knew to have been in force in time past, and which involved certain opinions and a certain teaching."

And this, one should think, was sufficiently clear, 1) from the language of the Article itself, for why should it be supposed that "the sacrifices of Masses" meant "the sacrifice in *the* Mass?" 2) from the language of writers of the time, who by "Masses" always mean "private Masses^a." 3) They were the "private Masses" alone, which were said for the sake of gain, or were a source of

^a e. g. In Sir T. More's, Supplication of souls, they say, "we have been eased and holpen and relieved both by the priests' prayers, of good virtuous people, and especially by the daily masses and other ghostly suffrages of priests, religious, and folk of Holy Church;" (quoted at length, Tract 81. p. 9.) add Cranmer, Defence of the Catholic Doctrine v. 16. (quoted *ib.* p. 11.) where he contrasts the "many masses every day," "the daily private masses," "the selling masses," with "the one common mass in a day," still existing in the Greek Church.

gain, which our Article condemns as “*perniciosæ imposturæ.*” This he has sufficiently illustrated out of the Homilies, Bishop Bull, Burnet, and even the Council of Trent, or to add one passage only out of Bishop Jewel ^b.

“Then ye began to tell the simple that it was sufficient for them to sit by ; that your mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for their sins ; that it was available unto them, *ex opere operato*, although they understood not what it meant : that you had power to apply it to quick and dead, and to whom ye listed ; and that the very hearing thereof, of itself was meritorious. Upon this foundation ye erected up your Chanteries, your Monasteries, your pardons, your supererogations, and I know not what. Thus was the Holy Communion quite forgotten. Thus were your Masses multiplied above number. Thus ye came by that ye would have called your old gold.”

The very point objected to by Bp. Jewel throughout this Article is “the plurality of masses ;” the very form of Legacy was, that “masses” might be said for the soul of the departed, and these were private, special, masses (not the public service of the Mass) applied, as our Article says, to “quick and dead,” or, as Bp. Jewel, “to whom ye listed.” It was held in the Schools, that particular masses were more profitable to the souls in Purgatory than the mass. Bonaventura ^c says,

“Suffrages are to release from pain or guilt ; but it is

^b Answer to Harding, Art. 13. Plurality of Masses, Dis. 3.

^c L. iv. ol. 45. art. 2. q. 3.

more to make satisfaction for the debt of many than of one, and satisfaction is made more easily for the debt of one than of many; therefore two need more suffrages than one; therefore, if they are divided between them, each has less; therefore, it does not seem that it extends equally to all."

It was also held, that whereas the "suffrages^d of the Church in common benefitted most, cæteris paribus, those who most deserved to be benefitted, those offered specially, benefitted those most for whom they were performed;" and this they must hold, since, if their special masses did not most benefit those for whom they were offered, "the Church^d which offered them did absurdly."

Of course, as far as the ordinary oblation of the mass was considered as relating to the same ends, the Romish doctrine would be condemned in it also; but there is this difference, that the erroneous doctrine was the sole foundation and groundwork of the particular masses, it was their whole substance; as Bonaventura says, they had no other object or ground, than the belief, that the masses said specially for departed souls, benefitted them, (in the words of the Article,) "to have remission of pain or guilt;" whereas, as no such end is expressed in the Canon of the Mass, so it is also an appendage only to its doctrine, engrafted in later times upon it. Thus, the special masses drew men's thoughts entirely to themselves; what was

^d *Ib.*

supposed to be effected by the public sacrifice of the mass for the relief of souls in Purgatory was general only; no one could feel assured what share in the benefit his own friends had; it would be (in the doctrine of the Schools) "according to his deserts:" the special "masses," on the contrary, afforded a definite relief; they had no other end in view than that of applying to the relief of the individuals the infinite merits of Christ; they concentrated the benefits of the Meritorious Sacrifice of the Cross, which they were thought to renew, upon the "remission of pain and guilt" of a single soul. I cannot then but think that the writers of the Article had, as our friend says, the "private, special, masses" mainly in view, although including the "public mass" as far as in doctrine it agreed with them.

And this doctrine it is important for people to view distinctly, lest, taking the words in a vague way, they should involve Catholic truth in the Romish error against which our Article is directed. In this Article, then, the popular Romish doctrine is described as a whole, that in "the sacrifices of masses" as "was commonly said," "the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain and guilt." This is condemned as a whole, and it is obviously no legitimate interpretation to omit a portion of this doctrine, and infer that the writers of the Article would have condemned the rest without it. The errors it pre-

supposes are the Romish doctrines of Transubstantiation and Purgatory, which are condemned elsewhere separately, to which it here adds the “common” statement of the doctrine of the “sacrifices of masses,” which readily follows upon Transubstantiation, the “repetition of the sacrifice of Christ.” It presupposes that the departed for whom it was offered, were held to be in a state of “pain and guilt,” to obtain remission of them by that offering, and that, not an oblation or sacrifice commemorative of the One Sacrifice, and thereby acceptable to God, but of Christ Himself. “Then if the Priest do offer the Sacrament, he doth offer indeed Christ Himself^b.” Any doctrine which does not involve these statements is not the doctrine condemned by the Articles. This Bishop Ridley himself might alone shew, for he states his objection to the Romish doctrine of the Sacrifice to be founded on the error of Transubstantiation. “Transubstantiation is the very foundation, whereon all their erroneous doctrine doth stand;” and “*This kind* of oblation [the Romish] standeth upon Transubstantiation his cousin-german, and they do both grow upon the same ground.” And the celebrated dictum of Bishop Andrewes^c, which has passed almost into a proverbial statement of the principles of our

^b Respons. ad Card. Bell. c. 8.

^c Brief Declaration of the Lord’s Supper, p. 6. 17. 16. quoted more at length, Tract 81. p. 10.

Church, is but a following out of this of Bishop Ridley, "Do ye take away from the mass your Transubstantiation, and we shall not long have any question about the Sacrifice." Bp. Jewel also in like words^c, states this to be the only point at issue. "S. Cyprian saith, 'we offer our Lord's cup mixed with wine.' But he saith not as you say, 'we offer up *the Son of God substantially and really* unto the Father.' Take away *only this blasphemy* wherewith you have deceived the world, and then talk of mingling the cup, and of the Sacrifice whilst ye list." They are not the words then, "offer Christ," which are in themselves condemned, but the doctrine of a real sacrifice of Christ Himself, distinct from the sacrifice of the Cross; the words may be found in Christian Antiquity, but not in this meaning, whereas in those later times it certainly was again and again stated, that there was in the Holy Eucharist not only a sacramental oblation of His sacrifice, pleading Its merits, and so obtaining mercy from God, but "a real and true sacrifice of the Son of God^d," by virtue of Transubstantiation; "a sacrifice," in the words of a recent apologist^e, "truly real, because Jesus Christ is really therein

^c Defence of Apology, p. 2. c. 5. v. fin. p. 140.

^d See Courayer's comment on Bishop Jewel's objections to Harding's statements of the doctrine, *Defense de la Diss. sur la validité des Ordin. Angl.* iv. 6. quoted Tract 81, p. 44—46.

^e Dr. Butler, lect. 8. p. 228.

contained, and really in it, under the symbols of His Passion, offered up to His Eternal Father :” and it is used as an argument^f of the infinite value of that Sacrifice, that “ the thing offered is of infinite dignity, inasmuch as *whole* Christ is offered.” It is the corporeal offering of the Son of God which alone is objected to. Again, the words “ to have remission of pain and guilt” restrain the condemnation in the Article to the application of Masses to souls in Purgatory ; “ the Sacrifice^g benefits also very much the faithful departed who are being purged in Purgatory, to the mitigation and payment of punishments. This is to be held as matter of faith, as is clear from the Council of Trent, cap. 22. can. 3.”

It is only questioned in the Roman schools whether it confers this benefit by the very act of offering (*ex opere operato*) or by way of impetration ;

“ It benefits^h in both ways, some deny that it doth by the mere act of offering, as Melch. Canus, Dom. Soto, for they say that this sacrifice has not an infallible effect, but ‘ if God so will.’ Whence it appears, that it does not benefit *ex opere operato*, since the fruit of this is altogether infallible in one capable of it, who does not place any bar ; but the contrary is more probable, as held by Ricardus, art. 6. P. Soto. Lect. 7. de Euch. D. Thom. P. iv. D. 45. q. 2. n. 3. ad 3.” “ It

^f Less. de Purg. art. i. dub. 10.

^g Less. ib. dub. 9.

^h Ib.

confersⁱ benefit ex opere operato, which mode all Doctors and the more recent who write against heresies admit.” “It confers^k ex opere operato remission of temporal punishment.”

The very words “pain or guilt” (*pœnæ vel culpæ*) which the Article uses, are those employed by the Schoolmen, who lay down, that “the punishment of Purgatory can cleanse us from the guilt (*culpa*) of venial, and from the punishment (*pœna*) of mortal sin^l.” And this it is which even Cranmer objects to, the “propitiatory sacrifice of the priests in their masses, whereby they may remit sin and redeem souls out of purgatory^m.”

Such then being the limitations which the Article itself furnishes,—that the doctrine which it condemns is one which implies Transubstantiation, a repetition of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and the deliverance of souls from pain and guilt in Purgatory, it follows that no other doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice is contemplated by it. That solemn doctrine has been maintained by the chief Divines and Bishops of our Church ever since the Reformation as before it, only separate from the errors

ⁱ *Ib.* dub. 7.

^k *Ib.* dub. 8.

^l See Bonav. L. iv. dist. 21. q. 2. p. 1. art. 2. who quotes also Alex. Alen. 4. p. q. 13. memb. 3. art. 3. §. 5. Richard. 4. Sent. d. 21. art. 2. q. 1. Steph. Brulef. 4. Sent. d. 21. q. 3. Pet. de Tarent. *ib.* q. 1.

^m Answer to Gardiner, b. v. f. 3. p. 544. see Tract 81, p. 48, 49.

formerly blended with it; the language in which they have expressed it, has varied, as they have feared that the one or the other expression might countenance errors held in the Church of Rome; but it is clear, from the first, that what Cranmer and Ridley meant to object to were the Romish errors, not the truth; and as our position became more defined, and there was less apprehension that such errors should find place among our people, that truth came to be more definitely and systematically enounced. Both these points have been recently treated of, and the statements of our Divines given at such lengthⁿ, that it is not necessary here to speak further on the subject. I will therefore only select two specimens, one shewing that the very words “propitiatory^o and impetratory,” as applied to the Eucharistic Sacrifice in a sound

ⁿ Tract 81, “Testimony of writers of the later English Church to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice,” and its Preface.

^o “Propitiatory” is, as Thorndike explains it, that which “doth render God propitious;” it is thus used by a modern Romanist also, “we say, the Mass” [the Holy Eucharist] “is a propitiatory sacrifice, that is to say, a sacrifice that renders God propitiatory to men.” Dr. Butler’s Lect. 8. p. 226. Bp. Overall adopts the word as occurring in the fathers, Tract 81, p. 73. and others also. In the same sense, Nelson prays “that I may so importunately plead the merit of it” [the full perfect oblation on the Cross] “in this commemoration of that Sacrifice, as to *render* Thee gracious and *propitious* to me, a miserable sinner.” *ib.* p. 303. Those who with Bp. Jewel (*ib.* p. 61.) and Bp. Hall, (*ib.* p. 107.) take “propitiatory” in the sense of “being” or “making a propitiation,” must reject it.

sense, are not objected to by approved Divines in our Church; the other as a distinct and clear enunciation of the doctrine from one of her present Bishops.

The first are words of the learned Thorndike P.

“ After the consecration is past, having shewed you, that St. Paul hath appointed, that, at the celebration of the Eucharist, prayers, supplications, and intercessions be made for all estates of the world and of the Church; and that the Jews have no right to the Eucharist, (according to the Epistle to the Hebrews,) because, though Eucharistical, yet it is of that kind, the Blood whereof is offered to God within the veil, with prayers for all estates of the world, as Philo and Josephus inform us; seeing the Apostle hath so plainly expounded us the accomplishment of that figure, in the offering of the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross to the Father in the highest heavens, to obtain the benefits of His Passion for us; and that the Eucharist is nothing else but the representation here upon earth, of what is done there; these things, I say, considered, necessarily it follows, that whoso believes, the prayers of the Church, made in our Lord’s Name, do render God propitious to them for whom they are made, and obtain for them the benefits of Christ’s Death, (which he that believes not is no Christian,) cannot question that those which are made by St. Paul’s appointment, at the celebration of the Eucharist, offering up unto God the merits and sufferings of Christ there represented, must be peculiarly and especially effectual to the same purposes. And that the Eucharist may very properly be accounted a sacrifice propitiatory and impetratory both, in this regard; because the offering of it up to God, with and by the same prayers, doth render God propitious, and obtain

† Epilogue iii. 5. p. 42. quoted Tract 81, p. 169.

at His hands the benefits of Christ's Death which it representeth; there can be no cause to refuse, being no more than the simplicity of plain Christianity enforceeth."

I add the other statement the rather, as being so concise and yet so full an exposition of the doctrine, withdrawing nothing of the truth, and yet so conveying it, that none can think that it goes beyond it.

"Not^p only is the entrance into the Church by a visible sign, but that body is visible also in the appointed means of sustaining the new life, especially in that most sacred and sublime mystery of our religion, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the commemorative Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ; in which the action and suffering of our great High Priest are represented and offered to God on earth, as they are continually by the same High Priest Himself in heaven; the Church on earth doing, after its manner, the same thing as its Head in heaven; Christ in heaven presenting the Sacrifice and applying it to its purposed end, properly and gloriously; the Church on earth commemoratively and humbly, yet really and effectually, by praying to God (with thanksgiving) in the virtue and merit of that Sacrifice which it thus exhibits."

Article xxii.

"The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons (de indulgentiis), worshipping (de veneratione) and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing (res est inutilis) vainly (inaniter) invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant (contradicit) to the word of God."

^p Charge of the Bishop of Exeter, 1836, p. 43, 44.

In speaking of this Article, it is necessary to bear in mind, as our friend has said, that the question is, not what is allowable to be taught, not what it is expedient to practise, but what private opinions a person may or may not hold, consistently with the tenor of the Articles. We received our commission to teach in this our Church, wherein we were made members of Christ, through her Bishops; as then we have ample scope for teaching, in what she holds and delivers out of or agreeable to Holy Scripture, so we have no commission to teach opinions, which she practically excludes. Even as to practices, which *are* Catholic^q, as prayers for departed saints, a Minister of our Church would, I think, do wrong to inculcate in his sermons, any thing for which his Church gives no countenance. Much more as to points, which, not being Catholic, have no authority from the Church, as the interpreter of Holy Scripture, any more than from the direct teaching of Scripture itself. Still more, again, as to any such points, which, not being Catholic, have also once degenerated into dangerous errors; their introduction would too pro-

^q By “Catholic *practices*,” I mean such as were universally received in the Church; “the Catholic *Faith*” is that Faith which the Church taught universally out of the Holy Scripture, and which is embodied in the Creeds. The Catholic Faith is necessary to salvation, and nothing of it may be parted with; Catholic practice may be laid aside, (as in this case by our Church,) if there be any constraining cause; though, of course, with reverence and circumspection.

bably favour the bringing back of those errors, which were once derived from them, and which yet exist. The likelihood of *any* purgatorial process after this life cannot be safely taught even by any who holds it, while the Romish doctrine of purgatory still exists; apostrophes to saints to pray for us, if they hear us, which—detached as they were from regular devotion and sparingly as they occurred—we find without apprehension of injury in the mouths of holy men at the close of the fourth century, would countenance idolatry in this. It would be trifling with the deposit of a pure faith which God has committed to our keeping, and tampering with the souls of our people whom we might be leading into sin, were any one to teach such points as these. Much more strongly may one say, should any in this place abstain from inculcating upon the minds of the young, what, as being young, they might probably exaggerate, and give an undue prominence to in their own minds. But of this, I may safely say, there has been no instance, nor is there any tendency to it. People in this place are far too much impressed with their own responsibility, and feel too deeply how much is at issue at this great crisis, to lead the minds entrusted to them off to any such questions as these, so far removed, in any case, from the centre of Christian life and doctrine. But even apart from consequences, our office, as we have often repeated, is within our Church; to develope, bring out, incul-

cate her teaching, not add to her of our own minds what we have not received.

But, assuming this, the question which our friend had in view was, as I said, not what a Minister might do, but what is the meaning of the Article. And, here, it seems to me equally plain, and it is almost a truism to state, that since the Article definitely speaks of the “*Romish doctrine*” on these points, it does not mean to condemn any other. What opinion any of the framers of the Articles may have had as to any doctrine on these points, *not Romish*, or whether they had formed to themselves any definite view, is altogether beside the question; they were not drawing up a system of faith, which should comprehend the whole compass of the subject on which they spoke, but setting definite marks against certain corruptions existing and maintained in their own times, and before their eyes; they were practically providing against a certain existing practical evil; they were not concerned to trace the origin of existing corruptions, but to warn against them as they existed; every thing else lay beyond their horizon, and they were not contemplating it; it was not their concern, whether such or such a doctrine, approximating in whatever degree to the *Romish*, were found here and there in the early Church; rather, with their practical veneration for the first ages of the Gospel, the writers of those times, when they do touch upon any such points, point out

the difference sooner than the resemblance, rather shew that what is found in primitive Antiquity is not Romish, than seek to identify it with the form, into which, (if it were so,) it, in later ages, passed.

The very wording of the Article "Romish doctrine," or, as it before stood, "doctrine of the Schoolmen," shews what was in the mind of the writers; had they meant to condemn every doctrine of "purgatory" or "invocation of saints," they would obviously not have restrained their censure by the insertion of the word "Romish." No one could seriously contend, that while they spoke against the "Romish" doctrine of purgatory, they meant to include any views held by the "Greeks," or the belief in any purgatorial process, distinct from the Romish, whether supposed to take place at the entrance of Paradise or at the Day of Judgment. So to interpret the articles would manifestly be a mere inference, founded on the supposed opinions of the writers, which, since they did not choose to express, we have no right to intrude upon their words. It were an arbitrary stretch of their meaning, opening the way to any other comments. And yet it would probably be found that the popular system of interpretation, which our friend opposed, did this; and not only in points, in which no direct evil consequences would result, but where true doctrine would be affected.

I am not herein speaking of any thing in this

place, where a tone of more accurate thought prevails, (as neither was our friend's Tract written for persons here,) but of the vague way in which the doctrines censured in this Article are popularly misunderstood, and the injury to sound doctrine or to habits of mind thence ensuing. Thus, one cannot but know, that together with the "Romish doctrine of pardons," persons are taught to shrink from the whole subject of primitive discipline, as something interfering between the soul and its Redeemer, instead of being beneficial to it; that they would regard the recommendation of confession,—not as an essential to absolution, but as expedient and healthful, yet with the view not merely of "obtaining ghostly advice and comfort," but of taking shame before men,—as something Popish; or again they would at once condemn all thought of penance and self-chastisement for specific sins, as connected with the Romish doctrine of "satisfaction;" or they look with suspicion on any statement, that the Absolution solemnly pronounced in Christ's Name, "by His authority committed unto us," is not merely a comfortable "declaration" of His mercies, but may alter the state of the soul in God's sight; that it is not merely a relaxation of "ecclesiastical censures," which we have not, but may tend to "loose the bands of those sins, which by our frailty we have committed," and remove the obstructions which sin presents to the shining in of the grace of Christ upon the soul. There is, as you are

aware, a large negative theory on these subjects afloat, too little informed, to know what it apprehends, and so apprehending every thing; morbidly sensitive of any thing which it thinks may unduly exalt the Priestly office, but careless as to securing our individual humility and self-discipline; condemning under names whose real meaning people know not, doctrines and holy practices, whose efficacy they have never tried; anxious to secure our irresponsibility to man, our freedom from external control, the non-interference of man between the soul and its Maker, but not anxious how to secure our sense of responsibility to God, our exemption from lawlessness, our attainment of all those blessings, which God intended for us, as ministered through man; jealous against superstition, not against irreverence. Thus, together with the "Romish doctrine of pardons," the whole subject of Absolution is often discarded; with Purgatory, the intermediate state; with invocation of Saints, the feeling of communion with them in the one Church, of which they are the perfected members; with the veneration of relics, the feeling that "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints," and the belief in the miracles, which, in some cases at least in the early Church, He certainly wrought through them; thus admitting in fact the very principles of infidelity, and rejecting on *à priori* notions what were after all the "mighty works" of God's hand; or together with the un-Ca-

tholic veneration of images, people reject as superstitious all outward reverence for holy things and places; they regard the Altar, whence the holy Mysteries of our Redemption are distributed, as no ways distinguished above the rest of God's House, nor that House itself as sanctified by the presence of Angels and the unseen coming of our Lord. The mere Protestant walks up and down with his hat on, "on holy ground," listening to the solemn tones of the organ at Haarlem.

It is then, practically also, of moment to distinguish what our Article does condemn as Romish, lest we involve under it feelings, and doctrines, and practices, which are primitive. It is of moment to us practically, since it cannot be concealed that many are deterred from practices, which, though not essential, might still be a great safe-guard to them, and are countenanced or (under certain circumstances) recommended by our Church, by the fear of approximating to something corrupt in the Romish system. Thus, one cannot doubt, that the more frequent use of Confession to God's Ministers, (which our Church recommends in certain cases as a preparation for the Holy Communion or for death,) would be a great relief to persons' consciences, a great protection against the corruptions which gradually steal over and steal away the young, a great promoter of conscientiousness. One cannot doubt again, that the restoration "fourfold" of what has been wrongly gotten,

or liberal distribution to the poor, in token of sorrow for sin and love to Him Who we trust will remit it, (which our Church recommends by the example of Zacchæus,) or the acts of humiliation of which she speaks with regret in her service for Ash-Wednesday, would be very healthful to persons' souls, and not any way approximate to the abuses of the Romish Confessional or their system of penances. And for our Church generally, it is notorious that this indiscriminate condemnation of what may be a means of holiness, together with what is unholy in the practical system of Rome, is one of the most dangerous allurements to persons to seek in the Romish Communion, what they might have found, without its corruptions, in our own.

But, beyond this, it is of course right, without any view to consequences at all, to adhere to the truth; and so not to extend any condemnation in our Articles to points not contemplated in them, even though unauthorized, or, as the result may have shewn, dangerous. We may not forfeit truth for expediency; if then our Articles be not so rigid, as some on a cursory view might imagine, and so do not exclude things unadvisable, which some might wish had been peremptorily excluded, we must not seek protection against their introduction by extending the meaning of our Articles, but in some other way, and trust in God's good Providence for our safety, not look for it by maintaining

an interpretation which, though convenient, is untrue. It does not follow, then, that because any may maintain a certain doctrine or practice not to be condemned by our Articles, he therefore thinks that it would not be very inexpedient or, under the circumstances, unlawful; the use of the “*ora pro nobis*” (of which I shall have to speak presently) would probably in almost, if not all, cases, be so; still, if the terms of our Articles do not pronounce upon it, we must be content to think that it is best thus, and seek for a remedy against any contingent risk in some other way.

To enter then a little into the details, which our friend, (as he has since stated,) omitted in the first instance to consider, lest he should seem to imply any definite practices to be allowable, which he only shewed our Articles not to disallow, the framers not seeing any necessity to pronounce upon them.

1. *Romish Doctrine of Purgatory.*

The chief characteristics of the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, seem to me, that it is 1) a *state* of suffering, 2) of punishment.

Thus to take the statement of two authors living among us, one^p says,

“ Catholics hold there is a Purgatory, that is to say, a place or state where souls departing this life with remission of their sins, as to the guilt or eternal pain, but yet liable to some temporal punishment (of which I have just

^p Dr. Butler, lect. 6. on Purgatory.

spoken) still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some defects, which we call venial sins, are purged before their admittance into Heaven, where nothing that is defiled can enter.”

Dr. Wiseman^q,

“ From this subject of satisfaction, I naturally proceed to the consideration of another topic, intimately connected with it, the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. The Catholic doctrine of satisfaction would be incomplete without it. The idea that God requires satisfaction, and will punish sin, would not go to its furthest and necessary consequence, if we did not believe that the sinner may be so punished in another world, as not to be wholly and eternally cast away from God.”

In like way Bellarmine^r says, the “ true Catholic opinion” is that “ Purgatory is only for those who die with venial faults, (1 Cor. iii.)—and again, for those who depart this life with punishment due (*cum reatu pœnæ*) their faults being already remitted.”

These two statements seem to me its leading peculiarities; and, taken together, at once distinguish it from any thing found in the early Church. If any of the Fathers definitely hold that there will be suffering after this life, for some who shall be saved, it is not an abiding *state* of suffering; and again it is spoken of, solely with respect to the future, the purifying for the Presence of the All-holy God, not as a

^q Lect. II. on Satisfaction and Purgatory, p. 52.

^r De Purg. ii. 1.

“satisfaction” for past sin, which “God requires.” These two combined points, then, sufficiently distinguish the Romish doctrine: add to this, that the three Fathers of the African Church, who may be thought most to approximate to the Romish doctrine, speak doubtfully; in the Romish Church it is an article of Faith, so that Cardinal Bellarmine says^s, that “whoso believeth not Purgatory, shall never arrive thither, but be tormented with everlasting burning in Hell.”

It is, I should add, to me very questionable, whether these very Fathers do hold a doctrine bearing upon that of Rome: Tertullian^t is speaking of sufferings of the soul without the body before the Day of Judgment, but has no hint that they who so suffer, will then be saved; rather he implies that a portion of the sufferings is paid then, without forestalling the full suffering, which is to follow, of “soul and body in hell;” and so the text (Matt. v. 25. Luke xii. 58.) is understood by S. Augustine in the same Church and by most fathers^u, of being “cast into a prison” from which

^t iv. dist. 21. quoted also by Bonaventura, &c.

^s De Purg. i. 11.

^u “In short, seeing we understand that prison, which the Gospel points to, to be the ‘place below’ (inferos), and explain the last farthing, of every slight sin for which, in the interval before the resurrection, punishment is to be paid (luendum), no one will doubt that the soul pays somewhat in the place below, without forestalling the fulness of the resurrection through the flesh also.” de anim. fin.

^v S. Ambrose in Luc. S. Hil. in Matt. S. Aug. de Serm.

they should never come forth ; as indeed who of men could “ pay the very last farthing” due to God? (comp. Matt. xviii. 25, 34.) Again, even Romanist Theologians have thought that S. Cyprian^x is speaking of sufferings in this life, and this, from the context, appears to me most probable. S. Augustine has distinct and opposite conjectures, evincing that he had not a definite *opinion* upon this subject ; and even when^y, in opposing those who thought that all sins, however grievous, of baptized Christians who remained in the unity of the Church, would be remitted through temporal fire, he admits it to be a question, whether there be not such a fire, whereby lighter sins would be cleansed, the whole context leads one to think that he is speaking of privation of bliss and mental pain not of corporeal suffering. For he had, before, been speaking of the pains which they endured through temporal *losses*, who, holding

Dom. in Monte, l. i. §. 30. Theoph. ad Luc. S. Jerome in Matt. implies the same. Stapleton Antid. Ev. says, that few Catholics interpret it of Purgatory.

^x “ It is one thing to stand for pardon, another to arrive safe at glory ; one to be sent to prison, there to remain till the last farthing be paid ; another to receive at once the reward of faith and virtue ; one thing to be tormented for sin in long pain and so to be cleansed, and to be purged a long while in the fire, another to have washed away all sin in martyrdom ; one thing, in short, to wait for the Lord’s sentence in the day of judgment, another at once to be crowned by Him.” Ep. 55. ad Antonian.

^y Lib. ad Dulcit. q. i. §. 6—13. see the context more fully, Tract 79. p. 41. where his other conjectures are also given.

“ the foundation,” “ built thereon wood, hay, stubble,” i. e. temporal enjoyments, which yet they did not prefer to the “ foundation,” Christ ; and that “ through this pain of having to forego them they were saved as by fire.” When then he goes on to say,

“ Something of this sort, *it is not incredible*, may take place after this life also, and whether it be so, may be enquired, (whether it can be discovered or no ;) that some believers, through a certain purgatorial fire, as they have more or less loved perishing goods, shall more slowly or speedily attain salvation ;”

it seems to me certain, that he had in view a “ *pœna damni*” only, corresponding to the sufferings from privation in this life of which he had just spoken ; as his very words too, “ shall more slowly or speedily attain salvation,” seem to indicate what that privation was, viz. of the bliss of the Beatific Vision, such as, in the intermediate state, is vouchsafed to the saved.

To return, however, to the “ Romish Doctrine.” The points, which I have selected as characteristic of it, would,—nakedly as I have stated them,—give a very inadequate notion of the doctrine of Purgatory, as it was taught at the time of our Reformation. To fill up this outline, we must go back to the “ doctrine of the Schoolmen^r,” to which our Articles originally referred.

^r It seems strange that Dr. Wiseman, in his Letter to Mr. Newman, should not have known what Mr. N. meant by a

P. Lombard then changes into certainty the conjecture^s of S. Augustine ; and then he applies to the Roman *state* of suffering, words in which S. Augustine is speaking, according to the Greek view, of a fire at the Day of Judgment^t. However, on the supposed authority of S. Augustine, it became a received maxim in the Schools, that the “ fire” of purgatory “ is more grievous than any thing that a man can suffer in this

term used commonly among Romanist writers also, the “ doctrine of the Schools,” namely, the Schoolmen, whose sayings formed “ the received doctrine of the day.” Dr. Wiseman’s answer, appealing to what himself and other Divines *now* teach, is wholly beside the mark ; the whole Letter consequently but leads away from the point at issue. One does not like to say what seems personal, but who will guarantee that Dr. Wiseman’s teaching was accounted sound, or sufficiently “ Roman ?” Report certainly said otherwise, and spoke of doubts and misgivings felt in the highest quarters.

^s In Ps. 37. §. 3. S. Aug. here as elsewhere, begins by owning that what he is going to say is but conjecture, “ Et forte,” “ And perhaps.”

^t See Tract 79, p. 40. Bp. Montague (Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants, p. 288, 9.) points out the differences between S. Aug.’s view and the Roman ; 1) S. Aug. calls it an “ amending fire,” (emendatorius). Romanists hold Purgatory to be penal only. 2) He places it at the Day of Judgment, when the Romish purgatory ceases. 3) Bp. M. quotes the “ ordinary Gloss” as understanding S. Aug. of the Day of Judgment. It may be added that S. Aug. expresses the Greek view, in a passage corresponding to this, in the same work on the Psalms, (in Ps. vi. §. 3.) as also in another, (in Ps. 103. Sermon. 3. §. 5. see Tract 79, p. 40, 41.) whereas in this work he no where even conjectures that the Purgatorial fire will be lasting.

life ;” Aquinas ^x, from Gregory the Great, affirms, that “ the fire of purgatory and hell are the same,” and also, from himself, as the only difference, “ that the ^y damned, as being lower in merit, are to be ranked lower in place ;” that “ the ^z punishment is two-fold, one, of the loss of the Divine Vision (*pœna damni*), the other of suffering (*pœna sensus*), in that they will be punished with corporeal fire, and in either, the least punishment of purgatory is greater than the greatest of this life.” Bonaventura says, “ the doctors of our time commonly hold ^a,” (as he does himself,) “ that the purgatorial fire is corporeal or material,” and “ though S. Augustine seemed to doubt herein, other doctors remove all doubt from us,” and he argues, at length, against the notion of a spiritual purgatory.

In any case, the pains were held to differ only in

^x *ib.* ii. 3. Præter.

^y *ib.* v. ad 2.

^z *ib.* i. ad 3.

^a This is affirmed also by Alex. Alens. iv. P. q. 15. art. 2. §. 2. Agazel. lib. phys. v. 4. ap. Rich. de Med. Vill. “ since the fire which afflicteth souls in purgatory is more active than our fire, which yet is most afflictive of all elements,” add Rich. himself iv. dist. 20. art. 2. q. 1. In Bonav. there are further quoted, Brulefer *ib.* q. 4. and Pet. de Tarantas. (afterwards Pope Innocent V.) *ib.* q. 3. Thom. Arg. *ib.* q. 1. art. 3. Less (in Thom. de Purg. c. i. dub. 2.) says, “ It is *certain* that in Purgatory there is punishment of suffering [not of privation only] ; that the punishment is by material fire is the common opinion of the Doctors, yet not matter of Faith.”

duration from those of hell, (with regard to which the same question was raised whether the fire was material,) and hence it was argued that the fire was the same.

“ Because^b those souls suffer the same punishment as the damned, namely, the punishment of privation [of God’s Presence] and suffering, and this differs only in that it is not eternal, as is the punishment of the damned, therefore it agreeth hereto, that they should suffer in the same place and by the same fire.”

Bonaventura says further that souls remain there longer or shorter, as they remained longer or shorter in sin^c, and that

“ The manifold authority of the saints establishes, that some, namely venial, sins may be remitted not in this world only, but also in purgatory, and since there is no room there for deserts or for sacraments, such punitive or purgatorial fire is called in aid, so called because the soul is purged from the dross of sin, and from venial faults, if it depart with them^d.”

Further, this state was considered capable of alle-

^b Less. l. c.

^c So also Alex. Alen. l. c. q. 3. In Bonaventura there are also quoted Richard. l. c. q. 2. Brulef. l. c. q. 5.

^d “ ‘ Final grace effaces venial sin in the act of the dissolution of soul and body,’ &c. This was said by those of old, but now *it is commonly held* that venial sin, being taken hence by many, is purged in purgatory as to the guilt also.” Albert. M. comp. Theol. verit. iii. 13. quoted by Abp. Ussher, “ of purgatory :” add also Alex. Alens. l. 3. memb. 3. art. 3. §. 5. In Bonav. are also quoted Rich. l. c. q. 1. Brulef. l. c. q. 3. Pet. de Tarantas. l. c. q. 1.

viation through indulgences ; of which more presently. It is stated also as a probable opinion^e, that individuals remained in purgatory during centuries. Yet more, in order fully to realize what the writers of our Articles had in view, in condemning the “ Roman doctrine” of purgatory, we ought to take into account the popular tales and representations circulated at that time, the pictures in which it was exhibited, the vivid descriptions given of it, the detailed visions in which it was said to have been revealed ; the lengthened period of thousands of years, during which it must be supposed to last, since the indulgences remitted thousands of years of suffering. And on this ground alone, it must practically have effaced the thought of Hell in the minds of the people, since so long temporal punishment will in itself fill the mind, and leave no room for the thought of any thing beyond it.

The above abstract statements, however, though they give no idea of the *practical* character of the doctrine, suffice to explain what the Article means by the “ Romish doctrine of Purgatory ;” according to which it was “ a lengthened *state* of actual suffering, as well as of privation of the Divine Vision, without rest day or night^f, through real fire, and

^e Less ad S. Thomam de Purg. c. 2. dub. 4. “ patus, which else [i. e. unless daily masses were purchased], will hold them here with us in fire and torments intolerable, only God knoweth how long.” Sir Thos. More, *Supplication of Souls*, Works, p. 316.

^f “ We—not yet importunately bereave you of your rest, with

that the fire of Hell, not only purifying the soul for the Divine Presence, but also satisfying the Divine Justice, exacting the punishment of sin, which, at departure from this life, remained unpaid, yet capable of mitigation through the treasure of merits at the disposal of the Pope.”

Such then being the “ Roman doctrine,” it follows, of course, that a doctrine differing in kind from this, is not the doctrine contemplated, one way or other, in the Articles. The supposition of a *pœna damni*, that those who were not “ pure in heart” might not for a long period be admitted to “ see God,” and that this privation might itself be purifying ; that the whole period between the departure from the body and the Resurrection may be one of painless purifying of the soul, in order that it may be capable (in S. Irenæus’ words) to “ receive God ;” that persons may, by some sorts of sin, forfeit the fulness of the Presence of Christ in the intermediate state ; that, though with a cheering hope, they may not be certain of their salvation, any more than in this life they are ; and that under any of these circumstances, it may please God to give to such souls a larger portion of comfort and joy, through the prayers and oblations of the Church,—any of these suppositions are quite distinct from the Roman doctrine, which maintains “ a temporary period of actual *suffering*.”

crying at your ears, at unseasonable times, when ye would (*which we do never*) repose yourselves and take ease.” Sir Thos. More, l. c. p. 288. See, at length, Tract 81, p. 9.

On the other hand, the view found in Origen, S. Ambrose, S. Hilary, S. Jerome, S. Paulinus of Nola, S. Basil, and S. Gregory of Nazianzum, that “for^s all but the highest saints in whom love dissolved all remaining dross whatsoever, some transient suffering, more or less in duration, was in store at the Day of Judgment,” though it has the notion of “suffering,” differs from the Romish, as to the time when it takes place, and that it is not a *state* of suffering; nor again does it stand in any relation to the prayers of the Church. This view is accordingly condemned by Romanist writers as inadequate or erroneous^h, who thus again confirm the view, (if any such confirmation were needed,) that such is not the doctrine condemned by our Articles as the “Roman doctrine.”

Our Article does not then condemn all notion of a purifying process after this life, but one distinct system; and our Church has evidently taken the more humble line, not presuming to affirm or deny what has not been revealed, but denying the only view of Purgatory contrary to Holy Scripture, which for our consolation declares our departed to be at “rest,” whereas this exhibits them in intense suffering. If any collect from the impression of Antiquity, a general awe of what may pass between death and Judgment, it may be that he will acquire more reverent thoughts of the exceed-

^s Tract 79 on Purgatory, p. 35.

^h Bellarm. de Purg. ii. 1. quoted Tract 79, p. 26.

ing holiness of God's Presence, and reflect more earnestly as to the fruits of actions or courses of action, and learn to speak less peremptorily, one way or the other, when Holy Scripture is silent; but our Article leaves him free, so long as he maintain not that one doctrine which is "repugnant to the word of God."

In conclusion, since people are disposed to believe all things, which are said hardly of what they dislike, I may just observe, that neither in my own writings, nor in those of any of my friends, is there any trace of a tenet, which it has lately been affirmed^f that we are "zealous in teaching," "that there is a Purgatory for the purification of the saints," nor do I hold it. Our friend, as you know, has put it prominently forward as one of the chief points of our controversy with Rome^h.

2. *Romish Doctrine of Pardons.*

Our Article joins on the "Romish doctrine of Pardons" or "Indulgences" [indulgentiis] immediately to that of "Purgatory," thereby the more shewing what it was which it meant to condemn, the assumed power, namely, of the Pope to lessen by Indulgences the period of Purgatorial suffering.

^f Edinburgh Review, No. 147. p. 272.

^h Tract 79, and Lectures on Romanism.

This is illustrated by the citations of Bp. Jewel¹, shewing that “Pardons sprung out of Purgatory.”

“Roffensis saith (contr. Lutherum. Polydor. de Inventor. l. 8. c. 1.) ‘Thus Jansene: It cannot well appear from whom Pardons first began. Among the old Doctors and Fathers of the Church, there was either no talk at all, or very little talk of Purgatory. But as long as Purgatory was not cared for, there was no man that sought for Pardons. For the whole price of Pardons hangeth of Purgatory. Take away Purgatory, and what shall we need of Pardons? Pardons began, when folk were a little feared with the pains of Purgatory.’”

“Johannes Major saith (in 4. Sent. Dist. 20. Quæst. 2.): ‘Of Pardons little may be said of certainty: for the Scripture expressly saith nothing of them. Touching that Christ saith unto Peter, Unto thee will I give the keys, &c. we must understand this authority with a corn of salt,’ (otherwise it may be unsavory.) ‘Therefore certain’ of the Pope’s ‘Pardons that promise twenty thousand years are foolish and superstitious².’”

¹ Defence of Apol. c. 7. dis. 1. p. 486.

² The authenticity of these pardons has been disputed in modern times; Bouvier, however, defends the principle on which they rest; “it may happen that such indulgences would not be equal to a Plenary Indulgence. For let us suppose a sinner who [sin which] merited 10 years of Canonical penance; let us also suppose a man who lived 20 or 30 years in the habit of frequently committing sin by thought, by desire, and by action, which is not uncommon; in the language of the Prophet, he will have multiplied his sins beyond the hairs of his head; each in particular will not merit less punishment than if it had been committed only once; how great therefore would be the time of Canonical penance which this sinner should perform in order to comply with the Church discipline? It is incalculable; and even, in this case, it is probable it would be far from satisfying

“Your School Doctors themselves (Veselus) are wont sometime to say, ‘The devising of Pardons is a godly guile, and a hurtless deceit; to the intent that by a devout kind of error the people may be drawne to godliness.’

“Here Mr. Harding, you see the Antiquitie, Authoritie, and best countenance of your Pardons: that they flowed first out of the sinks of your Purgatory, as one vanity floweth out of another: you see that your Pardons sometimes may be ‘superstitious,’ and full of ‘folly:’ you see that the sale of your Pardons is ‘a godly guile,’ and a devout kinde of error to lead the people.”—

“Alphonsus de Castro saith (Lib. 8. Indulgentiæ): ‘There is nothing that the Scriptures have less opened, or whereof the old learned Fathers have less written, than of Pardons. Of Pardons (in the Scriptures and Doctors) there is no mention.’”

God’s justice, since we are ignorant of the proportion between the Canonical penance, and the diminution of the pains of the next life. However, we hold that a Plenary Indulgence, perfectly gained, would cancel this immense debt in all its extent! Therefore we ought not to condemn Partial Indulgences for being too long, provided they are well authenticated; otherwise we should condemn Plenary Indulgences¹.” In fact, also, the manifold Indulgences given to the members of religious fraternities in the Romish Church would soon make up this sum. Thus to the members of the “pious sodality of the most sacred heart” of our Lord, indulgences are given annually of above 1600 years [1616 years and as many quarantines or periods of 40 days] besides 29 Plenary Indulgences; to which are added 12 more, Plenary, for the daily recitation of the Rosary, besides other lesser ones, as 300 days for every contrite repetition of the Rosary, and 60 days for every good work devoutly performed. (“The pious sodality, &c. 8th edit. with the approbation of the most Rev. Dr. Murray, &c.”)

¹ Taken from “A dogmatical and practical treatise on Indulgences,” abridged from Bouvier’s Work, Dublin, 1839.

Cardinal Fisher also says ¹,

“ It weighs perhaps with many, that we lay such stress upon Indulgences, which are apparently of but recent usage in the Church, not being found among Christians, till a very late date.”

It is clear, then, from this, that nothing which existed in the Primitive Church was contemplated by our Articles, as of course the doctrine of Absolution could not be, which, in its strongest form, our Church recognizes in the “ Order for the Visitation of the sick.” It condemns a doctrine, consequent upon the “ Romish doctrine of Purgatory,” and therefore, as well as that doctrine, unknown to the early centuries. The “ godly discipline” of the Primitive Church, our own, in her yearly humiliation, professes her desire to restore, though as yet unable. But indeed the very term “ pardons” or “ indulgences” is notoriously a technical term for one specific doctrine connected with absolution, and does not relate to absolution itself, from which it is separated, as treated of by the Schoolmen. Thus Thomas Aquinas gives us a summary of P. Lombard’s teaching on this head^m;

“ *After* the ‘ master’ had laid down as to penance and the power of the ministry, to whom the dispensation of this sacrament belongs, he here lays down some things, which follow upon penance, in two parts. In the first he lays

¹ Assert. Luth. conf. 18. quoted Tract 79, p. 50.

^m In P. 4. dist. 20.

down the time of penance; in the second some things which relate to the defect of penance. The first falls into two heads; it shews 1) that the time of penance is to the end of life; 2) how they are to be dealt with, who repent at the end; and this is two-fold. He shews 1) how they who repent at the end of life, obtain remission of sins, although they are still debtors as to the temporal punishment, which they will endure in purgatory after death; 2) that the same punishment is owing to those, who in whatever way do not complete worthy satisfaction in this life, &c.’

Aquinas himself proposes his questions under the following heads¹;

“ 1) whether any one can by repentance at the end of his life obtain pardon of sins; 2) whether the temporal punishment, the charge whereof remains after penitence, be estimated according to the amount of the fault; 3) whether any of the punishment, whereby satisfaction is made, can be remitted by indulgences; 4) whether any parochial priest can give an indulgence; 5) whether an indulgence avail to one in mortal sin.”

“ Indulgence” itself is thus defined^m; “ remission of temporal punishment, due to God for actual sin, given by the authority of the Church, exterior to the Sacrament, by the application of those satisfactions, which are laid up in the common treasure of the Church.”

And the “ temporal punishment” so spoken of not only includes the sufferings of Purgatory, but

¹ *ib.* q. 1. art. 1—5.

^m *Less.* ad Thom. Aq. de Indulgent.

the chief character of Indulgences must necessarily be derived from it. The doctrine of Purgatory alone gives these their interest and importance. So long indeed as the shortening of the term of penance brought with it restoration to the communion of the Church, and in it to the participation of that Body and Blood, whereby we are cemented into the mystical Body of Christ, it was of course a great privilege; such it was in the practice of the early Church on which Romanists profess their "indulgences" to be foundedⁿ; the intercession of the martyrs, (although even it was abused^o to "heal slightly" a grievous "wound,") in obtaining for the lapsed re-admission to the Holy Communion, did obtain for them inestimable privileges: again, an earlier reconciliation in the case of the dying was indeed a mercy, when in their extremities

ⁿ Dr. Wiseman, Lect. 12. on Indulgences, t. ii. p. 79. "The chief ground of indulgence or mitigation, and the one which most exactly includes all the principles of a modern indulgence, was the earliest, perhaps, admitted in the Church. When the martyrs, or those who were on the point of receiving the crown and had already attested their love of Christ by suffering, were confined in prison, those unfortunate Christians who had fallen [i. e. had abjured Christ under Heathen tortures] and were condemned to penance, had recourse to their mediation; and upon returning to the pastors of the Church with a written recommendation to mercy from one of those chosen servants of God and witnesses of Christ, were received at once to reconciliation, and absolved from the remainder of their penance."

^o S. Cyprian complains of the practice in most of his letters on "the lapsed."

and last conflict it obtained for them the restoration of the “pledges of” their Saviour’s “love,” and placed them in Communion with Him: or, again, when in the prospect of persecution, they who had once denied the faith, were restored to Communion, in the hope that they might overcome wherein they had been overcome, this also was a great privilege that they were not left to such a conflict “unarmed, but were fortified with the protection of the Blood and the Body of Christ.” But when Communion came to be previously restored, and Indulgences were only “relaxations of temporal punishment,” what great worth would they have, if confined to this life? Were they, as modern Romanists exhibit them⁹, only a mitigation of penance enjoined by the Church, what great interest would they have? The wounded spirit would rather dread them than long for them; the true penitent would rather dread to be released entirely from the discipline and chastening, which are the correction and remedy of his former sins; he takes cheerfully the chastenings of God’s own hand; he accepts gladly the austerities or priva-

⁸ S. Cyprian, Ep. 57. (Fell) mentions both these cases: Dr. Wiseman, l. c. gives these as instances of early “indulgences.”

⁹ Thus Dr. Wiseman, l. c. drops all allusion to Purgatory. Dr. Butler only alludes to any thing, *not* in this life, thus slightly; “this atonement, *if considered in this life*, consists either in the penitential works prescribed in the canons, or imposed by the confessor.” Lect. 5. “Objections against the several parts of the Sacrament of Penance.”

tions or self-denials, which may tend to deepen his repentance and approve its sincerity. To what end to be free from a wholesome though bitter medicine? The history of ascetics of all times shews, that earnest repentance craves no "indulgences;" men's own experience will tell them, that a discipline in conformity with their sin is joyous as well as healthful. But when the doctrine of "satisfaction," instead of being the expression and means of contrition, became the discharge of a definite debt to Almighty God, and this debt, if not discharged or released in this life, was thought to be still due after death, and paid by the sufferings of purging fire, and that, the fire of hell, though for a time only, then indeed any relaxation of the "temporal punishment" did acquire an exceeding value, not for the sake of any thing in this life, but to shorten those extreme and unknown sufferings, which were believed to be greater than any thing in this life; which were intense as Hell; from which there was no rest day nor night; and to whose duration there was no certain limit, but the Day of Judgment. Any limitation of canonical penance shrinks into absolute insignificance, if not rather to be deprecated than to be purchased.

It is indeed remarkable, that Romanists admit that "Indulgences" do not supersede "penance," thereby shewing that "canonical penance," which they state to have been the object of that "mitigation which *most exactly* includes all the principles

of a modern indulgence " is not the object of *their* " indulgences ;" and they urge the continuance of " penance," even after obtaining " indulgences," on the very ground that the real end of both is not any thing in this life, but so to compensate to Divine Justice that the penitents be not after this life cast into Purgatory^b. Purgatory then is the real end of the modern system of " indulgences" and " penance:" of " penance," in the Ancient Church, the end was, to escape Hell by furthering such repentance as made the sinner capable of God's mercies in Christ ; the relaxations which Romanists parallel with their " indulgences," were restoration to the communion of the Church.

^b Dr. Wiseman, see p. 95. n. n. " Indulgences of a hundred years or more, if there are such, may be insufficient to compensate the whole temporal punishment which a sinner is bound to pay . . . Hence, thirdly, sinners truly converted ought to endeavour daily by good works [satisfactions] and indulgences, whether partial or plenary, to diminish the debts which they owe to Divine Justice and to compensate for them entirely in this life, lest they be sent to the prisons of purgatory, and do not come out thence till they have paid the last farthing." Bouvier de Pœnit. p. 301, quoted by Mr. Palmer, 3rd Letter to Dr. Wiseman, p. 7. " We do not believe an indulgence to imply any exemption from repentance . . . nor from the works of penance or other good works, because our Church teaches, that ' the life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance.' (Conc. Trid. de extr. Unct.) No one can ever be sure that he has gained the entire benefit of an indulgence, though he has performed all the conditions appointed for this end." Dr. Milner *End of Controversy*, Lett. 42, p. 304. 306. quoted *ib.*

“Pardons” then are altogether distinct from “pardon” through the power of the keys, because absolution relates to guilt, “pardons” to punishment; absolution is spiritual, “pardons” outward only; absolution, in whatever degree, alters a sinner’s state towards God, “pardons” remit only a penalty due after restoration to God’s favour; absolution restores to Communion, and opens the soul to the grace of the Sacrament, “pardons” follow upon restoration; absolution applies the power of the keys by virtue of Christ’s authority committed to His ministers, “pardons,” a certain treasure made up of the merits of Christ and of works of supererogation of His saints, supposed to be committed to the keeping of the Church; absolution applies God’s mercy through the Satisfaction of His Son, “pardons” relate to a “satisfaction” still due from man to God; “pardons” are applied directly to the state of the soul after death, absolution only relates to it, in as far as it changes that state in this life; “pardons” presuppose absolution, absolution does not involve any doctrine of “pardons.” Their provinces, offices, ends, comforts, value, are not less distinct than their scripturalness and primitiveness, absolution being derived from the distinct promise of our Lord, as understood by the Primitive and Catholic Church, “pardons” are founded on a precarious extension of the fact, of which Scripture also gives instances, that God does not always, with the guilt, remit the

punishment of sin, but which it neither declares to be His uniform rule, nor did His Church in her purer days believe that she had received from Him any influence in its suspension. Rather, the infliction or continuance of punishment, even after aggravated sin has been repented of, seems to have so important a place in the Divine government, and (it may be) to be so connected with the Divine Attributes, as not to admit of any interference. We see continually instances of it ; in many cases, it is annexed by a regular law, so that sin, persisted in to a certain point, entails punishment by a natural consequence, i. e. by certain effects resulting from the sin according to a fixed rule and brought about by it ; we do *not* see that when so annexed, it is ever remitted. The very Intercession of our Lord, which obtains the restoration of the offender to God's favour, is not, as far as we see, applied to it. It may be required, as I said, by the Moral Government of God or His Attributes, in some way we know not, that one who has sinned to a certain point, should remain under punishment in this life ; it *may be*, that it is essential to such continued penitence as may be necessary for him ; beyond this, we know nothing ; it is a fact which we see and know in God's dealings with men, not a truth of Revelation. The Romanists have erred in assuming, 1) that it is uniform, 2) that it is a "satisfaction" to God's justice, 3) that it is a definite debt, which must be paid, and so if not

paid in this life, is to be paid in Purgatory, 4) that the Church can interfere with it.

This, however, is the sole province of "Indulgences." They take up the offender, where absolution leaves him, and are a supplement to it. Absolution frees him from guilt, leaves him (according to Romanists) with a debt upon him to Almighty God. This debt it is the office of Indulgences to abate or extinguish.

The Schoolmen, accordingly, rightly deny that Indulgences are a mere relaxation of Ecclesiastical penance^o,—or that they depend "simply on the power of the keys, (in which case they could have been given by Priests,) whereas they require, over and above, jurisdiction and the power of dispensing the Church's treasure, which ordinarily belongs to Bishops alone, as being the husbands of the Church, and so having the disposal of that dowry which she had from her betrothing to Christ^p." Again, it is distinctly stated^q, that they "release not from guilt (which is the power of the keys), but from punishment."

The connection of "Indulgences" with Purgatory, which Romanists among ourselves now suppress, is thus asserted by the Schoolmen.

"It^r is most truly assumed, that the treasure of the

^o Bonav. iv. Dist. 20. q. 2.

^p ib. q. 3.

^q ib. q. 4.

^r Alex. Alens. 4. q. 24. Memb. 5. add Bonavent. iv. Dist. 20.

Church is in the power of the Pope, and that he can communicate its benefits to them, (since on account of the charity wherein they departed they are fit objects to receive the benefits of the Church,) and thus he can grant them indulgences and relaxations.”

“As by God’s eternal punishment is changed into purgatorial, so by the priests purgatorial punishment into temporal.”

“That Indulgences profit the departed, who are detained in Purgatory, if applied to them by the Church, is certain, and the contrary is a heresy, or most close upon a heresy.”

Only the mode of application differs, it being generally ruled, that since the departed are removed out of the jurisdiction of the Church into that of God, the Pope can no longer bestow these Indulgences as a judicial act, but only in the way of obtaining the relaxation from God.

“The relaxation^u may take place by the way of suffrage or impetration, and not by that of judicial absolution or commutation.”

“Those^x who are in Purgatory, Indulgences profit not directly, yet indirectly they do profit them.”

Even this, however, is matter of doubt among them. Ricardus de Media Villa, in citing a form of

c. 5. who quotes also S. Thom. Suppl. 3. p. q. 27. art. 1. Brulef. iv. Dist. 20. q. 8. Pet. de Tarantas. ib. q. 22. Ric. de Med. Villa, ib. art. 3. q. 3.

^{*} Al. Alens. ib. memb. 3.

[†] Less. in S. Thomam de Indulg. c. 5.

^u Alex. Alens. l. c.

^x Ric. de Med. Vill. l. c.

indulgence given for one departed, says, that this is the opinion of "some" only.

"Whoever shall do this or that for himself or for his departed father, or for any other person, being in Purgatory, we give so many days' indulgence, but so, *according to some*, they do not profit them, except in the way of suffrage."

"It is the common opinion, that Indulgences are only bestowed by the way of compensation or of suffrage."

The extent to which they were carried is singularly illustrated by the question, discussed by the Schoolmen generally, "whether Indulgences avail as much as they promise"—so large were they, that it was argued, that "since merits were now so few, that a person could scarcely suffice for himself, the Church's treasure must have been long exhausted^a;" so vague, that they promised for the same act, (whether it cost much to the individual or no,) the same relaxation, as of "the third part of his penance^b," whether it were ten or thirty years. Their moral effect is illustrated by the question, "whether if one in the prospect of the plenary remission of a jubilee committed more grievous

^c l. c.

^a Less. l. c.

^a Bonav. iv. Dist. 20. q. 6. where there are quoted Alex. Alens. iv. p. q. 23. Memb. 2. S. Tho. in suppl. 3. p. q. 25. art. 1. Richard. iv. Sent. dist. 20. art. 3. q. 2. Brulef. ib. q. 9. Pet. de Tarant. ib. q. 22.

^b Bonav. ib.

sin, (reserved cases) he would derive the benefits of it?" This is affirmed to be the most probable^c.

There is then ample proof that the doctrine and practice condemned in the Article is (as our friend stated) "not every doctrine about pardons, but a certain doctrine, the Romish doctrine, as indeed the plural form itself shews," and this as he further states, "the doctrine maintained and acted on in the Roman Church, that remission of the *penalties* of sin in the next life may be obtained by the power of the Pope, with such abuses as money payments consequent thereupon^d."

3. *Invocation of Saints.*

The distinctions between the "Romish doctrine of Invocation of Saints" and any practice which may be found in the early Church, (although itself also not primitive or Catholic, but rather the vent of individual feeling,) have been so clearly and fully pointed out by an unsuspected authority, Archbishop Ussher, that one need but have referred to his work. It is one thing, however, to acknowledge a thing, another to have it vividly before our

^c Less. ad Aq. cap. de Indulg. fin.

^d This in Ed. 1. stood, "large and reckless indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money payments." In either case, the distinctive character of the doctrine was pointed out, an assumed release from the *penalties* of sin.

eyes; and it is of so much moment to us on all sides, as well as to the Roman Church, to have a distinct perception of the difference between the early and the later practice, that I will set down the heads of Archbishop Ussher's contrasts, and at length subjoin the specimens which he gives of the later practice; painful as is the exhibition of so much that is shocking in the devotions of a Christian Church. The differences then noted by Archbishop Ussher are these: 1) that in the Ancient Church, mental addresses were confined to God, as knowing the thoughts; in the Romish, are made to the saints also. 2) In the Ancient Church, they spoke doubtfully, whether the Saints know the details of our wants; in the Romish, it is held as a point of faith that they hear men's prayers. 3) In the Ancient, the Saints were applied to only in the same way as the living; in the Romish, "formal and absolute prayers are tendered to them." 4) In the Ancient, they are addressed only as joint petitioners; in the Romish, as advocates and mediators by virtue of their own merits also. 5) In the Ancient, the seeking the prayers of the Saints interfered not with our "boldness to approach the throne of grace;" in the Romish, the Saints are held out as an easier and more acceptable way for a sinner to approach to God. 6) In the Ancient, persons were taught chiefly to look to their own prayers; in the Romish, to the intercession of Saints.

7) “ And principally,” in the Ancient Church, the prayers of the Saints were requested as fellow-servants; in the Romish, “ invocation is attributed as a part of the worship due to them, in Bellarmine’s words ‘ an eminent kind of adoration.’ ”

These are mostly so many several ways of exhibiting how the ancient compellations of the Saints had no tendency to efface the thought of the “ One God and the One Mediator between God and man,” or to stop short in them; which is miserably the tendency of much, encouraged by the Roman practice. In the Ancient Church, no service was asked of them, which might not be also rendered conjointly by our brethren on earth, nothing asked different in kind, nothing said which could even *seem* to centre in them; they are not avenues of approaching to God, but, as part of the Church, joint intercessors with the members who are in the flesh; nor, in asking their prayers, is *any office or service to them contemplated*. In forms, on the contrary, used in the Church of Rome, the Saints are (as far as the words go) asked absolutely to render offices, which are in the power of God only; if these prayers can be explained in any other sense, this is not their obvious meaning; the words do not lead up to God, but in themselves rather lead away from Him, by resting in the creature; they ask of St. Mary and of the Saints to “ loose, heal, give life, &c.” and do not suggest that they cannot do this by any power

entrusted to them, much less by any virtue of their own ; the Saints are proposed for the time as the objects in which devotion is to centre ; and, if it be possible that some can use such prayers in a sound sense, still their tendency, and their actual effect upon the multitude, is to bind them down to the Saints, in whom the language terminates ; and this the more, since devotion to the Saints is on principle encouraged.

This last point, which Archbishop Ussher gives as a “ principal” difference between the prayers of the Ancient and Romish Church, is of the more moment practically, because the same act will have a very different character, according to the frame of mind in which it is performed. Could Romanists shew ever so much (which they can not) that the direct forms “ help me, heal me,”) much less “ do thou give heaven, remit sin,”) were used in the Ancient Church, in insulated cases^c, this would

^c To take the only case in Antiquity of any account, (for the rest alleged by Dr. Wiseman in his recent “ Remarks” are either spurious or nothing to the purpose,) the virgin Justina mentioned by S. Gregory. All which can be collected from it is, that having prayed at much length to The Father and our Lord, she in some way “ besought the *Virgin* Mary to aid a *virgin* in danger :” we have not the words she used ; those of S. Gregory from the very antithesis are evidently oratorical ; they do not imply that she said in the modern Roman way “ help me.” She may only have asked her prayers ; this quite satisfies the language, and since we do not find the other form in those times, it is probable that she did no more. S. Gregory’s relation is ; “ Abandoning all other hope, she flees to God for refuge.

not bear out the modern Romish practice, in which they are systematically a part of devotion. An address to a saint, as the result of a momentary feeling, is very different from habitual prayers to them, *as devotion*. The one tends to substitute them in the place of God, the other does not. The one proposes them as an object of “worship, adoration,” or whatever it may be called; the other does not. It matters not whether in the abstract it be called *latreia* or *douleia*; that which makes the modern prayers to the Saints so sore an evil, is that these prayers are recommended as devotion; the mind of the worshipper is directed to the Saints; the prayers offered to them, in their obvious sense terminate in them; it must require a strong effort of mind and much fixedness on God, to supply another sense than what is the obvious meaning of the words; and few who have observed their own habits of mind in prayer will think that such forms as “do thou give heaven, do thou loose, do thou heal, do thou remit sin, lead, conduct thou to glory, preserve thou, help thou, take away [sin], give life,” addressed to a creature, are not

and takes as her defender, against that accursed passion, Him to Whom she was betrothed.” Then having given specimens of her prayers to our Lord, he adds, “Having uttered these things, and *much beside*, and beseeching the Virgin Mary to aid a virgin in danger,” &c. (τὴν παρθεὶν Μαρίαν ἱκετεύουσα βοηθῆσαι παρθεὶν κινδυνουούσῃ.) S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 24. §. 10, 11. How different this in tone from the sad extracts in Archbishop Ussher. On other authorities quoted by Romanists, see below, p. 115. note.

a grievous snare, that they do not tempt people to idolatry, and must not, too probably, for the most part, end in it.

It is not our office to judge the Church of Rome, though it is an act of charity to her to warn her what a grievous scandal these things are, even in our eyes as men, and to remind her of the woe denounced on those “ who offend one of these little ones who believe in” Christ, if so be she may have grace given her at last, herself formally to condemn what, although she has never formally sanctioned, yet still she has encouraged. Meanwhile for our immediate purpose, it appears from this, that there is a “ Romish doctrine of Invocation of Saints” wholly distinct from any thing in the Church of the 4th Century, holding them out as mediators preferable to our Lord, commending devotion to them as a religious act, asking them not merely to “ pray for us,” but to give us what we pray for. There is then, on this ground, no reason to think that our Article in condemning “ the Romish doctrine,” or “ the doctrine of the Schoolmen,” on this point, had any reference to any thing found in the early Church, being wholly distinct from it. The painful evidence given by Archbishop Ussher of this sad declension of the Roman Church, is so detailed and so long, that it must be kept for another place^d.

This same distinction between the Romish Invocation of Saints and the earlier occasional addresses

^d Note A. at the end.

to them is also thus clearly drawn out in a valuable and full statement by Thorndike^e.

“ I will distinguish three sorts of prayers to Saints, whether taught or allowed to be taught in the Church of Rome. The first is of those that are made to God, but to desire His blessings by and through the merits and intercession of His Saints. I cannot give so fit an example, as out of the Canon of the Mass, which all the Western Churches of that Communion do now use. There it is said, ‘ Communicating in and reverencing the memory of such and such of all Thy Saints, by whose merit and prayer grant that in all things we may be guarded by Thy protection and help.’ There is also a short prayer for the Priest to say, when he comes to the altar, as he finds opportunity, ‘ We pray Thee, Lord, by the merits of the Saints, whose reliques are here, and all Saints; that thou wouldest vouchsafe to release me all my sins.’ And on the first Sunday in Advent mentioning the Blessed Virgin, they pray, ‘ That we who believe her truly the Mother of God, may be helped by her intercession with Thee.’ ”

“ The second is that which their Litanies contain.— The form of them is manifest, that whereas you have in them sometimes, ‘ Lord, have mercy upon us,’ ‘ Christ, have mercy upon us,’ ‘ Holy Trinity, One God, have mercy upon us;’ you have much oftener the Blessed Virgin repeated again and again, under a number of her attributes; you have also all the Saints and Angels, or such as the present occasion pretends for the object of the devotion which a man tenders, named and spoken to, with, ‘ Ora pro nobis,’ i. e. Pray for us. The Blessed Virgin some say with ‘ Te rogamus audi nos,’ We beseech thee to hear us. One thing I must not forget to observe, that the prayers, which follow these Litanies, are almost

^e Epilogue, b. iii. p. 356 sqq.

all of the first kind ; that is to say, addressed directly to God, but mentioning the intercession of Saints or Angels for the means to obtain our prayers at His hands.

“ The third is when they desire immediately of them the same blessings, spiritual and temporal, which all Christians desire of God. There is a Psalter to be seen, with the name of God changed every where into the name of the Blessed Virgin. There is a book of devotion in French with this title ; ‘ *Moyen de bien servir, prier, et adorer la Vierge Marie,*’ The way well to serve, pray to, and adore the Blessed Virgin. There are divers forms of prayer as well as private speeches, concerning her especially and other Saints, quoted in the Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge, p. 303—345. Of those then, the first kind seem to me utterly agreeable with Christianity, importing only the exercise of that Communion which all members of God’s Church hold with all members of it, ordained by God, for the means to obtain for one another the grace which the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased for us without difference, whether dead or alive ; because, we stand assured that they have the same affection for us, dead or alive ; so far as they know us and our estate, and are obliged to desire and esteem their prayers for us, as for all the members of Christ’s mystical body. Neither is it in reason conceivable that all Christians from the beginning should make them the occasion of their devotions as I said, out of any consideration but this. For, as concerning the term ‘ merit’ perpetually frequent in those prayers, it hath been always maintained by those of the Reformation that it is not used by the Latin Fathers, in any other sense than that which they allow. Therefore the Canon of the Mass and probably other prayers which are still in use, being more ancient than the greatest part of the Latin Fathers, there is no reason to make any difficulty of admitting it in that sense, the ground whereof I have maintained in the second book.

“ The third, taking them at the foot of the letter, and valuing the intent of those that use them by nothing but the words of them, are mere idolatries; as desiring of the creature that which God only gives, which is the worship of the creature for the Creator, ‘ God blessed for evermore.’ And, were we bound to make the acts of them that teach these prayers the acts of the Church, because it tolerates them and maintains them in it, instead of casting them out, it would be hard to free that Church from idolatry; which whoso admitteth, can by no means grant it to be a Church, the being whereof supposeth the worship of One God, exclusive to any thing else. But the words of them are capable of the same limitation that I gave to the words of our Lord when I said, that they whom Christians do good to here, may be said to receive them into everlasting habitations, because God does it in consideration of them, and of the good done them. And so when Irenæus calls the Virgin Mary the advocate of Eve, (v. 19.) he that considers his words there and iii. 33. shall find that he saith it, not because she prayed for him, but because she believed the Angel’s message, and submitted to God’s will, and so became the means of saving all, though by our Lord Christ, Who pleadeth even for her as well as Eve. Ground enough there is for such a construction; even the belief of One God alone, that stands at the head of our Creed, which we have no reason to think the Church allows them secretly to renounce, whom she alloweth to make these prayers. And therefore no ground to construe them so, as if the Church, by allowing them, did renounce the ground of all her Christianity. *But not ground enough to satisfy a reasonable man, that all that make them do hold that infinite distance between God and His Saints and Angels, of whom they demand the same effects, which if they hold not, they are idolaters as the Heathen were:* who being convinced of one Godhead, as the Fathers challenge to their faces, divided it into one prin-

cipal, and divers that by His gift are such. *How shall I presume, that simple Christians, in the devotions of their hearts, understand that distance of God from His creatures which their words signify not? which the wisest of their teachers will be much troubled to say, by what figure of speech they can allow it?* Especially if it be considered how little reason or interest in religion there can be to advance this reverence of Christian people towards the Saints or Angels so far above the reason and ground, which ought to be the spring-head of it. For so far are we from any tradition of the Catholic Church for this, that the admonition of Epiphanius to the Collyridians takes hold of it.—So doth the admonition of S. Ambrose^a (in Rom. i.) to them who reserve nothing to God, that they give not to His servants. So doth that of S. Augustine, (de Vera Rel. cap. Iv.) that our religion is not to consist in worshipping the dead; and that an Angel forbid S. John to worship him, but only God; Whose fellow-servants they were. So doth the argument of S. Gregory Nyssene, (contra Eunom. iv.) and Athanasius, (contra Arian. iii.) concluding our Lord to be God, because He is worshipped, which Cornelius was forbid by S. Peter, S. John by the the Angel, to do to them, saith Athanasius.

“ In fine, so dangerous is the case, that whoso communicateth in it, is no way reasonably assured that he communicateth not in the worship of Idols. Only the Church of England having acknowledged the Church of Rome a true Church, though corrupt, ever since the Reformation, I am obliged so to interpret the prayers thereof, as to acknowledge the corruption so great, that the prayers which it alloweth, may be idolatries, if they be made in that sense which they may properly signify: but not that they are necessarily idolatries. For if they were necessarily idolatries, then were the Church of Rome necessarily no Church; the being of Christianity presupposing the wor-

^a Ambrosiaster.

ship of One true God. And though, to confute the Heretics, the style of modern devotions leaves nothing to God, which is not attributed to and desired of His Saints; yet it cannot be denied they may be the words of them who believe that God alone can give that which they desire.

“The second sort, it is confessed, had the beginning in the flourishing times of the Church after Constantine^m. The lights of the Greek and Latin Church, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyrils both, Theodoret, Fulgentius, Gregory the Great, Leo, more or rather all after that time, have all of them spoken to the Saints departed, and desired their assistance. But neither is this enough to make a tradition of the Church. For the Church had been three hundred years before it began. Irenæus is mistaken, when he is alleged for it, as I said even now. Card. Bellarmine alleges out of Eusebius de Preparat. xiii. 10. ‘We make our prayers to them.’ But the Greek bears only, ‘We make our prayers to God at their monuments.’ Athanasius de Sanctissima Deipara, whom he quotes, is certainly of a later date than Athanasiusⁿ. Out of S.

^m Dr. Butler, (Lect. 12. p. 307.) alleging this passage, omits Thorndike’s statement that this practice began in the times of Constantine, and quotes the rest thus, “It is confessed, adds the learned and impartial Thorndike, that *all* the Fathers both of the Greek and Latin Churches, &c.” to “assistance.”

ⁿ Still quoted by Dr. Wiseman thus, “S. Athanasius, the most zealous and strenuous supporter, that the Church ever possessed, of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and consequently of His infinite superiority over all the saints, thus enthusiastically addresses His ever-blessed Mother,” (Lect. 13. p. 108.) yet the very edition from which he professes to quote, the Benedictine, pronounces the work spurious. It is quoted also by Dr. Butler, Lect. 3. “The singular devotion of the Catholic Church to the Blessed Virgin Mary justified.” p. 103. On the same subject

Hilary I see nothing brought nor remember any thing to be brought to that purpose. In fine, after Constantine, when the Festivals of the Saints, being publicly celebrated, occasioned the confluence of Gentiles as well as Christians, and innumerable things were done, which seemed miracles done by God, to attest the honour done them, and the truth of Christianity which it supposed, I acknowledge those great lights did think fit to address themselves to them as petitioners; but so at the first, as those that were no ways assured by our common Christianity, that their petitions arrived at their knowledge. You have seen S. Augustine acknowledge that they must come by such means, as God is no way tied to furnish. Greg. Nazianz. speaks to Gorgonia in his oration upon her, and to Constantius, in his first oration against Julian, but under a doubtful condition, if they were sensible of what he spake. Enough to distinguish praying to God, from any address to a creature, though religion be the ground of it. And

Mr. Phillips in a solitary quotation from the Fathers, alleges in justification of the shocking Psalter, called St. Bonaventure's, "the great S. Augustine;" yet the Benedictines again call the homily, (which is given to S. Augustine in the Breviary,) "the work of some unskilful patchwork-maker." (on Serm. 194. App. al. de Sanctis 18.) Again, Dr. Wiseman in his recent Letter to Mr. Palmer, quotes confidently on the same subject, as words of S. Ephraem, certain prayers found mostly in a solitary *Greek MS.* of which Cave (*Hist. Lit. s. tit.*) says, "Beyond question not Ephraem's; sequiorum sæculorum deliramentum," and as S. Gregory of Nazianzum's, some from the Christus Patiens, which both the Benedictines and the recent editor pronounce not to be his, and the Benedictines say of the words, that "they savour at least of the age of Damascene, or even one much later than the 8th or 9th." Romanist citations of the fathers always require to be sifted; their system not being really founded on Antiquity, but on the authority of the existing Church, they are careless how they quote.

when the apparitions about their monuments were held unquestionable, yet it was questioned, whether the same soul would be present at once in places of so much distance, or Angels appear like them, as you may see in the answer aforesaid, p. 391. 394. Nay, Hugo de S. Victore in Cassander, Epist. xix. hath enabled him to hold, that the Litanies do not suppose that the Saints hear them, and therefore are expounded by some to signify conditional desires, if God grant them to come to their knowledge. But of that I speak not yet, only as it enables me, to conclude, that this kind of prayer is not idolatry. This necessarily follows from the premises; because a man cannot take that Saint or Angel for God, whose prayers he desires;—but manifestly shews that his desire is grounded upon the relation which he thinks he hath to him, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by His Church. Nevertheless, though it be not idolatry, the consequence and production of it not being distinguishable from idolatry, the Church must needs stand obliged to give it those bounds that may prevent such mischief as that which shall make it no Church.”—

It were well if the Romish Church, which so gladly pleads in her behalf the charitable allowances made by Thorndike, that he need not necessarily pronounce her idolatrous, although she tolerates what leads to idolatry, would also consider his warning against her sanctioning practices, which naturally lead to it, and his strong conviction that the existence of such practices, unforbidden by authority, must be “one of the most considerable titles,” as for our original “reformation without consent of the whole,” so also for continued

separation. It is sad to see a serious person ° thus defend the Invocation, “ deliver us, holy Virgin Mary ;”

“ Why do not such persons compile a ‘ dictionary’ or a ‘ speaker’s assistant;’ in which we may find words to express fully and adequately our thoughts, and the different tempers and motives of our minds ?”

Such language, and that cited by Archbishop Ussher, is not only liable to be taken in an unsound sense, but the unsound is its obvious meaning.

Thorndike then thus proceeds ;

“ Suppose a simple soul can distinguish between *Ora pro nobis*, and *Domine miserere* ; between ‘ Pray for us,’ and ‘ Lord have mercy upon us ;’ how shall I be assured, that it distinguishes between the honour that Pagans gave the less gods, under Jupiter the Father of Gods, and that which himself gives the Saints, under the God of those Saints ? And is it enough, that the Church enjoins not nor teaches idolatry ? Is it not further bound to secure us against it ? I know not whether it can be said that Processions and Litanies are voluntary devotions, which the people are not answerable for, if they neglect. They were first brought in, and since frequented at the instance of Prelates, and their Clergy ; and if they be amiss, the people are snared by their means : that is, by the Church, if the Church bear them out in it. And by these three sorts of Prayers, it appears that without giving bounds to private conceits, there is [no] means to stop men’s course from that extremity, which whether it be real idolatry or not, nothing can assure us. Upon these terms I stand. I have heard those relations, upon credit not to be ques-

“ Dr. Butler, Lect. 12. p. 360.

tioned, which make their devotions to Saints hardly distinguishable from the idolatries of Pagans. That they who preferred them could not, or did not, distinguish, I say not. In fine, they demonstrate manifold more affection for the Blessed Virgin, or some particular Saints, than for our Lord. That they call not upon Saints to pray for them, but to help them; that they neither express nor can be presumed to mean by praying for, but by granting their prayers; in fine, *that they demonstrate inward subjection of the heart wherein idolatry consists*; I cannot disbelieve those who relate what they see done. What may be the reason, why to them rather than to God?"

"I grant it no Idolatry, that is, not *necessarily* any Idolatry, to pray to Saints to pray for us. The very matter implies an equivocation in the word 'praying,' which nothing hinders the heart to distinguish. But is it fit for the Church to maintain it, because it is necessarily no Idolatry? I grant, 'Ora pro nobis' in the Litanies might be taken for the ejaculation of a desire, which a man knows not whether it is heard or not; (as some instance in a letter, which a man would write, though uncertain whether it shall come to hand or not;) and I could wish that the people were taught so much by the form, as a powerful means to preserve the distance between God and His creature alive in their esteem. I count it not fit for a private person to say, what might be condescended to, for the re-union of the Church, stopping the way upon those mischiefs, which the flourishing times of the Church have not prevented. While all bounds are refused, all extremities maintained, I allege it for one of the most considerable titles for reformation without the consent of the whole."

Enough will now have been said to vindicate the distinction between the occasional addresses, which occur in the fourth century, requesting the

prayers of the Saints, and the systematic devotions prevalent in the Romish Church, requesting their aid absolutely, and preferring them, upon system, to immediate application to our Lord. Since this distinction is so broad, and appeared so to such writers as Archbishops Ussher and Bramhall^a, Bp. Andrews^b, and Thorndike, there is clearly no ground, why we should suppose that our Article, in condemning the “Romish doctrine of Invocation of Saints,” had any reference to these addresses of the fourth century. At the same time, persons cannot be too strongly warned against the risk to their own souls, in resuming, even in its lightest form, a practice, which does not come recommended to us by the Primitive Church, and which Scripture, to say the least, in principle, discourages; which, as a *systematic* practice, does not seem to be countenanced even by the age in which it was introduced, the addresses in the fourth century being rather apostrophes to the blessed Saints who were at the moment before the minds of those who used them, than systematic requests for their intercession. And yet even this alone would obviously make a great difference in the religious influence of such addresses; the *systematic* application for their intercessions has

^a Works, p. 418, quoted in Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 14.

^b Answer to c. 20. of Card. Perron's Reply, p. 57—62, quoted Tract 90, p. 41, 2.

manifestly a tendency, which such occasional apocalypses as we find in the fourth century at all events have not, to give them a place in our thoughts which should be occupied only by the One Intercessor. Systematic addresses to them constitute them, so far, direct objects of our devotions, which having, as our friend observes, "less of awe and severity," may be gradually resorted to in preference, in order to "save men the necessity of lifting up their minds to their Sanctifier and their Judge." It is to be considered, whether *habitual* addresses to the Saints do not, in the mildest form, imply that they are *themselves*, in some degree, objects of devotion. In the case of friends on earth, with which these addresses are paralleled, we are content to ask their intercessions once for all, or as an emergency occurs; we do not habitually ask them to "pray for us;" we take it for granted that they do; the continual use then of these supplications to the Saints, (who, as being purified, must love us better, and be more ready to pray for us than our friends on earth,) seems in itself to imply that some other feeling has crept in, beyond the wish to secure their intercessions; that people apply to them, as a vent to their feelings; that they have unconsciously made them ends and objects of devotion, and are thereby associating other objects in their devotional feelings with their One lawful Object, our Maker, Redeemer, Sanctifier; are learning to

have recourse to them, together with Him and in His place. There is also in itself so much risk in addressing prayers to one unseen, who is not God ; it is, on the one hand, so much an act of devotion, and on the other, our devotions to God are at best so imperfect, so little elevated, that there is on this ground alone much risk, lest the acts of devotion to the creature and to the Creator should be of the same kind, and so those to the creature idolatrous. The very fact that we find these appeals first in very holy men, may be (as our friend observes) a ground to discourage such as we are, not to encourage us ; the less like them we are, the less should we imitate them in this one point. “ It^c is nothing to the purpose to urge the example of such men as S. Bernard, in defence of such invocations. The holier the man, the less likely they are to be injurious to him ; but it is another matter entirely when ordinary persons do the same.” There would be also an especial risk in such practices in our own Church, beyond what there is even in the Romish ; they do not come recommended to *us* by our immediate Mother, any more than by the Church Catholic ; one who should adopt them, would do so on doubtful precedents, and on his own “ private judgment ;” he would do it altogether on his own responsibility, as his own act, contrary to what his Church deems advisable for

^c Mr. Newman’s Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 19. The whole page is a very valuable warning.

her children generally, and as I said, having no sanction (as in the case of prayers for the Saints at rest) from the Church Catholic; he ought also to have fears lest he be actuated herein by mixed motives, such as imagination, excitement, novelty, and so to doubt the lawfulness of the action in himself, over and above its abstract questionableness: he can, or ought, hardly to feel absolutely assured of its propriety, and ought then well to consider, why he does not come under the Apostle's rule, "He that doubteth is damned if he eat, for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Lastly, if any ever so much desire to have the intercession of those, who see their Redeemer face to face, it is so safe to ask Him to put in their minds to pray Him for them, so unsafe to apply to them directly, that they must, surely, feel that they are exposing themselves very gratuitously to risk in adopting a practice to which there are so many grave objections, when the object they have at heart can be obtained more surely, because sought for more humbly, without it.

I need only, in conclusion, express the earnest hope, in which you will so strongly join, that any one, who after the example of our friend, finds himself called upon to give an opinion that "the *ora pro nobis* is not necessarily included in the Invocation of Saints, which the Article condemns," will follow him also in expressing his "great apprehension concerning the use even of such modified

invocations^d.” And altogether, the less such a subject is discussed, obviously the better; the very mention of it may prove a snare to some minds, who are not trained in those feelings of reverence, which happily prevail in this place; it is not and ought not to be a practical question to us; but the abstract discussion of questions involving great practical consequences, yet unfelt by those discussing them, is too likely to divest the mind of those feelings of solemn responsibility without which no religious question can be discussed without injury.

4, 5. *Veneration and worshipping of Images and Relics.*

The less need be said on this, the remaining subject of this Article, because, although the feeling of the Ancient Church with regard to relics was very different from that common now, there was no view in any part of it which any way approximated to the Romish doctrine or practice. On the contrary, the primitive doctrine and prac-

^d Meanwhile, it is very comforting to see younger men also alive to this especial danger, “Through the course which Mr. N. has now been obliged to take, the ‘ora pro nobis’ may have been brought before persons, who would otherwise never have thought of it, and who may take it up from the mere affectation of singularity or what may be called a restless love of newly seen and dimly apprehended truth.” *A Few More Words in Support of No. 90, &c.* by Rev. W. G. Ward.

tice, on the subject of images, was so strict, that the difficulty would rather be to reconcile the "having" images at all, with it; of worship or outward reverence there was no trace. I will not here repeat what I hope shortly to give at length; I will only then mention to you the result of a careful examination, in which I sifted every thing alleged about images in the early centuries. This I have thus summed up^e;

"1. In the three first centuries it is positively stated that the Christians had no images. 2. Private individuals had pictures, but it was discouraged. (Aug.) 3. The Cross, not the Crucifix, was used; the first mention of the Cross in a Church is in the time of Constantine. 4. The first mention of pictures in Churches (except to forbid them) is at the end of the fourth century; and these, historical pictures from the O. T. or of martyrdoms, not of individuals. 5. No account of any picture of our Lord being publicly used occurs in the six first centuries, (the first is in Leontius Neap. l. v. Apol. pro Christian. A. D. 600.) 6. Outward reverence to pictures is condemned." [And this as late as Gregory M., who speaks in his genuine works very decisively against outward reverence to images, the passage apologizing for it being spurious.]

One cannot again imagine any thing more strikingly opposed to the Romish apologies for their worship before images, or a more valuable warning against their peril, than the following passage of S. Augustine^f;

^e Library of the Fathers; Tertullian. Note B. on Apology, p. 116.

^f In Ps. 113. Sermon. 2. §. 5.

“ Who worships or prays, *looking upon an image*, and does not become so affected as to think that he is heard by it, as to hope that what he longs for will be granted him by it?—Against this feeling, whereby human and carnal infirmity may easily be ensnared, the Scripture of God utters things well known, whereby it reminds and rouses as it were the minds of men, slumbering in the accustomed things of the body ; ‘ The images of the heathen,’ it says, ‘ are silver and gold.’” He then (§. 6.) meets the objection, that the Christians too had *vessels* of silver and gold, the works of men’s hands, for the service of the Sacraments. “ But,” he asks, “ have they mouths, and speak not? have they eyes, and see not? do we pray to them, in that, through them, we pray to God? This is the chief cause of that frantic ungodliness, that a form, like one living, has more power over the feelings of the unhappy beings, causing itself to be worshipped, than the plain fact that it is not living, so that it ought to be despised by the living. For images are of more avail to bow down the unhappy mind (in that they have mouth, have eyes, have ears, have nostrils, have hands, have feet,) than it hath to correct it that they speak not, see not, hear not, smell not, touch not, walk not.”

With regard to “ relics” on the other hand, the later corruptions have given a turn to our *feelings*, at variance with those of the early Church, though their practice did not differ from our’s. The Roman practice condemned, appears, from the Homilies, to have been the “ offering incense^b” to the reliques ; and of this or of any other outward veneration to them, no traces are pretended to be

^b Homily on Good Works, P. 2. p. 54. On Peril of Idolatry, P. 3. p. 220, 249.

found in the Ancient Church. Those who love the early Church have to regret a tone of mind, which seems estranged from her's ; yet was there nothing in her practice which modern notions could include under the censure of " veneration of relics." There is no question then as to the interpretation of the Article ; only as to the tone of mind of those who expound them, lest they speak slightingly of sacred feelings, and, as I said, foster the principle of rejecting the evidence of miracles, like the Jews or modern Deists, on *à priori* grounds. The feeling about relics, too common among us, is sadly natural. Who would not of himself love, as they of old did, the ashes of the " noble army of martyrs ?" or whose eyes would not gush out with tears at sight of a fragment of the true Cross ? who would not (in St. Jerome's words) " worship prostrate before it, as though he saw the Lord hanging thereon ?" who can even realize to himself the awful reality of what he should feel ? and yet, in proportion as he would love them, if he had ground to believe them real, he must grieve over the avarice of men, which so multiplied them, that our later Church knows not where she has them. Nor is it strange that the lying miracles of later days, connected with supposed relics, should create a repugnance to believe true miracles, wrought by God in connection with the true. Yet to persist, against evidence, to deny earlier miracles, were to act

¹ In vit. Paulæ Ep. 108. §. 9.

upon passion, not on the love of the truth. Rather, since God did work miracles by them in those days, one should, on that ground, adhere the more closely to that Faith, which He attested by miracles, and the more look with reverence and longing to those holy days, when God vouchsafed to form saints whom He crowned with martyrdom, and copy the practices whereby they were so formed, and seek by a holy life the indwelling of that Holy Spirit, which so hallowed even the "dry bones" of those who had been so eminently His temple, that they still "lived," and "being dead, yet spake," and became to others the source of earthly, and thereby also of spiritual, life and healing.

The several instances of the respect paid by the Ancient Church to "relics" are embodied in the following vindication by Thorndike¹; in which no one of our Church, (whatever vague impressions he may have had,) will probably find any thing which he would wish to gainsay.

"He that could wish, that the memories of the Martyrs, and other Saints who lived so as to assure the Church they would have been Martyrs had they been called to it, had not been honoured, as it is plain they were honoured by Christians, must find in his heart by consequence to wish that Christianity had not prevailed. For, this honour, depending on nothing but assurance of their happiness, in them that remained alive, was that which moved unbelievers to bethink themselves of the

¹ Epilogue iii. 30. p. 354.

reason they had to be Christians. What were then those honours? Reverence in preserving the remains of their bodies and burying them, celebrating the remembrance of their agonies every year, assembling themselves at their monuments, making the days of their death festivals, the place of burial Churches, building and consecrating Churches to the service of God in remembrance of them, I will add further, (for the custom seemeth to come from undefiled Christianity,) burying the remains of their bodies under the stones upon which the Eucharist was celebrated. What was there in all this but Christianity? That the circumstances of God's service, which no law of God had limited, the time, the place, the occasion of assembling for the service of God (always acceptable to God) should be determined by such glorious accidents for Christianity, as the departure of those, who had thus concluded their race. What can be so properly counted the reign of the Saints and Martyrs with Christ, which St. John foretelleth, Apoc. xx. as this honour, when it came to trample Paganism under feet, after the conversion of Constantine? Certainly, nothing can be named, so correspondent to that honour which is prophesied for them that suffered for God's law, under Antiochus Epiphanes. Dan. xii. Is not all this honour properly derivative from the honour of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and relative to His service? For, that is the work for which Christians assemble, and for those assemblies the Church stands, as I have often said; the honour of the Saints, but the occasion, circumstance, or furniture for it."

Art. xxxii.

“ Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God’s law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.”

“ There is,” as our friend said, “ no subject for controversy in these words, since even the most determined advocates of the celibacy of the clergy admit their truth.” Not only S. Jerome, whom he quotes, but even modern Romanists rest clerical celibacy on ecclesiastical rule, not on “ God’s law.” On the other hand, it should be observed, that the tone of the Article is contrary to men’s modern practice; it does not take it for granted, as a matter of course, that clergymen will marry, as soon as they can provide for a family ; as if this were obviously the best both for themselves and those committed to them ; but it implies, as does the Marriage Service for all, that it is a matter of Christian prudence and wisdom to decide, in which estate, married or single, they may best serve the Lord, and that they will decide, not with a view to earthly joy, but “ as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.”

A contemporary document implies the feeling of those times to have been in favour of the celibacy of the Clergy ; our Marriage Service goes further, and, in the midst of its touching commendation of the “ honourable estate” of matrimony, implies a holy celibacy to be for those to

whom it is given, a higher state. For in that it speaks of "continency" as a "gift," it must imply that it is an especial favour of God to those to whom it is given.

"Althoughⁿ it were not only better for the estimation of Priests, and other Ministers in the Church of God, to live chaste, sole, and separate from the company of women and the bond of marriage, but also thereby they might the better attend to the administration of the Gospel, and be less intricated and troubled with the charge of household, being free and unburdened from the care and cost of finding wife and children, and that it were most to be wished, that they would willingly and of themselves endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity and abstinence from the use of women."

In the Lord's vineyard, however, there is ample room for those of both classes; our Universities still furnish an instance before our eyes, of institutions requiring a temporary celibate, and that during the most trying period of life, and often for the greater part of its probable term: and, as this shews that it is not foreign to the genius of our Church, so the conviction is continually growing, that if the degraded masses condensed in our overgrown towns, inaccessible to any means now existing, festering within themselves, yet shunning every thing unlike themselves, may yet be reclaimed, it will be, when God raises up among us men of self-denying habits, who, under the direction of our Bishops, shall gather round them others like-minded, and form

ⁿ Stat. An. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 21.

corresponding institutions for those who have “ forsaken all” to “ follow” their Lord, to seek out His scattered sheep even in these appalling wildernesses, and preach repentance from dead works, Judgment to come, and the vanity of this fleeting world, having themselves, like the self-denying Baptist, visibly no portion in it.

It is, again, felt continually more, that besides the domestic charities so lovelily set forth by the daughters of our land, there is room for institutions, in which such as have no sacred duties at home, may devote their whole lives to visit their Lord in His sick, poor, imprisoned, naked, hungry, thirsty membersⁿ. Such institutions do shed a lustre upon any

ⁿ Since the above was written, the following remarkable confirmation has occurred in a Preface written to controvert what the Author supposes to be the peculiar views of Mr. Newman and his friends. Amid grave difference of opinion, the tone of the whole Preface seems to betoken a drawing together of men’s minds, even when they must still oppose each other, and deprecate any extension of that which is peculiar to the other. The whole passage is very illustrative of what Mr. Newman has said of the moving “ of the religious mind of our Church to something better and truer than satisfied the last century.”

“ No wise man doubts that the Reformation was imperfect, or that in the Romish system there were many good institutions, and practices, and feelings, which it would be most desirable to restore amongst ourselves. Daily church services, frequent communions, memorials of our Christian calling continually presented to our notice, in crosses and way-side oratories; commemorations of holy men, of all times and countries, the doctrine of the communion of saints practically taught, religious orders, especially of women, of different kinds, and under different rules, delivered only from the snare and sin of perpetual vows; all these, most of

Church; they are evidences of self-denying holiness fostered within it; the "sœurs de la charite" not only create a rightful sympathy towards the Churches wherein they exist, but they are one of the most powerful attractions to withdraw feeling but undisciplined minds from the communion of our own; they would be a grace to us, if we had them; the lack of them exposes us to loss. On this account alone, then, people should beware how they lightly speak against the celibate as a whole. Yet probably the objection arises from confusing *compulsory* with voluntary celibacy; the high feelings of devotedness which would with joy realize such a calling do exist among us; and it need, I think, but be known that there are (as there are) means provided for exercising such a calling under protection, and we too shall have our "sisters of charity." Parents willingly part with a daughter for an earthly bridal; some will be which are of some efficacy for good, even in a corrupt church, belong no less to the true Church, and would be purely beneficial." (Preface to Dr. Arnold's *Sermons on the Christian Life*, p. lvi. v.)

There is no need of "perpetual vows;" in France vows are allowed by the State to be taken only for five years; any vow should, of course, be taken with much humility and circumspection, and after trial and acquired knowledge of a person's own strength and weakness; only it does not appear why, when "perpetual vows" are permitted and encouraged in the Old Testament, and that even by parents in behalf of their children, (as in the case of Samuel, not to speak of Samson,) they should, under the New, in which greater strength is given, be accounted as necessarily "a sin."

found to spare them to be “brides of Christ,” ministers to Him in His sick.

On the other hand, *our* Reformation stands clear from that sad and inexplicable act of foreign Reformers, (which Romanists so willingly impute to all^o,) when they deliberately sanctioned a Prince’s polygamy^p as a remedy against a grosser adultery: our Reformers were bound by no vows to celibacy^q, so that Cranmer who married, broke none; others voluntarily abstained from that, which they wished to be left free to each, as they should “judge the same to serve better to godliness,” thereby shewing that they advocated its legality, not as a skreen for themselves, but as thinking *compulsory* celibacy inexpedient and dangerous. In our Church no nun^r was tempted to break her vows.

On this whole subject, it were well if before people allow themselves to use or to listen to the hard speeches which have of late years been uttered against the notion of celibacy as a religious act, or the view of it in the Ancient Church, they would consider how they escape therein speaking against their Lord. Certainly, the principle of religious celi-

^o e. g. Dr. Butler, Lect. 5. p. 250. 267.

^p The dispensation given by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and four others, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to marry a second wife, in the lifetime of the first.

^q “The vow of chastity, which existed in the Ordination-service of the foreign Churches, formed no part of that used in England.” Short, Hist. of Eng. Ch. §. 311.

^r Dr. Butler, l. c. p. 267. Exactly the same things were brought forward before him by Dr. Milner, End of Controversy.

bacy is so plainly set down by Himself, that it seems to imply a strange ignorance or sad neglect of His word, to dare to call that principle in question. And His word is not like S. Paul's limited, by "the present distress ^a," but, like Himself, eternal. Our Church, as I said, recognises that principle in her Marriage Service. I will now but set down those His words, and, with Thorndike's ^b comment on them, so leave the subject.

^a Matt. xix. 11, 12. All are not capable of this word (of not marrying). 'For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven. He that is capable let him hold this.' Here it is said that God hath made some men of such constitution of nature, that they are able to contain themselves from marriage, and that this is the gift of continence, which whoso hath, falls under a command of not marrying; whoso hath not, of marrying. But when our Lord exhorts those that are able to contain themselves from marriage to strive for that grace, certainly He makes not that a gift of nature, which He would have a man endeavour to attain. He that is exhorted to make himself an eunuch is not so made by God, but from God he hath the grace to prefer the kingdom of Heaven before even that content which God alloweth him here; and if he betray not that grace, by preferring that content before the clearest and securest means of attaining it, he will not fail of grace to perform that which he resolves for God's sake. And truly it were strange that the Gospel should make that grace which

^a 1 Cor. vii.

^b Epilogue, p. ii. c. 33. p. 296.

conducts to the height of Christianity, to consist in an endowment of nature.”

Article xxxvii.

“The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.”

I only set this Article down, that I may not seem to omit any thing, yet there is no question to be raised upon it. It relates to temporals, not to spirituals. The “jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome” stands contrasted with “the chief power of the King’s Majesty,” and this is, in the Article itself, limited to things temporal. The Article is entitled, “Of the Civil Magistrates.” It begins by claiming the “chief power or government of all estates of this realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes” to the “King’s Majesty,” and denies that it “ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.” It then explains the “chief Government” claimed for the King, negatively, not to be “the ministering either of God’s word or of the Sacraments,” and positively to be only, “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.” Accordingly, its chief object is to deny the right of appeal to Rome in the case of ecclesiastical persons or causes. Then it subjoins the words prefixed above. Clearly, then, from the

whole tenor of the Article, the “jurisdiction” denied is a “temporal jurisdiction as to spiritual causes or persons.” And this is illustrated by the oath of supremacy. “No foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority within this realm.” Both deny to the Bishop of Rome, what and what only they claim to the King. The oath of supremacy is a negative oath of allegiance. It rejects all allegiance which may interfere with the allegiance to the King. The very terms of the oath of supremacy, (in that it puts together “prelate, state, potentate,”) imply that what it contemplates is any such “jurisdiction,” as shall interfere with the authority of the sovereign. Thus Archbishop Bramhall^r;

“Whatsoever power our Laws did divest the Pope of, they invested the King with it: but they never invested the King with any Spiritual power or jurisdiction; witness the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth; witness the public Articles of the Church; witness the professions of King James; witness all our Statutes themselves, wherein all the parts of Papal power are enumerated which are taken away; his Encroachments, his Usurpations, his Oaths, his Collations, Provisions, Pensions, Tenths, First-fruits, Reservations, Palls, Unions Commendam, Exemptions, Dispensations of all kinds, Confirmations, Licenses, Faculties, Suspensions, Appeals, and God knoweth how many pecuniary artifices more: but of them all, there is not

^r Schism guarded, sect. i. c. 9. Works, p. 310. referred to in Palmer on the Church, p. ii. c. 2.

one that concerneth Jurisdiction purely Spiritual, or which is an Essential right of the power of the Keys; they are all Branches of the External Regiment of the Church, the greater part of them usurped from the Crown, sundry of them from the Bishops, and some found out by the Popes themselves, as the payment for Palls, which was nothing in St. Gregory's time, but a free gift or liberality or bounty, free from imposition and exaction.

“ Lastly, consider the grounds of all our grievances expressed frequently in our Laws, and in other writers, the disinheriting of the Prince and Peers, the destruction and annulation of the Laws and the prerogative Royal, the vexation of the King's Liege People, the impoverishing of the Subjects, the draining the Kingdom of its Treasure, the decay of Hospitality, the disservice of God, and filling the Churches of England with Foreigners, the excluding Temporal Kings and Princes out of their Dominions, the Subjecting of the Realm to spoil and ravine, gross Simonical Contracts, Sacrilege, grievous and intolerable oppressions and extortions. Jurisdiction purely Spiritual doth neither disinherit the Prince nor the Peers, nor destroy and annul the Laws and Prerogative Royal, nor vex the King's Liege People, nor impoverish the Subject, nor drain the Kingdom of its Treasures, nor fill the Churches with Foreigners, nor exclude Temporal Kings out of their Dominions, nor subject the Realm to spoil and ravine. Authority purely Spiritual is not guilty of the Decay of Hospitality or disservice of Almighty God, or Simony, or Sacrilege, or oppressions and extortions. No, no, it is the external Regiment of the Church, by new Roman Laws and Mandates, by new Roman Sentences and Judgments, by new Roman Pardons and Dispensations, by new Roman Synods and Oaths of Fidelity, by new Roman Bishops and Clerks. It is your new Roman Tenths and First-fruits and Provisions and Reservations and Pardons and Indulgences, and the rest of those horrible mischiefs

and damnable customs, that are apparently guilty of all these evils. These Papal Innovations we have taken away indeed, and deservedly, having shewed the express time, and place, and person, when and where, and by whom every one of them was first introduced into England.

And again^s,

“ We have only cast out seven or eight branches of Papal jurisdiction in the exterior court ; which Christ or His Apostles never challenged, never exercised, never meddled with ; which the Church never granted, never disposed. He might still for us enjoy his Protopatriarchate, and the dignity of an Apostolical Bishop, and his primacy of order, so long as the Church thought fit to continue it to that See, if this would content him.”

Or again, to take the words of a recent author, following Abp. Bramhall^y.

“ The learned primate Bramhall has observed, that these acts were not intended to deprive the Roman Pontiff of any really spiritual power ; they only cast out some branches of his exterior jurisdiction which were not instituted by Christ, nor by the Catholic Church. They did not deny the precedency of the Bishop of Rome in the Universal Church, nor his right (in conjunction with Christian princes) of summoning and presiding in General Councils, nor his power of defining questions of faith in conjunction with the Catholic Church, nor his right to exhort all Bishops to observe the Canons, nor his being the centre of Catholic unity, when he is in communion with all the Catholic Church. None of these things (the chief privileges of the Roman primacy according to Romanists)

^s *ib.* sect. 5.

^y Palmer, l. c.

were affected by the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the usurped jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop in England; and therefore it is vain to impute schism or heresy to the Church of England on this account, even on the supposition that the primacy of the Roman See is of divine institution.”

I do not mean, of course, to imply by this, that the Bishop of Rome has any lawful claims to “spiritual supremacy” over us; our very acknowledgment of our Articles implies our sense of a right committed to us, to regulate the affairs of our Church (whenever this should be necessary) by and for ourselves. I only mean, as a matter of fact, that any discussions as to any spiritual authority of the Bishop of Rome,—supposing that he was in communion with the whole Church, or that he would acknowledge its authority to be superior to his own,—is foreign to this Article, which relates to things temporal only. Meanwhile, it may be said that a primacy of order, and the claim that no Council should be considered Œcumenical and authoritative which lacked the concurrence of so eminent a See, as they will abundantly satisfy both the concessions of any of the early fathers, and the claims of the earlier Popes, so may they be obviously conceded without any risk to the safety of our Provincial Church.

On the same ground, lest I should appear to gloss over any thing, I would just advert to three other

Articles not relating to questions in which we are at issue with the Romish system, and apparently not contemplated by those, who condemned the principles of the Tract. So much has been written on them lately, that I may be the more brief here.

Article xi.

“ That we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine.”

On Article xi. our friend contends, that “ Justification by faith only,” as the instrument through which we receive it, does not exclude “ Baptism” from being the instrument through which God conveys it; and this is indeed so palpable from the Article itself, which is contrasting only “ the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,” received “ through faith,” with “ our own works or deservings,” that it seems strange how any should have thought that the doctrine of Baptism entered at all into the subject of this Article. The Article simply contrasts “ the merits of our Lord and Saviour” and “ our works,” and says we are justified for the sake of the one, not of the other; it is employed in laying down one principle, not in stating the whole compass of divinity; the doctrine of the Sacraments comes in elsewhere; the Article contrasts, as the source or meritorious

causes of Justification, “the Merits of our Lord” and “our own merits;” and these would naturally exclude each other; but “our Lord’s merit” as the “sole *source* of our justification” does not exclude “Baptism” as the “sole channel” through which He conveys it, any more than it does faith as the sole instrument through which we receive it. The whole is concisely worded thus^a;

“We are justified by Christ alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by Faith alone, in that Faith asks for it; by Baptism alone, for Baptism conveys it; and by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it.”

Articles xii. and xiii.

“Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit [‘before justification,’ title of the Article] are not pleasant to God (*minimè Deo grata sunt*) forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make man meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace of congruity (*merentur gratiam de congruo*); yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin. Albeit good works, which are the fruits of faith and follow after justification (*justificatos sequuntur*), cannot put away (*expiare*) our sins and endure the severity of God’s judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable (*grata et accepta*) to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith.”

As, in Article xi. “the merits of our Lord” are

^a Tract 90, p. 13.

contrasted with “our own,” so in Articles xii. and xiii. our own works before and after justification are broadly contrasted with each other; and one chief object of the two Articles plainly is, to carry out the contrast of Article xi., and to declare that our works are no ways the meritorious cause of our acceptableness with God;—not those before justification, because “they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done,” and so “have the nature of sin;” nor those after, because 1) they “cannot put away our sins,” nor 2) even in themselves “endure the severity of God’s judgment;”—and therefore we must on both grounds have recourse to the merits of our Lord to efface our sins, and obtain a merciful judgment for our good works. We are, then, thus contemplated in these Articles, as in two conditions, “justified” and “unjustified,” and our works are declared broadly and on the whole, in our unjustified state to have “the nature of sin;” good works, in our justified state, are said to be “pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ.” But although, to use our friend’s strong words in another place^b, of our state by nature,

“all that we do, whether from better principles or from worse, whether of an indifferent nature or directly moral, whether spontaneously, or habitually, or accidentally, all is pervaded with a quality of evil so odious to

^b On Justification, p. 97.

Almighty God, as to convert even our best services into profanations; or, in the expressive words of St. Paul, ‘ They that are in the flesh cannot please God ; ’ ”

it does not follow, of course, that all works “ before justification ” have equally “ the nature of sin. ” Each of these states,—justification, or being unjustified,—admits of infinite variations and degrees, from theirs who are all but angels to theirs who are all but devils. As being justified or no, they may be considered as two states; but the individuals included under them may be in an infinite variety of relations to Almighty God. Taken as two states, the “ justified ” must include all, from those who have all but attained to perfection, to those in whom “ the things which remain ” “ are ready to die, ” and themselves are all but out of their justified state: on the other hand, of those not justified, some may be almost Christians, others “ past feeling, ” or without any trace of the life of God in them or of His image. But since there can be no good thing in any one, except through the Spirit of God and the grace of Christ, they who are “ almost Christians ” can not have become such except through His grace and inspiration; they are being “ drawn by the Father ” and so are in some way acceptable to Him, although, in that they are *being* drawn, and not actually “ come ” to the Son, they are not yet justified: still they and their actions are in an intermediate state; they are not justified, nor their good actions like the “ good works ” of the jus-

tified ; and yet neither are they nor their actions like those whose heart the Holy Spirit has not moved nor influenced their actions. Cornelius was in a degree “ accepted with God ;” his “ righteousness, worked” through the Divine aid, his “ prayers” and his “ alms” had “ gone up for a memorial before God ;” still he was not yet justified ; for the angel, who tells him “ thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God,” bade him also send for St. Peter, “ who shall tell thee words, whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved.” Again, as Bishop Bull points out, since repentance and faith are required of those who come to be baptized, and repentance is not a simple feeling, but one issuing in various actions, there must be, in all cases, before justification, actions in their degree accepted by God, yet accepted not as man’s own, but His, Whose gift repentance and the works of repentance are. To hear Bishop Bull^c :

“ Proceed we to the second class of testimonies, those namely in which some special works are prescribed as altogether necessary to salvation. Hereto belong passages which require repentance, as an antecedent condition, without which no one obtains forgiveness of sins from God. Such occur every where in the New Testament ; to take then one or two only ; Acts ii. 38. ‘ Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost ;’ and Acts iv. 19. ‘ Repent therefore,

^c Harm. Apost. c. 2. §. 6, 7.

and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the Presence of the Lord.' In these places, any one must see that besides faith, repentance from sin also, and turning to God, are required of necessity for the remission of sins or justification."

"It is further to be observed, that repentance is not one or a single work, but the complex, as it were, of many other works. For it comprehends within its compass the following works, which are neither few nor of slight account. 1) Sorrow for sins, (2 Cor. vii. 10.) 2) Humiliation under the hand of God, whereby a person humbly acknowledges that he deserves the Divine wrath, (Jas. iv. 10.) 3) Hatred and detestation of sins, (Ezek. vi. 9. xx. 43. xxxvi. 31.) 4) Confession of sins, (1 Joh. i. 9.) 5) Earnest and lowly entreaty of the Divine mercy, (Acts viii. 2.) 6) The love of God, (Ex. xx. 6.) 7) Ceasing from sin, (Prov. xxviii. 13. Is. i. 16.) 8) A firm purpose of new obedience, (Acts xi. 23.) 9) Restitution of things ill-gotten, (Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15. Lev. vi. 1—7. Luke xix. 8, 9.)—10) Forgiveness of things which our neighbours have committed against us,—(Matt. vi. 14, 15.) 11) Works of mercy or alms. Which how much they avail to obtain remission of sins from God, is sufficiently clear from that well-known passage, Dan. iv. 27. where the holy prophet suggests this wholesome counsel to king Nebuchadnezzar, as yet sticking fast in his sins, 'Redeem thy sins by almsgiving and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.'—Herewith agreeth in the New Testament what St. James teacheth in this same 2d chapter, v. 13. 'Judgment without mercy to him, who hath shewed no mercy.' But what 'mercy' he means, is clear from what follows, v. 15, 16. See Luke xi. 41. (and Grotius on the place, Is. i. 17. Luke xvi. 9. 1 Tim. vi. 17, &c. 1 Pet. iv. 8. Heb. xiii. 16. so that Chrysostome truly said (in the Sermon on repentance), 'Repentance without almsgiving

is dead and hath no wings.’ And hence (to note this by the way) arose that practice observed in the ancient Church, whereby, of such as through very grave offences had fallen under the censure of the Church, there was required, to make them capable of absolution, not only confession of sins and amendment of their past life, but also works of mercy, by them called *ἀγαθοεργίαι*, good works. You see how widely works of repentance extend; you see that they are all laid down by the Holy Spirit as altogether necessary to obtain forgiveness of sins.”

Since, then, repentance is a work or, as Bp. Bull says, “ a complex of good works,” and yet antecedent to justification, it follows that there are works, in their degree acceptable to God, by Whose aid and the inspiration of Whose good Spirit they are wrought, antecedent to a man’s complete justification; whereas Bp. Bull’s opponent, that he might escape admitting that works had any connection with justification, consistently maintained, that “ repentance or true contrition for sin, was no ways necessary to obtain the first justification.” Bp. Bull, in support of his doctrine, appeals to the Homilies, our Liturgy, and Catechism, that repentance (including the fruits of repentance), as well as faith, is requisite to justification; and Fieldⁿ, whom he quotes, declares in the name of the Protestants generally;

“ They teach no such thing [as they were charged with by Stapleton, ‘ that they make our justification to consist in the sole remission of sins by faith, that the sacraments

confer nothing to our justification]’ but that Baptism and repentance are necessarily required in them that are to be first justified.”

It is clear, then, that the object of our Articles was, to secure broadly the great principles, that we are accounted righteous before God, for the merits of our Redeemer, received through faith, not for our own; that even when justified, our works, through the remains of corruption in us, cannot be the grounds of our final acceptance, as neither were those before justification, of our justification; in few words, that we were chosen beforehand, of God’s free grace, not on account of any thing in us, to be made members of His Son; and when in Him, are finally accepted, for His sake, in Whom we are. The doctrine, which it would exclude by Art. xiii., is a form of Pelagianism, that the works in themselves “make men meet to receive grace,” that God chooses men to the privileges of the Gospel with regard to what they, by their natural powers, became: the statement, of course, does not mean to exclude the truth, that “grace used attracts more grace;” that “to him that hath, shall be given;” that obedience to God’s fainter and indistincter calls is rewarded by Him by clearer and distincter, until “whom He hath called, them He also justifieth.”

^m Dr. Th. Tull quoted in the *Apol. pro Harm.* sect. 7. §. 2.

ⁿ App. to B. 3. on the Church, p. 298.

Our friend's words then seem to me fully borne out ;

“ They^o [the Articles] say that works before grace and justification are worthless and worse, and that works after grace and justification are acceptable, but they do not speak at all of works with God's aid before justification.”

I have now gone through the several Articles, of which explanations were given in our friend's Tract ; I examined these explanations carefully, with a view to ascertain whether they did contain any relaxation of the Articles (as I myself understood them) or no ; had it appeared to me so, there was yet the further question, to what extent the Articles were meant to include persons, who did not go so far from doctrine existing in the Church of Rome as their Authors ; it is certain from Bp. Burnet's statement, quoted by our friend^p, that this was the object of a change in the 28th Article, when the 39 Articles were, in Q. Elizabeth's reign, formed out of the 42 ; to me, however, there seemed no occasion to go to this point ; I have felt no doubt, carefully and conscientiously examining both editions of the Tract, that the meaning in which our friend would have them construed, in conformity and subordination to the teaching of the Church Catholic, is not only *an* admissible, but *the* most legitimate, inter-

^o Tract 90, p. 81.

^p Tract 90, p. 82.

pretation of them ; it appears to me as clear, that they are not directed against any thing occurring, here and there, in the early Church, even though not Catholic, but against the existing system in the Church of Rome. This appears to me so plain, that I cannot but think that any who persist in those imputations of " jesuitism, dishonesty, &c." must be actuated by some " spirit, they know not of." Nor need I conceal my deep regret, that a body, for whom we both feel much respect and regard, should, in this instance, have departed from its wonted caution and tenderness of proceeding, and condemned precipitately, unexplained and unheard, the principles of the Tract, which, so suddenly brought before them, they but imperfectly understood. On a former occasion when you were away from us, they suspended, for a whole Term, the proposed condemnation of a publication, in order to give time for the Author to explain his views, and for that explanation to be weighed ; on the present, they thought it better not to wait even two days. They admitted that they had no precedent upon which to proceed ; but they preferred, in all this haste, to establish a new one. I do not mean to impute any personal unkindness to them ; quite the contrary ; some of them (deceiving themselves, I must think) thought that they were doing what was kindest towards our friend, by precipitating the condemnation of the Tract, while he was yet induced by the wishes

of friends to withhold his name; I only mean to express what is generally felt, that they acted under panic and excitement, produced by misconception and misrepresentation. They could not, I think, have judged as they did, had they allowed the first alarm and excitement to pass by, had they heard (as they were requested from more than one quarter, and from one which they ought most to have regarded) the explanation which was all but on the point of being laid before them, and “given the accused license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him.” It is grievous certainly that the Heads of Houses should, on so imperfect a view of the case, have encouraged by their authority, all the imputations of dishonesty so freely cast upon us, because we understand our Church and her system in a way different from one, of late popular among persons, who, we must think, have very little studied either her, her character, or her formularies. Not less embarrassing is the very vagueness and comprehensiveness of their condemnation; “interpretations, such as are suggested in the Tract;”—*all* such are condemned; yet what they are, is left for each to gather for himself as best he may; one will claim the authority of the Board^b for one thing, one for another,

^b Even such a writer as Dr. Miller, gives circulation to the report, that the “Board of the University” had “actually instituted the appeal [to the Church] which he [Dr. M.] had resolved to prefer, in the transmission of a most obnoxious Tract

as each may be disposed; while I myself, and those who look on the Tract as I do, can only think that they condemned "modes of interpretation," which they inferred to be contained in it, but which never had any real existence. I should be sorry needlessly to say any thing which might pain a body, whom I much value, and from whom I hope much; yet I cannot but think that they have put themselves in a false position, condemning unheard the Tract of one, over whom they had no authority, and that in terms so vague as readily to admit of being stretched to what I am convinced they did not intend, the "mode of interpretation" really contemplated in the Tract, the Catholic interpretation of the Articles and the Catholic scheme of doctrine. I may as well speak out what is commonly felt; I cannot but think that, along with any anxiety about the danger of "modes of interpretation" of the Tract, which I have ground to think had been inculcated very earnestly upon them, they were under an unconscious bias, that they wished to relieve the University of the onus of the Tracts, as much as to condemn any "modes of interpretation;" and that the preamble "the

of which Mr. N. had acknowledged himself the writer, to the several Bishops of the English Church." (Letter to Prof. Sewell, *Irish Eccl. Journ.* No. 10.) A private individual did send the Tract, on his own responsibility, to the Bishops of England and Ireland, and this is made the act of the Board of Heads of Houses, and that Board the "Board of the University."

Tracts for the Times, a series of anonymous publications purporting to be written by Members of the University, *but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself,*" was as important in their eyes, as the resolution which it ushered in. Certainly, unless this had been a prominent object with them, there was no occasion for so designating the Tracts at all, and it is difficult to imagine in what way the University could have been supposed to have "sanctioned" Tracts, over which it had no control, which were not even printed within it, did not bear its "Imprimatur," did not any way fall under its statutes or its cognizance. On the other hand, while they condemned this Tract on the ground of a statute, enjoining "that every student shall be instructed and examined in the 39 Articles and shall subscribe to them;" they left uncondemned a "History of Christianity" by one also a member and once a Professor in the University, which in a very distressing way explains away miracles of our Blessed Lord; and yet, that same statute enjoins, that every student be instructed and examined in the "*Evidences of religion*:" they had recently listened very patiently to a sermon denying Baptismal regeneration. I do not question their right to disconnect the University from the Tracts in question, although it was done rather by a side-wind; we never sought to compromise the University, nor to gain its sanction; we are but what we are, private individuals in it, formed by her teach-

ing, by the spirit which she breathes, by the moral tone which her discipline imparts ; her sons, and the sons of those who transmitted these doctrines to us. But now that they have formally disclaimed “ any way sanctioning the Tracts ” and have relieved the University of this odium, and disembarassed her defence by her “ friends without,” I own I think it would be but befitting their candour, to reconsider the whole subject, qualify (if on mature thought they see occasion) the sentence which they lately passed, and state more definitely what they object to, what they do not. This they are called upon to do by others^c, in an opposite direction, and to make their condemnation more stringent. I fear nothing from the real expression of their opinion, such as it would now be formed, after the interval of peace and calm which the Holy Season, lately past, brought with it.

I would now, only, in conclusion, say a few words on two subjects incidentally connected with the Tract ;—the acknowledged tendency of certain individuals in our Church to Romanism, and the position of our own Church.

^c The Edinburgh Review, No. 147, p. 293. which very consistently urges as a ground, that on the supposed principles of Tract 90, Dissenters would be admissible to the University ; which, of course, it must much deprecate !

Of the extent of the tendency to Romanism, which our friend acknowledges to exist in detached cases, I have no means of forming any estimate; but, whatever it be, it is surely a very short-sighted view to make the Tracts or their authors responsible for it. Was not the Church warned sixteen years ago, (when we were being taught, not teaching,) by that teacher whose memory we together cherish and revere, "with very solemn seriousness," to "buckle on her armour and prepare herself to defend her very citadel and the palladium of her faith?" Were there no secessions to Romanism before the Tracts began? none, and not rather in large numbers, and those wholly persons whose Church-views were most opposed to our's? In Edinburgh alone, the annual converts to Romanism were calculated at 100; but from the Kirk, not from our Church. No! Rome has many sympathies whereby to draw persons to herself. To those who would lean, she offers undoubting guidance; for those who would have certainty, she offers infallibility; for the devout, she has her Churches ever open and her frequent public services, her retreats for devotion and contemplation; for the affectionate, she has the memory of the saints of old; for the imaginative, she has a nominal reverence for Antiquity and a visible Unity of Communion, spread over the whole

^a British Critic, No. 1. 1825.

world, and every where professing to teach the same truth. Her theory of Unity (to speak of this first) at once fills the imagination and contents the intellect. It is indeed a saltus mortalis; but those who can shut their eyes and take it, it places beyond further difficulty. The visible unity of the Church falls short of what it should be and what we should have hoped; Rome cuts the knot by maintaining that her one Communion is the one Church. Her's is indeed a fearful theory, cutting off at one stroke 90 millions of the Greek Orthodox Church, as well as our own Communion. Yet, if any shrink not from this, or know not that there is a Church as large almost as that of Rome, which she cuts off from the Church "out of which there is no salvation," in order to make way for her scheme, it is a simple theory: it removes all the difficulties which these sad and long rents of the Church present to other theories of her Unity, to say boldly with Rome, that the Church is visibly one still; that intercommunion is essential to the one visible Church; that Rome and Churches not in communion with her cannot form one Church; that the Churches in communion with Rome, as being the majority of Christendom, are the Church; and that therefore Churches, not in communion with her, are no Churches. In this way, any strong statement of the claims and the unity of the Church may be made a ground for joining the Romish communion, and I myself know a

case, in which this effect was produced by some tracts of the Christian Knowledge Society.

Again, to take another class of minds, long residence at Rome, now so common with our countrymen, cannot be a thing indifferent; what is Catholic and un-Catholic is so strangely blended together in the Roman system, that if what is un-Catholic repels not, what is Catholic must win; the German artists have continually been drawn to her through their studies; among our own people, it is well known that the associations with the bright early days of the Faith, with Apostles and Martyrs, the richness of her worship, her solemn and primitive music, her paintings, her ceremonies, have again and again created a sympathy with her whole system, evil as well as good; it is idle then for persons to bring their families within the sphere of all which is fascinating to the senses in the Romish system, to take them to the ceremonies, with which, unless very well regulated or else profane, they will unduly sympathize, and then attribute to any publications in England the tendency to Romanism. Persons who had returned to this country, with a strong bias towards Rome, have been recovered by our teaching; their bias came not from us, but from the thoughtlessness which familiarized them with its mingled beauties and corruptions.

Again, another class is predisposed to Rome by the harsh language used towards her, and by

careless imputations, which they discover to be unfounded^w: another by the conflicting opinions among ourselves, which it sees to be unnatural and a defect in the state of a Church, and which it hopes to escape by giving itself up implicitly to one, who undertakes to guide it^x. Another is attracted by her order and discipline; another by the self-devotion of some of her members^y; another by finding in her, amid her corruptions, (which in this country are removed from sight,) Catholic truths and practices which they have never been taught to see, where they are, in their own Church. These hear, for the first time, in her, of the high doctrine of the

^w "I can say for myself, and I think every one who advances from Protestantism towards Catholicity can say with me, that as light breaks upon our minds we do not doubt of Rome, our doubts lie the other way; for we say Rome is right so far; we have been deceived; and being wrong in these points, there is reason to fear that we are wrong in others. We doubt Protestantism as a whole, and suspect that Rome is right." "Rev. Mr. Mason, a distinguished convert," quoted in Rev. J. Rathborne's [a Romanist] Letter on the Oxford Movement, p. 18. A person's bias ought to be to trust the Communion in which he was made a member of Christ; but this writer, discovering himself to have been in error in some points as to another Communion, mistrusted his Church, and trusted Rome. In like way, the only person who went over to Rome, professing previously to have valued some of our writings, went over in about three weeks; setting aside all other circumstances, what must be thought of that person's sense of responsibility, who, in three weeks after his first impression in favour of a foreign Communion, could decide on forsaking that in which God had placed him?

^x e. g. the authoress of the two first vols. of *Geraldine*.

^y The sight of the *sœurs de la charité* has had this effect.

Holy Eucharist, while that of Transubstantiation is glossed over; and they think that in her alone, is the Holy Eucharist more than a sign or commemoration. They witness, in her, weekly fastings or daily prayers, and know not that their own Church enjoins the one, and provides the other; that the negligence of the laity in coming, alone hinders the daily service being realized as our Church desires. They hear, in her, that alms-deeds are good for the soul, and have not been taught the comforts of almsgiving, which our Communion Service sets forth in the words of Holy Scripture, and our Homilies from its teaching, in connection with the fathers. They hear of the value of habitual confession of sins before God's ministers, as a means of self-discipline, and of the benefits of Absolution, and know not that our Church suggests it for such as need it, and leaves them at liberty to choose for their Confessor whom they will². In these and in other ways, it has continually happened that persons have sought in the Communion of Rome, what was laid up for them in their own, more fully and without corruption, had they but known it; and this valuable class will, of course, be the more secured from wandering, the more the high Catholic

² "Let him come unto me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution," &c. First Exhort. in Communion Service.

doctrines of our Church are developed, and her principles acted on. Instances have recently occurred, in which by these means persons, for many years estranged from her communion, have been restored to it from that of Rome which they had joined. Again, the more people cast themselves back into Antiquity, and sympathize with the Fathers and the Saints of old, and feel themselves one Church with the Church of primitive times, the more will that painful void be filled up, which is caused by her present state of isolation. We have a communion of Saints, a fellowship of doctrine, a oneness by descent, with the Church in Apostolic days, even if those who are now in the flesh acknowledge us not.

The character also in which Rome exhibits herself in England, much aggravates our present difficulties; her policy is a corruption of the Apostolic wisdom, to "become all things to all, that by all means, it may" gain some; "it falleth down and humbleth itself, that the congregations of the poor may fall into the hands of its strong ones." Her principle, that there is no salvation out of Communion with herself, makes it her first object to draw people any how into her Communion. The extent too of her Communion is the tangible proof she puts forward of her being *the* Catholic Church. This is a sore temptation to her to bend, relax, fall in with unholy ways and usages, which promote this her first end. She would

further holiness as much as she can; but she cannot afford to do what is right, if it would cause the unholy to part from her. She is obliged to temporize, to lure, to condescend, when she cannot control. In some countries, she is suffering the penalty of former sins, having to support the credit of false miracles, which she cannot disavow, without owning the past to have been a fraud; while in all, over which she has dominion, she will tolerate and profit by what she dares not approve; will sit by in silence while men tell falsehood or use violence in her behalf; will suffer visions and miracles which she does not believe, to be believed by her people and to bring gain to her clergy; and even in her own guarded province of the faith will permit unauthorized doctrines (such as that of the immaculate Conception) to creep in and take the public honours of truth^h, wherever men are disposed to receive them. It is painful to think and speak of these things in another member of the mystical Body of Christ, who once was the bulwark of the Faith and a pattern of zeal, and who still has holy practices and institutions, which we might gladly imitate; but Rome forces it upon us by sending amongst us to steal away the hearts of the children of our Church, boldly denying whatever corruptions our people have not before their eyes; since these things were swept away by the Reformation, and she has been able to begin anew

^h Festivals and Churches in honour of it.

in a spirit more congenial to that of religious minds here, and more approximating to early Christianity. Thus for the more “enthusiastic feelings of foreign heartsⁱ,” where the presence of a Reformed Church furnishes no check, she has wonder-working images of the Blessed Virgin curiously decked out, through the offerings of those taught to seek relief from them^k; rival images, which for some time contended for superiority through the cures which they were alleged to perform, until at last popular favour having turned towards the one^l, it receives all the offerings, the other remains neglected and in disgrace; pictures of saints which are said, by being carried

ⁱ Dr. Wiseman, Letter to Mr. Newman, p. 25. These feelings, I am assured, meet with but partial sympathy, and sometimes with wonder and doubt, amongst Romanists of our own country who are sojourners abroad.

^k It is but following the example of Dr. Wiseman (p. 26.) to give the following recent dialogue between an earnest-minded English Catholic traveller and the person who shewed the Church; “In a Church at Venice (I am as sure as I can be it was the del Camine) I saw a Madonna gorgeously dressed, and asked why it was so unusually decorated. The Sagrestano said, It was ‘a very rich Madonna,’ and that the people brought every year great offerings of oil, wax, and money. I asked why? He said, ‘it had done many miracles.’ I said, ‘I know God could do miracles, but did not understand how an image should do miracles.’ He said, ‘The Madonna prays for us in Heaven.’ I said, ‘Supposing that to be so, I see no connection between her intercession, and this image of wood and silk.’ He said, ‘The faith teaches us so.’”

^l That in the Augustinian Church, in Rome; the other is in the Pantheon.

in procession, to have stopped the plague and to have averted the Cholera; at Rome, the image of a "Holy Child" is brought forth to bless the people, and much benefit looked for by the populace from its blessing and the honour paid to it^m; at Naples the blood of S. Januarius is still yearly liquefiedⁿ, and the people are encouraged to look upon the imposture as the sign of the favour of the Almighty^o; in another Church is a waxen figure of our Lord as an infant, to which the king and the Court make an annual procession at Christmas, the king carrying scissors to cut the hair of the image, which, it is asserted, grows miraculously every year^p; at Rome is an image of the Virgin which on one day in the year nods her head

^m It is kept in the Church of the Ara Cœli in the Capitol. Popular stories are told of its return to the Church, after it had been sent for to work a cure, and another been exchanged for it, too painfully ludicrous to set down, considering Whom the image represents.

ⁿ A corresponding imposture and the mode of its being wrought at Hales in Gloucestershire, is related by Bp. Burnet, Hist. Ref. b. iii. t. i. p. 441.

^o "The scenes said often to take place on the Festival of S. Januarius almost exceed belief; if the blood liquefies quickly, all the people praise the Saint and promise him offerings; if not, they abuse him in most unmeasured terms, (some of which were repeated to me,) and threaten not to send him any more gifts, or to take any more notice of him." Statement of a traveller. It has been an habitual practice to delay the apparent liquefying of the blood and ascribe it to the presence of "heretics" (English persons).

^p Statement of a traveller.

when she grants prayers^q; the Church is thronged to see it; indulgences are still granted for visiting favourite shrines^r; in Italy, the prayers which

^q Burnet has a similar account, Hist. Ref. b. iii. t. i. p. 440, l. "For their images, some of them were brought to London, and were there, at St. Paul's Cross, in the sight of all the people, broken; that they might be fully convinced of the juggling impostures of the monks. And in particular, the crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called *the rood of grace*; to which many pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimes to bow, and to lift itself up; to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet; to roll the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows: all which were looked on by the abused multitude as the effects of a divine power. These were now publicly discovered to have been cheats: for the springs were showed, by which all these motions were made. Upon which John Hilsey, then Bishop of Rochester, made a sermon, and broke the rood in pieces." A similar story of "a wooden image of the Virgin, held in very great veneration, bowing its head in acknowledgment of salutations, and stretching forth a finger, which before was doubled," together with a miraculous voice, is gravely told in a short "treatise on the most famous confraternity of the Scapular." Dublin.

^r The following copies of Indulgences are furnished by the traveller alluded to, note k.

1. In the Church of S. Cosmo e Damiano in the Forum at Rome.

Indulgence.

"The image (picture) of the most holy Mary which is at the great altar spoke to the Pope St. Gregory, and said to him, 'Why dost thou not salute me in passing as thou wert wont?' The Saint asked pardon, and granted to those that should celebrate mass at that altar, the liberation of a soul from Purgatory, that is, of that soul for which the mass is celebrated."

2. In the Church of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, under

occur in the middle of the sermon, seem often studiously directed to the Blessed Virgin; in the South of France, the Jesuits are now anew directing the devotions of the poorer people to the Blessed Virgin; in Ireland, it is taught that the wearing of the Scapular of the Virgin, which may be lined with silk, saves from Hell^a, and that on performance the short exercise in honour of the afflicted heart of the most holy Mary.

Sacra Indulgenza.

“ His Holiness our Lord Pope Pius VII. fel. req. vouchsafed to grant for ever the indulgence of 300 days, applicable to the holy souls in Purgatory, to all the faithful every time they shall recite the above prayers, according to the Rescript dated January 3, 1825.”

3. Also over the entrance to the Chapel of Santa Maria della Salute.

“ His Holiness our Lord Pope Gregory XVI. by a brief dated September 17, 1836, accorded a plenary indulgence to whomsoever, after confessing and communicating, shall devoutly visit this holy image of the blessed Virgin under the title of Consolatrice degli afflitti, on the second Sunday in July and its octave in every year. He conceded also the partial indulgence of 200 days to whomsoever, at least contrite, shall visit the same holy image on any day of the year. The above indulgences are moreover applicable to the good of the souls in Purgatory.

February 11, 1839.

4. In the Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo, Florence.

Paulus V. Pont. Max. cuique Sacerdoti qui ad hoc altare pro defunctis litaverit, animam *supremis pœnis* liberare perpetuo, AN. MDCX. concessit.”

See further on Indulgences Mr. Palmer's First Letter to Dr. Wiseman, p. 16—19, 31, 2. 43. and above, p. 91. note k.

^a “ If our blessed Lady had bid us do some great thing, we ought to do it; how much rather than when she saith, Wear

of some easy conditions, she delivers those of the Confraternity from Purgatory on the first Saturday after their decease^r; at Rome the month of May is annually devoted to her service and called by her name; her medal or picture is solemnly placed on the breasts of children; the declaration of her power and compassion is held, in spiritual exercises, to be efficacious, even with sinners who have listened unmoved to arguments from the justice and mercy of God; her name seems often to displace that of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity; she is still held

my livery and you shall not suffer eternal fire! If she had enjoined us to make a great abstinence; to undergo some rigorous mortification; or to undertake a long and tedious pilgrimage, with this condition, that we should be freed from eternal damnation; from the torments of purgatory, and from the many dangerous events which easily do befall us in this life; right reason would dictate to us, that we ought to attempt any thing for the obtaining of so great good: how much more then, when she had annexed these and many more extraordinary graces to the reception only, and devout wearing the holy habit of the Scapular, with a final confidence in her powerful protection; but you will, perhaps, with Naaman, object, what can such a weak thing avail us, as the Scapular is? To this I answer with the apostle, (1 Corinth. i. 27.) The weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he might confound the strong. He that made choice of the weak element of water to wash us from the original sin, which is deeply indicated in us by the prevarication of our first father Adam, hath made use of the weak habit of the Scapular to produce those excellent effects which are mentioned in the chapter following.

^r Treatise on the Scapular, c. 9. (Dublin.)

out virtually as a preferable mediatrix to our Lord Himself^s, and popular feeling flows so directly towards adoration of her, that even Rome herself has at least on one occasion been forced to pause and has denied to her image, what it is shocking should ever have been asked for it^t,—honours hitherto reserved for those mysteries in which Rome acknowledges the presence of God incarnate. In the new school of art in Munich, on the contrary, where religion is in a purer form, the Mother, as in the oldest school^u, has again become a subordinate object, and although enthroned, is worshipping her Son. In Ireland, Romanism becomes political and is subservient to demagogues; in the United States, she boasts that she is Republican; on the continent of Europe she courts absolute sovereigns; among ourselves, she drops, as far as possible, every thing distinctive, and assimilates herself, as much as may be, to the Anglican Church; “Transubstantiation” is represented as the doctrine of the “Real Presence;” pictures of Purgatory, and Purgatorial societies have no place, and persons are allowed to believe Purgatory itself to be only the loss of the Divine

^s See Postscript.

^t viz. the use of the canopy in processions.

^u In the oldest paintings, the Madonna is introduced, meditating on or praying to, or proposing for contemplation her Infant Son; in the school of Raphael, &c. she is only shewing a mother's care, and, as the mother, is the chief object.

Presence (*pœna damni*), not any sensible suffering (*pœna sensus*), and so to differ little from the doctrine of the intermediate state^x; (while in Ireland persons are incited to religious acts in memory of The Passion of our Lord by the grant of indulgences, many plenary, others for many hundred years^y, “applicable to *suffering* souls in Purgatory.”) Invocations of Saints, in which they are called upon themselves to aid us, are withdrawn, and the practice is represented as identical with requests to friends on earth^z; Indulgences are limited

^x One, who had gone over to Romanism, stated to the Author that he had never met with any other doctrine as to Purgatory, among Romanists, though he had spoken with very many. The pain, according to him, consisted in an intense longing for the Divine Presence; so that, instead of being a state of “greater suffering than any thing in this life,” (see above, p. 84—87,) it would be a state of higher joy than is vouchsafed to most Christians, corresponding to that spoken of in the Canticles.

^y “The pious sodality,” &c. p. 30. see above, p. 92. note k. In Bouvier, the word “suffering” does not occur. Again in the treatise on the Scapular, c. 7. “The excellency and greatness of this privilege [the speedy release of the souls of the confraternity through S. Mary] will easily appear, if we consider how horrible the *broiling* torments of purgatory are; (the angelical doctor S. Thomas saith) that they do exceed the pains, which Jesus Christ suffered in His holy Passion.—From these fearful torments the devout of the holy Scapular are exempted, &c.”

^z Dr. Wiseman admits, “Without wishing to cast censure upon any one, I have observed with pain, that occasionally in controversy regarding the Saints and their Queen, there is a temptation to lower the consideration in which we hold them,

to the remission of punishment on this earth; "images and pictures" are become again only "instruments of teaching," or reminiscences of absent friends. "These things," said Romanist ecclesiastics from our country in the presence of one of the favourite images at Rome, "seem strange to us." "They carry the worship of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints too far here; it interferes with the worship of God." In Italy, miracles are alleged on authority, in support of doctrine, which, in this country are withdrawn^a from the narrative, as suspicious or unbecoming. Among us, as (in the main) a

to dim their glory, and perhaps to save ourselves some reproaches, at the expense of our Catholic brethren abroad." Remarks on Mr. Palmer's Letter, end. Dr. W. perhaps does not know, as we do, that in our countrymen of his Communion, these feelings of disparagement of their brethren abroad are not assumed only in controversy, but are often seriously entertained.

^a "I read it [the original of Liguori's "Glories of Mary," approved of by the Convocation of Rites, with the sanction of Pius VII. 1803.] most carefully, and was surprised to find that the main proofs for this unscriptural worship was a series of visions and supposed miracles said to be wrought by images, &c. almost all of them childish beyond conception, and some of them ludicrous in the extreme. On comparing the translation with the original, I found that the translator had prudently suppressed the most silly." Rev. E. Nixon, Address to the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of Castletown, 1840. The author, who writes only in self-vindication, abstains from translating these stories, because "I do not like trifling upon any religious subject, and it would be impossible to read those fables with a grave countenance."

moral earnest people, Confession is used as a check to sin; in Italy the obligation to it is made consistent with a state of society generally and openly charged with the grossest profligacy, tempting to it, and in itself almost implying the commission of "adultery in the heart;" if common opinion be but partially grounded in truth, we must believe that adulterers and adulteresses receive absolution from the Priest, and "return to their vomit" which they never purposed to quit: while in Rome which calls itself "*Mater Orbis*" the first Bishop of the West presides over a government chiefly composed of Ecclesiastics, and yet so corrupt that it has passed into a proverb that the sight of Rome is incompatible with faith, "*Roma veduta, fede perduta.*" In this country, fasting is dispensed with on account of sickness only; in Spain dispensations from fasting, except on Friday, are sold, as a matter of course, to any one, or to whole families habitually, who prefer not to fast; in Rome, the very Day of our Lord's Passion (and that, during the very hours when He was nailed to the Cross for us) is uniformly, amid some outward distinctions of meats, made by Cardinals a day of official entertainment and a feast^b. "When I go to

^b "On Good Friday Cardinal ——— received all the Cardinals at dinner at two in the afternoon with many Englishmen in uniform. The dinner consisted of soup, fish, cutlets, and every variety of dish all made of fish, but indistinguishable

mass in my own country," said a pious German nobleman lately, "it is to pray; but here [at Rome] prayer seems the last object for which people assemble; the fashionable Churches are mere conversaziones." And while among us corruptions are withdrawn, Rome adopts studiously "evangelical" language^c; exhibits beautiful pictures of monastic life to attract the enthusiastic among us; introduces "orders of mercy" such as we might have ourselves, which we too need, and which are most calculated to win a kind-hearted nation. In this way, she has gained some, and is too likely to gain more; whether in the end she will not have to repay with usury those whom by such means she has gained, we cannot yet see; such converts are Anglicans at heart; at least are far nearer to our Communion, than (in its present state) to that to which they have joined themselves; this, as our Church realizes her position, they may, we trust, more and more see; their sympathies are with us, not with the corruptions in the Roman Church; we have resigned them, we trust, in chastisement only, to receive them again after a while, bringing back with them, (if it may be,)

from the richness of the sauces from any other dinner. This was annual." MS. Journal.

^c Such was the impression upon the author, on reading the 3d vol. of *Geraldine*; attributed to an able controversialist. The very vehicle, being unreal, (a story,) perhaps gave the more temptation to use unreal language; yet the same has been observed by another, who would "think no evil."

the rest of that estranged Communion to our ancient British Church ; we may hope that it is but like the Eastern fable, that the darkness greedily swallowed the light, but was itself overcome by that which it absorbed into itself. But though we may hope this in the end, they who join the Romish Communion in this country on the ground of its purity from what is peculiarly Romish, have no security that they may not at any time be entangled in the whole system ; what has been, may again be ; and one may unhesitatingly say, that it is the presence of our Church alone, which makes Romanism in this country so different from what it was, and, in Italy especially, now is. Whoever joins it from our Communion does what in him lies to bring back that darkness, by weakening the Church which mainly keeps it in check ; and, since their Communion is one, he makes himself responsible for the corruption elsewhere prevailing ; he countenances in others, what in his own person he avoids.

But, besides these difficulties from without, there will be, it must be added, others from within ; a system, practical and reverent, as is the true Catholic system in our Church, tends more than any other, by God's grace, to produce a sense of responsibility in those who embrace it ; still no scheme of doctrine will in itself protect those who hold it : in any extensive revival of doctrine, truths will be very unequally received, and will

be perverted by those who do not receive them in "an honest and true heart;" some will take them up as a beautiful theory, as matter of imagination, and these "having no root in themselves," will "in time of temptation fall away;" others will embrace them with ardour and affection, but without self-discipline and humility, and these too, it is to be feared, secure that they are standing, and not "taking heed," will fall. There are many forms of unreality; many ways in which those who are unreal, may deceive themselves, and seem to themselves wheat when they are but chaff; and, as being such, will be carried away out of the barn-floor by the sifting wind of temptation, whenever it is permitted to blow upon them. This the writers of the Tracts cannot help; they may lament to hear of persons allowing themselves in the habit of speaking indignantly of sins committed at the time of or in the English Reformation, instead of humbling themselves for "their own sins and the sins of their forefathers," and acknowledging that what we have is more than we deserve, more than we realize, is what is best fitted for us¹; it is sad to see or hear of persons, talking and not acting; fasting, as has been said, in theory and in their studies^m: it is sad to see people apparently prizing

¹ Tract 86. "Indications of a superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer book, and in the changes which it has undergone."

^m Geraldine.

what is Catholic for its novelty not for its holiness; or tempting God, by approximating as near as they may to Romanism, and thinking that they shall not fall into it; but surely it is responsibility enough, not directly to encourage any evil tendencies. Since men "wrest Scripture to their own damnation," how much more must the words of frail man be liable to abuse.

Those, also, who have been God's chief instruments in the great work of restoring half-forgotten doctrine,—I mean our friend himself, and the Author of the *Christian Year*,—have again and again repeated, that the change which is going on around us is "not" satisfactorily accounted for by any particular movement of individuals on a particular spot." They have declined the praise; let them not unduly bear the blame. In part, we must all bear it; no one can doubt that if the system of our Church were fully carried out, her doctrine fully taught, her holy precepts acted up to, her devotions offered "in spirit and in truth," her Communion frequent and frequented as she desires, her self-denying training followed,—in a word, if all the means of grace, of which she is made the channel, were realized as they ought, God's blessing would so rest upon us, that we should have nothing to fear for our Vine; "they who pass by," would not then "pluck off her

ⁿ Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 27. *British Critic*, No. 50. "State of religious Parties."

grapes ;” she would then have such marks of holiness, that they who now “gather themselves together against her would fall unto her ;” her children, of whom she has been bereaved, would be restored unto her ; nay, she herself might be carried to a yet higher condition ; the discipline, whose loss she laments, be restored ; she might, besides the hidden saints formed by her holy training, have those also who should visibly be saints, tokens, even to the world, of God’s sanctifying Presence in her, like those of old, who were termed “Apostles of the nations.” In whatever degree she is not such, we have all, more or less, our share of guilt ; our sins, our negligences, the coldness of our intercessions, our listlessness or untamed energy, our want of holiness—each of us may know the plague of his own heart—have all contributed to deprive her of God’s intended blessing, and to keep her where she is. Let us not then seek to excuse ourselves or cast the blame upon others ; it is not to excuse my friends—much less myself who am least and last—that I have said even thus much, but lest “the truth” should be “evil spoken of ;” let us not care where the blame lies in man’s sight, but rather let us all seek, more and more, to “humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt us in due time.”

Such seems to me the position which one should wish for our whole Church ; this does not seem to me to have been enough realized ; the sensitiveness

at some of our friend's strong languageⁿ on the actual condition of the Church implies this; we have been for some time on the defensive; we have been maintaining her character, as a pure and Apostolic Church, against the calumnies of men, rather than confessing before God, "for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and Thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us," and praying Him, "cause Thy Face to shine upon the sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake." To joy is more congenial than to weep; our natural love and piety towards her, as it makes us hope all good for her, and think all good of her, indisposes us to admit that there is any thing lacking to her; we think of her more, as God's Providence has formed her, than as by the remissness of our forefathers and our own, she has become; more of what she is in the abstract and in theory, than what she is, as a living, moving, acting, holy, Power, the depository of Divine graces and powers, destined not to struggle only with the world (as she is more and more) but to overcome it; not to have store of food only for such of her children as will receive it, but to bring them up, guide, restrain them; we think of the beautiful organization which her Lord has given her, that He has provided her with every thing needful for

ⁿ "Till her members are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church sit still; let her be content to be in bondage; let her work in chains;" &c. Tract, 90. p. 4.

all the functions of His body, and forget that through our sins she is in a state of powerlessness, His instrument still, yet not adequately performing the high destinies for which He formed, has again and again delivered, and yet preserves her.

Our true position seems to be, to acknowledge that we have fallen and that God is raising us up; amid much which is humbling, there are many cheering signs that the hand of God is with our Church; by looking exclusively on either side of the picture, we should risk forming a tone of mind, other than what is intended for us; we might be unduly elated, and forget our humility, or unduly depressed, and forget God's mercy. Our vine has been "burnt with fire and cut down," but "its branch is" again "tender and putting forth leaves," and giving signs of an approaching summer. Our Heathen populations; the extent of schism among us; fresh and fresh divisions, drawing away some of our more earnest members; our internal disunion, paralyzing our efforts, and wasting our energies; the fewness of those who share in works of piety or charity; our greediness of gain in order to minister to our luxuries; the indifference about holy things openly professed; the absence of any high standard or dislike to it; the appalling strides of a lawless infidelity; these and much besides are saddening proofs of a past and present winter; but the source of our hopes is not in ourselves; we seem ice-bound, but "He bloweth with His Spirit, and the

waters flow ;” the clods of our valleys seem yet hard, but “ He maketh it soft with the drops of rain, and blesseth the increase of it ;” our hope is not in ourselves nor in men ; but that the Lord of the Vineyard is “ looking down ” graciously “ from heaven, beholding, and visiting this Vine, and the vineyard which His right hand planted, and the branch which He made strong for Himself, ’ and that it is He Who is “ sending out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.” A high destiny seems to be yet in store for our Church ; it is for her sake, we may hope, that her and our people are being carried into every corner of the world : certainly, to contrast her state, as she was towards the close of last century, without a single Bishop, out of these Islands, and as she now is every where in possession of her complete Apostolic constitution, though not in the degree she needs it, yet as centres from which she may spread, one has ground to hope that the “ multiplying of the people ” is to “ increase her joy ;” her Bishops shortly will be in every continent as well as in the isles afar off ; her Episcopate (notwithstanding the sore blow which cut off her Irish Bishoprics) is already more than doubled ; she is not dwindling, as sects after a time do, but growing ; in the United States she has been quadrupled, while the population has doubled ; she is there recognized even by those without her, as the only principle of stability in their land ; hearts are turned unto her ; some she has gathered

in ; and it seems only a question of time, when the severed bodies shall be gathered into her, and it shall be seen, when she shall have enfolded the rest within her, which is indeed Moses' rod and given by God, which the formation of man ; every step is an earnest of the final issue ; it seems already to be felt extensively among them, that she alone is the bulwark against Romish errors, and they seem to be preparing to take refuge under her shadow.

And with this outward extension, she is every where giving signs of life ; life in different forms, some regular, some irregular, more or less imperfect, yet still life ; every where her members seem more alive to her true character, and so, we may trust, will more act up to it ; and zeal, which has hitherto so often sought a vent without her, will be concentrated within her, and devote itself, in some allowed way, to remedy the great wants of our people ; her prayers and Communions are again becoming more frequent ; in some places, her two days of humiliation, her Litany days ; elsewhere daily ; her Communions are weekly in some places where they were monthly, and monthly Communions are becoming the ordinary provision even for her village Congregations ; and with increased Communions, they who partake of them are increased also, and there is increased faith and sense of their value, and so, we may trust again, fresh life poured into the Church from the Fountain of life ; her Lents and weekly fasts are more

observed, "self-denial (fasting) and almsgiving, the wings of prayer," are growing; her care for Christ's lambs, her thought of Christ's poor, (deficient as it yet is,) are increasing; there is (as you will have witnessed in this place) a more devout, an humbler spirit than heretofore, even at that most trying period of human life; the deposit of our Faith is more revered; there is a yearning after the holy days of the Church's "first" virgin "love;" our very divisions, we may hope, are marks of earnestness; persons whom I cannot but think to be partially in error, are in reality contending not for the error but for the truth, which is in their minds bound up with it, not against truth, but against some error which they have identified with others' statement of the truth. What God is preparing us for, for doing or for suffering, He only knoweth; yet one cannot but hope that He is preparing us for something; Romanists and Protestants alike have their eyes upon our Church; who knows but that for us may be reserved the office of "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and of the children to the fathers?" A thoughtful Romanist, lately, even when speaking against foreign Protestants, anticipated that if the Church were ever to be again one, it must be through our's, "which being both Catholic and Reformed, had her hands upon both." Only "it is not for" us "to know the times or the seasons which The Father hath put

in His own power ;” much less to anticipate them. Enough that we “ see our signs ;” and that “ the way in which we should go” is “ made plain before our face.” “ A thousand years is with the Lord as one day,” and He can make one day do the work of a thousand years. We have our office plainly marked out for us, (as has been often said,) to labour to act up to the principles of our Church, and to lead others to do the same ; so shall we be formed, and aid (under the Divine grace) to form others in the mould, of “ godliness, righteousness, and soberness of life,” provided in her ; we have but to seek to form ourselves and others in His holy Faith and the keeping of His commandments, and commit our Church and ourselves to Him, to deal with us, as in His Infinite Mercy He may vouchsafe. I cannot but hope, that they too, whose minds have been, from whatever cause, unsettled and tending to Romanism, will yet be stayed, and seeing the hand of God with our Church, “ abide, wherein they have been called, with God,” and forsake not the Church in which they were baptized, but await the end. Change from any Church is an act of solemn responsibility ; much more would it be from one, to which, as our friend has developed, God has given the notes of “ possession, freedom from party-titles, life, ancient descent, unbroken continuance, agreement in doctrine with the ancient Church^a ;” much more

^a British Critic, No. 53. Catholicity of the English Church.

still, when God's hand is visibly with her. To leave her at such a time might be a very wilful and presumptuous act, going, as far as man's wilfulness can, to oppose the Divine counsels and defeat His good purposes; it may be, perhaps, again true, "except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." One must fear too, lest such, voluntarily foregoing the full use of the Holy Eucharist, as it is vouchsafed to them in their own Church, might provoke God to lessen His grace, as rejecting His Gifts. But, as I said, let us act up to the principles of our Church, and these brethren, who, from whatever excuse, have been allowed thus to be tempted of Satan to forsake the Church wherein God placed them, will be in less risk of being led into sin; their mother will not have to lament the loss of those whom she has nourished up and who may be valuable children to her.

It may be long ere the issue comes; at present, the course pointed out to the several Churches seems to be to amend themselves, to become again what they once were, even though imperfect; to "return to their first deeds;" so may they, through repentance and amendment of life, and keeping the commandments, be led to further knowledge of the truth, and in the end be restored to unity, if this blessing be yet in store for the Church. At least such seems the course which things, under God's guidance, are taking. Thus even the Greek Church is again become pro-

selytizing; the Gallican Church is sending out Missionaries and praying for our conversion, shewing her new life, in part, in seeking to extend her own Communion; in Prussia, religion is reviving in connection with Lutheran doctrine; we are being guided back to the principles of our Church; we seem thus to be taught, as our friend concisely said, that “we are to go back, not to go over;” repentance and zeal must come first, union afterwards; union is to be looked for, as God’s gift, to be prayed for, not compassed by man’s device; “it is God that maketh men to be of one mind in a house:” our duties then lie not now towards Rome; our present path and duties are plain;—with ourselves; to fit ourselves to be His instrument: how we may be employed, when fitted, we cannot foresee and so should not forestall; it may be that our first office will be, not with Rome, but with those bodies which were separated from Rome at the same time as ourselves, but were not so signally blessed and preserved; it may be, that through us what is lacking in them to the full gifts of a Church is to be supplied; it may be, that “our light shining before men,” they are thus to be led to “glorify our Father which is in Heaven;” and thus we may be reunited with the rest of Christendom, not alone nor selfishly, but decked with the rich jewelry of them whom we have won back to Primitive Faith and Discipline. It may be too the very way, in which it may please God, that

the rest of the Church Catholic should be brought to love and respect, and seek to be one with us, that we have aided to restore to Catholicity those who have gone away from it. Our office then is with ourselves and within ourselves, ready to do acts of charity to those severed from us, as far as we may without compromise, but not seeking untimely union. Such schemes have been baffled before, when things seemed most favourable, and so, a mark set upon them. As unity is perhaps a means to the greater holiness of the whole Church, so also holiness may be a condition of the restoration of unity. Let us act up to the principles of our Church, and realize her worship, her fastings, her repentance, her humiliations, her praise, her intercessions, her high standard of holy life, her exalted charity; live up to what is evidently Catholic in her; develope, as occasion requires, those Catholic points, which, though she has them, do not lie upon the surface; in a word, be raised to what our Church should be; and who knows but that He Who raises us up, may purify Rome too, and St. Peter be the type of the Church of St. Peter, and her Lord yet cast His gracious look upon her, and she weep bitterly her fall, and she, being "converted, strengthen" her "brethren," and deserve to be restored to the preeminence, which while she deserved, she had; and the Western Church be reunited, not on any plan of human wisdom, of compromise or concession, but in holiness

and Primitive Faith? Who knows, again, whether it may not be His gracious will to reunite His whole Church at once, and why should we then direct our eyes to the Western Church alone, which, even if united in itself, would yet remain sadly maimed, and sadly short of the Oneness she had in her best days, if she continued severed from the Eastern? After a long separation, in which we have not been known by name to the Eastern Church, much less our real character, God seems again to be opening to us ways of kindly intercourse with some portions of her, which must increase love, which will also, under God's blessing, help her to restore the holiness and knowledge of her early years, and therewith, make her wish to understand us better, and be united to us. All union of our distracted Christendom "is impossible with man; with God" it is as "possible," (and one may add it may be as likely to be His will,) to unite His whole Church in one, at once, whenever His time may be, as any single portions of it. We pray that God would "have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and fetch them home to His flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under One Shepherd." why not hope, as we also continually pray, that the whole Church also may visibly become such a fold? that God would "inspire His universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord?" Such longings, (ac-

ording to the heads of good Bishop Andrews' daily intercession,) for the good estate of the "Church Catholic; Eastern; Western; our own," as they set before us a nobler end, so are they more accordant with our Church's feelings as expressed in her Liturgy, and they are safer. The Church Catholic can only be re-united on Catholic principles; the very thought and longing carries us back to her pure days and her Œcumenical Councils, and primitive faith and holiness; it awakens our sympathies only for an object upon which they may rest without risk. On the other hand, longing for re-union with any branch of the Church, as the Roman, naturally tends to make man gloss over the difficulties, and shut their eyes to the actual corruptions, which we should now be called upon to recognise or to sanction; it creates sympathies not for her, as she once was, a "pure Virgin," but for her very defilements: the very fact, that it seems more within the compass of human means, tends to make men impatient of hindrances, which it seems as though God had placed, and desirous to remove them or set them aside in an unholy way. Let us long, not for what may be brought about by a mere blending of our own practical unholiness and short-comings with the corruptions of another Church, thereby to aggravate in the sight of God the very offensiveness of what is severally amiss in us; but rather let us long for what, being evidently beyond the reach of man's device, leads us at once

to the throne of God, thence to expect it from the Great Head of the Church as He would give it, in holiness and holy love. We know not what may be, and so our duty is the easier, not to act as though we knew it; rather to “do with all our might what our hand” now “findeth to do,” not to run before, but to follow after; not to plan or devise for ourselves, but to act where God leads. Be we zealous, earnest, patient, humble; “He Who cometh will come, and will not tarry;” and it may be, “His kingdom” will sooner “come,” if we in our Church follow His gracious guidance.

May God give us grace, in these difficult days, more and more “perfectly to know His Son Jesus Christ to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life, that following the steps of His holy Apostles—we may stedfastly walk in the way that leadeth to eternal life, through the same His Son Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Ever your very affectionate Friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

*Christ Church,
Feast of S. Philip and S. James,
1841.*

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE A. page 109.

Archbishop Ussher on the difference between ancient and modern Invocation of Saints, from his Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, p. 445 sqq.

“—That we may the better understand, and more distinctly apprehend, how far the recommending of men's selves unto the prayers of the Saints, which began to be used in the latter end of the fourth age after Christ, came short of that invocation of Saints, which is at this day practised in the Church of Rome: these special differences may be observed betwixt the one and the other.

“ First, in those elder times, he that prayed silently was thought to honour God in a singular manner; as one that ‘brought^a faith with him, and confessed that God was the searcher of the heart and reins and heard his prayer, before it was poured out of his mouth;’ the understanding of the present secrets of the heart, by the general judgment of the Fathers, being^b no more communicated by Him unto the creatures, than the knowledge of things to come; for before the Day wherein the secrets of the heart shall be manifested, ‘Almighty^c God alone doth behold the hidden things,’ saith St. Hierome, alleging for proof of this, the text Matt. 6, 4. ‘Thy Father That seeth in secret;’ Psalm 7, 9. ‘God searcheth the hearts and reins;’ and 1 Kings 8, 39. ‘Thou only knowest the hearts of all the children of men;’ but now in the Church of Rome mental prayers are presented to the Saints as well as vocal, and they are believed to receive both the one and the other.

“ Secondly, in the former times^d it was a great question, whether at all, or how far, or after what manner, the spirits of the dead did know the things that concerned us here: and con-

^a Amb. de Sacr. vi. 4.

^b Quæst. ad Antioch. ap. Ath. t. 2. p. 303.

^c Hier. l. 5. in Ezech. c. 16. l. 4. in Ezech. c. 14. l. 4. in Jerem. c. 20. l. 1. in Matt. c. 9. Chrys. in Matt. Hom. 29. Gennad. de Eccl. dogm. c. 81. Cass. Collat. 7. c. 13. Sedul. in Rom. 2. Paschas. de Sp. S. ii. 1; et alios passim.

^d Aug. in Ps. 108. enarr. 1.

sequently, whether they pray for us only 'in^e general,' and for the particulars God answereth us according to our several necessities, where, when, and after what manner He pleaseth. Anselmus Laudunensis, in his interlineal gloss upon that text, 'Abraham is ignorant of us and Israel knoweth us not,' (Is. 63, 16.) noteth that Augustine saith, that 'the dead, even the Saints, do not know what the living do, no not their own sons.' And indeed St. Augustine in his book of the care for the dead^f, maketh this inference upon that place of Scripture. 'If such great Patriarchs as these were ignorant, what was done to the people that descended from them, unto whom (believing God) the people itself was promised to come from their stock; how do the dead interpose themselves in knowing and furthering the things and acts of the living?' and afterwards draweth these conclusions from thence, which Hugo^g de Sancto Victore, borrowing from him, hath inserted into his book De spiritu et anima, cap. 29. 'The^h spirits of the dead be there, where they do neither see nor hear the things that are done or fall out to men in this lifeⁱ.' 'Yet have they such a care of the living, although they know not at all what they do, as we have care of the dead, although we know not what they do.' 'The^j dead indeed do not know what is done here while it is here in doing; but afterward they may hear it by such as die and go unto them from hence; yet not altogether, but as much as is permitted to the one to tell, fit for the other to hear. They may know it also by the angels, which be here present with us and carry our souls unto them, they may know also by the revelation of God's Spirit such of the things done here which is necessary for them to know.'—

And then having further shewn that Gratian (Decr. p. 2. caus. 3. qu. 2. c. 29.) holds that the saints do not know what is done here; that P. Lombard holds it not *incredible* that they do, and that "our petitions are made known to them in the Word of God which they contemplate, (l. iv. dist. 45.) that Scotus (ib. q. 4.) and Gab.

^e Aug. de Cur. pro Mort. c. 16. "That the Saints in general are concerned for the Church, and can pray, and do in fact pray for it, is confessed by Melanethou, (Conf. Aug. nrt. de Invoe. Sanct.) Brentius, (Conf. Wirtemb. c. de Inv. Sanct.) Chemnitz (Exam. Conc. Trid. c. 3). Calvin also (Dist. 3. 20, 21, and 24) is not opposed to this opinion." Bellar. de Missâ, ii. 8.

^f c. 13.

^g Lib. de Sp. et An. t. 3. Op. Aug. qui id. est cum l. 2. de Anim. inter. Op. Hug. Vict.

^h In de Cur. pro Mort. c. 13. [the book is later than both, containing extracts from both, see Aug. Opp. t. vi. App. p. 39. ed. Ben. The passages alleged by Abp. Ussher are from a genuine work.]

ⁱ Ib. c. 14.

^j Ib. c. 15.

Biel. (in Can. Miss. lect. 21.) hold it" *probable* that God specially reveals to them prayers made to them, he thus contrasts the positiveness of later writers.

Cardinal Bellarmine^k supposeth, that 'if the Saints should have need thus of a new revelation, the Church would not so boldly say unto all the Saints, 'Pray for us,' but would sometime entreat of God, that he would reveal our prayers unto them.' Yet because 'it seemeth unto him superfluous to desire ordinarily of them that they should pray for us, which cannot ordinarily understand what we do in particular, but know only in general that we are exposed to many dangers;' he resolveth, that, 'although^m there may be some doubt, in what manner the Saints may know things that be absent, and which are sometimes delivered by the affection of the heart alone; yet it is certain that they do know them.' 'And you must note,' says Dr. Pesantiusⁿ, 'that this is to be held for a point of faith, that the Saints do know the prayers, which we pour unto them, *because* otherwise they should be made in vain.' So that to make good the Popish manner of praying unto Saints, that which was at the first but probable and problematical, must now be held to be *de fide* and an undoubted axiom of divinity.

"Thirdly, in the Popish invocation, formal and absolute prayers are tendered to the Saints, but the compellations of them used at first, were commonly either wishes only or requests of the same nature with those which are in this kind usually made unto the living; where the requester is oftentimes superior to him whose prayers he desireth, (which standeth not well with the condition of prayer properly so called,) and they that are requested, be evermore accounted in the number of those that pray for us, but none of those that are prayed unto by us. Of this you may hear, if you please, what one of the more moderate Romanists writeth. 'If^o it were lawful for the Prophet to call to the Angels and the whole host of Heaven, and to exhort them that they would praise God, which notwithstanding they do continually without any one admonishing them, whereby nothing else but a certain abundance of desire of the amplifying of God's glory is declared: why may it not be lawful also out of a certain abundance of godly desire to call upon those blessed spirits which by the society of the same body are conjoined with us; and to exhort them, that they should do that, which we believe they otherwise do of themselves?' That to say, 'All ye

^k De Eccl. Triumph. l. 1. c. 20.

^l Id. de Purg. 2. 15.

^m l. 1. c. 20. ut sup.

ⁿ In 1. pt. Thom. Quæst. 12. art. 10. Disp. 7. Conc. 6.

^o G. Cassand. Schol. in Hymn. Eccl. Op. p. 224.

Saints, pray unto God for me;' should import as much, as if it were said, 'Would to God, that all the Saints did pray unto God for me!' 'I wish earnestly that all the Saints should pray to God for me.' Thus writeth Cassander, in his notes upon the ancient ecclesiastical hymns, published by him in the year 1556, who being challenged for this by some others of that side, added this further to give them better satisfaction, 'When^p I did see that it was not necessary that we should hold that the Saints do understand our prayers; I thought it was sufficient to put back the calumnies of some, if we should say that these interpellations might be expounded by way of wishing or desiring: which hath less absurdity in it, and is agreeable to the examples of the holy Scriptures. But if any man would have such compellations as these to be taken also for an intimation of the desire, and a direct speaking unto them, I do not gainsay it. Notwithstanding I would think that a tacit condition ought to be understood in such an intimation: such as Gregory Nazianzen doth express in the formal oration of his sister Gorgonia when he saith, if thou hast any care at all of our speeches, and holy souls receive this honour from God, that they have notice of such things as these, do thou accept this oration of ours.'

Then, having shewn that even "in the very darkest times of the Papacy" "some famous men" were related to have thought such prayers superfluous, "many" that they were only prayers to God "that the merits of the Saints may help us," not properly to themselves, he adds a

"Fourth difference betwixt the Popish prayers and the interpellations used in the ancient time. For by the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, the Saints in Heaven are not only made joint petitioners with us, (as the Saints are upon earth,) but also our attorneys and advocates; who carry the suit for us, not by the pleading of Christ's merits alone, but by bringing in their own merits likewise, upon the consideration of the dignity or condignity whereof it is believed, that God yieldeth to the motions they make unto Him on our behalf. 'We^q pray unto the Saints (saith the Master of the Sentences) that they may intercede for us, that is to say, that their merits may help us, and that they may will our good; for they willing it, God doth will it, and so it will be effected.' 'We ought to intreat the Apostles and the other Saints (saith Hugo^r de Prato) in all our necessities; because they are our advocates and the means

^p Id. Ep. 19. ad Molin. p. 1109.

^q Petr. Lombard. Sent. l. 4. Dist. 45. and Jacob. de Vitriac. in Lit. maj.

^r Serm. 35.

betwixt us and God, by whom God hath ordained to bestow all things upon us.' 'Because it is a thing fitting,' (saith Scotus[†]), 'that he that is in bliss should be a coadjutor with God in procuring the salvation of the elect according to such manner as this may agree unto him; and to this it is requisite that our prayers, which are offered unto him, should especially be revealed unto him, because they lean especially upon the merits of him as of a mediator bringing us to the salvation which is sought for; therefore it is probable that God doth specially reveal unto him that is in bliss such of our prayers as are offered unto him or unto God in his name.' But this is an open derogation to the high prerogative of our Saviour's meritorious intercession, and a manifest encroachment upon the great office of mediation, which the most religious and learned among those Fathers, who desired to be recommended unto the prayers of the Saints, were so careful to preserve entire unto Him. 'For what is so proper to Christ,' saith S. Ambrose[‡], 'as to stand by God the Father for an Advocate of the people?' 'He is the Priest,' saith S. Augustin[§], 'who being now entered within the veil, Alone there of them that have been partakers of the flesh, doth make intercession for us.'—

"Fifthly, the recommendation of men's selves unto the prayers of the Saints deceased, which was at first admitted in the ancient Church, did no way impeach the confidence and boldness which we have gotten in Christ, to make our immediate approach to the throne of Grace; which by the invocation of Saints, now taught in the Church of Rome, is very much impaired. For to induce men to the practice of this, the great Majesty of God and the severity of His justice is propounded unto poor sinners on the one hand, and the consideration of their own baseness and unworthiness on the other. Whereupon it is inferred, that as well for the manifesting their reverence for God's Majesty, as the testifying of their submissness and humility, they should seek to God by the mediation of His Saints; like as men do seek unto the king by the mediation of his servants. Which motives can have no more force to encourage men to the invocation of Saints, than they have to discharge them from the immediate invocation of God and His Christ. So among the causes alleged by Alexander of Hales^{*}, why we ought to pray unto the Saints; one is 'in respect of our want in contemplating, that we who are not able to behold the highest Light in Itself, may contemplate it in His Saints;' another 'in respect of our 'want in loving: because we miserable men (miserable men indeed that do so) or some of us, at least, are more affected

[†] In 4. Sent. Dist. 45. Quæst. 4.

[‡] In Ps. 39.

[§] In Ps. 64.

^{*} Summ. pt. 4. Quæst. 26. memb. 3. art. 5.

sometimes unto some Saint, than unto our Lord Himself; and therefore God, having compassion on our misery, is pleased that we should pray unto His Saints;’ and a third ‘in respect of the reverence of God; that a sinner who hath offended God, because he dareth not to come unto Him in his own person, may have recourse unto the Saints by imploring their patronage.’ The like we read in Gabriel Biel^y, handling the same argument. ‘This is a singular consolation (saith he) to sinners, who have oftentimes more mind to the interpellation of the Saints than of the Judge: whose defect of holiness also, other men’s goodness is able to supply:’ and it maketh^z ‘for the reverence of God, that a sinner who hath offended God, as it were, not daring for the dross of his sin to appear in his proper person, before the most high and dreadful Majesty, should have recourse unto the Saints, who are most pure and grateful to God: who may present the sinner’s prayers unto the Most High, and by adjoining their merits and prayers thereunto, might make the same more fit for the audience, more pleasing and more grateful.’ Therefore, Salmeron^a, the Jesuit, sticketh not to deliver his opinion plainly; that the praying unto God by the Saints seemeth to him better than the praying unto Him immediately, as for other reasons, ‘so because the Church, which hath the Spirit of Christ; (though St. Augustine surely would have judged such a Church to have been led by the spirit of Antichrist rather than of Christ;) ‘most frequently hath recourse unto God by the Saints, but cometh more rarely unto God by itself;’ and also because the praying of God by the invocation of Saints doth argue greater humility; as may be seen in the Centurion, (Luke 7, 6. 7.)’ whereunto he applieth also the saying of David, ‘He hath had a respect to the prayer of the humble, and did not despise their prayers;’ and of Judith, ‘The prayer of the humble and meek hath always pleased Thee.’

“Thus in the days of the Apostles themselves, under the pretence of humility^c, some laboured to bring into the Church ‘the worshipping of Angels,’ which carried with it ‘a shew of wisdom,’ (as St. Paul speaketh of it,) and such a shew as was not far unlike unto that wherewith our Romish Doctors do cozen simple people nowadays. ‘For this’ (saith Theodoret^d) ‘did they counsel should be done,’ (namely, that men should pray unto Angels,) ‘pretending humility, and saying that the God of all things was invisible and inaccessible and incomprehensible,

^y In Canon. Miss. Lect. 30.

^z Lect. 31.

^a In 1 Tim. 2. Disp. 7. sect. ult.

^b Ps. 102, 17. Judith 9, 16.

^c Coloss. 2, 18, 23.

^d In Col. 2.

and that it was fit we should procure God's favour by the means of angels,' whereas St. Chrysostom ^e, treating of Christian humility, sheweth that the faithful who are furnished with that grace, do notwithstanding 'ascend beyond the highest tops of heaven, and passing by the Angels present themselves before the regal throne itself.—

"Sixthly, The Romanists repose such confidence in the intercession of the saints, that they look to receive far greater benefit by them, than by their own prayers. Which conceit how distasteful it was to the ancient Doctors, St. Chrysostom ^f may be a sufficient witness, who laboured exceedingly to root out this erroneous opinion, when it first began to shew itself in his time. And therefore he is bold to affirm, not only that we have no such needs of others, that we may entreat by them, but also that God then doth most, when we do not use the entreaties of others.—

"Seventhly and principally it is to be considered, that invocation is attributed to Saints in the Church of Rome as a part of the worship due unto them: yea as *eximium adorationis genus*, (for so doth Cardinal Bellarmine ^g pronounce it to be,) 'an eminent kind of adoration.' For 'we do not honour the Saints' (saith Azorius ^h the Jesuit) 'with that worship only wherewith we do men that excel in virtue, wisdom, power, or any other dignity, but also with Divine worship and honour which is an act of Religion. For that worship which is given to men of excellency, is an act and office not of Religion, but of another inferior virtue, which is called observance.' And whereas it is as clear as the noon-day, that the giving of divine honour and worship unto any creature is flat idolatry, the poor man weeneth that he and his fellows may be excused from being idolaters, because they do not give divine worship and honour unto the Saints for themselves, but for God Who hath made them Saints: as if God, Who cannot endure that His glory should be given unto another, would be mocked with such toys as these. Indeed they were wont heretofore to delude men commonly with an idle distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria* ⁱ, but now, 'it ^k is the opinion of the most and the wisest of them, that it is one and the selfsame virtue of Religion which containeth both *Latria* and *Dulia*.' Whereas it hath been the constant doctrine of the ancient Church, that all religious worship (whereof prayer by the judgment of all men, as well Heathen as Christian, hath been always esteemed to be an

^e In Matt. Hom. 65.

^f In Act. 16. Hom. 36.

^g Præf. in Controv. de Eccl. Triumph.

^h Instt. Mor. t. 1. l. ix. c. 10.

ⁱ They are used as equivalent, Constt. Ap. iii. 7.

^k Nic. Serarius Litanæut. 2. q. 27. fin.

especial part) is so properly due to God Alone, that without committing of idolatry it cannot be communicated to any creature. For 'in the Catholic Church it is divinely and singularly delivered, that no creature is to be worshipped by the soul, but He only Who is the Creator of all things,' saith St. Augustine^k. And therefore the ancient Doctors, who thought it not amiss that men should recommend themselves unto the prayers of the Saints departed, held it a thing intolerable notwithstanding, to impart unto any man or angel the worship of invocation. For to request the help of the prayers of our fellow servants is one thing, and to worship them with the service of invocation is another; as may be seen in the case of our brethren here on earth, who may not refuse the former without the violation of charity, nor accept the latter at our hands without an open breach of piety.

"Now that the Fathers judged nootherwise of prayer than hath been said, this may be one good argument; that when they define it, they do it with express reference to God and no other, as may be seen in those five several definitions thereof which Bellarmine himself repeateth out of them.

Then, having set these down, and having shewn that the Council of Laodicea anathematized such as invocated Angels^l, and produced sayings from the Fathers to the effect that God only is to be invocated, and "condemning the worship of Angels or any other creature whatsoever," he gives the following sad details from the later ages, and these the more melancholy, since they are not obscure individuals, but men great in their day, who so speak, evidencing how deeply seated these corruptions were in the later Church;

'There^m wanted not such as would interpret that speech of the Angel unto the holy Virgin, 'Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee:' of the equality of her empire with her Son's; as if it had been said, 'Even as He, so thou also dost enjoy the same most excellent dignity of ruling. Inⁿ the redundance and effusion of grace upon the creatures, the Lord's power and will are so accommodated unto thine, that thou mightest seem to be the first in that both diadem and tribunal. The Lord is with thee: not so much thou with the Lord, as the Lord is with thee, in that function.' Then it was taught for good Divinity, that 'from^o the time wherein the Virgin-mother did conceive in her womb

^k De quant. anim. c. 34. add de mor. Eccl. Cath. c. 30.

^l The Latin Canonists substituted "angulos" for angelos."

^m Eman. de Valle de Moura S.T.P. ac Inquisit. Deputatus, Opusc. 1. de Incantat. l. Ensalimis, s. l. c. l. n. 46.

ⁿ Ib.

^o Bern. Sen. Serm. 61. art. l. c. 8.

the Word of God, she hath obtained such a kind of jurisdiction (so to speak) or authority in all the temporal procession of the Holy Ghost, that no creature hath obtained any grace or virtue from God, but according to the dispensation of His holy Mother;" that "because^p she is the Mother of the Son of God Who doth produce the Holy Ghost, therefore all the gifts, virtues and graces of the Holy Ghost are by her hands administered to whom she pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth." That she^q hath singularly obtained of God this office from eternity; as herself doth testify, Prov. viii. 23. 'I was ordained from everlasting,' namely, a dispenser of celestial graces; and that in^r this respect, Cant. vii. 4. it is said of her, 'Thy neck is a tower of ivory,' because that as by the neck the vital spirits do descend from the head into the body; so by the Virgin the vital graces are transmitted from Christ the Head into His mystical body, the fulness of grace being in Him, as in the head from whence the influence cometh, and in her as in the neck through which it is transfused unto us; so that take away the patronage of the Virgin, you stop as it were the sinner's breath that he is not able to live any longer.

"Then men stuck not to teach, that unto her "all^t power was given in heaven and in earth." So that for "heaven" when our Saviour ascended thither, this might be assigned for one reason (among others) why He left His mother behind Him, "lest" perhaps the Court of Heaven might have been in a doubt whom they should rather go to meet, their Lord or their Lady;" and for "earth" she^x might rightly apply unto herself that in the first of Ezra "all the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord given unto me." And we may say unto her again that in Tobit xiii. "Thy kingdom endureth for all ages." And in the cxliv. or cxlv. Psalm, "Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all ages." That howsoever she was "the^y noblest person that was or ever should be in the World, and of so great perfection, that although she had not been the Mother of God, she ought nevertheless to have been the Lady of the world; yet according to the laws whereby the world is governed, by the right of inheritance she did deserve the principality and king-

^p Id. ib.

^q Id. ib. art. 3. c. 3.

^r Id. ib. art. 1. c. 8. art. 2. c. 10. ex Pseudo-Hieron. Serm. de Assumpt. Mariæ. Jo. Herolt. in Serm. Discip. de Temp. Serm. 163. Blas. Viegas in Apoc. c. 12. Comm. 2. s. 10. n. 1. 2.

^s Viegas, ib. s. 2. n. 6.

^t P. Damian. Serm. 1. de Nat. B. Mariæ. t. 5. Surii Sept. 8.

^u Anselm de Excell. B. Virg. c. 7. and following him, Bern. de Bust. in Mariali, p. 11. Serm. 1. p. 3. and Seb. Barrad. Jesuit. Conc. Evang. vi. 11.

^x Bern. de Bust. 1 c. pt. 12. Serm. 1. pt. 1.

^y Bern. Sen. Serm. 61. art. 1. c. 7.

dom of this world." That "Christ^m never made any legacy of His Monarchy: because that could not be done without the prejudice of His Mother; and He knew besides that the Mother could make void the Testament of the Son, if it were made unto her prejudice. And therefore that by all this it appeareth most evidently, that Mary the Mother of Jesus by right of inheritance hath the regal dominion over all that be under God." That "asⁿ many creatures do serve the glorious Virgin Mary, as serve the Trinity. Namely, all creatures, whatsoever degree they hold among the things created (whether they be spiritual as angels, or rational as men, or corporal as the heavenly bodies or the elements) and all things that are in heaven or in earth, whether they be the damned or the blessed; all which being brought under the government of God, are subject likewise unto the glorious Virgin, forasmuch as He Who is the Son of God and of the blessed Virgin, being willing as it were to equal in some sort His Mother's sovereignty unto the sovereignty of His Father, even He Who was God did serve His Mother upon earth. Whence Luke ii. 51. it is written of the Virgin and glorious Joseph: 'He was subject unto them,' that as the proposition is true, All things are subject to God's command, even the Virgin herself: so this again is true also, All things are subject to the command of the Virgin, even God Himself." That "considering^o the blessed Virgin is the Mother of God and God is her Son, and every son is naturally inferior to his mother, and subject unto her, and the mother hath preeminence and is superior to her son; it therefore followeth that the blessed Virgin is superior to God, and God Himself is subject unto her in respect of the Manhood which He assumed from her," that "howsoever^p she be subject unto God inasmuch as she is a creature: yet is she said to be superior and preferred before Him, inasmuch as she is His Mother."

"Then men were put in mind that "by^q sinning after Baptism they seemed to contemn and despise the Passion of Christ: and so that no sinner doth deserve that Christ should any more make intercession for him to the Father: without whose intercession none can be delivered either from the eternal punishment or the temporal, nor from the fault which he hath voluntarily committed. And therefore that it was necessary that Christ should constitute His well-beloved Mother a Mediatrix betwixt us and Him," "and' so in this our pilgrimage there is no other

^m Id. ib.

ⁿ Id. ib. c. 6.

^o Bern. de Bust. Marial. p. 9. Sermon. 2.

^p Id. p. 2. Sermon. 2.

^q Jac. de Valent. Episc. Christopol. in expos. Cant. V. Mariæ Magnificat.

^r Id. ib.

refuge left unto us in our tribulations and adversities but to have recourse unto the Virgin Mary our Mediatrix; that she would appease the wrath of her Son." That "as^s He is ascended into heaven to appear in the sight of God for men; (Heb. ix. 24.) so she ought to ascend thither to appear in the sight of her Son for sinners; that so mankind might have always before the face of God, a help like unto Christ for the procuring of his salvation." That "this^t Empress is of so great authority in the palace of Heaven, that it is lawful to appeal unto her from any grievance, all other intermedial Saints omitted."—"That" she is a Chancellor in the court of heaven, and giveth letters of mercy only in this present life; but for the souls that depart from hence, unto some letters of pure grace, unto others of simple justice, and unto some mixed of justice and grace. For some (say they) were much devoted unto her: and unto them she giveth letters of pure grace, whereby she commandeth glory to be given them, without any pain of Purgatory. Others were miserable sinners and not devoted to her; and unto them she giveth letters of simple justice, whereby she commandeth that condign punishment be taken of them. Others were lukewarm and remiss in devotion; and to them she giveth letters of justice and grace together: whereby she commandeth that both favour be done unto them, and yet some pain of Purgatory be inflicted upon them for their negligence and sluggishness." And these things they say "are signified in Queen Esther; who wrote letters that the Jews should be saved, and the enemies should be killed, and to the poor small gifts should be given." Yea further also, where^s King Ahasuerus did proffer unto the said Esther even the half of his kingdom, (Esther v. 3.) thereby (they say) was signified that God bestowed half of His Kingdom upon the blessed Virgin. "That having justice and mercy as the chiefest goods of His Kingdom, He retained Justice unto Himself, and granted Mercy unto her:" and "therefore^t that if a man do find himself aggrieved in the Court of God's Justice, he may appeal to the Court of Mercy of His Mother," she being that 'throne of grace' whereof the Apostle speaketh (Heb. iv. 16.), 'Let us go boldly unto the throne^s of Grace, that we may receive Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need.' They tell us that^a it is for the ornament of an earthly Kingdom, that

^s Bern. de Bust. Marial. p. 11. Sermon. 2. memb. 1.

^t Id. p. 3. Sermon. 3. in Excell. 4.

^u Id. p. 12. Sermon. 2. memb. 1. in. Excell. 22.

^x Gabr. Biel. in Can. Missæ. lect. 80. vid. Joh. Gerson. tract 4. sup. Magnificat.

^y Bern. de Bust. Marial. p. 3. Sermon. 3. in Excell. 4.

^z Id. ib. Exc. 5. and p. 5. Sermon. 7. in fin.

^a Id. p. 9. Sermon. 2.

it should have both a King and a Queen, and therefore when any king hath not a wife, his subjects often do request him to take one. Hereupon they say, that the eternal King and omnipotent Emperor, minding to adorn the kingdom of Heaven above, did frame this blessed Virgin, to the end He might make her the lady and Empress of His kingdom and empire; that the prophecy of David might be verified, saying unto her in the Psalm: 'Upon Thy right hand did stand the Queen in clothing of gold.' That "she^b is an Empress because she is the spouse of the eternal Emperor: of Whom it is said, (John iii. 29.) He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom, and that when God did deliver unto her the empire of the world and all the things contained therein, He said unto her that which we read in the first of the *Æneids* :

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
Imperium sine fine dedi.

"That she is "the Empress^c also of heaven and earth, because she did bear the heavenly Emperor; and therefore that she can ask of Him what she will, and obtain it. That this was figured in the history of the Kings, where the mother of Solomon said unto him: 'I desire one petition of thee, do not confound my face:' for then should He confound her face if He did deny that which she requested;" and that "if in respect of her maternal jurisdiction she hath command of her Son Who was subject unto her: (as we read, Luke ii. 51.) then much more hath she command over all the creatures that are subject to her Son." That "this^d mighty God did (as far as He might) make His Mother partner of His Divine Majesty and power; giving unto her of old the sovereignty both of celestial things and mortal; ordering at her pleasure (as the patronage of men did require) the earth, the seas; Heaven and Nature; at her liking, and by her, bestowing on mortal men His Divine treasures and heavenly gifts. So as all might understand that whatsoever doth flow into the earth from that eternal and glorious fountain of good things, doth flow by Mary." That "she^e is constituted over every creature; and whosoever boweth his knee unto Jesus, doth fall down also and supplicate unto His Mother; so that the glory of the Son may be judged, not so much to be common with the Mother as to be the very same." That

^a Id. P. 3. Serm. 3. Exceil. 4.

^b Id. Ib.

^d Horat. Turselin. Jesuit. and in Ep. Dedic. Hist. Lauret. ad Card. Aldobrandinum.

^e Arnold. Carnot. Tract. de Laud. Virg.

“ so great is her glory that she exceedeth the nature of Angels and men joined together, as far in glory, as the circumference of the firmament exceedeth his centre in magnitude, when she understandeth herself in her Son to be, as His other self, clothed with the Deity.” That she being “ the Mother^s of God doth assume unto herself of the omnipotency of her Son (upon which she leaneth) as much as she pleaseth.” And that she “ doth^h come before the golden altar of human reconciliation not intreating only but commanding; a Mistress, not a Maid.” They tell us that the blessed Virgin herself appeared once unto Thomas Becket and used this speech unto him, “ Rejoiceⁱ and be glad and be joyful with me: because my glory doth excel the dignity and joy of all the Saints and all the blessed spirits; and I alone have greater glory than all the Angels and Saints together. Rejoice, because that as the Sun doth enlighten the day and the world, so my brightness doth enlighten the whole celestial world. Rejoice, because the whole host of Heaven obeyeth me, reverenceth and honoureth me. Rejoice, because my Son is always obedient unto me and my will, and all my prayers He always heareth.” (Or as others^k do relate it, “ The will of the Blessed Trinity and mine is one and the same; and whatsoever doth please me the whole Trinity with unspeakable favour doth give consent unto.”) “ Rejoice, because God doth always at my pleasure reward my servitors in this world, and in the world to come. Rejoice, because I sit next to the holy Trinity, and am clothed with my body glorified. Rejoice, because I am certain and sure that these my joys shall always stand, and never be finished or fail. And whosoever by rejoicing with these spiritual joys shall worship me in this world, at the time of the departure of his soul out of the body, he shall obtain my presence; and I will deliver his soul from the malignant enemies, and present it in the sight of my Son, that it may possess joys with me.” They tell us that “ many (many whores^l for example, that would not sin on Saturday for the reverence of the Virgin, whatsoever they did on the Lord’s day) seem to have the blessed Virgin in greater veneration than Christ her Son; moved thereunto out of simplicity more than out of knowledge. Yet that the Son of God doth bear with the simplicity of these men and women, because He is not ignorant that the honour of the Mother doth redound to the Child.” (Prov. xvii. 6.) They argue further that “ if^m a Cardinal have this

^f Bern. de Bust. Marial. P. 12. Serm. 2. Excell. 21.

^g Id. P. 12. Serm. 2. Excell. 28.

^h P. Damian. Serm. 1. de Nat. B. Mariæ.

ⁱ Bern. de Bust. Marial. P. 20. Serm. 2. sect. ult.

^k Promptuar. Discipuli de Miraculis B. Mariæ, Exempl. 14. p. 8. ed. Mogunt. 1612.

^l Bern. de Bust. P. 6. Serm. 2. Memb. 3.

^m Id. P. 12. Serm. 1. Memb. 3.

privilege, that if he put his cap upon the head of one that is led unto justice, he is freed thereby: then by an argument drawn from the stronger, the cloak of the blessed Virgin is able to deliver us from all evil, her mercy being so large, that if she should see any man who did devoutly make her crown (that is to say, repeat the rosary or chaplet of prayers made for her worship) to be drawn unto punishment in the midst of a thousand devils; she would presently rescue him, and not permit that any one should have an evil end, who did study reverently to make her crown." They add moreover, that "for every of these crowns a man shall obtain 273758 days of indulgence: and that Pope Sixtus the Fourth granted an indulgence of 12,000 years for every time that a man in the state of grace should repeat this short orizon or salutation of the Virgin, which by many is inserted into her crowns 'Hail, most holy Mary, the mother of God, the queen of Heaven, the gate of Paradise, the Lady of the world. Thou art a singular and pure Virgin: thou didst conceive Christ without sin: thou didst bear the Creator and Saviour of the world, in Whom I do not doubt. Deliver me from all evil, and pray for my sins. Amen.'" In the crowns composed by Bonaventure, this is one of the orizons that is prescribed to be said, 'O^k Empress, and our most kind Lady, by the authority of a mother command thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would vouchsafe to lift up our minds from the love of earthly unto heavenly desires;' which is suitable to that versicle, which we read in the 35th Psalm of this Lady's Psalter; 'Incline † the countenance of God upon us, compel Him to have mercy upon sinners,' the harshness whereof our Romanists have a little qualified in some of their editions, reading thus, "Incline † the countenance of thy Son upon us, compel Him by thy prayers to have mercy upon us sinners." The Psalms of this Psalter do all of them begin as David's do, but with this main difference, that where the Prophet in the one aimeth at the advancement of the honour of our Lord, the Friar in the other applieth all to the magnifying of the power and goodness of our Lady. So in the first Psalm: Blessed is the man (quoth Bonaventure) that loveth thy name, O Virgin Mary, thy grace shall comfort his soul; and in the others following; Ladyⁿ, how are they multiplied that trouble me? with thy tempest shalt thou persecute and scatter them. Lady^o, suffer me not to be rebuked in the fury of God, nor to be judged in His wrath. My Lady^p, in thee have I put my trust: deliver me from my enemies,

^l Hb. ^k Bonaventura Corona B. M. V. Opp. t. 6. Romæ, 1588.
^l Psalt. B. M. V. 26. ^m Psalt. Bonaventuræ seorsim editæ. Paris. 1596, in Chapletto Dominicæ 2. ⁿ Ps. 3. ^o Ps. 6. ^p Ps. 7.

O Lady. In our Lady^p put I my trust; for the sweetness of the mercy of her name. How^q long wilt thou forget me, O Lady, and not deliver me in the day of tribulation? Preserve^r me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust: and impart unto me the drops of thy grace. I^s will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth, and I will call upon thy name among the nations. 'The heavens^t declare thy glory: and the fragrance of thine ointments is spread among the nations.' Hear^u us, Lady, in the day of trouble; and turn thy merciful face unto our prayers. Unto thee^v, O Lady, have I lifted up my soul: in the judgment of God, by thy prayers, I shall not be ashamed. Judge me^w, Lady, for I have departed from my innocency, but because I will trust in thee, I shall not be weakened. In thee^x, O Lady, have I put my trust, let me never be confounded: in thy favour receive me. Blessed^y are they whose hearts do love thee, O Virgin Mary; their sins by thee shall mercifully be washed away. Lady^z, judge those that hurt me: and rise up against them and plead my cause. Waiting^a have I waited for thy grace; and thou hast done unto me according to the multitude of the mercy of thy name. Lady^b, thou art our refuge in all our necessities; and the powerful strength treading down the enemy. Have mercy^c upon me, O Lady, who art called the mother of mercy, and according to the bowels of thy mercies, cleanse me from all mine iniquities. Save me^d, Lady, by thy name and deliver me from mine unrighteousness. Have mercy^e upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me: because my heart is prepared to search out thy will, and in the shadow of thy wings will I rest. Let^f Mary arise; and let her enemies be scattered: let them all be trodden down under her feet. In thee^g, O Lady, have I put my trust, let me never be put to confusion: deliver me in thy mercy, and cause me to escape. Give^h the King thy judgment, O God, and thy mercy to the Queen His Mother. Ladyⁱ, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou by thy merits hast confederated unto Christ. Thy mercies^j, O Lady, will I sing for ever. God^k is the Lord of revenges, but thou the mother of mercy dost bow Him to take pity. O come^l let us sing unto our Lady; let us make a joyful noise to Mary, our Queen, that brings salvation. O sing^m unto our Lady a new song, for she hath done marvellous things. Oⁿ give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good: give thanks unto His Mother, for her mercy endureth for ever. Lady^o, despise not my praise: and vouchsafe to accept

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| p Ps. 10. | q Ps. 13. | r Ps. 16. | s Ps. 18. | t Ps. 19. |
| u Ps. 20. | x Ps. 25. | y Ps. 26. | z Ps. 31. | a Ps. 32. |
| b Ps. 35. | c Ps. 40. | d Ps. 46. | e Ps. 51. | f Ps. 54. |
| g Ps. 57. | h Ps. 68. | i Ps. 71. | k Ps. 72. | l Ps. 79. |
| m Ps. 89. | n Ps. 94. | o Ps. 95. | p Ps. 98. | q Ps. 107 and 118. |
| r Ps. 109. | | | | |

this Psalter which is dedicated unto thee. The⁶ Lord said unto our Lady, Sit thou, My mother, at My right hand. They⁷ that trust in thee, O mother of God, shall not fear from the face of the enemy. Except⁸ our Lady build the house of our heart, the building thereof will not continue. Blessed⁹ are all they who fear our Lady, and blessed are all they who know to do thy will and thy good pleasure. Out¹⁰ of the deep have I cried unto thee, O Lady: lady, hear my voice. Lady², remember David, and all that call upon thy name. O³ give thanks unto the Lord, because He is good: because by His most sweet Mother the Virgin Mary is His mercy given. Blessed be thou⁴, O Lady, which teachest thy servants to war, and strengthenest them against the enemy. And so the last Psalm is begun with, Praise our Lady in her Saints, praise her in her virtues and miracles; and ended accordingly, with, *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominam nostram*; Let every spirit (or every thing that hath breath) praise our Lady.”

To this we may adjoin the Psalter^c of the salutations of the Virgin, framed by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is not yet printed. His preface he beginneth thus: ‘I purpose to write the praises of the Holy Virgin; who delivers us from prison through her Son, quickening our whole race by a work wondrous in efficacy:’ and endeth with a prayer to the Blessed Virgin, ‘that she would release the sins of all those for whom he prayed, and cause both his own name and theirs to be written in the book of life.’ Then followeth his first Psalm: wherein he prayeth, that ‘she would make us to meditate often God’s law,’ and, afterwards ‘to be made blessed in the glory of God’s kingdom.’ His other 149 Psalms (which are fraught with the same kind of stuff) I pass over. But Bernardinus de Senis^d, his boldness may not be forgotten; who thinketh that “God will give him leave to maintain, that the Virgin Mary did more unto Him, or at least as much, as He Himself did unto all mankind, and that we may say for our comfort, (forsooth) that in respect of the blessed Virgin (whom God Himself did make notwithstanding), God after a sort is more bound unto us, than we are unto Him.” With which absurd and wretched speculation, Bernardinus de Busti^e after him was so well pleased, that he dareth to revive again this odious comparison.—“But O most grateful Virgin, didst not thou something to God. Didst not thou make Him any recompence? Truly, (if it be lawful to speak it) thou in some respect didst

⁶ Ps. 110.⁷ Ps. 125.⁸ Ps. 127.⁹ Ps. 128.¹⁰ Ps. 130.² Ps. 132.³ Ps. 136.⁴ Ps. 144.^c Called by J. Pits, de Ill. Angl. Script. p. 380. Psalter. Medit. B. Marie.^d Sermon. 61. art. 1. c. 11.^e Marial, p. 6. Sermon. 2. memb. 3.

greater things to God, than God Himself did to thee and to all mankind. I will therefore speak that, which thou out of thy humility hast past in silence. For thou only didst sing, 'He that is mighty hath done to me great things,' but I do sing and say, that 'thou hast done greater things to Him that is mighty.'" Neither is that vision much better, which the same author f reciteth as shewed to St. Francis, or (as others^g would have it) to his companion Friar Lion; touching the two ladders that reached from earth to heaven; the one red, upon which Christ leaned, from whence many fell backward and could not ascend; the other white, upon which the holy Virgin leaned: the help whereof such as used, were by her received with a cheerful countenance, and so with facility ascended into Heaven. Neither yet that sentence, which came first from Anselm^h, and was after him used by Ludolphus Saxoⁱ the Carthusian, and Chrysostomus à Visitatione^k the Cistercian Monk: that "more present relief is sometimes found by commemorating the name of Mary, than by calling upon the Name of our Lord Jesus her only Son." Which one of our Jesuits^l is so far from being ashamed to defend, that he dareth to extend it further to the mediation of other Saints also; telling us very peremptorily, that "as our Lord Jesus worketh greater miracles by His Saints than by Himself (John xiv. 12.) so, often He sheweth the force of their intercession more than of His own."

All which I do lay down thus largely^m, not because I take any delight in rehearsing those things, which deserve rather to be

^f Ib. p. 9. Serm. 2. assim. 2.

^g Spec. vit. Fransisci et socior. ej. p. 2. c. 45. Spec. exempl. dist. 7. exempl. 41.

^h de Excell. B. Virg. c. 6.

ⁱ de Vita Christi, p. 2. c. 60.

^k de Verb. Dominae, t. 2. l. 2. c. 2.

^l H. Fitz-Simon of the Mass, l. 2. p. 2. c. 3.

^m Melancholy as all this, it is only a specimen of what might be produced; thus Whitaker (adv. Camp. Rat. 9. p. 44.) quotes from the Prosa Missæ de Concept. "Thou art the sure hope of the miserable, truly the mother of the parentless, thou art the relief of the oppressed, the medicine of the weak, *thou art all things to all*;" and from a book of "hours" entitled the Hist. sec. chorum August. de Comm. Beatiss. Virg. Mariæ (Opp. p. 219.) framed, (which is the more shocking) on the Magnificat, which it corrects, "Rejoice, heavenly Lady, exalt and magnify God thy Saviour, Who made thee alone of thy kind; thou willedst to call thyself the 'handmaiden' of Jesus Christ, but as the Divine law teaches, thou art Mistress over Him (tu ipsius es Domina) for right and reason have it, that the mother should be set over (præesse) the son; therefore pray suppliantly and direct with authority (præcipe sublimiter) that in the eventide of the world He lead us to the kingdoms above;" and "Thou alone peerless whom the Lord chose to be mediatrix between God and man, &c." and in "the Office to her, reformed by Pius V." "Mary mother of grace, mother of mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us at the hour of death."

buried in everlasting oblivion; but first, that the world may take notice, what kind of monster is nourished in the Papacy under that strange name of Hyperdulia: the bare discovery whereof, I am persuaded, will prevail as much with a mind that is touched with any zeal of God's honour, as all other arguments and authorities whatsoever. Secondly, that such unstable souls as look back upon Sodom and have a lust to return unto Egypt again, may be advised to look a little into this sink, and consider with themselves, whether the steam that ariseth from thence be not so noisome, that it is not to be endured by one that hath any sense left in him of piety. And thirdly, that such as be established in the present truth, may be thankful to God for this great mercy vouchsafed unto them.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the above has been in type, I have been furnished with a melancholy confirmation of the truth of Mr. Newman's words, that the "received doctrine of the Roman schools of that day" is "unhappily that of this day too;" that

"The present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity—it does seem to me as a popular system to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints."

It would probably be a first impression on reading these extracts from Abp. Ussher, that he had with much learning brought together a mass of objectionable language, which it might be hoped was now done away; that all these were the exaggerations of individual minds, and that it was not fair to charge them as teaching now received in the Roman Church. This was my own hope; I reprinted them in illustration of the meaning of the Article, but certainly, little thinking of imputing them to Rome at the present day. The contrary, however, of all this is sadly the case. The same extracts which Abp. Ussher adduces as illustrating the difference between "the Romish doctrine of the invocation of Saints" and ancient addresses

to them, are, in "the *Glories of Mary Mother of God* by Saint Alphonsus Liguori, and carefully revised by a Catholic Priest," (third ed. Dublin, 1837,) adduced as authoritative teaching. The subjects of the early chapters, which they are adduced to establish, are "how great should be our confidence in Mary, Queen of Mercy," (§. 1.) "as our Mother," (§. 2.) "the great love borne us by Mary, our Mother," (§. 3.) that "Mary is *the* refuge of repentant sinners" and so (§. 4.) "our life, since she obtains us the pardon of our sins," (c. 2. §. 1.) "because she obtains us perseverance," (§. 2.) "the *necessity* of Mary's intercession in order to obtain salvation," (c. 5.) &c. The sayings of Bernardine of Sienna, Albertus M., Bonaventure, &c. are alleged as authorities. It is still alleged as a true saying, "All is subject to Mary's empire, even God," (p. 138, see Abp. Ussher, above p. 196.) It is not, of course, to be supposed that no mention should be made of her SON, or from time to time that her intercession is available through her SON, or that "Jesus is our Redeemer, Mary our Advocate." (p. 88.) "Jesus is my only hope, and after Him you, O Virgin Mary" (p. 90.) One could not imagine any thing written by a Christian in entire forgetfulness of his Lord; but these are but scanty; the main object of the work is, (as it professes,) "the *Glories of Mary*," and these are so set forth, as for the most part to end in her, to place her where a Catholic would expect mention of his Lord. Thus at the hour of death, it is said, "May I invoke you during life, and die when calling on—Mary, my Mother, my blessed amiable Mother." (p. 38.) To whom again could it be thought that such language as the following is addressed?

"If you grant me your aid, what can I fear? during life and at my death, your name and remembrance shall be the delight of my soul, p. 74. I desire to consecrate myself more particularly to your service—dispose of me according to your good pleasure; direct me; I abandon myself wholly to your conduct; never more let me be guided by myself; chastise me, if I disobey you; your correction will be sweet and agreeable. (Ps. cxli. 5.) I am then no longer mine, *I am all yours*." (p. 30.) "My sins render me unworthy of approaching you. I should expect nothing but chastisement from your hands.—I place in you *all my confidence*, and provided I may be happy enough to die before your image, I shall firmly hope to join in heaven that innumerable multitude who have been saved by

your intercession." (p. 53, 4.) "How dare a sinner, unworthy as I, appear before you? I am the last of sinners; I have offended the Divine Majesty more than any other; since I cannot recall the past, help me to amend the present." (p. 57.) "O consolation of the afflicted! have pity upon me; remorse of conscience gnaws me; my best actions are but imperfectly performed; hell awaits to carry off my soul; divine Justice must be satisfied; what then shall become of me? what shall be my eternal lot?" (p. 83.) "He who is protected by you cannot be lost; heaven and earth confess it. Hence though all creatures forget me, though the whole world abandon me, provided you forsake me not, I should think myself secure." (p. 90.) "I cannot abandon myself to despair; because you are my refuge, and your clemency is unbounded." (p. 135.) "All power has been given unto you in heaven and on earth; nothing is impossible to you, for you can give hope to the desponding." (p. 138.)

Again, it is, of course, presupposed and sometimes expressed that S. Mary is a mediatrix with our Lord, that her power is derived from Him, and through Him; but then, at best, it is a power absolutely vested in her; it is not the Intercession of a creature, however exalted; it is the will of one, whose will is complied with and obeyed. She stands between the soul and its Judge; it need not go to its Judge; it has but to gain the intercession of His Mother, and leave the rest to her.

"Because she opens at pleasure the abyss of the Divine mercy, no sinner, however enormous his crimes may be, can perish if he is protected by Mary." (p. 25) "Every petition she offers is as a law emanating from the Lord, by which He *obliges Himself* to be merciful to those for whom she intercedes." (p. 24.) "You have the keys of the Divine mercy, draw on this inexhaustible treasure, and dispense its riches to this poor sinner, in proportion to his immense wants." (p. 136.) "When Mary," says S. Peter Damian, "presents herself before Jesus, the altar of reconciliation, she rather seems to dictate than to supplicate, and has more the air of a Queen than a subject"—"the saint (Bernardine) wishes to insinuate that God hears Mary's prayers, as if they were commands." "The Lord, O Mary, has so exalted you," says S. Anselm, "that His favour has rendered you omnipotent." "Yes," says Richard of S. Laurence, "Mary is omnipotent, for according to all laws the queen enjoys the same privileges as the king, and that power may be equal between the Son and the Mother." (p. 138.) "Albertus M. makes you say, 'It suffices to entreat me to desire a thing, for whatsoever I wish is neces-

sarily accomplished.'” (p. 139.) “All good comes to us with Mary; he who has found her, has found all grace, all virtue, since there is no good, which he does not obtain through her intercession. She herself warns us that she has *at her disposal all the treasures of the Divinity*. ‘With me are glory and riches, that I may enrich them that love me.’ Hence S. Bonaventure wishes us ever to keep our eyes on the hands of Mary, to receive from them all that is necessary for our true welfare.” (comp. Ps. 123, 2.) p. 88. “Another time, our Blessed Lord said to Mary in the presence of St Gertrude, ‘I know that in virtue of My Omnipotence I have invested you with power to deal out mercy in such a measure as you find good, to all sinners who invoke you.’” (p. 104, 5.) “We, holy Virgin, hope for grace and salvation from you, and since you need but say the word, ah, do so, you shall be heard, and we shall be saved.” (p. 144.)

To add one more definite statement from a popular and authoritative work, the “*Treatise on the Scapular*,” (c. 7. p. 43.)

“It is a Catholic proposition, that the most sacred Virgin Mary, by a *participated* authority, granted to her as Mother of Jesus Christ, can do much in all things, where mercy doth contend with justice. Wherefore S. Anselm saith, “There is no doubt but the Blessed Virgin Mary, by maternal right, is with Christ president of heaven and earth. S. John Damascene saith, It is fitting and convenient that Mary should possess what is her Son’s.—Hence we may infer how the Blessed Virgin can free the souls of her devout out of purgatory, and fulfil her other promises made to the brothers and sisters of the holy Confraternity; to wit, by a power communicated to her by her Son. For she being really Mother of the Word Incarnate, there is in all propriety due to her a certain power, or, as others say, a dominion over all things, as well spiritual as temporal, to which the authority of her Son doth extend itself. So that she hath by a natural right of maternity, a power almost like that of her Son, of which she may serve herself, as often as she shall think good. Relying therefore on this *her participated omnipotency*, and on the efficaciousness of her merits and intercessions, she promised the devout of her holy habit to free them from the temporary pains of purgatory fire, from the eternal pains of hell-fire, and from many dangers and calamities of this life, as well spiritual as temporal.’

Yet this has been said yet more strongly in “the *Glories*

of Mary," that she not only "partakes His Omnipotence," but that He has "resigned" it to her.

"Now the King of heaven, Whose bounty is infinite, desiring nothing so ardently as to confer His favours on us, in order to increase our confidence in Him, has given us His Mother for our Mother, and in her hands resigned, (if we might say so,) His omnipotence in the sphere of grace, that we might place in her the hope of our salvation, and all the help necessary to attain it." (p. 85.)

And this power they are fond of representing as belonging to her, not as the creature of whom our Lord deigned to take our nature, but (as before in Abp. Ussher, p. 195. 196. 198. 199. 202.) derived from her own merit towards her Son, as the result of a debt which He owed her. They are painfully fond of placing her in the same relation as The Father.

"Mary owes her Son an infinite gratitude for choosing her for His Mother, but it is not less true to say that Jesus Christ has contracted a species of obligation towards her for the human existence He received from her, and in recompense for this benefit, He honours her by hearing her prayers." (ib. p. 26, 7.)

"Mary has not spared her own Son, her own soul, for the salvation of many." p. 32. "If to evince the love of God the Father for man it is said, that 'He delivered up His own Son for them;' may we not use the same terms, to express the love of Mary? 'Yes,' says S. Bonaventure, 'Mary has so loved us, that she has given us her only Son.' 'She gave Him us,' says F. Nierenberg, 'when in virtue of her jurisdiction over Him as mother, she permitted Him to deliver Himself up to the Jews.' 'She gave Him for us—she hath given this Well-Beloved Son; she sacrificed for us a Son, Who was infinitely dearer to her than herself.' 'If our salvation was then so near her heart.' (p. 41—43.) 'This Divine Saviour Whom she has given to the world,' (p. 131.) 'Richard of S. Laurence beautifully explains this passage, (Prov. xxx. 11.) in reference to the holy Virgin, 'The heart of the man of God who trusts in Mary, he shall not want spoils,' for she has snatched from hell its prey, to enrich with spoils our Lord Jesus Christ."

"In taking flesh in your chaste womb, a God has been pleased to become your debtor, in order to place afterwards at your disposal all the treasures of His unbounded mercy," (p. 144.) "as it was revealed to S. Bridget, Jesus has obliged Himself to grant all the desires and requests of His blessed Mother, not willing to

refuse her any thing in heaven, since she has refused Him nothing on earth." (p. 138, 9.)

"S. Germanus says to Mary, 'You, O holy Virgin, have over God the authority of a Mother, and hence you obtain pardon for the most obdurate sinners.'"

So that at last it seems nothing strange, that she should be introduced as upbraiding an apostate, "Thou hast renounced *me* and my Son," (p. 135.) or that she should be addressed by a penitent, "I have by my impurity sinned against God and against *thee*," (p. 80.) or with the attribute of Divinity, "O sweet in *communicating*^a thyself to those that love you, to those that seek you." (p. 193.)

It is, of course, believed in the abstract, that our Lord is the One Mediator with the Father, and the blessed Virgin a mediatrix only with our Lord; Rome is not charged with denying, but with overlaying the Faith by her additions; but practically, at the best, where is the inducement held out to a sinner to go further than the blessed Virgin, when it is taught that she has all power given her, that she obtains what she wills, that persons need only pray to her? Certainly it is said that none can be saved who do not pray to her, but it is not taught (but the contrary) that those will not be saved who pray to none besides her, who never pray to God. Nor can this be paralleled with the Catholic doctrine of prayer to the Father through the Son; undoubtedly, there may be a form of unconscious Unitarianism lurking under exclusive prayer to our Lord; (as it would also be un-Scriptural and un-Catholic;) but, at least, in such prayers, prayer is offered to Him Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost is One God; in these prayers to the Virgin, the creature is substituted for the Creator as the object of prayer.

Such, it is much to be feared, must be the effect of this teaching on common minds; but, at the very best, her office, as thus set forth, practically takes the place of that which our Blessed Lord deigns to bear. The feelings of

^a It seems but a following out of this teaching that a heresy is said to exist among the lower ranks in Rome, that in the Holy Eucharist, not only our Lord but His Mother is present. Such a heresy would, again, naturally follow from such teaching as, "Mary and Jesus having but one and the same Flesh, says S. Arnand Abbot, why should not the Mother enjoy, conjointly with the Son, the honours of royalty?" The application to the Holy Eucharist seems to lie nearer, and were not more profane, than that actually made.

devout affection, trust, and hope amid our sins, "boldness in approaching to the throne of grace," consciousness that we have One Who can have a feeling for our infirmities, which, in the Catholic system, are directed towards our Lord, as being man although God, in the Romanist are turned aside to His Mother. Our Lord is contemplated as God and our Judge, the blessed Virgin has that office which, in the Catholic system, is occupied by the glorified Humanity of our Lord; justice and mercy are no longer met together, but justice is apportioned to our Lord, His other attribute of mercy is divided from Him and given to His Mother. The soul is invited, not to lift itself up to Him, but to rest in His Mother, as finding in her the very attributes, which Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church set forth to us in our Lord.

Some painful evidence of this has been already given by Abp. Ussher; these statements are repeated, and enforced to this day:

"Mary is Queen of mercy alone; she is a sovereign, not to punish sinners but to pardon and forgive them.—Gerson observes that as the kingdom of God consists in mercy and justice, the Lord has, as it were, divided it; reserving to Himself the dominion of justice, and yielding to His Mother that of mercy. S. Thomas confirms this, when he says, that one half of the kingdom of God was given to Mary, when she conceived and brought forth the Eternal Word, so that she became Queen of mercy as her Son is King of justice. A learned interpreter, writing on Ps. lxxii. 1. says to God, 'Lord, you have given justice to the King your Son, because you have reserved mercy for the Queen His Mother.' S. Bonaventure and Ernest Abp. of Prague, explain the words in nearly the same terms," (p. 23;) "Let us go then, Christians, let us go to this most gracious Queen, and crowd around her throne, (comp. Heb. iv. 16.) without being deterred by our crimes and abominations. Let us be convinced that Mary has been crowned Queen of mercy, it is that the greatest sinners may be saved by her intercession." (p. 27, 28.) "Prayer in the mouth of a sinner—is useful and salutary, S. Thomas says, being founded not on the merits of him who prays, but on the goodness of God and the merits of Jesus Christ.—It is just the same with our petitions made in the name of His most holy Mother. If he who prays merits not to be heard, the merits of Mary will pray for him, says S. Anselm, exhorting all sinners to address themselves

^b The shocking vision of the "two ladders," (see above, in Abp. Ussher, p. 203.) is repeated, p. 150.

confidently to—the Mother of God.” (p. 51.) “S. Bernardine of Sienna asserts, that ‘if God has not destroyed man after his sin, it was in consideration of—the blessed Virgin! and out of the singular love He bore her; he even doubts not that all the mercies granted to sinners in the old law have been given in consideration of—Mary! With good reason then does S. Bernard exhort us to seek grace through her since she has found the grace which we have lost. It is [not for herself, ‘who needed it not, being by her’ (immaculate) ‘conception full of grace;’”] ‘it is for sinners,’ says Cardinal Hugo, ‘that Mary has found grace, which they had irretrievably lost. Hence let them come, and say to her with confidence, render us what belongs to us.’” (p. 59.) “I shall no longer apprehend either my sins, since you can repair them; or the devils, since you are more powerful than hell; or your Son justly irritated, since one word from you will appease Him. I shall only fear myself, and that forgetting to invoke you, I shall be lost.” (p. 74.) “If my Saviour drive me off because of my sins, I shall go and cast myself at the feet of His Mother; thence I shall not rise, until she has obtained my pardon; for she does not know what it is to be insensible to the voice of misery, and her pity will soften the anger of her Son. Regard us then, O Mary most merciful, for we your servants place all our hope in you.” (p. 89.) “‘The sun,’ says Hugo, ‘is a figure of Jesus Christ, whose splendid rays illumine the just who live in the day of grace; the moon is typical of Mary, whose mild lustre illumines sinners amid the dreary night of sin.’ ‘It is towards this propitious orb,’ says Innocent III., ‘that he who is buried in the shades of iniquity should look.’ Having lost divine grace, the day disappears, there is *no more sun for him*; but the moon is still on the horizon; let him address himself to Mary.” (p. 91.) “‘This strong hold,’ says Albertus M., ‘is the sacred Virgin established in grace and glory.’ Once introduced to her let us be silent, for it does not become us to open our mouth before the Lord, Whom we have so much offended, but leave Mary to speak and intercede for us.” (p. 92.) “The glorious S. Bonaventure, to animate our confidence in Mary, represents to us a raging sea, in which sinners, already fallen from the vessel of divine grace, are tossed about by the billows of temptation, torn by the gnawings of remorse, and horrified by the terrors of Divine Justice, without light or guide, are ready to be swallowed up in the gulf of despair; but just then the Lord shews them Mary the star of the sea, and seems to say to them, ‘Sinners, unfortunate sinners despair not, fix your eyes on this bright luminary; its lustre will save you from the tempest, and conduct you to the port of salvation.’ Blosius figures Mary to us, as the *only* refuge of those who have incurred the Divine indignation.” (p. 93.) “The prophet

complained—' Lord, we have sinned, and there is none to restrain your arm from falling heavy upon us;' but now Mary presents herself between God and His offending creatures.—Richard of S. Laurence also observes on this subject, that in the old law, God often complained that there was none to interpose between Him and sinners, but since Mary, the mediatrix of peace, has appeared on earth, she restrains His arm and averts His wrath." (p. 94.) " S Anselm, in order to increase our confidence in Mary, assures us that our prayers will often be more speedily heard in invoking her name than in calling on that of Jesus Christ, and the reason he gives is, that Jesus being no less our Judge than our Saviour, He must avenge the wrongs we do Him by our sins, while the holy Virgin being solely our advocate, is obliged to entertain only sentiments of pity for us."

This is thus reconciled with the belief, which of course, Romanists must hold, that there is but " One Mediator between God and man."

" We are far from in-inuating, *nevertheless*, that she is *more* powerful than her Son. Jesus Christ is our only Mediator; He alone has obtained our reconciliation with God His Father; but as in recurring to Him, Whom we must necessarily consider a Judge Who will punish the ungrateful, it is probable a sentiment of fear may lessen the confidence necessary for being heard, it would seem that in applying to Mary, whose office is that of mercy, our hope would be so strong as to obtain all we ask for." (p. 103.)

The explanation, however, leaves the fact as it was, that St. Mary is set forth as a more desirable Advocate than our Lord.

" How is it, that whereas we ask many things of God without obtaining them, we no sooner ask through Mary than they are granted us?" *ib.*

" As we have not access to The Father but by Jesus Christ, we have not access to Jesus Christ but through Mary, that this Divine Saviour Whom she has given to the world, may receive us from her hands. Who could know God except by you, O holy Virgin? who could be saved, O powerful Virgin, except through your intercession?" (p. 131.) Hugh of S. Victor exhorts us, if we are deterred by apprehension of the Divine Majesty, to approach to Mary without fear. She is, it is true, holy and spotless, the Queen of the Universe and the Mother of God, but she is also a pure creature, and a child of Adam like unto us. " If

you fear to approach to God, look to Mary; then thou findest nothing to fear; thou seest thy own race." (p. 191.)

And these recommendations are enforced by the history of great sinners who were saved, having sought mercy of Mary alone.

"In my last moments, abandoned by all, and seeing myself loaded with sins, I addressed this prayer to the Mother of God, 'O thou, the refuge of the forsaken, have pity on me! Hope of the universe, my only hope, come to my assistance.' This little supplication was not made in vain. Mary obtained for me the grace of true contrition, by means of which I escaped Hell." (p. 40. see also p. 54—57.) "I promised my Mother most readily (to recite the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin every day), and never failed to keep my word amid all my debaucheries; nay, I confess that for the last ten years it is the only act of religion I ever performed,' the confessor now saw clearly, that the conversion of this young man was owing to the special protection of Mary," (p. 90.)

These intercessions of S. Mary are represented also,

"As not only useful but necessary to this great end (our salvation), not of an absolute necessity, it is true, but of a moral necessity, which has its source in the Divine will." (p. 116.)

"Poor souls, what are you thinking of when you abandon Mary, when you cease crying to her for protection? 'Take away the sun,' says S. Bernard, 'and what does the world become? An abode of horror, a chaos of confusion; thus, let a soul abandon Mary, and she is seated in darkness, that darkness which the Holy Spirit says, 'favours the passage of the beasts of the forest.' 'Woe to him,' says S. Anselm, 'who despises the light of this sun, that is, who neglects Mary; it is soon night with him, and his soul becomes a haunt of sin and of devils.' S. Francis Borgia doubted, and with reason, of the perseverance of such as had not a special devotion to Mary. Enquiring one day of the novices, to which saint each one was most devoted, he perceived, that some among them were wanting in devotion to the blessed Virgin, whercupon he noticed the master of novices, and desired him to have a particular watch on these young people. The event justified the saint's fears; all those who had not honoured Mary, lost the grace of their vocation and quitted the society. S. Germanus then had reason to call Mary, 'the respiration of Christians;' for as the body cannot exist without breathing, so the soul cannot live without recurring to the Mother of God." (p. 67.)

“ ‘Blessed Virgin,’ says S. Anselm, ‘as it is impossible, that he who neglects and despises you, can be saved, so it is impossible, that he who has recourse to you sincerely, can be lost.’ S. Antonius says, ‘As those from whom Mary turns her merciful eyes, cannot be saved, it necessarily follows, that those on whom she looks with benignity, will share in eternal glory.’ And here let us ask, if the words, ‘It is impossible that he who is devout to Mary,’ should not make those tremble, who despise or neglect her? Let all such hear the anathema pronounced against them by Albertus Magnus; ‘The people who will not serve you shall perish.’ And S. Bonaventure, ‘He who neglects Mary, shall die in his sins—he who does not invoke her, shall have no share in the kingdom of God;’ and again, ‘There is no hope of salvation for those from whom Mary turns her face.’—“On the contrary, Mary assures us, that ‘He who hears her, shall not be confounded.’ S. Bonaventure says, ‘Great Queen! he who perseveres in your service, is far from damnation.’ ‘No,’ adds S. Hilary, ‘he will not be lost, although he might have hitherto grievously offended his God.’” p. 167.

And thus not only is S. Mary held out to returning sinners as a Mediatrix more suited to them than our Lord, but as *the* special means, whereby they who stand may be kept upright.

“We have the same hope as this great saint, and shall not cease to say with S. Bonaventure, ‘O Mary, I have hoped in you, and shall never be confounded.’” (p. 172.) S. Philip Neri used to say, ‘My children, if you wish to persevere, be devout to Mary.’ The venerable Berchman, S. J. said also, ‘That he who loves Mary, will persevere to the end.’ And Abbot Rupert draws from the parable of the prodigal a very ingenious reflection to the same effect. ‘If this libertine child,’ said he, ‘had his Mother, he would never have abandoned his paternal home, or he would have returned sooner;’ thus he who has Mary for Mother, never abandons God, or if he does, he soon seeks Him again. Oh if all men loved this most merciful Mother, and had recourse to her in the hour of temptation, we would seldom see any one lost, or suffer shipwreck.’ We fall, and we are lost, when we fail to invoke her assistance. Saint Laurence Justinian applies to the blessed Virgin these words of Ecclesiasticus, ‘I walked on the waves of the sea;’ for he makes her say, ‘I walk on the waves of the sea with my servants, in order to save them from a melancholy shipwreck.’ S. Thomas Villanova says, ‘When the birds of prey (meaning the devils) pounce on us, let us imitate the chickens, who when the hawk appears, fly for refuge under the wings of their Mother; let us

fly to Mary without losing a moment, and she will secure us in her maternal bosom. O Mary, continues the saint, addressing the Queen of heaven; it is for you to defend us, since you after God are our refuge, our protectress, our sweetest hope.' We shall conclude with the words of S. Bernard: 'Christian whoever thou art, thy life on earth is a perilous navigation: if thou dost not wish to be drowned, turn not away thy eyes from this brilliant star, look up at the star of mariners, invoke Mary in occasions of sin, in the struggle of temptation, in the midst of danger call Mary to thy aid; let her powerful name be ever in thy heart, and on thy lips, to inspire thee with confidence; trust in Mary, and thou wilt not fall into despair; follow her, and thou wilt not stray; let her hand protect thee, and thou wilt have nothing to fear; let her be thy guide, and thou wilt infallibly arrive at the haven of salvation. This do, and thou shalt live.' (p. 69—71.) "The Church in her public service teaches us to recur to Mary under the titles of Health of the sick; Refuge of sinners; Help of Christians. In her offices for the festivals of Mary, she applies to her these words of Wisdom: 'In me is all hope of life and virtue; again, 'he who finds me shall find life, and obtain salvation from the Lord: they who work in me shall have life everlasting.' Now what do all those texts go to prove, but that the intercession of Mary is necessary for us?"

Lastly, it should be noticed that there is an essential difference between the way in which men's salvation is in any passages of the fathers said to be derived through S. Mary, and that in which it is attributed to her by these later writers. The object of S. Irenæus^c and other fathers, in the first place, is not to magnify S. Mary, but to point out the reality of the Incarnation, which was denied by the Gnostic heretics; but then, further, the benefits are said to be derived through her, in that, of her according to the flesh, Christ was born; in the later writers, they are attributed to her by virtue of the dignity, *since* bestowed upon her: in the fathers, they are spoken as coming from her indirectly, in later writers, directly; in the fathers, from her when on earth, in later writers from her in Heaven; in the fathers from the Nativity of our Lord, later, from *her* sovereignty, rule, Intercession, Command,

^c "This comparison between Mary and Eve ('that the world is freed by [through] a Virgin, which before by a virgin [Eve] had fallen under sin,') in the same manner as Christ and Adam are compared, is so common among the older writers, that from S. Irenæus downwards, it would be easy to fill pages with quotations." Dr. Wiseman's remarks on Mr. Palmer's Letter, p. 24.

with which for her merits she is alleged to be invested. The expressions of the fathers do not go beyond St. Paul's words, "Adam was not deceived, but, the woman being deceived was in the transgression; notwithstanding, she shall be saved through the childbearing," as though the blessed fact that our Lord was "born of a woman" had some mysterious relation to the fall by a woman; that there is a correspondence between death coming through the transgression of the woman and life coming through her. In the "Glories of Mary" it is expressly denied that this is the sense in which the modern sayings should be taken.

"That God has constituted Mary the ordinary dispensatrix of His graces, was the opinion of St. Bernard: it is now the common opinion of all theologians, and all doctors. It is taught by Tega, Mendoza, Poire, Pacciuchelli, Segneri, Crasset, and a crowd of others. Even Father Noel Alexander, so reserved in his propositions, says, 'That God wishes that all the favours men expect from Him, they should be indebted for to the intercession of Mary.'"

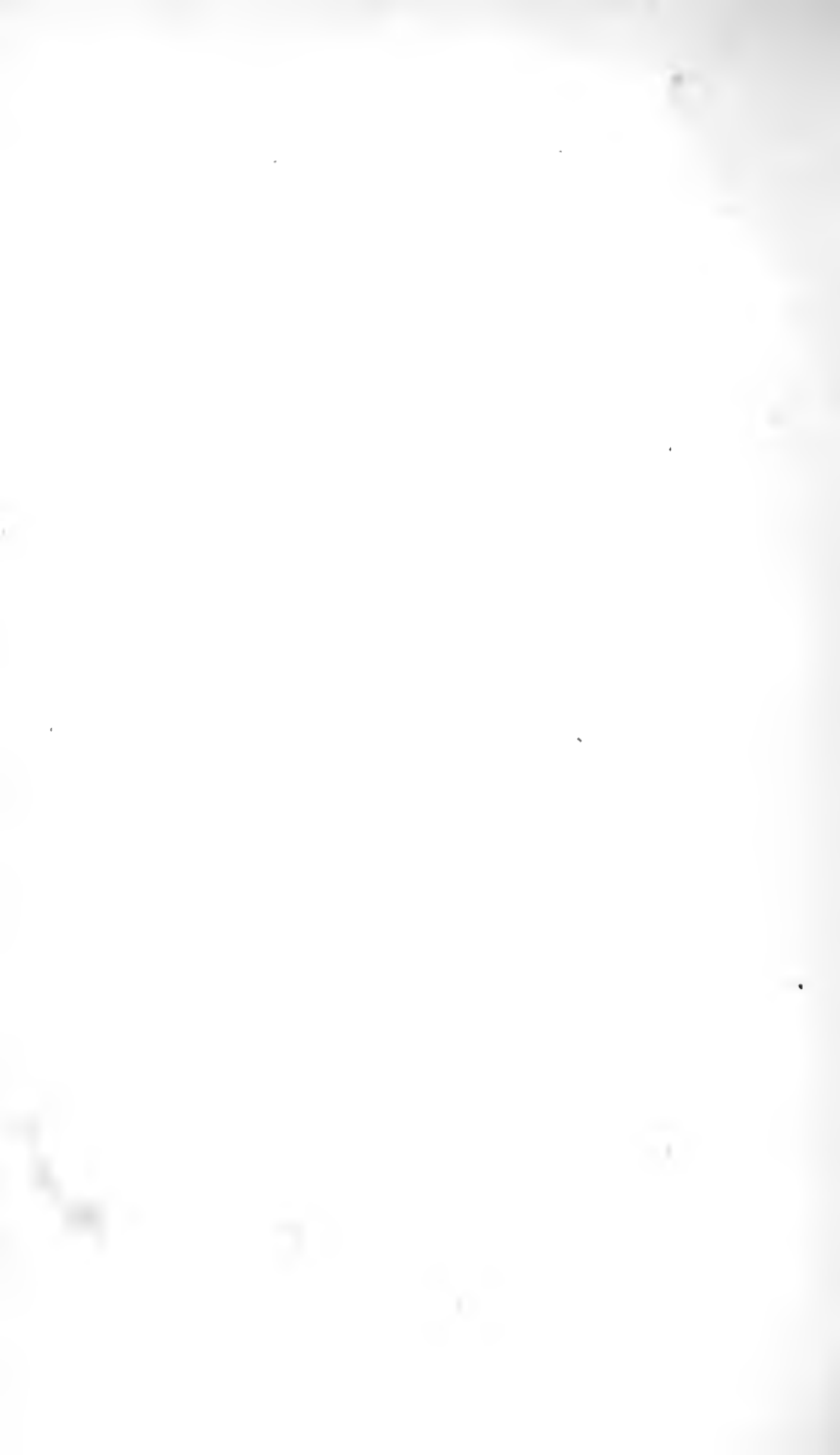
"But this doctrine does not please a certain modern author: this person, who otherwise speaks with much piety and learning, of true and false devotion, is very parsimonious when there is question of the worship of the holy Virgin, refusing her that glory, and those privileges, which a St. Germanus, a St. Anselm, a St. John Damascene, St. Bonaventure, a St. Antonius, a St. Bernardine of Sienna, and innumerable other holy doctors, made no difficulty to grant her. He pretends that the aforesaid proposition, 'God confers no grace but through Mary's intercession,' is an hyperbole which fervour caused some saints to utter, and that it is only correct in this sense, that 'Mary has given to the world, Jesus the Author of grace;' for, adds he, 'the apostle formally teaches, that we acknowledge but One sole Mediator between God and man, viz. the Word made flesh.'" (p. 116, 7.)

It is for earnest-minded Romanists seriously to consider the tendency of all this; Faith is not holding truth in the abstract, it must penetrate the life and run through a man's whole belief; worldly-minded persons are often, in the whole habit of their mind, Socinians, although if asked they would acknowledge or think that they believed the Divinity and Atonement of our Lord; and persons may be practically worshippers of the Blessed Virgin only, while they would acknowledge in the abstract that she derives all her power from her Son. It ought probably to awaken

some fears in them that they habitually contemplate and speak of S. Mary as "the Mother of God" only, still speak of our Lord, in reference to her, as her Son only; there may be in this a subtle Humanitarianism, which, while they are encouraged to shrink from the thought of their Lord as their Judge, thinks of Him only as the Son of Mary, and while it acknowledges S. Mary as the Mother of God, practically forgets that He created her, and in that they hold her to have been without sin, denies that He redeemed her. The term "Mother of God" expresses Catholic truth; yet may it be, and it is, continually used by Romanists in an heretical sense.

While these things are so, although we did not separate from Rome, yet since God has permitted that Rome should separate us from her, we see not how the Anglican Church could re-unite with her, without betraying the trust which she owes to her own children.

THE END.



Amo Rogers
A LETTER

TO THE

REV. T. T. CHURTON, M.A.

FELLOW AND

TUTOR OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE.

—♦—
“ If I build again the things which I have destroyed, I make myself a transgressor”.—Gal. ii. 18.
—♦—

OXFORD:

W. GRAHAM, HIGH-STREET.

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

A LETTER,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will doubtless have watched with much interest the proceedings in the University since the date of our letter addressed to the Editor of Tracts for the Times. You will have felt no small satisfaction that the Hebdomadal Board, on grounds substantially the same with those, on which we presumed to intrude our names upon that gentleman and the public, has disavowed any sanction on the part of the University of the Tract No. 90. You will also have seen the candid acknowledgment by Mr. Newman of his authorship of the Tract, made to the Vice-Chancellor.

But I now wish to draw your attention to the letter addressed by Mr. Newman to the Rev. Dr. Jelf. It is there stated, that the four gentlemen who signed the "protest" against his Tract No. 90, have misunderstood him in a very material point; namely, that, whereas they said the Tract suggests, that the Thirty-nine Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines of purgatory, &c. as taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome, Mr. N., on the

contrary, does consider that they contain such ; he only says, that whereas they were written before the decrees of the Council of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees.—(Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 6.)

I am sure we did not think of pronouncing what the Author of the Tract himself did or did not consider the Articles to contain, further than as the Tract seemed to express an opinion. It is however further said, (Letter to Dr. Jelf) that the phrase in the Tract, “the received doctrine of the day, and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrine of the Roman schools,” was intended to be equivalent to “authoritative teaching”—pp. 9, 10.

You would, I know, much regret with me, that we should have misunderstood, and by consequence unintentionally have misrepresented, the meaning of the Author of the Tract ; but for my own satisfaction I have, since the appearance of the Letter to Dr. Jelf, reviewed the grounds, which we seemed to have on March 8th, for expressing ourselves as we did.

Unhappily, in so doing, these alternatives have been presented to me, either that we used our terms incautiously, or that, since we did not represent Mr. N.’s meaning, his language in the Tract was not sufficiently precise. That we felt a difficulty at the time from what we thought a want of definiteness, in many expressions in the Tract, and were aware, that if we stated the writer’s meaning to be, what it might be, or most probably was (to our apprehension) we might find afterwards that such was not

his real meaning, is doubtless very clearly recollected by us all.

But we thought, that the general reader would take as the undoubted meaning, that which appeared to us on the whole to be the meaning, and it was desirable for the sake of others, that it should be repudiated or avowed. At the risk of being tedious, it will be for our satisfaction to go over the grounds in detail, on which we decided as we did, which will oblige me to recite considerable passages of the Tract, §. 6. And, at the same time, I confess a desire to keep attention fixed upon the whole Tract for some while longer.

We judged that the Author designed in §. 6 to open subscription to the articles to persons holding opinions which might generally be thought to be incompatible with it, and that we judged rightly, see letter to Dr. Jelf, pp. 28-29. His argument in that section was founded on taking the word *Romish* in the Article as a distinctive word; that the *Romish* doctrine of Purgatory, &c., was distinguished from other doctrine of Purgatory, &c. Of this reading of the words of the Article, something may be said below; but if that were conceded him, then would be excluded, of course, from condemnation in the Article, all doctrines respecting Purgatory, &c. which could not be classed as *Romish*.

Now, though we doubted as to this reading of the Article, though in fact I have no doubt myself but that, on the contrary, "*Romish doctrine*" is the

general term, and Purgatory, &c. the special, it could not be conveniently insisted on, in the short paper we issued, which has since been called a protest. But, on the writer's own scheme, a distinction was forced upon us, as will be clearly seen, between the doctrines as taught by the Church of Rome, and the doctrines as popularly apprehended and received. The Tridentine doctrine, under its formal decrees, was excluded from the compass of the Article XXII., by his express memorandum that it was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. This exclusion is really of no importance, because the decrees of that Council derive their full meaning from the teaching of the Roman Church, in and about the time when they were promulgated. However, we put that aside.* The Tridentine doctrine itself could not, in all its decrees, historically, be pointed at by the Article, and though the Tract intimated, on other than historical grounds, that the Article might be received on some points as well as the Tridentine decree, it was not worth while to advert to this.† Neither was it worth while to

* I cannot but wonder why this unimportant fact should be made, in the Tract itself, the ground of a distinction, from which nothing practical is drawn; and should furnish the whole cause of complaint against the four gentlemen.

† “The purgatory contemplated by the Homily was one in which our state would be changed”; (that this was not so will be seen afterwards). “On the other hand, the Council of Trent, and Augustin and Cyprian, held purgatory to be a place for *believers* and not unbelievers. The Homily then, and therefore the article, does not speak of the Tridentine purgatory”—Tract, p. 26. “The Council of Trent is obliged both to confess the above-mentioned enormities in a veneration of relics, and to forbid them”—p. 36. “Here again the article gains a witness and concurrence from the Council of Trent”, &c.—p. 40.

take any exception, from the fact of the convocation and statute of 1571, subsequent to the Council of Trent, being the authorities by which clerical subscription to the Articles is now enjoined ; although, if the Church of England should be thought to be any the more committed against the Romish errors, from its articles dating subsequently to the last Session at Trent, this circumstance deserves the most attentive consideration of those who now subscribe to them.

But to go on. The passage in the Tract which we seem to have misunderstood, is the following—“What is opposed is the *received doctrine* of the day, and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrines of the *Roman Schools*”. No doubt, if this passage had stood alone, and had the statement made in it not been *exemplified*, we could have found no fault with it ; doctrines of the Roman schools seeming to be a phrase equivalent to Romish doctrine, because in the Articles of Edw. VI. the expression was, “The doctrine of the Schoolmen”, &c. ; and the received doctrine might have meant the received teaching. The Article would then have been represented in the Tract as opposed, not to the Tridentine decrees themselves, but to the Romish system of doctrine and practice, which up to that time had been authoritatively taught, and was fastened upon the Roman Church by the decrees of Trent. This would have been intelligible and satisfactory ; whereas the mere exception, that the Articles could not point at the Council of Trent, unless it

meant, that they did not point at the teaching of the time recognised by that Council, appeared to be made to no end.*

But there was another passage in §. 9, apparently very deliberately penned, which appeared to confine the meaning of *received doctrine*, or *Romish doctrine*, to the actually existing practical corruptions then before the eyes of men.

“ Nothing can show more clearly than this passage, that the Articles are not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it, whether taken into its system or not. Here the sacrifice of the *Mass* is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced; but ‘the sacrifice’ (s) of *Masses*, certain observances, for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the Articles saw before their eyes, and knew to have been in force in time past, and which involved certain opinions and a certain teaching. Accordingly the passage proceeds, ‘in which it *was commonly said*’; which surely is a strictly historical mode of speaking”.—*Tract*, p. 9.

Here the creed of the Roman Church could not mean the entire creed of the Roman Church; for no writer could possibly think of saying, that an Article, headed “Of the one oblation”, &c., was not directed against the entire creed of that Church, including the doctrine of the Trinity, with others which the Church

* In fact, nothing was done in the way of reformation at Trent—even the correction of ecclesiastical abuses, pretended to be made, became of no effect, from the reservation of the Pope’s dispensing power. Of the doctrines, &c., with which we are now concerned, the decree concerning the mass embodied the floating teaching that it was a sacrifice propitiatory for living and dead. As to Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c., they were all hurried over on the last two days of Session, Dec. 3-4, 1563, and left as they were.

of England, as well as of Rome, holds with the rest of Christendom: it must therefore mean the doctrine of the Romish Church on that point of the one oblation—namely, as to the sacrifices of masses. The Tract, therefore, would say, that not the creed of the Romish Church respecting the mass (which is what the four Tutors would mean by authoritative teaching as to the mass) is condemned in the Articles, but certain existing errors in that doctrine of the mass—namely, of (private) masses, and masses for money payments. “On the whole”, says the Tract, “it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for quick and dead for the remission of sin”.—p. 63.

In the above passage, the *creed of the Roman Church*, on special points, be it observed, is said *not* to be condemned in the Articles; the “received doctrine”, equivalent to “authoritative teaching”, and “established creed”, (Letter, p. 6, 10,) is thought to be spoken against by the Thirty-nine Articles. What “all the best writers” say is “authoritative teaching”, and is censured by the Articles, (Letter, p. 12.) Also in page 15 of the Letter, “existing creed” is what the gentlemen who signed the protest call the “authoritative teaching”. Nothing however can be more unsatisfactory than the attempt to follow this writer through the shifting of his terms, both in the Letter and the Tract.

But as to the application of the principle advocated

in the Tract, it seemed to be this; whatever the Article does not condemn it permits; the tenets and practices it condemns will be pointed out chiefly by means of the comment which the Homilies afford; whatever is found not to be therein condemned may be believed with subscription.*

We come, then, to—1. Purgatory.—Tract, p. 25. “What the doctrine is which is reprobated, is plain, from the following passage in the Homilies”. Then follows the extract, in which occur these expressions—
“Where is, then, the third place which they call purgatory? or, where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? S. Augustin doth only acknow-

* I say subscription from p. 4, Tract. “Articles may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine”. Compare Letter, p. 25, after quotations from Bramhall, Laud, Hall, Taylor, Bull, and Stillingfleet, “which go far beyond every thing he has said”. “This view of the Articles, conveyed in these extracts, evidently allows of much greater freedom in the private opinion of individuals *subscribing them*, than I have contended for”. Here is a remarkable instance of the fallacy of quotations so frequent with this writer. His citations do not apply, they go to the granting a freedom in the private opinions of individuals, but not of *subscribers*. Bull is the only one who mentions subscription; she (the Church) “propounds them as a body of safe and pious principles, for the preservation of peace to be subscribed, and not openly contradicted, by her *sons*. And therefore she requires subscription to them only from the clergy and not from the laity”. Burnet makes the distinction very clearly, where our Author would confound. “And therefore though they drew up a large form of doctrine, yet to all her *lay-sons* this is only a standard of Church Communion. The citations that are brought from those two great Primates, Laud and Bramhall, go no further than this — they do not seem to relate to the *clergy who subscribe them*, but to the laity and body of the people”. Intr. Exp. XXXIX Art.

If it be desired to open the question as to a latitude in clerical subscriptions to the Articles which are pointed against the Romish errors, let it be openly done, and argued upon the principles stated, p. 26, or any other; but let not conclusions be intimated under authority of great names, which in fact make nothing for them.

ledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such in all Scripture".—*Hom. concern. Prayer.*

Tract, p, 26.—“ Now it is plain, from this passage, that the Purgatory contemplated by the Homily, was one, for which no one will for an instant pretend to adduce even those Fathers who most favour Rome, *viz. one in which our state would be changed*, in which God’s sentence could be reversed. ‘The sentence of God’, says the writer, ‘is *unchangeable*, and cannot be revoked again; there is no place for *repentance*’. On the other hand, the Council of Trent, and Augustin and Cyprian, so far as they express or imply any opinion approximating to that of the Council, *held Purgatory to be a place for believers, not unbelievers, not where men who have lived and died in God’s wrath, may gain pardon, but where those who have already been pardoned in this life, may be cleansed and purified for beholding the face of God.* The Homily, then, and therefore the Article, does not speak of the Tridentine Purgatory”.

“ The mention of Prayers for the dead in the above passage, affords an additional illustration of the limited and conditional sense of the terms of the Article now under consideration. For such prayers are obviously not condemned in it in the abstract, or in every shape, but *as offered to rescue the lost from eternal fire*”.—*Ib.*

The inference here intended in the Tract seemed to us undoubted, that one might remain untouched by the Article—believing, not only that men dying in a state of acceptance with God should be subjected to purgatorial pains hereafter, but that the prayers of others might alleviate their pains; and in the face of a much more distinct statement than that quoted above as to the ‘received doctrine’, we should have been justified in saying, that the Tract ‘suggested’, that the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome as to

the doctrine of purgatory was not condemned in the Thirty-nine Articles.

Now see, in juxta-position, a quotation from Bull, (page 14, Letter to Dr. Jelf):—

“ This Article (the Tridentine) of purgatory after this life, *as it is understood and taught* by the Roman Church (*that is*, to be a place and state of misery and torment whereunto many faithful souls go presently after death, and there remain till they are thoroughly purged from their dross or delivered by prayers, indulgences, &c.) is contrary to Scripture and the sense of the Catholic Church for at least the first four centuries”, &c.

Now Mr. Newman conceives, (Letter, page 12,) that what all the best writers say is authoritative teaching, and a sufficient object for the censures conveyed in the Articles, though the decrees of Trent, taken in themselves, remain untouched. And yet he can make his quotation from Bull, as descriptive, on the authority of the teaching of the Roman Church, of a doctrine of purgatory, which, apart from any chronological exception,* would be reached by the spirit of the Article, and, say in the Tract; “ The Homily then, and therefore the Article, does not speak of the Tridentine purgatory”; “ the Homily (and therefore the Article) contemplates only a purgatory in which our state would be changed, so that they who have died in God’s wrath may gain pardon”; and therefore

* Not that the historical exception would avail here, for the Romish view of purgatory must have been well known at this time, since in Sess. Conc. Trident. VI. de Justificatione, the Canon quoted p. 11, was promulgated. This Session was held sixteen years before the Articles were drawn up, namely, Jan. 13th, 1547.

does not condemn the Romish purgatory of Bull, “ a place where many faithful souls”, &c.

I confess myself surprised to see, that Mr. Newman, (Letter, p. 26), still seems to think, that the doctrine concerning purgatory condemned in the Article, and the doctrine held by Rome is, “ that temporary punishment is a substitute for hell in the case of the unholy”. He quoted a small phrase from the Trent decree of purgatory in the Tract ; the important portions he seems to have overlooked :—

“ Quum catholica ecclesia.....docuerit, purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis, potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio juvari, praecepit sancta synodus episcopis, ut sanam de purgatorio doctrinam a sanctis Patribus et sacris conciliis traditam a Christi fidelibus crediCurent autem episcopi, ut fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum scilicet sacrificia, orationes, eleemosynae, aliaque pietatis opera, quae a fidelibus pro aliis *fidelibus defunctis fieri consueverunt, fiant*”.

In the sixth session of the Council, which was held January 13, 1547, De Justificatione, be it observed, sixteen years before the Articles were drawn up.

Canon XXX. is as follows :—

“ Si quis post acceptam justificationis gratiam cuilibet peccatori pœnitenti ita culpam remitti et reatum æternæ pœnæ deleri dixerit, ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exsolvendæ vel in hoc sæculo, vel in futuro in purgatorio, antequam ad regna cœlorum aditus patere possit : anathema sit”.

Harding’s definition of purgatory :—

“ Quum nihil inquinati aditum habeat in cœlum, quidam autem vita excedant *quamvis homines isti Christiani et cœlestis*

regni hæredes non ita tamen penitus puri atque undique purgati, restat ut qui ejusmodi sunt post hanc vitam priusquam ad illum sempiternæ felicitatis locum perveniant, purgatione justâ defungantur". Quoting 2 Cor. vii. 1, he says—"Quis non hinc sequi videt, multis qui justificati sint, deesse tamen aliquid ad satisfactionem et sanctimoniam? qui si prius e rebus humanis auferantur quam legitimos omnes sanctitatis numeros expleverint, an non in eâ causâ sunt, ut post hinc vitam elui debeant ac perpurgari".—*Contra Juelli Apol.*

Upon this Jewell joins issue with him.

Nay, the conclusion on the whole of this must be, that Mr. Newman holds, that the Article does not condemn the doctrine of purgatory, as promulgated by the Tridentine decrees, expressing, as they do, the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome; or, if he prefers it, as taught by its best writers; upon his principle, I do not see why it might not be taught in our Lecture Rooms and from our pulpits.

After two quotations exemplifying the grievous extent to which the popular notions of purgatory might be carried, nothing further is added; and this is all on the subject of purgatory.

2. Pardons, or Indulgences.

Tract, p. 28.—"The history of the rise of the Reformation will interpret 'the Romish doctrine concerning pardons', without going further".

Then follows a passage from Bishop Taylor. The Authors cited, not only declare the enormous height to which the old doctrine was carried, but also the ill-foundation of the doctrine at all, that it originated in a gross misapplication of an authority given by the Council of Nice to the Bishops, to shorten the terms of penance inflicted by ecclesiastical censures.

“ They gave it high names, and called it a plenary remission, and the pardon of all sins : which the world was taught to look on as a thing of a much higher nature, than the bare excusing of men from discipline and penance. Purgatory was then got to be firmly believed, and all men were strangely possessed with the terror of it : so a deliverance from purgatory, and by consequence an immediate admission into heaven, was believed to be the certain effect of it”.—*Burnet*.

“ It would be considered what is meant by so many years of pardon, and so many years of true pardon. I know but of one natural interpretation of it ; and that it can mean nothing, but that some of the pardons are but fantastical, and not true ; and in this I find no fault, save only that it ought to have been said, that all of them are fantastical”.—*Taylor*.

The conclusion of the Tract-writer is subjoined in these words and no more—“The pardons then spoken of in the Article are *large* and reckless indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money payments”. That such should be the conclusion, we were naturally surprised ; but thinking that he had missed that, to which his quotations should have led him, if he considered them exponents of the Article, namely, that it condemns all indulgences from the penalties of sin (in penalties of sin, I do not include ecclesiastical censures) we did imagine him to hold, that this Article did not condemn the doctrine of indulgences as taught by the Romish Church, but only the corruption of that doctrine, which was perhaps never authoritatively taught, though practised with effrontery, the giving *large and reckless* indulgences upon money payments.

3. Veneration and worshipping of images and relics.

He says “ that the Homilies” (and the Homilies through this section of the Tract are taken as representing the Articles) “ do not altogether discard reverence towards relics has been shewn. Now let us

see what they do discard". But here I wish to draw your attention to the passage referred to, with the quotations from the Homilies.

Tract p. 23. "And a verification of such an understanding of the Article is afforded us in some sentences in the Homily on Peril of Idolatry, in which, as far as regards relics, a *certain* 'veneration' is sanctioned by its tone in speaking of them, though not of course the Romish veneration,

"The sentences referred to run as follows:—

"In the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, the Ninth Book, and Forty-eighth Chapter, is testified, that 'Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles: and that after his death, devils, *being expelled at his grave or tomb*, did roar'. Thus you see what authority St. Jerome (who has just been mentioned) and that most ancient history give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius".

Here the quotation in the Tract ends, but the Homily goes on.

"Thus you see what authority St. Jerome, and that most ancient history, give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius, whose judgment of images in churches and temples, then beginning by stealth to creep in, is worthy to be noted".

His judgment having been shewn in

"That when he entered into a certain church to pray, he found there a linen cloth hanging on the church door painted, and having in it the image of Christ as it were, or of some other saint; therefore when I did see the image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, I did tear it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the church that they should wind a poor man that was dead in the said cloth, and so bury him".—Hom. ib.

Again:—

"St. Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor, saith, 'Helena found the Cross, and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely (for that is an heathenish error and the vanity of the wicked) but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and whose Name was written on the title', and so forth. See both the

godly empress's fact, and St. Ambrose's judgment at once; they thought it had been an heathenish error, and vanity of the wicked, *to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embrued with our SAVIOUR CHRIST'S own precious blood*".—*Peril of Idolatry*, part 2, *circ. init.*

"In these passages the writer does not positively commit himself to the miracles at Epiphanius's tomb, or the invention of the true Cross, but he evidently wishes the hearer to think he believes in both. This he would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong".—Tr. p. 24.

But if the latter passage is finished to the end of its paragraph, it stands thus:—

"They thought it had been an heathenish error to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embrued with our Saviour Christ's own precious blood. And we fall down before every cross piece of timber, which is but an image of that cross".—Hom.

This is but an argument *a fortiori*, by no means shewing that the writer wished the hearer to think he believes in the invention of the true Cross, but—if they who thought they had found it would not worship even that, much less, &c. Neither does the Homilist at all concern himself as to his hearers believing in the miracle at Epiphanius's tomb. The miracles (he says) were believed of old, which shows in what great estimation he was held. And if he of so great estimation tore a cloth painted with an image &c. neither of the passages bear upon the question of relics, much less convey any judgment of the Homilist.

This is a very small matter in itself, that in extracting a quotation, a line or two of the succeeding context should have escaped the eye; but in this case these few lines would give a totally different

character to the passages taken, and to the thread of the argument of the writer. The inference from these citations was very material ; an inference which depends solely on the places, and which I do not believe could be derived from any other extracts from the Homilies, unless equally incomplete.

“ This he (the Homilist) would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong”.

“ If, then, in the judgment of the Homilies, not all doctrine concerning veneration of relics is condemned in the Article before us, but a certain toleration of them is compatible with its wording : neither is all doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, images, and saints, condemned by the Article, but only ‘ the Romish’ ”.—Tr. p. 24.

From this example or partial induction in the case of relics he assumes his general proposition, the truth of which as applied to each particular he then proceeds boldly to verify. To return to p. 31. It has not then been already shewn that the Homilies do not altogether discard reverence towards relics. However, after quoting four close pages from the Homilies on the subject of image worship, the writer comes to this conclusion.

“ Now the veneration and worship condemned in these and other passages are such as these : kneeling before images, lighting candles to them, offering them incense, going on pilgrimage to them, hanging up crutches, &c. before them, lying tales about them, belief in miracles as if wrought by them through illusion of the devil, decking them up immodestly, and providing incentives by them to bad passions ; and, in like manner, merry music and minstrelsy, and licentious practices in honour of relics, counterfeit relics, multiplication

of them, absurd pretences about them. This is what the Article means by ‘the Romish doctrine’”.

As if there were *any* veneration or adoration permissible by the Article as interpreted by the Homilies. For my own part I am not inclined either to restrain or to expand the sense of the Articles, as men may think the Homilies expound them; nor do I recognise the Homilies as the sole or best interpreter of their sense, though they are most valuable historical documents, and contain a doctrine necessary for the times when they were composed. But Mr. N. undertook to make out his principles as applied to the XXII. and XXXI. Articles, chiefly by a reference to them as representing the sense of the Articles. “The Homily and therefore the Article”, p. 26. He rested his case on ground chosen by himself; his own ground even betrays him. For it would seem, if the question be decided by the Homilist, that he would deem even the having of images, if not Popish, unlawful.

“Wherefore the images of God, our Saviour Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, and others of notable holiness are, of all other images, most dangerous for the peril of idolatry, and therefore greatest heed to be taken that none of them be suffered to stand in Churches and Temples”.—Peril Idol. 3rd part.

And if there should be no images, neither, were there any, should there be any adoration of them; for, in a passage not quite correctly quoted in the Tract,

“What a fond thing is it for man, who hath life and

reason, to bow himself to a dead and insensible image, the work of his own hand. Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, *adoration of them*, which is forbidden so earnestly by God's word".

The words in italic are not in the passage as quoted in the Tract.

Upon this clause our impression was, that whereas the Article (as interpreted by the Homilies) would condemn all adoration and worshipping of images and relics, would consider as Romish all doctrine which taught such regard might be paid to them ; the writer of the Tract asserted or implied the contrary.

4. Invocation of Saints.

I think we all felt a degree of vexation, that the writer should draw the distinction made in the following passage. It is to be hoped that no one is so weak as to think, that the Articles condemn, as Romish invocation, poetical or rhetorical apostrophes ; nor, on the other, that saints might be lawfully invoked for their aid and intercession, because they might be apostrophised in figure of speech.*

" By ' invocation' here is not meant the mere circumstance of addressing beings out of sight, because we use the Psalms

* " They make the rhetorical flourishes and apostrophes of the Fathers, in their panegyrics of the Martyrs, to be solemn invocations of them. Now, what is there in all this, but what is usual in all authors, sacred and profane ? What is there more in this than in those apostrophes frequently found in the sacred writings, even to insensible creatures—' Hear, O Mountains, and give ear, O Earth'—' Praise the Lord, ye Dragons and all Deeps'—and who will infer from this that insensible creatures were thereby invoked and addressed unto ?"—*Discourse concerning the Invocation of Saints*, by S. Freeman, D.D. : 1684.

in our daily service, which are frequent in invocations of Angels to praise and bless God. In the Benedicite too we address 'the spirits and souls of the righteous', and in the Benedictus, St. John Baptist".

"On the other hand, judging from the example set us in the Homilies themselves, invocations are not censurable, and certainly not 'fond', if we mean nothing definite by them, addressing them to beings which we *know* cannot hear, and using them as interjections. The Homilist seems to avail himself of this proviso in a passage, which will serve to begin our extracts in illustration of the *superstitious* use of invocations".

An example set by the Homilist being the following :—

"We have left Him neither heaven, nor earth, nor water, nor country, nor city, peace nor war to rule and govern, neither men, nor beasts, nor their diseases to cure; that a godly man might justly, for zealous indignation, cry out, *O heaven, O earth, and seas*, what madness and wickedness against God are men fallen into"!

After some passages from the Homilies, the text is taken up thus :—

"Whereas, then, it has been already shown, that not *all* * invocation is wrong (the only invocation as yet excepted is that of the apostrophe), this last passage plainly tells us *what kind* of invocation is not allowable, or what is meant by invocation in its exceptionable sense: viz., 'a thing proper to God', as being part of the 'honour that is due and proper unto God'. And two instances are specially given of such calling and invoking, viz., *sacrificing* and *falling down in worship*. Besides this, the Homilist adds, that it is wrong to pray to them for 'necessaries in this world', and to accompany their services with 'piping, singing, chanting, and playing' on the organ, and of invoking saints as patrons of particular elements, countries, arts, or remedies".

* Διὰ τὸ σὺνεγγυς εἶναι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν λαυθάνει μᾶλλον.

Now, a part of one of the passages quoted is the following, which, at the risk of being tedious, I must transcribe :—

“ There are certain conditions most requisite to be found in every such a one that must be called upon, which if they be not found in Him unto whom we pray, then doth our prayer avail us nothing, but is altogether in vain.

“ The first is this, that He, to whom we make our prayers, be able to help us. The second is, that He will help us. The third is, that He be such a one as may hear our prayers. The fourth is, that he understand better than ourselves what we lack, and how far we have need of help. If these things be to be found in any other, saving only God, then may we lawfully call upon some other besides God. But what man is so gross, but he well understandeth that these things are only proper to Him who is omnipotent, and knoweth all things, even the very secrets of the heart ; that is to say, only and to God alone ? Whereof it followeth that we must call neither upon angel, nor yet upon saint, but only and solely upon God, as St. Paul doth write”.

In the following passage it will be observed, that if the Article coincide or is consistent, or so far as it is, with the decree of the Council of Trent, so far it does not condemn, in the judgment of the Tract, the Roman doctrine which was embodied in them :—

“ Here again, as before, the Article gains a witness and concurrence from the Council of Trent. ‘ Though’, say the divines there assembled, ‘ the Church has been accustomed sometimes to celebrate a few masses to the honour and remembrance of saints, yet she *doth not teach that sacrifice is offered to them*, but to God alone, who crowned them ; wherefore neither is the priest wont to say, *I offer sacrifice to thee, O Peter, or O Paul*, but to God”. (Sess. 22.)

If the passage means, that the celebrating masses to the honour of saints is not condemned in the Article, the Article does not so far condemn the Romish doctrine of invocation of saints.

After quoting a passage from Bishop Andrews, in which he seems to consider the practical teaching of the Romish Church in its formularies to be of direct, absolute, and final prayer to saints, and that if it were indirect or “*prier pour prier*”, it would not be unlawful, “Bellarmine’s admissions quite bear out the principles laid down by Bishop Andrews and the Homilies”—but certainly the Homilies never laid down such as the following :—

“Secondly, from the usage of the Church ; for in the mass-prayers, and the saints’ offices, we never ask any thing else, but that, at their prayers, benefits may be granted to us by God. Thirdly, from reason : for *what we need surpasses the powers of the creature*, and therefore even of saints ; therefore we ought to ask nothing of saints, beyond their impetrating from God what is profitable for us. Fourthly, from Augustine and Theodoret, who expressly teach that saints are not to be invoked *as gods*, but as able *to gain from God what they wish*. However, it must be observed, when we say, that nothing should be asked of saints but their prayers for us, the question is not about the words, but the *sense* of the words. For, as far as words go, *it is lawful* to say : ‘St. Peter, pity me, save me, open for me the gate of heaven’ ; also, ‘give me health of body, patience, fortitude’, &c., provided that we mean ‘save and pity me *by praying for me*’ ; ‘grant me this or that *by thy prayers and merits*’. For so speaks Gregory Nazianzen, and many others of the ancients, &c”.—*De Sanc. Beat.* i. 17.

Now, if the Author holds, that the Article does not condemn prayer to the saints for their intercession ; in the judgment of the Homily, to which the Tract appeals, as showing the sense of the Articles, such prayer is unlawful and heathenish.

“For it is evident, that our image-maintainers have the same opinion of saints which the Gentiles had of their false gods, and thereby are moved to make them images, as the Gentiles did. If answer be made, that they make saints but intercessors to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God ; that is, even after the Gentiles’ idolatrous usage, to make them of saints, gods, called *Dii Medioximi*,

to be mean intercessors and helpers to God, as though he did not hear, or should be weary if he did all alone. So did the Gentiles teach, that there was one chief power working by other, as means; and so they made all gods subject to fate or destiny; as Lucian in his Dialogues feigneth, that Neptune made suit to Mercury, that he might speak with Jupiter. And therefore in this also, it is most evident, that our image-maintainers be all one in opinion with the Gentiles idolaters. —*Against Peril of Idolatry, part 3.*

But how could we conclude otherwise, from the expression of the Tract, than that it was thought the Article did not convey a condemnation of the Romish doctrine of invocation of saints, but only of the corruption and abuse of it?

5. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

“Here the sacrifice of the mass is not spoken of, but ‘the sacrifice(s) of masses, certain observances, for the most part private and solitary’.—*Tract*, p. 59.

“On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us, neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and dead for the remission of sins”.—p. 63.

The Tract, very evidently, here draws a distinction between the doctrine of Rome, and the error in it; maintains that the doctrine of the mass is not condemned by the Article, that solitary and venal masses are. But this distinction was not allowed by the Romanists themselves, in the age when the Articles were composed.

Henry VIII.’s Answer to the German Ambassadors:—

“Nam si ideo missæ privatæ abolendæ sunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii doctrinas ut

dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. missas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, et tollere peccata vivorum et mortuorum, et applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, quicquid sit, quod illi asserunt, hoc de *omni missa asserunt, non de privata duntaxat*; qua propter si ad tollendas illas opiniones qualescunque missa privata esset abroganda, *eadem ratione abroganda esset synaxis et missa publica*’.—*Burnet’s Hist. Ref. Addenda, vol. I., sec. vii.*

The Germans had said :—

“ Ex quibus omnibus sequitur *missam* non esse sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, facienti vel aliis remissionem peccatorum, ut illi (scholastici) docuerunt. Et quocumque quidam fuco nitantur excusare missas privatas, semper eis refragatur et reclamatur doctrina ipsorum de missa, qua eam aliis posse applicari tradiderunt, et peccata delere hominibus persuaserunt”.—*Ib. sec. vi.* The date is 1538.

So also Harding and Jewell. Harding would not overstate the Romish doctrine. Anno 1563.

“ Hoc autem respectu, minimè dubitamus, quin hoc sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium valeat, efficaxque sit ex opere operato, non quemadmodum Juellus interpretatur, quia missa dicitur, et fit, in quo opus operatum ad ipsam sacerdotis actionem refert : minimè sic : sed propter ipsum opus, quod Deus ipse operatur. Quod corpus atque sanguis, quando, juxta ejus mandatum Deo offertur. Gratissimum illi est sacrificium, pro vivis simul *et mortuis*, si nullum is, qui sumit, obicem posuerit. *Mortuos intelligo eos solummodo*, qui per fidem se redemptionis per Christum acquisitæ commendarunt, perque hanc fidem a Deo meruerunt, ut *postquam hinc migrarint*, quemadmodum Augustinus ait, *hoc illis sacrificium prodesse posset*”.—*Quæst. xx., sec. 1.*

Then see Jewell :

“ Vel felicitatem, vel peccatorum remissionem, quæ est interna sancti spiritus actio, externo cuiquam officio acceptam referre, erroris cujusdam est superstitiosi, inepti, Judaici. . . .

... De sacrorum autem mysteriorum usu ac ratione Christus non dixit, *Hoc facite in remissionem peccatorum*: sed, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*. Unicum pro peccato perpetuunque sacrificium est ipse Dei filius crucis supplicio affectus: qui nunc in carnis nostræ natura, atque substantia patri suo ad dexteram assidet, et pro nobis in æternum interpellat, estque illud unicum pro peccatis nostris sacrificium, et propitiatio. Quæcunque est huic doctrinæ contraria doctrina, ea impia et blasphema est'.—*Ib. sec. 3.*

I do not wish to add more on this particular head; but, on the whole, we were forced to the conclusion, that the Author held, that many doctrines, which we thought Romish, which turn out to be so, were not expressly excluded by the Thirty-nine Articles. Nor can I now see how the "vagueness" in some parts of the Tract, which gave us this impression, "arose from the doctrines of the Articles being sometimes brought out only so far as the Homilies explained them"—(Letter to Dr. Jelf, postscript)—because, from the citations made in this Letter, one thing will be obvious enough, that the Author's conclusions are brought out much beyond any legitimate inference from his quotations.

Whereas the Homilist holds with S. Augustin, that "there be only two states hereafter, heaven and hell", the Tract thinks the Article would not condemn the opinion that, there is a third place, wherein prayers may benefit those who there abide. In another place of the Homily not quoted, "Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads, neither let us dream any more, that the souls of the dead are any thing *at all*

holpen by our prayers".—*Hom. conc. Prayer.*—Whereas Jer. Taylor, who is quoted to illustrate the Article on the point of pardons, "thinketh all of them to be fantastical"; the Tract considers the Article to "speak only of large and reckless indulgences, obtained on money payments.

While the Homilist, a good interpreter here, says generally, that "adoration of images is earnestly forbidden by the Word of God", and nothing whatever even indirectly in favour of honour paid to relics; the Tract thinks only *certain* veneration and worship of images to be condemned.

The Homilist; that we must "call neither upon angel nor upon saint, but only and solely upon God"; the Tract-writer thinks, that what Bellarmin will concede on the one hand, may be admitted by the Article on the other, "That we may ask of saints their supplicating from God what is profitable for us".

Little have the Divines of our Church dreamt, either that the Articles were not "full against Popery", or that any doctrine of purgatory, invocation of saints, &c., could be other than Popish. If the origin of some of these doctrines ran up towards the primitive times, they would only see in this an early "working of the mystery of iniquity". They would rather, if there were any connexion between the two, surrender that which was primitive, than, in regard to the primitive, look tenderly on that which was Popish.*

* Primitive, that is in a certain sense. In its highest sense the Primitive

I have at hand Bishop Stratford :—

“ I need not show, that the doctrine of purgatory, as taught by the Church of Rome, cannot derive its pedigree from the Scriptures or the primitive Fathers, because it is freely confessed by many of her own members, that it hath no foundation in either of them. The doctrine of indulgences is another new article of the Roman creed—Cardinal Caietan grants that no sacred Scripture, no authority of the ancient Doctors, Greek or Latin, hath brought the original of them to our knowledge. Another corruption is the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. The Church of England not only grants, but asserts, that the Eucharist is a commemorative and representative sacrifice ; but this will not satisfy the present Church of Rome, and therefore our Church hath deservedly condemned the sacrifice of masses as blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. Another gross corruption in the worship of Rome, which rendered the Reformation necessary, was the worship of images. This the Church of England has condemned as idolatrous, and proved it to be so by the authority of God’s Holy Word, and by the testimonies of the ancient Fathers. Add to this their solemn prayers to saints departed. The distinctions of worship into supreme and subordinate, absolute and relative, terminative and transient, as they have no foundation in Scripture, so the Christians of the first ages were ignorant of them, they having no such different objects of religious worship to which these different degrees were to be suited”.—*Discourse of the necessity of Reformation.*

Let me now cordially congratulate you, as in-

is the spring time of the Catholic ; but there is a lower sense, such as when an opinion begins to shew itself in one or two respectable Fathers. “ Agreeably, we say that the Sacraments do not profit the living without faith, much less the dead ; for as to what they pretend concerning their purgatories, though that is no very late invention, yet it is nothing but a silly old wives’ story. St. Augustin sometimes saith there is such a place ; sometimes he doth not deny but there may be such a place ; sometimes he doubts if there be ; and at other times he positively denies there is any such place at all ; and thinks that men out of human kindness to the dead are deceived on that point”.—*Jewell’s Apology.*

terested with the rest of us in the well being of our Church and people, on the events here of the last few days. We may well be thankful, that the attention of a writer, who for some time past has been thought to exercise a considerable influence in the formation of clerical and Church opinion, should have been drawn forcibly, but not I trust rudely, to the possible tendency of some of his opinions, and of his method of putting them forth. We may well be glad for the sake of numbers at a distance from this place, some of whom might not perceive that the Tract contained any thing strange; some might consider the Author already a Romanist; others be utterly bewildered as to its meaning; that the Letter to Dr. Jelf has appeared, from which certain of the writer's views may with a degree of distinctness be gathered.*

For to say nothing else, it is most desirable, that one who acknowledges himself to be opposed to the "traditionary" "modern" interpretation of the formularies of our Church,† should place himself in a distinct position. I do not think, that the opinions he advocates will, in consequence, gain fewer adherents than otherwise, but they will be expressed with more definiteness and precision, than is usually met with in fugitive and anonymous Tracts: and wherever they

* I cannot say that, on the whole, this Letter is much more satisfactory to me than the Tract. There is found in it the same ambiguity of terms—the same shifting of terms—the same inapplicability of quotations to that which they are to prove;—yet there are some views of the writer's brought forward distinctly.

† Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 18.

may be thought to be erroneous, or of an ill tendency, those, who are competent to discuss them, will not avoid the controversy, from a dislike to enter the lists with an opponent who has no bearing on his shield.

We have been accustomed now, for many generations, to consider the Articles exponents of the Catholic faith. Should there really have been formed any deliberate design of referring the interpretation of them back again to Catholic and primitive tests, (and who is to collect, and who is to decide upon the suffrages of antiquity,) it will be necessary for those who have more leisure, and are better qualified than myself, to vindicate the existing position, in respect of her Articles at least, of the Anglican Church. I must indeed confess a suspicion, that from the struggle of close and legitimate controversy the maintainers of this vague Catholicity will shrink. If one may judge from partial examples, they have not formed the necessary habits of accuracy in definition, in division, in inference, in method, in citation.

But there will not be wanting men to show the true character of our Church; that she has her strength in a legitimate formal constitution; whereby she is an authorized channel of grace in the sacraments; while in fact her teaching is so Scriptural, that she almost discourages the holding, as matter even of opinion, on religious subjects, that which may not be proved by the Word of God. While she recognizes, as in fact she must, if she would teach a reasonable faith and service, that the ultimate appeal

as to the interpretations of Scripture will, from the constitution of man, be to the reason and spirit of the individual; she would lead her children, and instruct them, but they must finally, with the aids she gives, judge for themselves; they must "search the Scriptures, whether these things be so". She would have her disciples say, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, but we have seen Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the world". And I know not where scope may be found for the "feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, and devotedness", when they struggle for utterance in the breast of the spiritual man, more freely than in our communion. Where our sons are taught without adding thereto, or diminishing aught from it, the "great mystery of Godliness; God manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory".

But if without any theory or scheme of reconstructing our Church according to some ideal primitive model, amiable and benevolent men might desire by a relaxation of certain articles to comprehend some who might otherwise wander from our communion in the direction of Rome; surely there are other "arrows within the quiver" of a well-furnished theologian, other arts of a "fisher of men", for the saving of such souls. The fact of any hesitating between the Roman and Anglican communion, because men feel "led" to doctrines and practices, which at least lie

on the very verge of the Popish system, might rather induce a suspicion that they have already gone somewhat too far ; that there has been something unsound in their previous teaching and institution. It is a good maxim, a necessary one, that no dogma may be believed, which is contrary to Scripture. It is a safer practical one, to reckon, that none, which may not be proved by it, is of much worth in the Christian's belief, possibly injurious to its purity ; he had better be taught to suspend his judgment on such points, than endeavour where scripture is silent, to decide them by some other authority. And schemes of comprehension, of necessity defeat their own design ; if weak brethren are included on the one hand, weak brethren will take offence on the other.

In conclusion, I would seriously beg the attention of those who, in an amiable, a pious affection for that which is ancient, would gladly see some practices called primitive restored among us, which the wisdom of the Church of England (which is to us the channel of grace and salvation) has thought fit to dispense with or disallow—I would beg their attention to the following passage concerning the setting up of images in Churches, and that they would generalize the warning conveyed in it :—

“ And thus you see how, from having of images privately, it came to public setting of them up in churches and temples, although without harm at the first, as was then of some wise and learned men judged: and from simply having them there, it came at the last to worshipping of them. So that I conclude, as it may be possible in *some one city or little*

country to have images set up in temples and churches, and yet idolatry, by earnest and continual preaching of God's true Word, and the sincere Gospel of our Saviour Christ, may be kept away for a short time : so it is impossible that (images once set up and suffered in temples and churches) any great countries, much less the whole world, can any long time be kept from idolatry. And the godly will respect, not only their own city, country, and time, and the health of men of their age, but be careful for all places and times, and the salvation of men of all ages. *At the least they will not lay such stumbling blocks and snares for the feet of other countrymen and ages, which experience hath already proved to have been the ruin of the world.—Against Peril of Idolatry ; 3rd part.*

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

H. B. WILSON.

St. John's College, March 26, 1841.

A D D E N D U M.

MR. NEWMAN quotes Archbishop Laud, in his Letter to Dr. Jelf, with a design of inferring, that principles of allowing great diversity of doctrine with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles were entertained by that Prelate. I am very glad that my attention should have been drawn by one of the public Journals to the History and Writings of one Davenport, otherwise Franciscus a Sancta Clara, to whom the subjoined notice refers; from which it will appear that the Archbishop was not a man to surrender the pure doctrine of the Church of England, or the independence of its Constitution.

The extracts which follow from the writings of Sancta Clara, and which I regret time does not permit me to carry to a greater length, will shew, in juxta-position with some passages in Tract No. 90, that we may well regard its principles with suspicion, when they so resemble the propositions of such a propagandist as Davenport.

“CHRISTOPHER DAVENPORT, a very learned Englishman, was born at Coventry, in Warwickshire, about the year 1598, and educated in grammar learning at a school in that city. He was sent to Merton College, in Oxford, at fifteen years of age; where spending two years, he, upon an invitation from some Romish priest living in or near Oxford, afterwards went to Doway. He remained there for some time; and, then going to Ypres, he entered into the order of Franciscans among the Dutch there, upon the 7th of October, 1617. After several removals from place to place, he became a missionary into

England, where he went by the name of Franciscus a Sancta Clara; and at length was made one of the chaplains to Henrietta Maria, the royal consort of King Charles I. Here he did all he could to promote the cause of popery, by gaining disciples, raising money among the English Catholics to carry on public matters abroad, and by writing books for the advancement of his religion and order. He was very eminent for his uncommon learning, being excellently versed in school divinity, in fathers and councils, in philosophers, and in ecclesiastical and profane histories. He was, Mr. Wood tells us, a person of very free discourse, while his fellow-labourer in the same vineyard, Hugh Cressy, was reserved; of a lively and quick aspect, while Cressy was clouded and melancholy: all which accomplishments made him agreeable to protestants as well as papists. Archbishop Laud, it seems, had some knowledge of this person; for, in the seventh article of his impeachment, it is said, that ‘the said Archbishop, for the advancement of popery and superstition within this realm, hath wittingly and willingly received, harboured, and relieved divers popish priests and Jesuits, namely, one called Sancta Clara, alias Davenport, a dangerous person and Franciscan friar, who hath written a popish and seditious book, entitled, *Deus, natura, gratia, &c.* wherein the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, established by Act of Parliament, are much traduced and scandalized: that the said Archbishop had divers conferences with him, while he was writing the said book’, &c. To which article, the Archbishop made this answer:—‘I never saw that Franciscan friar, Sancta Clara, in my life, to the utmost of my memory, above four times, or five at most. He was first brought to me by Dr. Lindsell: but I did fear, that he would never expound the Articles so, that the Church of England might have cause to thank him for it. He never came to me after, till he was almost ready to print another book, to prove, that episcopacy was authorized in the Church by divine right; and this was, after these unhappy stirs began. His desire was, to have this book printed here; but at his several addresses to me for this, I still gave him this answer: That I did not like the way which the Church of Rome went concern-

ing episcopacy; that I would never consent, that any such book from the pen of a Romanist should be printed here; that the Bishops of England are very well able to defend their own cause and calling, without any help from Rome, and would do so when they saw cause: and this is all the conference I ever had with him'.

“He was the author of several works:—He wrote, 1. Paraphrastica expositio articulorum confessionis Anglicæ. 2. Deus, natura, gratia: sive, tractatus de prædestinatione, de meritis, &c.”

SANCTA CLARA, Problem.

37, de Invoc. Sanct.

“Verba in frontispicio sine dubio durissima. Attendendum tamen, quod vi hujus articuli non reprehenditur Invocatio Sanctorum simpliciter seu in se: ut patet: *sed Romana doctrina de Invocatione, seu de explicatione invocationis Sanctorum: sic etiam diserte astruitur: ut etiam patet*”.

id. ib.

“Eodem plane modo et eodem verborum tenore, in eodem articulo, abjiciunt, non Purgatorium, indulgentias, adorationem imaginum et reliquiarum in se, sed ut prius DOCTRINAM ROMANAM de his omnibus, id est, doctrinam

TRACT FOR TIMES,

§ 6, p. 23.

“Now the first remark that occurs on perusing this Article is, that the doctrine objected to is ‘the *Romish doctrine*’”.

id. ib. p. 25.

“If, then, the doctrine condemned in this Article concerning purgatory, pardons, images, relics, and saints, be not the Primitive doctrine, nor the Catholic doctrine, nor the Tridentine doctrine, but the Romish, *doctrina Romanen-*

falsò nobis imputatam. De Purgatorio putant esse locum à nostris inventum ad cacabum Pontificis concoquendum (est phrasis Calvinistarum) ad crucem Christi evacuandam, &c. mira hujusmodi clamitant. De Indulgentiis, putant illas Pontificis venales nundinas, quasi pro libito suo viatores, vel defunctos ab omni pœnarum debito exsolvere (intelligo semper de Calvinistis). De cultu imaginum et reliquiarum, putant nos latrām proprie dictam ipsis terminative tribuere, Gentium idola constituere. Has impias impiorum hominum calumnias et fabellas, sub nomine DOCTRINÆ ROMANÆ, ut ridiculas abjiciunt, nos ut Dei sponsæ summe injurias abhorremus. Purgatorium vero in se, seu quo ad substantiam definitionis Ecclesiæ, præsertim in Florentino, plurimi admittunt, id est, *locum purgationis et emundationis*, ut loquitur Cyprianus tom. 1. ep. 52, (licet modus purgandi et emundandi non adeo perspicue definitur”).

id. Paraph. Art. xxxi.

“Totus hic Articulus durissimus videtur; rectius tamen introspeciendo, non adeo veritati discordem judicem.

sium, let us next consider *what* in matter of fact it is”.

id. § 9, p. 63.

“On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the Mass in itself, nor against

...In verbis posterioribus, si sobriè intelligantur, nihil agitur contra Sacrificia Missæ in se, sed contra vulgarem vel vulgatam opinionem de ipsis, scilicet quod Sacerdotes in Sacrificiis offerrent Christum pro vivis et defunctis, in remissionem pœnæ et culpæ, adeò ut virtute hujus Sacrificii ab eis oblatis independenter à Crucis Sacrificio, mereantur populo remissionem, &c. Hæc est vulgata opinio, quam hic perstringit Articulus”.

its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin ; but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of or distinct from the Sacrifice on the Cross, which is blasphemy, and, on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition”.



Edw. Rogers

A LETTER

TO THE

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,

ON THE

PUBLICATION OF No. 90.

OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY

WILLIAM SEWELL, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD.

Second Edition, with a Postscript.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER ;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

FAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

MY DEAR PUSEY,

I have been told, that letters have been written to yourself and to others, expressing the opinions of individuals on the last-published Tract for the Times, No. 90. And in the position in which you are placed, it may be desirable that you should know as much as possible of the sentiments of those around you. With the feelings which I, like so many others, have always entertained towards yourself and the other Authors of the Tracts, I would not willingly leave you to learn my own sentiments from common report, which would probably misrepresent them. And however distressing it is to differ from you, it seems to be my duty, for many reasons, to avow at once openly, that the publication of the Tract has caused me the most serious pain.

I may not be disposed to take precisely the same line of objection which has been taken by others. That the Articles were not intended as a body of dogmatical teaching, but as marks set upon certain existing errors, to warn us against them, leaving the whole space between them free and open, would appear to be an

obvious fact, recognized by our best divines, and perfectly in harmony with the true spirit of a Catholic Church. To treat the Articles as a regular system of theology, or to erect such a system and impose its reception by authority, would probably be a serious evil. But on a careful and repeated perusal of the Tract, it did to my own mind convey intimations, which if unintentionally suggested through incautious expressions, would still, at such a moment as the present, be most deeply to be lamented; and if intended, must be open to considerable discussion, and I will add, in my own view, to the gravest objections.

But I wish most distinctly and emphatically to state, that I am describing only the impression on my own mind, and not presuming to assert that I have caught the real meaning of the author. If I am mistaken, it will be a subject of great satisfaction. And the fact of my own misconception may prove an apology for others, who may have been similarly misled with myself.

I allude especially to the disparaging language in which the Articles appear to be spoken of,—the representation of them as a bondage, rather than as a safeguard,—and the suggestion, that their latitude, and so called ‘ambiguity,’ is an evil to be deprecated, and to be palliated for the present only by a forced strain of the grammatical meaning; instead of exhibiting these cha-

racteristics, especially in this place, in the true light of a most wise and charitable moderation, and a blessing for which we should be thankful.

Farther, it was difficult not to infer the contemplation in the mind of the writer of some future and unexplained changes in the external system of the Church. It is guarded indeed with certain conditions for the present, but with such as seem by no means sufficient to allay or restrain the natural discontent, and tendency to rash, restless reform, which must be created by the language in which the present condition of the Church is described; not as regards the sins of her individual members, (for in this no change can be enforced too earnestly,) but in her "formularies," "precedents," and "principles." If the "body of death," which we are now said to bear about, is applied to her system as established in "uncatholic times," such is surely not the tone in which our greatest divines have been accustomed to speak of the Church of England, especially as distinguished from the Church of Rome. If it apply to any external oppression from the State, we have, individually, a simple remedy in the patient, obedient, but faithful and bold performance by each of us of our several duties, as they are enjoined on us by the express command of God; and any fetters with which the State has bound us will then become as flax, without any formal change in our ecclesiastical

constitution ; the contemplation of which, I should venture to think, is not to be encouraged, but to be most fervently deprecated.

In connexion with this point I cannot but feel uneasy at the palliating, and, if our older divines are right, the erroneous language in which the criminal usurpation of the Papacy is described, [p. 77.] simply ‘ as an event in Providence ;’ as ordained of God while it existed, and claiming our obedience ; as involving no question of “ought,” [p. 97.] either in obedience or resistance to it ; and as coming under the same description with the Metropolitan and Patriarchal systems. Barrow’s language^a, for instance, is very different. And on a point of such vital importance, which may really form the great line of demarcation between the Church of England and Popery, incautious language is full of peril.

To these objections I would add, the appearance of a general disposition to give scope and indulgence to a number of opinions, not essential to the faith of Christianity, and not warranted by sufficient evidence of their catholicity ; opinions, which are not indeed formally condemned by our Church, but of the dangerous tendency of which she has surely desired to warn us, by carefully excluding from our Church Services so many things which might encourage them. It is most true that our Church does not

^a Treatise on the Pope’s Supremacy.

presume to shackle private opinions, beyond what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the faith. But seeing the inevitable tendency of the mind to slide from private opinions into Romish errors, is it not wiser and more consistent with the spirit of that rule, under which God has placed us, to lead minds, and young minds especially, from indulging such opinions, to the grand indisputable truths of the Gospel, to the plain practical duties of life, and to an ardent and sincere devotion to our own Church as it is constituted?

Whatever are the evils and defects in the mode in which her system is administered by ourselves as individuals, surely she possesses amply sufficient in herself, without borrowing from such dangerous sources, to stimulate and indulge all that is good and safe in the imagination and affections. Perhaps the very contemplation of this as an object may be full of risk, and withdraw us from the simple task committed to us, of holding up the Catholic faith before men, and leaving in the hands of God its effect upon the heart. Our object as a Church, we must allow, is not to govern men, but to witness to the truth; and we know from a lamentable experience, how easy it is, when this ground is in the least shifted, to sink into most fatal errors.

I must think also, that although it is Christian

and prudent to speak reverently of the mysteries of religion, and leniently of the errors of others, when there is no risk of leading to their imitation, our present position in relation to the Church of Rome, and to many members of our own communion, is not such as to warrant any expression, or any silence, which may tend to throw weak minds off their guard, and make them insensible to the real enormities of the Romish system. And such does not appear to have been the tone adopted by those great men, who, we know, were able before this to maintain the highest doctrines of our Church, with the boast that none of their disciples had been tempted by them into the Communion of Rome.

And, lastly, though it is impossible to estimate too highly the value of the real Catholic Testimony of Antiquity to the essential Doctrines of Christianity, or to look without the highest veneration on the great Fathers of the Early Church, is it not dangerous to consider ourselves, or to lead others to consider themselves, as ‘Disciples of the Catholic Church,’ rather than as the dutiful and affectionate children of that branch of it, to which we immediately belong? May it not encourage a fanciful and even self-willed spirit, to throw them back upon a distant period of the Church, not for great truths which we are taught by our own Church, and are commanded by her to confirm by such testimony; but

for habits of thought and practice, difficult to be realized, impossible to be understood in all their bearings, unfitted, it may be, for our own state, and powerless for effecting the good which is hoped from them; the proof of which need only be sought in the state of society at the time, and in the evils which subsequently sprung from them? From what has come under my own observation, I do think it more than ever necessary to maintain, that our access to the ancient Church must be through the channel of our own English Church, and under the control of living rulers, as well as of written rules. Our vitality must indeed be drawn from Apostolical sources, but only as the leaf is nourished from the root, by adhering firmly to the branch on which it is growing.

I have touched on these heads generally, and should have explained my meaning at greater length, had I not found myself really unequal to the anxiety and labour of engaging in such a discussion, farther than seems absolutely necessary. The objections which I have stated may be groundless. But they have been forced on me, and may have been forced on others far more open to their influence. If readers least disposed to take offence are startled and pained by a work, must there not be something to complain of in the tone or form in which its opinions are put forth? As startling, they may rouse attention, but surely such cannot be a proper form in which religious

truth should be permitted to appear? We may indeed feel indifferent to the effect produced on one class of opponents; but are there not tender and delicate minds, whose eyes are to be couched gradually, if they are in darkness, and for whose sake we are bound to be cautious? Does not any shock in religious opinion, even if in some instances it bring us to truth, unsettle the mind, and dispose it generally for the reception of paradoxes, and therefore of error? And would it not have been well, if a truth so obvious as that asserted in the Tract, had been put forward, without hazarding the creation of alarm and opposition?

If you ask me why I have thought it necessary to say thus much, one reason is, that although I have never, as you know, been in the slightest degree connected with the Publication of the Tracts, and have always studiously avoided habits of intimacy with their authors, as fearing the creation of a party, I was once, as you have stated to me yourself, the means under Providence of considerably allaying the irritation and alarm, which had been raised against you and others, by false and silly charges. If I have ever maintained similar principles with the Tracts, it has been so far only as I believed them to be the principles of the Church of England. And in whatever I have hitherto done I have endeavoured to act independently, only desirous of guarding Truth, and, where I might do it without presumption, the characters of others against idle and malicious calumnies. What

I am now doing, I trust, will not be attributed to a different spirit. But I will venture to entreat you to consider, whether under present circumstances, the continuation of the Tracts is not pregnant with danger to the cause of Peace, and, what is dearer than Peace, of Truth.

The circumstances of the times may fairly be considered as a sufficient reason for their original publication. But it is dangerous for any body of individuals, however small, to combine to disseminate peculiar religious opinions within the Church. It becomes still more dangerous, when their works have acquired, however improperly, a name, which compromises a great public University in no way responsible for them, and when they are put forth anonymously, and apparently with the sanction of the whole body; but, as it appears from Mr. Perceval's Letter, is the case with the Tracts, without any adequate superintendence being exercised over the opinions and expressions of the individual writers. When the object of this arrangement is, as Mr. Perceval's statement also indicates, to 'produce effect,' 'to be effective,' 'to please,' and 'to strike,' this bias, however unintentionally, may still farther interfere with the simple enunciation of truth. And it has now too become evident, that the continuation of the Tracts, at least in their present shape, may lead to painful collisions, not with persons incompetent to judge, but with authorities, whom we must all respect. Under these circumstances may it not be right to guard against this evil, and against

the gradual formation of a party, and the chance of driving those who differ from you still farther from what you believe to be truth, and against even the possibility of a schism—all this, when the object is accomplished, for which you first commenced your labours, and when the fundamental principles, which you have advocated, have taken root, and spread, and are advancing every day, with a rapidity, which ten years since we should have pronounced it a delusion to imagine?

I will make no apology for writing thus openly. You, who have never spoken harshly even of those who have most cruelly traduced you, will not be slow to make allowances for one who has never uttered a word or entertained a thought, either of yourself or of the other authors of the Tracts, but those of gratitude and affectionate respect.

But my name has been most improperly connected with them. And it is right that neither of us should be made responsible for any but our own opinions. And an act even of an individual so insignificant as myself may not be wholly useless at this moment, if it shews, that the movement now making in defence of the Church and of her principles is carried on by persons not connected by party spirit, or other ties than their duty to the Church—that to differ in such points, as those to which I have now objected, does not imply the least dissension on the grand

objects for which we are contending—that these very differences on detached questions will be a great security against error in those which are the most important ; and that it is possible to hold, what are supposed to be extreme opinions with respect to great Church doctrines, and at the same time to be keenly (perhaps you will say unreasonably) sensitive to any thing which seems to border either on a disparagement of our English Church, as it is at present constituted, or on the slightest needless approximation to the errors of the Church of Rome.

In conclusion I cannot but say, that although pain may be caused to individuals for the present, the discussion opened by the Tract, however unhappily commenced, seems likely to do much good, in calling our attention to the real character of our formularies, and leading us to be still more attached to them, and more grateful for the Providence, which, whatever were the thoughts of their authors, watched over their construction. Nor, I trust, can there be any fear, that the quiet, sobriety, and kind feeling, which has so long been the characteristic of the University, is likely to be disturbed on the present occasion.

Believe me, My dear Pusey,
 With the sincerest esteem and regard,
 Your's ever truly,

WILLIAM SEWELL.

Exeter College, March 17, 1841.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take the opportunity of a second Edition to add one remark, not with a view to express any opinion of my own, which might be officious and useless, but at the suggestion of others.

Without referring at all to the merits or demerits of the particular Tract in question, I must confess that I did at the first regard the Resolution of the Hebdomadal Board with considerable uneasiness. And the same uneasiness has undoubtedly been felt, and to a great degree, by men of high eminence and station both in the University and the Church, who are as little connected as myself with party, and equally indisposed, I should conceive, to identify themselves with any opinions, but the acknowledged and indisputable doctrines of our Church, as contained in her formularies, and maintained by her Standard Divines.

If books before this have been condemned in the University, the condemnation has been passed by an Act of Convocation, which is the proper and only Representative of the University “in matters of greater moment.” And for the

decision of certain other Theological Questions within the University, the Statutes have appointed a particular Tribunal selected from the Faculty of Theology. If therefore the Resolution of the Hebdomadal Board were to be represented as an Act of the whole University, or as a formal decision on a Theological Question, it would assuredly introduce a novel and unstatutable proceeding, and might render it imperative on Members of Convocation to protest publicly against it, lest it should be turned into a most dangerous precedent.

But after a careful enquiry, I believe I shall be justified not only in inferring from the express terms of the Resolution, *but in asserting on the highest authority, that the Hebdomadal Board have scrupulously and deliberately endeavoured to guard their proceedings against a violation of the privileges, either of Convocation or of the Theological Faculty.* They seem to have acted simply as the appointed guardians of the Statutes, bound in the words of the Statute Book itself, “*de Statutis observandis tractare, deliberare, et consilia inire.*” Considering (whether with reason or not, we need not here enquire) that the Tract in question might tend to a violation of the Statutes, they could scarcely avoid taking notice of it. And as the authorities, by whom in their several Colleges the Tutors are appointed, to whom the Statutes have committed the teaching of the Articles,

their attention would more especially be called to it. How far the publication of a separate Resolution of the Heads of Houses with the public mark of the University Seal attached to it may have been objectionable, as seeming to claim for it a higher authority than it really possesses, may be open to discussion. But it is only an act of justice to admit, that it is the mode usually adopted by the Board, in calling the attention of the Junior Members of the University to the observance or violation of any particular Statute. And under circumstances of no little difficulty, it may be well not so much to cavil too scrupulously at the past, as to hope that such objections, if they were well grounded, might be guarded against in future.

It is easy to imagine that the Heads of Houses might feel strongly the duty of giving some public warning to young men against a publication, which they deemed likely to mislead them—and that they might desire also to take an opportunity of disclaiming that connexion between the University, and certain publications of individual members of it, which had been so erroneously and disingenuously asserted by those who are friends to neither. And there would be nothing derogatory to the Board or inconsistent with their proceedings in supposing that they might wish to adopt a mode of discharging this duty, as little painful as possible to an individual, whose character has

commanded for him the highest respect, and whose great services to the Church in reviving many most important Truths it would be impossible to deny, or to reflect on without the greatest gratitude. And certainly they have reason to be satisfied with the result, if, as is generally understood, the Tracts are henceforth to be dropped, and great ends have been gained without involving the University in the many difficulties and evils, which must have attended any attempt to pronounce formally on the merits of a publication, which even by those most opposed to it would probably be condemned chiefly by implication and suspicion, and as unguarded and liable to perversion in the application which may be made of it.

It is scarcely possible that such an act should be made use of, even by the most unscrupulous persons, as if it implied a censure either by the University or the Hebdomadal Board on any publication but the single Tract named in the Resolution. Still less as generally condemnatory of the great fundamental doctrines which have within these last ten years been advocated by a large body of the English Clergy, as well as in the Tracts for the Times, and which are generally known by the name of Church Principles, as distinct from any peculiar opinions, which may have been maintained by individual writers.

Even if the general character of the University

and of the Heads of Houses were not sufficient at once to correct such perverted misrepresentations, it would be refuted at once by the well-known fact, that on many other occasions writers, who have most earnestly devoted themselves to the maintenance of Church Principles, have thought it their duty to dissent from particular subordinate opinions advocated in the Tracts, at the very time, when they have expressed strongly their concurrence in fundamental truths. The Tracts for the Times never have been taken as a standard of Church Principles, nor, whatever opinion may be entertained of them individually, would it be possible to do this without compromising the first of Church Principles, that we must adhere to no authority but that of our Ecclesiastical Rulers, our authorized formularies, and the interpretation of our old standard Divines.

Having before this received through the kindness of the Vice-Chancellor a private communication which completely satisfied my own mind on these points ; and knowing how desirous he expressed himself that others should be satisfied likewise ; I have had the less scruple as a private friend in requesting him to read over these remarks, that if I have made any mistake, so far as regards matters of fact, I may correct them

before publication. *He has with his usual kindness consented to do this, and I am happy to be able to state, that he has not suggested any alteration.* -

Exeter College, March 31, 1841.

Edw. Rogers

A LETTER

RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO

THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN,

UPON SOME PASSAGES IN HIS

LETTER TO THE REV. DR. JELF.

BY N. WISEMAN, D. D.

Bishop of Melipotamus.

Second Edition.

LONDON :

CHARLES DOLMAN, NEW BOND STREET.

MDCCCXLI.

BIRMINGHAM :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM STONE.

A LETTER,

§c.

*St. Mary's College, Oscott,
March 27, 1841.*

REV. SIR,

THE second edition of your Letter to Dr. JELF has just reached me; I had not been able to see it sooner. In addressing directly to yourself some observations upon it, I hope you will not consider me as presuming upon the passing acquaintance I made with you some years ago in Rome, however pleasant to me the recollection of it may be, but as moved by considerations of a higher character. I have sufficient confidence in your candour and in your powers, to believe that, if I shall be so happy as to convince you of the inaccuracy of any of your views and statements, you will be the first to correct them, and will be able to remove the impressions you have produced, far better than I could ever hope to do. On the other hand, did I address the public only, as though entering into controversy against you, and not into discussion with you, I might appear to exclude from my earnest anxiety to convince, the very person in whom the character of the present theological enquiry naturally prompts me to feel most interested. I will, therefore, temperately but frankly, proceed to offer you my observations upon such parts of your Letter, as must be distressing to every well-instructed Catholic.

The purport of your Letter to Dr. Jelf is to vindicate yourself against the sentence of four tutors of

Colleges, who have represented the Tract No. 90, of which you are the author, as asserting that the Thirty-nine Articles do not condemn "Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and adoration of Images and Relics, the Invocation of Saints, and the Mass, as they are *taught authoritatively* by the Church of Rome."

Your reply to this is, that you "consider that they *do* contain a condemnation of the 'authoritative teaching' of the Church of Rome, on these points:" that you "only say that, whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees." P. 4. Your next paragraph—painful though it be to my feelings—I must give in your own words.

"As to the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, I think it goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity, and Heaven, and Hell, it does seem to me, as a popular system, to preach the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, and Purgatory. If there ever was a system which required reformation, it is that of Rome at this day, or in other words, (as I should call it) Romanism or Popery." P. 5.

In further explanation of your meaning, you quote a passage from another of your writings, from which I think it sufficient, at present, to extract the following sentence. "In the Roman Schools we find St. Mary and the Saints the prominent objects of regard and dispensers of mercy, Purgatory or Indulgences the means of obtaining it, the Pope the ruler and teacher of the Church, and miracles the warrant of doctrines." Ibid.

Your intention seems to be, as far as I can gather it

from these and other passages in the Letter, to establish a distinction between the doctrines defined or decreed in the General Council of Trent, and the *authoritative teaching* of the Roman Church, that is, I suppose, of the Catholic Church in communion with Rome. It is not your intention, I presume, to designate by the term "authoritative teaching" local abuses, or the extravagances of individual writers, but the teaching by authority, which that Church, as a Church, sanctions and pursues.

The existence of any such *authoritative teaching* at variance with the doctrines of the Tridentine Synod is, to me, a novel idea; and I think will prove so to all Catholics. It is chiefly with respect to its existence and its supposed objects and systems, as described by you, that I take the liberty of respectfully addressing you.

Suppose I were to assert, that in the Church of England, there is an "authoritative teaching," at variance with the Articles, as interpreted by you in the Tract. You believe your interpretation of the Articles to be the only one reconcilable with catholic truth, or that can bring your Church into harmony with the Catholic Church.* Suppose then further that I reasoned, that your Church was not to be judged by the Articles, but by such authoritative teaching, and that therefore its doctrines, and consequently itself, are not catholic. How

* "But these remarks are beyond our present scope, which is merely to shew that while our Prayer book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are through God's good providence, to say the least, *not uncatholic*, and may be subscribed to by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine." Tract p. 4.

would you reply? I think you would justly ask, *where* does that authoritative teaching reside? Who has power to make it, so as to limit the interpretation of the Articles? You would not be satisfied with extracts against Transubstantiation, the Mass, a middle State of souls, and honouring of Saints, from *hundreds* of writers and divines in communion with your Church, who have proclaimed that these things are, completely and without reserve, condemned in and by your Church. You would not be content with the joint opinion of College Tutors, or of the hebdomadal board, or, I believe, of individual bishops, whose sentiments are in part recorded on your views. None of these, individually or collectively, would you allow, I think, to have the character of an authoritative teaching; certainly not to the extent of justifying an opponent, in fastening upon your Church their sentiments, *instead* of the Articles.

Let us apply this case to ours. It is a serious thing to charge us with setting up the Blessed Virgin in place of the Holy Trinity, and Purgatory instead of Heaven and Hell. We naturally ask, what shall be considered sufficient evidence of there being an *authoritative teaching*, that supersedes the solemn and synodal decrees of our Church, and makes us responsible *in solidum* for its lessons? This I have endeavoured to discover in your Letter; and yet I own, I have been foiled, even as to any plausible conjecture concerning what you yourself had in mind, when you adopted the term. You seem to have rested content with certain

vague generalities, not easily reduced to tangible forms. I will try to enumerate some of your various evidences of this "*authoritative teaching.*"

- 1^o. "What we see of it" (I suppose of our teaching) "in public." p. 6.
- 2^o. The doctrine of "the Roman schools." Ibid. and p. 8.
- 3^o. The teaching of the Catechism of the Council of Trent. p. 5.
- 4^o. "Popular notions" of Catholics, *as attested by the Homilies and Jeremy Taylor.* Ibid.
- 5^o. The abuses which *Luther* assailed *before* the Council of Trent. Ibid.
- 6^o. Popular worship and practice of Catholics in general. p. 7, par. 1.
- 7^o. The honours paid to saints in catholic countries. Ibid. par. 2.
- 8^o. The sentiments of "all the best writers" upon such subjects. p. 10.

I could add some other heads I think; but these will suffice. I put it, Rev. Sir, to your candour and good sense, whether you would admit such evidences as these, of a teaching in your church, sufficiently authoritative, to be considered as taking place in it of the Articles you have subscribed. To "the teaching of the Roman schools, the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and the sentiments of the best writers," I have no objections to make. But that you should give as evidences of authoritative teaching "popular notions" and practices, &c. is certainly surprising. Popular notions concerning the

Bible and Rule of Faith, you surely would not admit as evidence of the teaching of your Church: popular practice as to fasting, the Eucharist, and prayer, you would not allow to define your doctrines on those subjects.

But you must bear with me if I go into details, both as regards the evidences which you refer to, and the doctrines you suppose them to teach.

1^o. The *Roman Schools*. I have given one extract where you appeal to these, in support of your views. In the Tract p. 24, you express a similar sentiment, and you have copied it into your Letter. "What is opposed" (by Art. xxii) "is the *received doctrine of the day*, and *unhappily of this day too*, or the *doctrines of the Roman Schools*." After the extract, you thus proceed. "This doctrine of the Schools is at present, on the whole, the established creed * of the Roman Church, and this I call Romanism or Popery." P. 8.

What, I beg leave to ask, *are* these "Roman Schools?" What does the term signify? Where is the teaching of these Schools authentically recorded?

Bear with me, if I speak too prominently in my own name, because I have some right to come forward as evidence in this matter. I have resided for two and twenty years in Rome, intimately connected with its theological education. For five years I attended "the Roman Schools" in the Roman College, where all the clergy of the City were obliged to be educated. I went through

* Here we have an instance again of vagueness of language, on matters which require strict accuracy. What constitutes "*the established Creed of a Church?*" Is it not the doctrine of its *formularies*, as solemnly recognized by its authorities? How then is the term here applied?

the entire theological course, and publicly maintained it in a thesis. Since then I have been always engaged in teaching theology in our national College; and for some years have held the office of a professor in the Roman University. I ought therefore to be tolerably acquainted with the doctrines of the Roman Schools.

Now I solemnly assure you that, throughout the entire course of studies, I never heard a word that could lead me to suppose, that our Blessed Lady and the Saints are, or ought to be, the "prominent objects of regard," or *could* be "dispensers of mercy:" or that "Purgatory or Indulgences are the means of obtaining it, &c.,"*

Moreover I declare, with all sincerity and earnestness, that I have always there heard and taught, exactly the contrary to what you represent as the doctrine of the *Roman Schools*. Surely if there be any place, institution, system, or code, on earth, which has a right to this name, it must be that of the very schools to which I refer.

But perhaps you will say, that it is not the formal teaching which you mean, but the spirit infused into the whole system of the Roman schools; as if one should say of the Oxford *school*, (not *schools*) that it taught certain doctrines, he would not signify that such doctrines are delivered *ex cathedra*, but that they are instilled throughout the course, and form its soul or spirit. But to produce this effect, *some* means at least are necessary. The doctrines, which it is wished to

* The very idea sounds new, that Purgatory is ever considered a *means* of obtaining mercy, at least to the living who are ever exhorted to escape it; a *place* of mercy we certainly consider it, I never remember hearing or seeing it enumerated among the *media* or *means* of mercy.

bring prominently forward, will be repeatedly inculcated and insinuated, and their importance dilated on. Yet here again, I cannot recall to my mind any circumstance, which, upon reconsideration, appears to me like any such attempt, or such a system.

The distribution of the theological course was at that time as follows. One professor occupied four years (an hour's lecture a day) upon the Sacraments, the "instruments of grace and pardon," as you rightly tell us, in the ancient Church. Another professor distributed his course, as follows: first year, *De Locis Theologicis*, and chiefly *De Ecclesia*; second, *De Deo Uno et Trino*; third, *De Incarnatione*; fourth, *De Gratia*. A third professor was engaged two years on Scripture; and a fourth, the same time, on Moral Theology. These were the obligatory courses, without having attended which, no one could receive Orders. Now, I ask you, are the *Anglican* "schools" so arranged as to "set before the soul, the Holy Trinity," or to make "Christ the Son of God, his grace, his Sacraments and his Church, the main aspect in the economy of Redemption," more decidedly, more clearly, or more essentially, than does this theological system of the *Roman* schools? You are, I dare say, conversant with the order and matter of the theological treatises I have enumerated: but I am sure many others of my readers will hardly know, where those matters which you consider the prominent ones in the *Roman* schools, are introduced in them. For their sakes I will state it. All that is taught about "St. Mary

and the saints," their relics and images, is introduced into a short treatise at the end of *De Incarnatione*.* Indulgences are spoken of in a supplementary treatise, or appendix, to Penance, among the Sacraments.† And as to Purgatory, which your readers will naturally suppose has quite superseded in our minds heaven and hell, it comes in between the two, occupying far smaller space in our theological works than either of them,‡ in a tract appended to that *De Deo Creatore*, which is often distinct from the one on the Trinity.

This forms the doctrinal teaching of the "Roman schools;" and if it be such as I have described it in their very centre, I suppose no one will doubt that the authoritative teaching of other Catholic places will not go beyond Rome itself, in what you consider Roman doctrines.

But perhaps I have not as yet caught your meaning: your expression may be intended to apply to the ascetic, rather than to the dogmatical, teaching of Rome. Let us then examine this. In the first place, I may observe that in speaking of authoritative teaching in a church, and appealing for its existence to its *schools*, one naturally understands the dogmatical schools, as indexes of dogmatical teaching. But secondly, there is, properly speaking, no other *school*. We must examine the ascetic teaching chiefly in authorised and sanctioned practices.

* In the theological course now pursued at the Roman College, that of Father Perrone, the treatise *De Incarnatione* occupies upwards of 360 pages: that on the Saints, their Images, Relics, &c. under one hundred. Vol. iv. Rom. 1836

† In Perrone's work it occupies less than 50 pages. Matrimony occupies upwards of 200. Vol. vii.

‡ *Ibid* Vol. iii. Heaven occupies about 45 pages, Hell 53, Purgatory 23.

Do these, then, countenance your assertion, of an authoritative teaching which has usurped the place and authority of the Tridentine Canons, and has made those blasphemous and idolatrous substitutions, which it is painful to me to repeat?

Every year, the pulpit of almost every great church in large cities, and of every metropolitan and parochial church in other places, gives a regular course of Lenten sermons, often filled with warm and feeling eloquence. The general practice is to devote one sermon, (on the third Sunday) to Purgatory. Indulgences I have never heard introduced into the series: the B. Virgin seldom more than once, on the commemoration of her Dolours. But death, heaven, hell, judgment, form the theme of many discourses. A fortnight towards the end of Lent is always set aside (in addition to the course in the morning) for daily instructions to crowded churches, on what? on purgatory or indulgences, as the means of obtaining mercy? No: but on the paschal duty of a sincere repentance and confession, and of a worthy participation of the B. Eucharist. I doubt if *those* two topics are even alluded to.

The spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, or a spiritual retreat, are considered the most efficacious means of bringing men to a sense of duty, and a life of virtue. And I will say, from tolerable experience, that their efficacy is little short of miraculous. They consist in a series of meditations (based upon the consideration of Man's end) much in the following order: on sin, on

hell, on death and judgment—several on each—not one on purgatory; then, on the incarnation and birth of our Saviour, on the mysteries of His infancy, on His life, then on His sufferings and death; afterwards on His resurrection, on heaven, the Blessed Eucharist, and the love of God! Not one on the Blessed Virgin! The pulpit and the spiritual retreat are the two principal means of individual sanctification, in the *outward* economy of the Church.

Take the Italian, or French, or Spanish catechism; and candidly examine, whether in any of them, the Trinity and Incarnation, and the entire Creed be not the primary and principal subjects of instruction:—whether any thing is taught the children who learn their faith in it, that can lead them to suppose that the Blessed Virgin, purgatory, images, and indulgences, are the main subjects to be attended to.

I really do not know where to look for an “authoritative teaching” as carried on in the “Roman schools,” beyond the places and objects which I have enumerated, and I cannot find in any of these the smallest proposition, or intimation, at variance with the Decrees of the holy Tridentine Synod. But before quitting this subject of the Roman schools, permit me to draw your attention to one of the specific doctrines which you seem to attribute to them. You will bear in mind that you identify what *was* the received doctrine of the Roman schools when the Articles were drawn up, with what it now is. (Tract p. 24. Letter p. 8.) The passage, then, to which I allude is the following startling one. “For instance as to Purgatory,

I consider (with the Homily) that the Article opposes the main idea *really encouraged by Rome*, that *temporal punishment is a substitute for hell in the case of the unholy*, and all the superstitions consequent thereon. (Letter, p. 24.)

You are aware, Rev. Sir, that your assertion weighs much with many : that you are believed to have made no common study of catholic works of theology and piety, and to have endeavoured to gain acquaintance, to a greater extent and in a kinder spirit than most others, with the true doctrines of our Church. A doctrine like the one which you state, is wicked and fiendish, driving men headlong, because cruelly hoodwinked, to perdition. Can you prove that Rome has “really ” ever “encouraged,” or does now “encourage” such an idea? In what formulary? in what decree or declaration? by what practice? by what connivance? I cannot remember anything, published or done, that can possibly be construed into any such encouragement. If you have proofs of this terrible assertion, I earnestly call upon you to produce them; if you have not, I entreat you in charity to recall it.

2. Another evidence of an authoritative teaching in the Catholic Church, which goes beyond, or supersedes, the Tridentine decrees, you draw from the Catechism of that Council. This looks the most plausible of all your corroborations of your theory; but I think upon consideration you will see that it has been unfairly used.

First, to put the Catechism at variance with the Council, which ordered it to be drawn up and published,

strikes one, at once, as unnatural, and as a fallacy. Those who compiled it and revised it were among the most learned and zealous assistants at the Council; they undertook to embody in a catechetical form, its doctrines. We must suppose these men, (and mind they were St. Charles Borromeo, Sirletus, Seripandus, Foreiro, Medina, and others of equal character) deliberately contradicting their own acts, or else not knowing what they had previously decreed. Such hypotheses cannot be reasonably sustained.

Secondly. The fact, in truth, is, that the Catechism is a popular exposition, and therefore admits greater latitude of expression; it even states matters not of faith. Thus you will find the doctrine of Angels-guardian taught and expounded in it, though only a pious belief, not an article of faith: we are also told there that the Apostles drew up the Creed, though this has not been defined by the Church. It employs, therefore, the usual language in which a doctrine is spoken of in the Church. From the time of St Augustine it has been usual to call purgatory, whatever its purgation may consist of, a fire, a cleansing fire, &c. But to say, that the incidental use of such a term constitutes an authoritative teaching, more binding and decisive than the cautious phraseology of a dogmatical definition, is clearly a straining of facts for the sake of an argument.*

* To show how far catholic divines are from imagining that this expression of the Catechism interferes with the liberty allowed by the decree, I will quote the words of Perrone; which are, in fact, the language of every catholic theologian. "Omnia igitur quae spectant ad locum, durationem,

Thirdly. Your theory is, that the authoritative teaching, which has replaced the Tridentine doctrines, has made Purgatory or Indulgences usurp the place of the sacraments as “means of obtaining mercy,” And you quote the Catechism as evidence of this teaching. Will your readers, think you, imagine, that in that voluminous compilation, the subject of Purgatory occupies just two sentences? that in treating of Penance, Indulgences are not even mentioned?

Fourthly. If the Catechism is better evidence of what we authoritatively teach, than even the decrees of the Synod, why not let us have the entire benefit of such evidence? For instance, let us be tried by the very test you have proposed for Purgatory, on the subject of Images. After explaining their lawfulness and use the Catechism thus proceeds. “But as the enemy of mankind, by his wiles and deceits, seeks to pervert every the most holy institution, should the faithful happen at all to offend in this particular, the pastor, in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent, will use every exertion in his power to correct such an abuse, and when occasion offers, *will explain the decree itself to*

poenarum qualitatem, ad catholicam fidem minime spectant, seu definita ab ecclesia non sunt. Num scilicet. . . ignis purgatorii sit materialis an metaphoricus; utrum scilicet consistat in quadam animi tristitia exorta ex anteactae vitae consideratione, foeditate peccati, &c. . . diversae olim de iis extiterunt inter veteres Ecclesiae Patres, et inter scholasticos etiam recentiores adhuc videntur discrepantes sententiae.” Vol. iii. p. 321. Surely this will satisfy any reasonable mind, that we are as free to speculate on the nature of purgatory since the Catechism called it a fire, as we were for the *two* years between the ratification of the Council (1564) and the publication of the Catechism, (1566.)

the people," &c.* Is this an "authoritative teaching" which supersedes the decree of Trent, or a sanctioning, on the subject of images, of more than *it* warrants? I beg in like manner to refer you to the instructions of the Catechism regarding the worship of Saints.† And again I ask, if its doctrine have to prove so much for you on purgatory, because fire is merely mentioned, ought you not to have given us the benefit of what it proves on *all* the other subjects, included by you under the title of Roman doctrines?

3^o. "I conceive that what 'all the best writers' say is authoritative teaching, and a sufficient object for the censures conveyed in the Articles, though the decrees of Trent, taken by themselves, remain untouched." p. 10. I am willing to admit the test; and therefore shall be satisfied that you are right, if you will give the testimony of all, or any, of our best writers in favour of what you call "Romanism or Popery," that is, "preaching the Blessed Virgin, the Saints and Purgatory," instead of "the Holy Trinity, Heaven and Hell," &c. I might, indeed, justly protest against having the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church decided by the opinions of one individual, or of any number of individuals, however respectable, if such teaching be contrary to, or beyond, that of our last General Council; as much as you would against the doctrines of your church being determined by the opinion of Bishop Hoadley, or its principles by those of Bishop Newton, rather than by the Articles. But I have no

* Catechism. Rom. Part. iii. Vol. . p. 441, Ed. Rome, 1839. Latin and English.

† Ibid. . 27.

objection to waive that plea, and accept you own terms. Our best writers are well known to you better than to most: show in them such a system as you have described, and you will have done something towards carrying out your views. But Dr. Lloyd's bare assertion, which is all you now have, will not suffice.

However, after all, allow me to put it to yourself, whether you have not inadvertently, fallen into a mistake, in applying his words? They are as follows:—

“That latria is due only to the Trinity is continually asserted *in the Councils*; but the terms of dulia, and hyperdulia *have not been adopted or acknowledged by them in their public documents*; they are however *employed unanimously by all the best writers of the Romish Church.*” On these words, you make the comment with which I began this paragraph. *Your* object is to confirm, by the words of Dr. Lloyd, a discrepancy between the *Council of Trent* and catholic writers of celebrity. Dr. Lloyd, however, speaks of *Councils* in the plural. And in fact, I think you will not find the word *latria* any more than *dulia* in the decrees of the Council of Trent. Therefore, no proof of discrepancy between *it* and writers, can be drawn from this statement of Dr. Lloyd's. Moreover, I will observe, that the use of terms by certain writers, will not put them in contradiction to the Council, simply because it happened not to employ them: the *doctrine* of both is one.

4^o. These seem to be the only sources which could have a right, with any plausibility, to be alleged as evidence of an authoritative teaching in our Church,

distinct from its formularies. They all give the same results as these. I will now glance at your remaining heads of evidence.

I think you yourself, when you endeavour to analyze the conviction in your mind of the existence of your "authoritative teaching" in the Catholic Church, will find that it is not based upon the use of the word "fire" in the Catechism, nor on any teaching of any Roman Schools, nor upon the works of "all our best writers;" but rather upon what you call the "popular worship" (which you identify with our "existing creed") p. 7. upon "popular notions of catholics" on "what is seen in public" and on such like *very popular* and generally admitted themes of anticatholic declamation. I do not think you would deliberately allow yourself to be led away by these. I do not think you would reflectingly take, for a guide of your sentiments, the prejudiced statements of travellers, or the assertions, however unanimous, of the great body of writers against us. But it is exceedingly difficult to think, differently from what every body about us has always been thinking and saying. It is almost impossible to stay the mind, when hurried on by the press of those behind, and on either side of us. And so I fancy that you, like many other candid men, (and I am sorry to add, occasionally some catholics) having heard every protestant traveller, and every protestant writer, and in fact almost every protestant man and woman, describe or take for granted, the superstitions of the Italians, or of Spaniards, and their enthusiastic devotion to the Mother of God, or their confidence in Indulgences, &c. have too

implicitly assumed all this ; and so have come to construct your theory, that this “ popular religion ” is the fruit of a certain authoritative teaching, although this does not exist in any tangible or visible form. Perhaps, indeed, you would consider a *tacit sanction* of such practices and doctrines as you describe, equivalent to an *authoritative teaching* of them. If so, the expression is likely to mislead ; but my task remains the same.

First, then, I would most respectfully ask, are you prepared to say, that any extent of corruption, or sanction of error by the members of a church, if at variance with its acknowledged formularies, deprives the Church of the benefit of these, and warrants its being treated as having admitted a new faith ? If you are then, I answer, that you and your friends, from the early Tracts down to Mr. Bowden,* have been grievously in error, when you have maintained that the supposed corruptions in the Catholic Church, *before* the Council of Trent, did not invalidate its title to be the true Church, *because* such errors were not embodied in formularies of faith. For, if practical corruptions are to be taken as stronger declarations of the Church’s belief than the formularies themselves, then had the Church forfeited all claims, and sanctioned error, as much before, as after, the Synod. Now your argument does assume, that certain supposed practical corruptions amongst us have more right to indicate our “ existing creed,” than the very decrees of a Council, to which we all are bound. Further, I ask you, whereas the Established Church, for a considerable period, (as during the last century,) had

* Life of Gregory VII. vol. i. p. 7.

forgotten or rejected those views which you have revived, and authoritatively taught, as far as universal teaching public and private went, views of the Articles diametrically opposed to your present ones, do you consider this universal defection, as establishing the doctrines of your Church, in preference to the Articles ?

I think, therefore, that it will not be easy to determine, that the decrees of Trent are to be put aside, by any amount of practical departure from them. A catholic can never be obliged, by any authority, to go beyond them : and therefore, if such universal defection exist amongst us as you imply, he may be like Lot in Sodom, standing alone in virtue ; but his faith or creed will be that of the Council.

But, *secondly*, let us come to the question of fact, which is the more important. Is the popular belief and practice in catholic countries such as to warrant your theory ? Allow me to ask you what means you have used to arrive at a knowledge of the “ popular notions ” of catholics on the points at issue ? or of their belief ? For by these must their practices be mainly judged.

What evidence have you, for instance, that they go beyond a sound faith respecting our Blessed Lady ? Have you ever seen a popular work that told them or insinuated to them, that she could be the object of faith ? that to her sacrifice could be offered ? that she could forgive sins ? or that any other prerogative of the Supreme Being belongs to her ? Or have you yourself been able to converse with the people, and ascertain their ideas, upon these and similar topics ?

or have you received information concerning them, from such as have had means or opportunity of ascertaining them? If not, allow me to assure you that you may have been easily led into error.

Perhaps you will tell me that such investigation is unnecessary (although I think christian charity will consider none too troublesome, before pronouncing a sentence of idolatry upon many millions,) because gross abuses meet the eye; because crowds are seen praying before images of the Blessed Virgin and the shrines of Saints; because Indulgences are proclaimed on all sides, and Purgatory is placed before the thoughts by frequent representations.

Now, to examine this view of the case, let us take as an instance, an Italian peasant. What are the religious exercises which are enjoined him, and which he regularly attends? *First*, the holy sacrifice of the Mass, every Sunday and holiday, and pretty generally every morning before going to work. He knows, as well as you or I, what the Mass is, and that it cannot be offered up to any, save to God. *2ndly*, the Holy Communion at least several times a year; often, much more frequently. *3rdly*, as a preparation for it, confession of his sins, made penitently and contritely. These two sacraments he well knows have nothing to do with the Blessed Mother of God; nor can Indulgences, * still less Purgatory, be

* When Mr. Newman tells us that Indulgences have usurped the place of the Sacraments, he probably overlooked the fact that no plenary indulgence (save one or two) can be gained without confession and communion. Thus an Indulgence, instead of replacing the sacraments, ensures their reception. A condition always is, that the faithful be "vere penitentes confessi et sacra communione refecti." See Bouvier (Bp. of Mans.) *Traité des Indulgences*. p. 65, Tournay, 1837.

substituted for them. 4thly, the **Benediction**, or adoration of the **Blessed Sacrament**, generally in the evening of all festivals, and often on other days. To this we may add the forty hours' prayer, or exposition of the **Blessed Sacrament** for that space of time, watched by adorers day and night. Among the prayers most frequently inculcated, and publicly recited, are acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition, which are always repeated by the children after catechism, and well known by the most illiterate. These leading exercises of worship and devotion all belong to God: the principal one that is referable to the **Blessed Virgin** is the **Rosary**. This generally forms a part of family evening devotions, and is moreover occasionally said in public. * I would gladly enter, did my present object permit such details, into an explanation and analysis of this devotion, one of the most beautiful to my mind; at present I need only say, that every book of devotion will show you, what the **Catechism** in Italy, and I believe in Spain, fully explains, that the **Mysteries of Our Saviour's Birth, Death, and Triumph**, are the real objects of this form of prayer. However, take it as you please; consider it as a devotion principally addressed to the **Blessed Virgin**, and add to it any others usually said, as her **Litany**—and I ask you what do they amount to, compared with the exercises of piety which I have before enumerated, the most solemn by far, and the most indispensable? For every catholic, however ignorant, knows that he must every festival

* The **Rosary** is likewise the prayer of those who cannot read, and who find their attention kept up best by some outward practice, such as the use of beads affords.

assist at Mass, under pain of sin; but none imagine that a similar penalty is attached to the neglect of any of their devotions to the Blessed Virgin. This surely forms a most important distinction between the two worships, that to God, and that to the greatest of the Saints.

But again, I shall be told, that the manner in which the poorer Catholics pray before her images and those of the Saints, betrays a greater fervour of devotion than they display at other times; nay, that it even indicates a superstitious trust in those outward symbols themselves. This appearance may be partly true; though I am ready most completely to deny, that half the ardour, enthusiasm, and devotion is ever exhibited before relics or images, which you may see any day before the Blessed Sacrament, when it is exposed to adoration. But at the same time, I will assert that the tenderer emotions are not the proper tests of higher feelings, such as confidence, veneration, and homage. A child may be more fondling and affectionate with his mother, while he will more reverence, more obey, more believe, and more confide in his father. And so I conceive, that the more sensible part of devotion, that which works upon natural feelings, may be more apparently excited by the joys, the sufferings, the glories and the virtues of beings more akin to our nature, than by contemplation of those, however much more perfect, of a Being infinitely removed from our sphere. What thought so powerful as to be able to measure the abyss of suffering, which overwhelms the heart of Jesus, expiring on the cross? But what mind so dull, or what heart so callous, as not to be able to apprehend the

maternal feelings of her, who stands bereaved, at its foot? Does not *her* grief, in fact, present us the truest and clearest mirror of *His* sufferings? Does not the *Stabat Mater*, on that very account, excite the purest sentiments of love and sorrow for the Son, because His griefs are viewed through the sympathies of the Mother? But, does it follow, that because the illiterate give way to such feelings as these, more strongly than others, and exhibit them more openly, we are to judge their hearts, and pronounce, without question or enquiry, that they have renounced their faith, and abjured their God? Is not [this the sin of Heli, who, witnessing the deep feeling of Anna's prayer, pronounced her drunk?]* And has not many a poor Italian been equally unjustly judged, when upon similar evidence, he has been pronounced an idolater?

There is, I am sure, much serious misapprehension in this country, regarding the religious instruction of poor catholics abroad, and their knowledge of their respective duties towards God and other beings. Their devotional feelings are taken as tests of their convictions and faith; and men who never perhaps feel sensible emotions in prayer to *God*, measuring the enthusiastic feelings of foreign hearts towards inferior beings, by their *own* towards the superior, judge them not merely extravagant, but derogatory to higher worship. But interrogate those who have manifested those powerful feelings, about their faith, and you will soon find that it is *Tridentine* and sound.

Allow me, by way of illustration, to relate an anecdote

* 1 Sam. i. 13

communicated to me by a learned and pious friend. He was on an excursion to Pæstum with a protestant companion, who often descanted on the superstition and ignorance of the Italians; and certainly no spot could appear more likely to justify his ideas, than the immense unwholesome plain over which they were journeying; the inhabitants of which, one would naturally suppose, must be debarred from all chance of religious instruction. A little boy mounted behind the carriage, and offered to be their *Cicerone* to the ruins,—his dress and appearance sufficiently bespoke his poverty. To him it was determined to refer the subject of discussion. “Do you love the Madonna?” was the first question asked. The little fellow’s eyes sparkled with affection and delight, as he answered in the affirmative. “Who redeemed the Madonna?” he was then asked. “Her own Son,” was his reply. “Could she have redeemed you?” “Not unless her Son commanded her.” The protestant gentleman, (who has often since spoken of his “little Pæstum theologian” as he calls him,) owned himself surprised and corrected. Here in fact we have that separation accurately expressed, between the feelings and the belief. The love of that child for the Mother of God seemed unbounded; but he well knew her to be but a creature, dependant on her Son, and by Him redeemed. I doubt whether many boys at a grammar school could have given such answers.*

* By way of contrast, I will mention an interrogatory of a boy frequenting a protestant school in this neighbourhood, who was met a few days ago, upon the road by two of our professors, and examined on a far more fundamental doctrine of religion. “How many Gods are there?” “Nine.” Upon some

But, there is another solid test of the sincere convictions of illiterate catholics, and one to which I confidently appeal, the sentiments with which they meet death. Look at the Roman Ritual, "*De Visitatione et cura infirmorum*;" and see if the practices and prayers there prescribed, betray any wish, that the catholic should expire with his trust in "St. Mary and the Saints," rather than in the Blessed Trinity, or expecting mercy through Indulgences and Purgatory, rather than from the Sacraments. Then go on to the section headed "*Modus juvandi morientes*," and see if in the exhortations which the priest is enjoined to make to the dying man, or in the short prayers he is recommended to suggest, there is a word to encourage such misplaced ideas. I have not time, or I would for the sake of other readers, copy out the heads of exhortation. But, you may perhaps ask, are these prescriptions observed in practice? I answer, most faithfully. I have stood with the Curate, by the death-bed of his parishioner, who for days and nights is never abandoned by him, and I have seen the prescriptions of the Ritual faithfully observed.

But beyond this, it has been my happiness, not once, but often, to attend the poor and illiterate to the threshold of eternity, by acting as their spiritual director, in the hospitals of the Eternal City. How astonishment being expressed at the answer, he reduced the number to *four*; and in the end acknowledged that he knew nothing of the subject. Yet in this parish there are endowments for education, (by the Catholic Bishop Vesey,) belonging to the Establishment, to the amount of perhaps £1000 a year. Another grown boy owned himself perfectly ignorant concerning the existence of a Deity. I will match the poor peasants of Italy against those of England. Oh! that we took beams out of our own eyes, before we spied motes in others'!

often have I said, humbled and shamed by the glowing sentiments of hope and piety, which lit up their last moments, "May my last end be like unto theirs!" Confidence in the intercession of their Redeemer's Mother they certainly had, lively and affectionate; but one who hoped for salvation through her, or otherwise than through the death and blood of her Son, I never met. Purgatory I have heard them speak of, as an object of dread; and I have often heard them pray to God, that their sufferings might be increased here below in expiation of their sins, that so they might forthwith see His face; but as a means of obtaining mercy I never knew it mentioned. And so I can confidently say, that I never knew one who put his trust in Indulgences, as a substitute for the Sacraments; who looked for forgiveness out of Penance, or for grace and strength in his last moments, save in the Viaticum of the holy Eucharist, and in Extreme Unction.

I am satisfied, that if the true sentiments of poor catholics, in catholic countries, were better examined, much error would be removed, and much inconsiderate assertion spared. An eminent professor in Germany, who after having given promise of great literary celebrity by his early productions, has since almost exclusively devoted himself to the duties of the sacred ministry among the poor, assured me not long since, that he would rather give up all that he knows in Sanskrit, Armenian, and classical literature, than surrender the comfort and edification, which he finds in the spiritual

direction of the poor. "I have heard sentences," he remarked, "from the lips of poor illiterate females, fraught with profound meaning, and containing a deeper theology than can be found in books. I have felt humiliated, at seeing how much more learned they were in the wisdom of God, than my study had made me." I felt and acknowledged that he was right.

I will now draw my letter to a close; not because I have touched upon all the points in yours, which I consider erroneous, but because I think I have sufficiently glanced at the grounds on which you maintain the existence of an "authoritative teaching" in the Catholic Church, at variance with the Tridentine decrees. I proposed to myself nothing further, than to show the fallacy of this theory, both as to the existence of the system, and as to its supposed objects.

You will remember, that your late amiable friend, Mr. Froude, in one of his unhappy moments of hasty censure, pronounced us, not Catholics, but "wretched Tridentines." This expression was quoted, with apparent approbation, by his Editors, in their preface.* It seems hard that now we should be deprived of even this "wretched" title, and sunk by you a step lower in the scale of degradation. Still more it seems unaccountable that *you* should now court that title, and assert (as your Tract does) that while *we* have abandoned the doctrines of Trent, you, and those who take the Articles in your sense, interpret them in accordance with those doctrines. I say this in a spirit, not of reproach, but rather of

* Froude's Remains, vol. i. p. xi.

charitable warning. That which you once considered a heavy imputation, you seem now to consider comparatively a light blame: for you would now be glad to see us in stricter conformity (according to your views,) with the decrees of that Council. You then blamed us for adhesion to them, you now blame us for departure from them. Why not suspect your judgments, if you find that they vary? If there *was* ever a time when you did not see many of our doctrines as you now view them; when you utterly rejected all comprecation with, as much as prayers to, saints; all honour, without reserve, to images and relics; when you did not practise prayers for the departed, nor turned from the congregation in your service; when you did not consider bodily mortification necessary, or the Breviary so beautiful; when, in fine, you were more remote from us in practice and feeling than your writings now show you to be, why not suspect, that a further approximation may yet remain; that further discoveries of truth, in what to-day seems erroneous, may be reserved for to-morrow, and that you may be laying up for yourself the pain and regret, of having beforehand branded with opprobrious and afflicting names, that which you discover to be good and holy?

I will indulge in one more remark. You observe, p. 11, that "the only thing which can stop this tendency [to practical idolatry] in the decrees of Rome, [about Images and Relics] as things are, is its making some formal declaration the other way." Permit me to ask you what extent of "formal declaration" would satisfy

you? She has declared her sentiments against image worship and abuses regarding the saints, in the solemn acts of her Synod, composed of her Bishops from every country; she has declared them in her Catechism addressed to all her parochial clergy; she has declared them in the catechisms which she teaches her children: she has declared them in her Ritual in the most beautiful form; * she has declared them through every divine, every ascetic, that has expounded her doctrines; she declares them through her pulpits, her chairs, her confessionals: and yet all this, in your judgment, does not constitute sufficiently authoritative teaching, but that "popular belief and practice of catholics" outweighs it all in the scale of evidence. Say then, in what way would you have the Church of Rome draw up and promulgate a declaration that should be more satisfactory than all those various declarations put together?

In conclusion, I thank you, Rev. Sir, from my heart, for the welcome information which your letter contains, that men, whom you so highly value, should be opening their eyes to the beauties and perfections of our Church, and require such efforts, as your interpretation of the Articles, to keep them from "straggling in the direction of Rome." Would to God the day were come, when not stragglers, but crowds should press forward towards the everlasting gates of Christ's one Church, and knock

* In the form for the solemn Benediction of sacred Images, in the Pontifical, which embodies, in the most perfect manner, the doctrine of the Church concerning them.

for free admission : and gladly would I sit down in the lowest place in that His kingdom, to make room for the new comers. It would be a day of joy such as the Spouse of the Lamb hath not tasted, since that on which the cross was mounted on the Imperial Diadem.

I have the honour to remain,

Rev. Sir,

Yours faithfully in Christ,

N. WISEMAN,

Bishop of Melipotamus.

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LETTER

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE

LORD BISHOP OF RIPON,

ON THE STATE OF PARTIES IN THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND.

BY

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D.

VICAR OF LEEDS.

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LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD
BISHOP OF RIPON.

MY LORD,

At the Meeting of the District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was held in my parish on the 31st of March, and at which your Lordship kindly presided, I commenced a statement with reference to the condition of Parties in the Church of England, which your Lordship considered to be irrelevant to the purposes of the Meeting, and which, in obedience to your Lordship's command, I did not continue. But it seems to me that I was permitted to proceed so far in my statement as to render it expedient if not necessary for me to inform your Lordship and my Parishioners what it was that I intended to say, in order that I may not be misrepresented or misunderstood;

and this, with your Lordship's permission, I propose in the present letter to do. At the same time, my Lord, I wish it to be clearly understood that I have no intention whatever to question the propriety of your Lordship's conduct in interrupting me; for I can fully understand your Lordship's apprehensions on the subject. There was considerable excitement of feeling exhibited by my Parishioners assembled at the Meeting, from the circumstance of their having supposed that on a late occasion I had been unjustly attacked. Your Lordship evidently feared lest in proceeding with my statement I should excite that feeling still further. I can assure you, my Lord, that nothing was more distant from my intention; but my intention was unknown to you, and, bowing as I should do to the decision of the chairman under any circumstances, I felt peculiar pleasure in submitting to your Lordship's wishes, for of all your Clergy none can respect or reverence your Lordship more than myself.

I had stated to the Meeting, before I was interrupted, that we can no longer blind ourselves to the fact that the Church of England is now a divided body. It cannot be injudicious to say this when it is evident to all that the fact is as I have stated it to be. The most unhappy determination of the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford to censure Mr. Newman—a censure which I

have little doubt the convocation of the University would, if summoned, reverse—has proclaimed this from one end of the country to the other. The meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society in Leeds, which was regarded as a demonstration against me, the Vicar of the Parish,—a “rally,” as it has been called—declared it to my Parishioners. It would indeed be worse than affectation and a want of moral courage to deny what is evident to all.

It is a fact, an undeniable fact, that there are two Parties in the Church of England; the High Church Party and the Low Church Party. And the act of the Hebdomadal Board renders it absolutely necessary for us to range ourselves on the one side or on the other. That is to say, we must join that party with which in general principles we agree, and not desert it merely because we may think that a few individuals may have expressed themselves on some points incautiously, or have been hurried into acts which a colder and a calmer judgment may condemn. I cannot illustrate my position better than by mentioning what occurred to myself and to several other clergymen whose names I have no objection to mention in private to your Lordship. On the publication of the 90th Tract for the Times, I determined to point out in a pamphlet what I considered to be certain errors in the application of the principle it was written to maintain. But the moment I heard that the writer was to

be silenced, not by argument, but by a usurped authority, that moment I determined to renounce my intention : that moment I determined to take my stand with him ; because, though I did not altogether approve of a particular Tract, yet in general principles, in the very principle advocated in that Tract, I did agree with him : in a word, I was compelled by circumstances to act as a Party man. And in justice to one whom I am proud to call my friend, I am bound to say that Mr. Newman's explanatory Letter to Dr. Jelf is to my mind perfectly satisfactory.

What I maintain on this point is, that, under existing circumstances, we must become party men. We cannot halt between two opinions. We must take our side. Minor differences must be forgotten when our general principles are attacked. High Churchmen have always been averse from such a proceeding. We have hitherto repudiated all idea of Party. I myself have done so very zealously. But we are opposed by a Party ; and a Party, too, feared by our rulers ; and, in self-defence, we also must form ourselves into a Party ; and not refuse to support one another merely because we may not all agree in respect to a few non-essentials.

Now, my Lord, the two Parties into which the Church of England is divided is, as I have said, the High Church Party and the Low Church Party. And

on these I propose to make a few observations in a spirit which, I hope, will not, which I am sure ought not, to provoke controversy.

The High Church Party is accused by indiscriminating zealots of the Low Church Party of Popery: the Low Church Party is accused by indiscriminating zealots of the High Church Party of Socinianism. And both accusations are false. For we all know that among those who hold Low Church views, the generality hate Socinianism as cordially as Popery is abominated by the generality of those who hold High Church views. But the accusation on either side would not have been made, or would not have been entertained, unless there was something of truth mixed up in it; and we must admit that in all principles, as held and applied by fallen man, there is a tendency to a vicious extreme.

Let us, then, candidly, and at once, admit that of High Church Principles the vicious extreme is Popery. I not only admit it, but proclaim it. As it would be absurd to deny that there is a division in the Church, so it would be worse than absurd to deny that, of High Church Principles, Popery is the vicious extreme. Most unfair, and most wicked, it is to accuse those of Popery who carefully avoid the extreme, and warn others against

it, as being vicious; but when High Church Doctrines are very generally preached, when they are unconsciously held by men who profess to oppose them, perversions to Popery may be feared, and, therefore, ought to be guarded against. For what is Popery? It is the corruption of the Truth. We are not to suppose that men sat down, like Calvin or Socinus, and determined to form a system of Theology, and so produced Popery. No. God's truth was held in God's Church for a long period, pure and uncorrupt. At length the Church became allied to the State; and its union with the world, highly important as that was, in order that the Church might discharge one of her offices, namely, that of being the Salt of the Earth, to season and to civilize Society, had also, too often, the ill-effect of introducing a worldly spirit into it. Men began to think of the Church as an important and useful Institution. Instead of acting towards her as dutiful children, they styled themselves Friends of the Church; and thought that they befriended her best, not when they assisted her in promulgating unpopular truths, but when they rendered her popular by inducing her to suppress what was contrary to the spirit of the age, and to adopt every innovation which the spirit of the age demanded. In deference to the spirit of the middle ages, which was superstitious, in order that the Church might become popular, that the number of its members

might be increased, that weaker brethren might not be shocked, many of the high truths of religion, many ancient and primitive practices, were perverted to the purposes of superstition. The very Power of the Pope, in spiritual affairs, how did it originate? There were controversies and disputes, as among sinful men there always will be, and by those who cared not for the Truth, but desired only the temporal welfare of the Church, it was desired that these controversies and disputes might be put an end to. For this purpose the Pope was permitted to usurp an authority to which he could not plead the shadow of a claim: he called himself the Head of the Universal Church, and those whom he could not silence by argument he silenced by authority.

But, not to proceed further on this point, I say that the Sin of Popery consists not in the deliberate invention of wrong doctrine, but in the gradual corruption of the Truth, the gradual perversion of what in practice was originally right. And while I do not deny that *corruptio optimi est pessima*; still I humbly contend that we are no more called upon, on this account, to give up the truth, or denounce practices primitive and apostolical, than the rich man is bound to give up his wealth because wealth is liable to be misapplied and so to involve the owner in endless misery.

I admit, then, fully, that the vicious extreme of High Church doctrine and practice is Popery; but I maintain at the same time that this is no reason why that doctrine and practice should be renounced. And now having said thus much on the vicious extreme on the High Church side, I proceed to a few remarks on the vicious extreme on the other side.

Now the distinguishing principle of the Low Church Party is the assertion of the sufficiency of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture. The High Church Party take Holy Scripture for their guide, and in the interpretation of it defer to the authority of primitive antiquity: the Low Church Party contend for the sufficiency of private judgment. But if the sufficiency of private judgment be admitted, it follows that there is but one heresy, and that is the rejection of Holy Scripture as the Word of God. Receive the Scriptures, and then, on this principle, you are safe whatever construction you put upon them. The Socinian understands them in the sense which, by attention to minute criticism, by comparing them with what he witnesses of the Work of God in nature, and by consulting manuscripts and various versions he thinks they will bear. They who hold the sufficiency of private judgment, may discuss with him, but further than this they have no right to go if they would be consistent. They have

no right to call any one a Heretic, who, receiving the Holy Scriptures, understands them to the best of his judgment. Hence it is that the tendency of Low Churchism is to Socinianism;—not that I mean to say that Low Churchmen may not hate Socinianism: but this is the *tendency*. Whenever Low Church principles are extensively prevalent, Socinianism is the result. Low Churchism was the prevalent system of the last century.* Many High-Establishment men were Low-Churchmen. And what was the last Century? It was the age of Socinianism. All Churchmen who held what would now be called liberal principles, were, like Hoadly, socinianized. All alterations of the Liturgy—all the reforms which were suggested as the means of strengthening the Church by the worldly friends of the Church, were projected with a view of enabling the Socinians, who formed the influential persons in most of our large towns, to conform. If the effect of preaching High Church doctrines be to create in weak minds a tendency to Popery, the prevalence of Low Church doctrines led to Socinianism—a soul-destroying heresy now almost extinct. Who, indeed, would now propose to alter the Liturgy to conciliate the Socinians?

* Nothing can more clearly establish the assertion made above than the state of religion at Geneva and in Germany. But I have omitted any allusion to those places, as my wish is to be concise.

I should, my Lord, had I been permitted to continue my address to the Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, have dilated, at some length, on the topics upon which I have now touched: on the fact that we are divided into two Parties, and that there is a vicious extreme on either side to be avoided. Of course, in my opinion the extreme on the Low Church side is the worst of the two; that is, Socinianism is worse than Popery. And my object in alluding to this would have been to point out how we may look upon what we, at first, contemplate as an unmitigated evil in the light of an advantage. Doubtless, our divisions are permitted as the punishment of our sins. They are an affliction. But every punishment, and every affliction, if borne in piety, may become eventually a blessing. Our present division may have this salutary effect. It may place a barrier on either side. While both Parties are narrowly watched by their opponents, neither will be permitted to deviate into the extreme. Both Parties continuing in the Church of England, will receive her for their guide, and to her articles and formularies an appeal will be continually made. The accusing Party will not, indeed, be permitted to interpret those articles and formularies in his own sense, and then, begging the whole question to convict his opponent of heterodoxy; but the accused Party will always find it necessary to make good his cause by shewing that he does not in reality depart from the common standard.

Thus may either party be the means of preventing the divergence of the other into an extreme.

I am sure, my Lord, that you will pardon me if here I pause to observe that an awful responsibility rests upon our spiritual rulers. Most humbly and most heartily do I pray that to them may be vouchsafed that spirit of wisdom and sound discretion which may enable them to moderate between parties without declaring themselves for either. And I have the less hesitation in venturing to say this to your Lordship since I know that such, as it has been hitherto, will ever continue to be your object. And guided by the wisdom and piety of our Bishops, we may hope to see both parties ere long united as before in many things: united in a full determination to resist Rome, while Rome continues as she now is, and, in the words of Mr. Newman, brings in another gospel: and at the same time united in so solemnizing the offices of the Church of England as to give free scope to those feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, and devotion, which the Scriptures would excite, and which, if our Church were to neglect them, would lead men to Rome, who appeals to them: united, if not in reverence for antiquity, in filial love to our Mother the Church of England, through whose instructions, I agree with Professor Sewell in thinking, we who are her children are

to imbibe Catholic truth: united in a desire to maintain a wholesome discipline in the Church, and through the Church to preach repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. But union we shall never have, unless we convince our rulers that our strength is sufficient to demand their consideration; and that, if concessions are to be made, there is a conscience to be considered on one side as well as the other. The Low Church party have declared a war of extermination against High Church Principles, and peace will not be restored to the Church until it is made quite clear that we are too strong to be put down by clamour. We have only to hope that in all the controversies that may arise our chief rivalry will consist in an endeavour to show which system is most productive of gentleness and peace, and forbearance, and kindness, and Christian love: which system most conducive to purity of morals, to charity of sentiment, and to elevation of character. If we are to be engaged in controversies, I hope that they will not be conducted by evil speaking, lying, and slandering, which seem to be the besetting sins of the religious world; nor by recourse to the petty manœuvres of political warfare; nor by the bitterness of sarcasm; nor by the vulgarity of ridicule; nor by the rancour of personal hatred; nor by insinuations which are known to be false, and which are only cowardly methods of stating an untruth: nor by attributing the worst motives

where charity ought to suggest the best. No, let the weapons of our warfare be not carnal but spiritual: let them be sound arguments from the pure word of God, incessant prayer, and such good works as God hath prepared for us to walk in. In all the controversies in which the two Parties I have referred to may be engaged, it is always to be remembered that we are Brethren; and I hope that while we contend for the truth, we shall contend, as brethren amicably discussing, not as foes engaged in deadly feud. It is not like a controversy between ourselves and those who are out of the Church: on many occasions we must act together: we must often meet in friendly intercourse: our pulpits ought to be open to one another, with the understanding, of course, that we refer in our sermons on such occasions to the many points on which we agree, and not to the few on which we differ.

And here, perhaps, your Lordship will perceive how I might have brought my observations to bear upon the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: I might have pointed out how, in a variety of ways, it is calculated to afford common ground on which both parties may meet. But into that subject I need not enter in this letter, though it would have afforded much matter for my speech. I will only here direct attention to

the importance of maintaining the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in its neutral position. A Party exists which has introduced unhappy discussions into the Committee Room in London, and which is suspected of a desire to revolutionize the Society. The policy of the Standing Committee has hitherto been to conciliate and concede to this Party. But concession may be carried too far: and if the consciences of High Churchmen be violated, and they be compelled to withdraw from the Society, I do not doubt of their being able to form a new Society more efficient than the old one, but I do dread the introduction of a fresh element of discord among us.

With every sentiment of affection, reverence, and respect, I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and dutiful Servant,

W. F. HOOK.

Vicarage, Leeds, 1st April, 1841.

Edw. Rogers

A LETTER,

&c.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE REV. R. W. JELF, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,

IN EXPLANATION OF No. 90,

IN THE SERIES CALLED

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY THE AUTHOR.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER :

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

MDCCCXLI.

APPENDIX

95

THE DATA OF THE

The following table gives the data of the various experiments conducted during the course of the present investigation. The first column contains the number of the experiment, the second column the date, the third column the number of subjects, the fourth column the number of trials, the fifth column the number of correct responses, the sixth column the number of errors, the seventh column the number of omissions, the eighth column the number of commissions, the ninth column the number of correct responses per cent, the tenth column the number of errors per cent, the eleventh column the number of omissions per cent, the twelfth column the number of commissions per cent, the thirteenth column the number of correct responses per cent per subject, the fourteenth column the number of errors per cent per subject, the fifteenth column the number of omissions per cent per subject, the sixteenth column the number of commissions per cent per subject, the seventeenth column the number of correct responses per cent per subject per trial, the eighteenth column the number of errors per cent per subject per trial, the nineteenth column the number of omissions per cent per subject per trial, the twentieth column the number of commissions per cent per subject per trial.

A L E T T E R,

§c.

MY DEAR DR. JELF,

I have known you so many years that I trust I may fitly address the present pages to you, on the subject of my recent Tract, without its being suspected in consequence that one, who from circumstances has taken no share whatever in any of the recent controversies in our Church, is implicated in any approval or sanction of it. It is merely as a friend that I write to you, through whom I may convey to others some explanations which seem necessary at this moment.

Four Gentlemen, Tutors of their respective Colleges, have published a protest against the Tract in question. I have no cause at all to complain of their so doing, though as I shall directly say, I consider that they have misunderstood me. They do not, I trust, suppose that I feel any offence or soreness at their proceeding; of course I naturally think that I am right and they are wrong; but this persuasion is quite consistent both with my honoring their zeal for Christian truth and their anxiety for the welfare of our younger members, and with my very great consciousness that, even though I be right in my principle, I may have advocated truth in a wrong way. Such acts as theirs when done honestly, as they have done them, must benefit all parties,

and draw them nearer to each other in good will, if not in opinion. But to proceed to the subject of this letter.

I propose to offer some explanation of the Tract in two respects,—as to its principal statement and its object.

1. These Four Gentlemen, whom I have mentioned, have misunderstood me in so material a point, that it certainly is necessary to enter into the subject at some length. They consider that the Tract asserts that the Thirty-Nine Articles

“do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics, the Invocation of Saints, and the Mass, as they are *taught authoritatively* by the Church of Rome, but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do.”

On the contrary I consider that they *do* contain a condemnation of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome on these points; “I only say that, whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees. The Church of Rome taught authoritatively before those decrees, as well as since. Those decrees *expressed* her authoritative teaching, and they will continue to express it, while she so teaches. The simple question is, whether taken by themselves in their mere letter, they express it; whether in fact other senses, short of the sense conveyed in the present authoritative teaching of the Roman Church will not fulfil their letter, and may not even now in point of fact be held in that Church.

As to the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, I think it goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity, and heaven and hell; it does seem to me, as a popular system, to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and Purgatory. If there ever was a system which required reformation, it is that of Rome at this day, or in other words (as I should call it) Romanism or Popery. Or, to use words in which I have only a year ago expressed myself, when contrasting Romanism with the teaching of the ancient Church,—

“In antiquity, the main aspect in the economy of redemption contains Christ, the Son of God, the Author and Dispenser of all grace and pardon, the Church His living representative, the Sacraments her instruments, Bishops her rulers, their collective decisions her voice, and Scripture her standard of truth. In the Roman Schools we find St. Mary and the Saints the prominent objects of regard and dispensers of mercy, Purgatory or Indulgences the means of obtaining it, the Pope the ruler and teacher of the Church, and miracles the warrant of doctrine. As to the doctrines of Christ’s merits and eternal life and death, these are points not denied (God forbid), but taken for granted and passed by, in order to make way for others of more present, pressing, and lively interest. That a certain change then in objective and external religion has come over the Latin, nay, and in a measure the Greek Church, we consider to be a plain historical fact; a change sufficiently startling to recal to our minds, with very unpleasant sensations, the awful words, ‘Though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.’”

On the doctrine of Purgatory, this received Romanism goes beyond the Decrees of Trent thus : the Council of Trent says,

“There is a Purgatory, and the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, and especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar.”

This definition does not explain the meaning of the word Purgatory—and it is not incompatible with the doctrine of the Greeks;—but the Catechism of Trent, which expresses the existing Roman doctrine says,

“There is a Purgatorial *fire*, in which the souls of the pious are *tormented* for a certain time, and expiated, in order that an entrance may lie open to them into their eternal home, into which nothing defiled enters.”

And the popular notions go very far beyond this, as the extracts from the Homily, Jeremy Taylor, &c. in the Tract shew.

Again, the doctrine of Pardons is conveyed by the Divines of Trent in these words :—

“The use of Indulgences, which is most salutary to the Christian people, and approved by the authority of Councils, is to be retained in the Church;”

it does not explain what the word Indulgence means:—it is unnecessary to observe how very definite and how monstrous is the doctrine which Luther assailed.

Again, the Divines at Trent say that “to Images are to be paid due honour and veneration;” and to those who honour the sacred volume, pictures of

friends and the like, as we all do, I do not see that these very words of themselves can be the subject of objection. Far otherwise when we see the comment which the Church of Rome has put on them in teaching and practice. I consider its existing creed and popular worship to be as near idolatry as any portion of that Church can be, from which it is said that "the idols" shall be "utterly abolished."

Again, the Divines of Trent say that "it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the saints;" it does not even *command* the practice. But the actual honours paid to them in Roman Catholic countries, are in my judgment, as I have already said, a substitution of a wrong object of worship for a right one.

Again, the Divines at Trent say that the Mass is "a sacrifice truly propitiatory:" words which (considering they add, "The fruits of the Bloody Oblation are through this most abundantly obtained,—so far is the latter from detracting in any way from the former,") to my mind have no strength at all compared with the comment contained in the actual teaching and practice of the Church, as regards private masses.

This distinction between the words of the Tridentine divines and the authoritative teaching of the present Church, is made in the Tract itself, and would have been made in far stronger terms, had I not often before spoken against the actual state of the Church of Rome, or could I have anticipated the sensation which the appearance of the Tract has excited. I say,

“By ‘the Romish doctrine’ is not meant the Tridentine doctrine, because this article was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. What is opposed is the *received doctrine of the day*, and *unhappily of this day too*, or the *doctrine of the Roman Schools*.”—p. 24.

This doctrine of the Schools is at present, on the whole, the established creed of the Roman Church, and this I call Romanism or Popery, and against this I think the Thirty-nine Articles speak. I think they speak, not of certain accidental practices, but of a *body* and *substance* of divinity, and that traditionary, an existing ruling spirit and view in the Church; which, whereas it is a corruption and perversion of the truth, is also a very active and energetic principle, and, whatever holier manifestations there may be in the same Church, manifests itself in ambition, insincerity, craft, cruelty, and all such other grave evils as are connected with these.

Further, I believe that the decrees of Trent, though not *necessarily* in themselves tending to the corruptions which we see, yet considering these corruptions exist, will ever tend to foster and produce them, as if principles and elements of them—that is, while these decrees remain unexplained in any truer and more Catholic way.

The distinction I have been making, is familiar with our controversialists. Dr. Lloyd, the late Bishop of Oxford, whose memory both you and myself hold in affection and veneration, brings it out strongly in a review which he wrote in the *British Critic* in 1825. Nay he goes further than any thing I have said on one point, for he thinks the

Roman Catholics are not what they once were, at least among ourselves. I pronounce no opinion on this point; nor do I feel able to follow his revered guidance in some other things which he says, but I quote him in proof that the Reformers did not aim at decrees or abstract dogmas, but against a living system, and a system which it is quite possible to separate from the formal statements which have served to represent it.

“Happy was it,” he says, “for the Protestant controversialist, when his own eyes and ears could bear witness to the doctrine of Papal satisfactions and meritorious works, when he could point to the benighted wanderer, working his way to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham or Ipswich, and hear him confess with his own mouth, that he trusted to such works for the expiation of his sins; or when every eye could behold ‘our churches full of images, wondrously decked and adorned, garlands and coronets set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks, their fingers shining with rings, set with precious stones; their dead and still bodies, clothed with garments stiff with gold.’” *Hom. 3. ag. Idol.* p. 97.

On the other hand he says :

“Our full belief is that the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, from their long residence among Protestants, their disuse of processions and other Romish ceremonies, have been brought gradually and almost unknowingly to a more spiritual religion and a purer faith,—that they themselves see with sorrow the disgraceful tenets and principles that were professed and carried into practice by their forefathers,—and are too fond of removing this disgrace from them, by denying the former existence of these tenets, and ascribing the imputation of them to the calumnies of the Protestants. This we cannot allow; and

while we cherish the hope that they are now gone for ever, we still assert boldly and fearlessly, that they did once exist." p. 148.

Again :

"That latria is due only to the Trinity, is continually asserted *in the Councils*; but the terms of dulia and hyperdulia, *have not been adopted or acknowledged by them in their public documents*; they are, however, *employed unanimously by all the best writers of the Romish Church*, and their use is maintained and defended by them." p. 101.

I conceive that what "all the best writers" say is authoritative teaching, and a sufficient object for the censures conveyed in the Articles, though the decrees of Trent, taken by themselves, remain untouched.

"This part of the enquiry" [to define exactly the acts peculiar to the different species of worship] "however is more theoretical than useful; and, as every thing that can be said on it must be derived, *not from Councils*, but from *Doctors* of the Romish Church, whose authority would be called in question, it is not worth while to enter upon it now. And therefore, observing only that the *Catechism of Trent* still retains the term of, *adoratio angelorum*, we pass on, &c." p. 102.

Again :

"On the question whether the Invocation of Saints, professed and practised by the Church of Rome, is idolatrous or not, our opinion is this; that in *the public formularies* of their Church, and even in the belief and practice of the best informed among them, there is *nothing of idolatry*, although, as we have said, we deem that practice altogether unscriptural and unwarranted; but we

do consider the principles relating to the worship of the Virgin, calculated to lead in the end to positive idolatry; and we are well convinced, and we have strong grounds for our conviction, that a large portion of the lower classes are in this point guilty of it. Whether the Invocation of Angels or of Saints has produced the same effect, we are not able to decide." p. 113.

I accept this statement entirely with a single explanation. By "principles" relating to the worship of the Blessed Virgin, I understand either the *received* principles as distinct from those laid down in the Tridentine statements; or the principles contained in those statements, viewed as *practically* operating on the existing feelings of the Church.

Again :

"She [the Church of England] is unwilling to fix upon the *principles* of the Romish Church the charge of positive idolatry; and contents herself with declaring that 'the Romish doctrine concerning the Adoration as well of Images as of Relics, is a fond thing, &c. &c.'" But in regard to the universal *practice* of the Romish Church, *she adheres to the declaration of her Homilies*; and professes her conviction that this fond and unwarranted and unscriptural doctrine has at all times produced, and will hereafter, as long as it is suffered to prevail, produce the sin of *practical* idolatry.' p. 121.

I will add my belief that the only thing which can stop this tendency in the decrees of Rome, as things are, is its making some formal declaration the other way.

Once more :

"We reject the second [Indulgences] not only because they are altogether unwarranted by any word of Holy

Writ, and contrary to every principle of reason, but because we conceive the *foundations* on which they rest to be, in the highest degree, blasphemous and absurd. These *principles* are, 1. that the power of the Pope, great as it is, does not properly extend beyond the limits of this present world. 2. That the power which he possesses of releasing souls from Purgatory arises out of the treasure committed to his care, a treasure consisting of the supererogatory merits of our blessed Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints This is the treasure of which Pope Leo, in his Bull of the present year, 1825, speaks in the following terms: ‘We have resolved, in virtue of the authority given to us by Heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of His Virgin Mother, and of all the Saints, which the Author of human salvation has entrusted to our dispensation.’” p. 143.

This is what our Article means by Pardons; but it is more than is said in the Council of Trent.

And Bramhall :

“A comprecation [with the Saints] both the Grecians and we do allow; an ultimate invocation both the Grecians and we detest; so do the Church of Rome *in their doctrine*, but they vary from it in their practice.” Works, p. 418.

And Bull :

“This Article [the Tridentine] of a Purgatory after this life, *as it is understood and taught* by the Roman Church (*that is*, to be a place and state of misery and torment, whereunto many faithful souls go presently after death, and there remain till they are thoroughly purged from their dross, or *delivered thence by Masses, Indulgences, &c.*) is contrary to Scripture, and the sense of the Catholic Church for at least the first four Centuries, &c.” *Corrupt. of Rom.* §. 3.

And Wake :

“The Council of Trent has spoken *so uncertainly* in this point [of Merits] as plainly shews that they in this did not know themselves, what they would establish, or were unwilling that others should.” *Def. of Expos. 5.*

I have now said enough on the point of distinction between the existing creed, or what the Gentlemen who signed the protest call the “authoritative teaching” of the Church of Rome, and its decrees. And while this distinction seems acknowledged by our controversialists, it is a *fact* that our Articles were written *before* those decrees, and therefore are levelled not against them, but against the authoritative teaching.

I will put the subject in another way, which will lead us to the same point. If there is one doctrine more than another which characterizes the present Church of Rome, and on which all its obnoxious tenets depend, it is the doctrine of its *infallibility*. Now I am not aware that this doctrine is any where embodied in its formal decrees. Here then is a critical difference between its decrees and its received and established creed. Any one who believed that the Pope and Church of Rome are the essence of the infallibility of the Catholic Church, ought to join their communion. If a person remains in our Church, he thereby disowns the infallibility of Rome—and is its infallibility a slight characteristic of the Romish, or Romanistic, or Papal system, by whatever name we call it? is it not, I repeat, that on which all the other errors of its received teaching depend?

The Four Gentlemen

“are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his [the writer’s] principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the Lecture Rooms of the University and from the Pulpits of our Churches.”

Here is a doctrine, which could not enter our Lecture Rooms and Pulpits—Rome’s infallibility—and if this is excluded, then also are excluded those doctrines which depend, I may say, solely on it, not on Scripture, not on reason, not on antiquity, not on Catholicity. For who is it that gives the doctrine of Pardons their existing meaning which our Article condemns? The Pope; as in the words of Leo in 1825, as above quoted from Bishop Lloyd. Who is it that has exalted the honour of the Blessed Virgin into worship of an idolatrous character? The Pope; as when he sanctioned Bonaventura’s Psalter. In a word, who is the recognized interpreter of all the Councils but the Pope?

On this whole subject I will quote from a work, in which, with some little variation of wording, I said the very same thing four years ago without offence.

“There are in fact two elements in operation within the system. As far as it is Catholic and Scriptural, it appeals to the Fathers; as far as it is a corruption, it finds it necessary to supersede them. Viewed in its *formal principles* and authoritative statements, it professes to be the champion of past times; viewed as an active and political power, as a ruling, grasping, and ambitious principle, in a word, what is expressively called Popery, it exalts the will and

pleasure of the existing Church above all authority, whether of Scripture or Antiquity, interpreting the one and disposing of the other by its absolute and arbitrary decree. . . . We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement . . . she is her real self only in name. . . . Viewed as a practical system, its main tenet, which gives a colour to all its parts, is the Church's infallibility, as on the other hand the principle of that genuine theology out of which it has arisen, is the authority of Catholic antiquity." —On Romanism, pp. 102—4.

Nothing more than is maintained in the Tract than that Rome is *capable* of a reformation; its corrupt system indeed cannot be reformed; it can only be destroyed; and that destruction is *its* reformation. I do not think that there is any thing very erroneous or very blameable in such a belief; and it seems to be a very satisfactory omen in its favour, that at the Council of Trent such protests, as are quoted in the Tract, were entered against so many of the very errors and corruptions which our Articles and Homilies also condemn. I do not think it is any great excess of charity towards the largest portion of Christendom, to rejoice to detect such a point of agreement between them and us, as a joint protest against some of their greatest corruptions, though they in practice cherish them, though they still differ from us in other points besides. That I have not always consistently kept to this view in all that I have written, I am well aware; yet I have made very partial deviations from it.

- I should not be honest if I did not add, that I con-

sider our own Church, on the other hand, to have in it a traditionary system, as well as the Roman, beyond and beside the letter of its formularies, and to be ruled by a spirit far inferior to its own nature. And this traditionary system, not only inculcates what I cannot receive, but would exclude any difference of belief from itself. To this exclusive modern system, I desire to oppose myself; and it is as doing this, doubtless, that I am incurring the censure of the Four Gentlemen who have come before the public. I want certain points to be left open which they would close. I am not speaking for myself in one way or another; I am not examining the scripturalness, safety, propriety, or expedience of the points in question; but I desire that it may not be supposed as utterly unlawful for such private Christians as feel they can do it with a clear conscience, to allow a comprecation with the Saints as Bramhall does, or to hold with Andrewes that, taking away the doctrine of Transubstantiation from the Mass, we shall have no dispute about the Sacrifice; or with Hooker to treat even Transubstantiation as an opinion which by itself need not cause separation; or to hold with Hammond that no General Council, truly such, ever did, or shall err in any matter of faith; or with Bull, that man was in a supernatural state of grace before the fall, by which he could attain to immortality, and that he has recovered it in Christ; or with Thorndike, that works of humiliation and penance are requisite to render God again propitious to those who fall from the grace of Baptism; or with Pearson that the Name of Jesus

is no otherwise given under Heaven than in the Catholic Church.

In thus maintaining that we have open questions, or as I have expressed it in the Tract “ambiguous formularies,” I observe, first, that I am introducing no novelty. For instance, it is commonly said that the Articles admit both Arminians and Calvinists; the *principle* then is admitted, as indeed the Four Gentlemen, whom I have several times noticed, themselves observe. I do not think it a greater latitude than this, to admit those who hold, and those who do not hold, the points above specified.

Nor, secondly, can it be said that such an interpretation throws any uncertainty upon the primary and most sacred doctrines of our religion. These are consigned to the Creed; the Articles did not define them; they existed before the Articles; they are referred to in the Articles as existing *facts*, just as the broad Roman errors are referred to; but the decrees of Trent were drawn up after the Articles.

On these two points, I may be allowed to quote what I said four years ago in a former Tract.

“The meaning of the Creed . . . is known; there is no opportunity for doubt here; it means but one thing, and he who does not hold that one meaning, does not hold it at all. But the case is different (to take an illustration) in the drawing up of a Political Declaration or a Petition to Parliament. It is composed by persons, differing in matters of detail, agreeing together to a certain point and for a certain end. Each narrowly watches that nothing is inserted to prejudice his own particular opinion, or stipulates for the insertion of what may rescue it. Hence

general words are used, or particular words inserted, which by superficial enquirers afterwards are criticised as vague and indeterminate on the one hand, or inconsistent on the other; but in fact, they all have a meaning and a history, could we ascertain it. And if the parties concerned in such a document are legislating and determining for posterity, they are respective representatives of corresponding parties in the generations after them. Now the Thirty-Nine Articles lie between these two, between a Creed and a mere joint Declaration; to a certain point they have one meaning, beyond that they have no one meaning. They have one meaning so far as they embody the doctrine of the Creed; they have different meanings, so far as they are drawn up by men influenced by the discordant opinions of the day." *Tract 82.*

These two points—that our Church allows (1.) a great diversity in doctrine, (2.) except as to the Creed,—are abundantly confirmed by the following testimonies of Bramhall, Laud, Hall, Taylor, Bull, and Stillingfleet, which indeed go far beyond any thing I have said.

For instance, Bull :

“What next he [a Roman Catholic objector] saith concerning our notorious prevarication from the Articles of our Church, I do not perfectly understand. He very well knows, that all our Clergy doth still subscribe them: and if any man hath dared openly to oppose the declared sense of the Church of England in any one of those Articles, he is liable to ecclesiastical censure, which would be more duly passed and executed, did not the divisions and fanatic disturbances, first raised and still fomented by the blessed emissaries of the Apostolic See, hinder and blunt the edge of our discipline. But possibly he intends that latitude of sense, which our Church, as an indulgent mother, allows

her sons in some abstruser points, (such as Predestination, &c.) not particularly and precisely defined in her Articles, but in general words capable of an indifferent construction. If this be his meaning, this is so far from being a fault, that it is the singular praise and commendation of our Church. As for our being concluded by the Articles of our Church, if he means our being obliged to give our internal assent to every thing delivered in them upon peril of damnation, it is confessed that few, yea none of us, that are well advised, will acknowledge ourselves so concluded by them, nor did our Church ever intend we should. For she professeth not to deliver all her Articles (all I say, for *some* of them are coincident with the *fundamental* points of Christianity) as essentials of faith, without the belief whereof no man can be saved; but only propounds them as a body of safe and pious principles, *for the preservation of peace to be subscribed*, and not openly contradicted by her sons. And therefore she requires subscription to them only from the Clergy, and not from the laity, who yet are obliged to acknowledge and profess all the fundamental Articles of the Christian faith, no less than the most learned Doctors. This hath often been told the Papists by many learned writers of our Church. I shall content myself (at present) only with two illustrious testimonies of two famous Prelates. The late terror of the Romanists, Dr. Usher, [Bramhall?] the most learned and reverend Primate of Ireland, thus expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to the subscription required to the Thirty-Nine Articles; ‘We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and His Apostles; but in a mean, as pious opinions, *fitted for the preservation of peace and unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.*’ So the excellent Bishop Hall, in his *Catholic Propositions*, (truly so called,)

denieth, in general, that any Church can lawfully propose any Articles to her sons, besides those contained in the common rule of faith, to be believed under pain of damnation. His third proposition is this; ‘The sum of the Christian faith are those principles of the Christian religion, and fundamental grounds and points of faith, which are undoubtedly contained and laid down in the canonical Scriptures, whether in express terms or by necessary consequence, and in the ancient Creeds universally received and allowed by the whole Church of God.’

And then in the seventh and eighth Propositions, he speaks fully to our purpose.—*Prop. 7.* ‘There are and may be many theological points, which are wont to be believed and maintained, and so may lawfully be, of this or that particular Church, or the Doctors thereof, or their followers, as godly doctrines and profitable truths, besides those other essential and main matters of faith, without any prejudice at all of the common peace of the Church.’ *Prop. 8.* ‘Howsoever it may be lawful for learned men and particular Churches to believe and maintain those probable or (as they may think) certain points of theological verities, yet *it is not lawful for them to impose and obtrude the same doctrines upon any Church or person*, to be believed and held, as upon the necessity of salvation; or to anathematize or eject out of the Church any person or company of men that think otherwise.’

“As for the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, undoubtedly delivered in the Scriptures, and allowed (except the Romanists, who have so affected singularity, as to frame to themselves a new Christianity) by the whole Church of God, they are by the consent of all Christians acknowledged to be contained in that called the Creed, or rule of faith.

“This rule of faith, and that also as it is more fully explained by the first General Councils, our Church heartily embraceth, and hath made a part of her Liturgy, and so

hath obliged all her sons to make solemn profession thereof. To declare this more distinctly to your ladyship, our Church receiveth that which is called the Apostles' Creed, and enjoins the public profession thereof to all her sons in her daily Service. And if this Creed be not thought express enough fully to declare the sense of the Catholic Church in points of necessary belief, and to obviate the precise interpretations of heretics, she receiveth also that admirable summary of the Christian faith, which is called the Nicene Creed, (but is indeed the entire ancient creed of the Oriental Churches, together with the necessary additional explications thereof, made by Fathers both of the Council of Nice against Arius, and the Council of Constantinople against Macedonius,) the public profession whereof she also enjoins all her sons (without any exception) to make in the Morning Service of every Sunday and holy day. This creed she professeth (consentaneously to her own principles) to receive upon this ground primarily, because she finds that the articles thereof may be proved by most evident testimonies of Scripture; although she deny not, that she is confirmed in her belief of this creed, because she finds all the articles thereof, in all ages, received by the Catholic Church." *Vindication of the Church of England*, 27.

And Stillingfleet :

"The Church of England makes no Articles of Faith, but such as have the testimony and approbation of the whole Christian world of all ages, and are acknowledged to be such by Rome itself, and in other things she requires *subscription* to them not as Articles of Faith, but as Inferior Truths which she expects a submission to, *in order to her Peace and Tranquillity*. So the late learned L. Primate of Ireland [Bramhall] often expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to her Thirty-nine Articles. 'Neither doth the Church of England,' saith he, 'define

any of these questions, as necessary to be believed, either *necessitate medii*, or *necessitate præcepti*, which is much less; *but only bindeth her sons for peace sake, not to oppose them.*' And in another place more fully. We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure; yet neither do we look upon them as Essentials of saving Faith, or Legacies of Christ and His Apostles: but in a mean, *as pious Opinions fitted for the preservation of Unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.*' By which we see, what a vast difference there is between those things which are required by the Church of England, *in order to Peace*; and those which are imposed by the Church of Rome, as part of that Faith, *extra quam non est salus*, without the belief of which there is no salvation. In which she hath as much violated the Unity of the Catholic Church, as the Church of England by her Prudence and Moderation hath studied to preserve it." *Grounds of Protestant Rel.* part i. chap. 11.

And Laud :

"A. C. will prove the Church of England a Shrew, and such a Shrew. For in her Book of Canons she excommunicates every man, who shall hold any thing contrary to any part of the said Articles. So A. C. But surely these are not the very words of the Canon nor perhaps the sense. Not the words; for they are: Whosoever shall affirm that the Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, &c. And perhaps not the sense. For it is one thing for a man to hold an opinion privately within himself, and another thing boldly and publicly to affirm it. And again, 'tis one thing to hold contrary to some part of an Article, which perhaps may be but in the manner of Expression, and another thing positively to affirm, that the Articles in any part of them are superstitious, and erroneous. *On Tradition*, xiv. 2.

And Taylor :—

“I will not pretend to believe that those doctors who first framed the article, did all of them mean as I mean ; I am not sure they did, or that they did not ; but this I am sure, that they framed the words with much caution and prudence, and so as might abstain from grieving the contrary minds of differing men. It is not unusual for Churches, in matters of difficulty, to frame their articles so as *to serve the ends of peace*, and yet not to endanger truth, or to destroy liberty of improving truth, or a further reformation. And since there are so very many questions and opinions in this point, either all the Dissenters must be allowed to reconcile the Article and their opinion, or must refuse her communion ; which whosoever shall enforce, is a great schismatic and an uncharitable man. This only is certain, that to tie the article and our doctrine together, is an excellent art of peace, and a certain signification of obedience ; and yet is a security of truth, and that just liberty of understanding, which, because it is only God’s subject, is then sufficiently submitted to men, when we consent in the same form of words.”—*Further Explic. Orig. Sin.* § 6.

This view of the Articles conveyed in these extracts evidently allows, as I have said above, of much greater freedom in the private opinions of individuals, subscribing them, than I have contended for.

While I am on this subject, I will make this remark in addition :—That though I consider that the wording of the Articles is wide enough to admit persons of very different sentiments from each other in detail, provided they agree in some broad general sense of them, (*e. g.* as differing from each other whether or not there is *any* state of purification

after death, or whether or not *any* addresses are allowable to Saints departed, so that they one and all condemn the Roman doctrine of Purgatory and of Invocation as actually taught and carried into effect,) yet I do not leave the Articles without their *one legitimate sense* in preference to all other senses. The only peculiarity of the view I advocate, if I must so call it, is this,—that, whereas it is usual at this day to make the particular *belief of their writers* their true interpretation, I would make the *belief of the Catholic Church* such. That is, as it is often said that infants are regenerated in Baptism, not on the faith of their *parents* but of the *Church*, so in like manner I would say the Articles are received, not in the sense of their framers, but (as far as the wording will admit, or any ambiguity requires it,) in the one Catholic sense. For instance as to Purgatory, I consider (with the Homily) that the Article opposes the main idea really encouraged by Rome, that temporary punishment is a substitute for hell in the case of the unholy, and all the superstitions consequent thereupon. As to Invocation, that the Article opposes, not every sort of calling on beings short of God, (for certain passages in the Psalms are such) but all that *trenches on worship*, (as the Homily puts it,) the question whether *ora pro nobis* be such, being open,—not indifferent indeed, but a most grave and serious one for any individual who feels drawn to it, but still undecided by the Article. As to Images, the Article condemns all approach to idolatrous regard, such as Rome does in point of fact encourage. As to the Mass, all that impairs or

obscures the doctrine of the one Atonement, once offered, which Masses, as observed in the Church of Rome, actually have done.

2. And now, if you will permit me to add a few words more, I will briefly state *why* I am anxious about securing this liberty for us.

Every one sees a different portion of society; and, judging of what is done by its effect upon that portion, comes to very different conclusions about its utility, expedience, and propriety. That the Tract in question has been very inexpedient as addressed to one class of persons is quite certain; but it was meant for another, and I sincerely think is necessary for them. And in giving the reason, I earnestly wish even those who do not admit or feel it, yet to observe that I *had* a reason.

In truth there is at this moment a great progress of the religious mind of our Church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century. I always have contended, and will contend, that it is not satisfactorily accounted for by any particular movements of individuals on a particular spot. The poets and philosophers of the age have borne witness to it many years. Those great names in our literature, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Coleridge, though in different ways and with essential differences one from another, and perhaps from any Church system, still all bear witness to it. Mr. Alexander Knox in Ireland bears a most surprising witness to it. The system of Mr. Irving is another witness to it. The age is moving towards

something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic. The question then is, whether we shall give them up to the Roman Church or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system, which has of late years indeed been superseded, but which has been, and is, quite congenial (to say the least,) I should rather say proper and natural, or even necessary to our Church. But if we do give them up, then we must give up the men who cherish them. We must consent either to give up the men, or to admit their principles.

Now, I say, I speak of what especially comes under my eye, when I express my conviction that this is a very serious question at this time. It is not a theoretical question at all. I may be wrong in my conviction, I may be wrong in the mode I adopt to meet it, but still the Tract is grounded on the belief that the Articles *need* not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and *ought* not to be for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose or distress, to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome, or to the necessity of withdrawing from the Church as established, or to the misery of

subscribing with doubt and hesitation. And, as to myself, I was led especially to exert myself with reference to this difficulty, from having had it earnestly set before me by parties I revere, to do all I could to keep members of our Church from straggling in the direction of Rome; and, as not being able to pursue the methods commonly adopted, and as being persuaded that the view of the Articles I have taken is true and honest, I was anxious to set it before them. I thought it would be useful to them, without hurting any one else.

I have no wish or thought to do more than to claim an admission for these persons to the right of subscription. Of course I should rejoice if the members of our Church were all of one mind; but they are not; and till they are, one can but submit to what is at present the will, or rather the chastisement, of Providence. And let me now implore my brethren to submit, and not to force an agreement at the risk of a schism.

In conclusion, I will but express my great sorrow that I have at all startled or offended those for whom I have nothing but respectful and kind feelings. That I am startled myself in turn, that persons, who have in years past and present borne patiently disclaimers of the Athanasian Creed, or of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, or of belief in many of the Scripture miracles, should now be alarmed so much, when a private Member of the University, without his name, makes statements in an opposite direction, I must also avow. Nor can I repent of what I have published. Still, whatever has

been said, or is to be done in consequence, is, I am sure, to be ascribed to the most conscientious feelings ; and though it may grieve me, I trust it will not vex me, or make me less contented and peaceful in myself.

Ever yours most sincerely,

J. H. N.

Saturday,
March 13th, 1841.

It may be necessary to notice one or two inaccuracies in the Tract. Such is a quotation from Bp. Andrewes, instead of one from Bp. Ken ; and the word *Angel* for *Spirit*, in page 36, (though the passage itself perhaps had better have been omitted,) and *Ratification* for *Declaration*, in page 80.

¶ Since the above was in type, it has been told me that the Hebdomadal Board has recorded its opinion about the Tract.

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OXFORD: PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

Edw. Rogers
A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

RICHARD,

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON OCCASION OF No. 90,

IN THE SERIES CALLED

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY J. H. NEWMAN, B. D.

VICAR OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN'S, OXFORD.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER :

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

MDCCCXLI.

ROYAL SOCIETY

1660

The history of the Royal Society is a story of scientific inquiry and discovery. It began in 1660 when a group of natural philosophers met in Gresham College, London, to discuss the state of natural philosophy. The society was founded to promote the study of natural philosophy and to encourage the exchange of ideas and information among its members.

The society's early years were marked by a period of intense activity and growth. It was during this time that many of the society's most important members, including Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren, and Isaac Newton, began their work. The society's members were interested in a wide range of subjects, including astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology.

The society's work was supported by the government and the public. The society's members were given access to the Royal Library and the Royal Observatory. The society's members were also given the right to elect their own members and to elect a president.

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A L E T T E R,

&c.

MY DEAR LORD,

It may seem strange that, on receipt of a message from your Lordship, I should proceed at once, instead of silently obeying it, to put on paper some remarks of my own on the subject of it; yet, as you kindly permit me to take such a course, with the expectation that I may thereby succeed in explaining to yourself and others my own feelings and intentions in the occurrence which has given rise to your Lordship's interference, I trust to your Lordship's indulgence to pardon me any discursiveness in my style of writing, or appearance of familiarity, or prominent introduction of myself, which may be incidental to the attempt.

Your Lordship's message is as follows: That your Lordship considers that the Tract No. 90. in the Series called the Tracts for the Times, is "objectionable, and may tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church," and that it is your Lordship's "advice that the Tracts for the Times should be discontinued."

Your Lordship has, I trust, long known quite enough of my feelings towards any such expression of your Lordship's wishes, to be sure I should at

once obey it, though it were ever so painful to me, or contrary to the course I should have taken if left to myself. And I do most readily and cheerfully obey you in this instance; and at the same time express my great sorrow that any writing of mine should be judged objectionable by your Lordship, and of a disturbing tendency, and my hope that in what I write in future I shall be more successful in approving myself to your Lordship.

I have reminded your Lordship of my willingness on a former occasion to submit myself to any wishes of your Lordship, had you thought it advisable at that time to signify them. In your Lordship's Charge in 1838, an allusion was made to the Tracts for the Times. Some opponents of the Tracts said that your Lordship treated them with undue indulgence. I will not imply that your Lordship can act otherwise than indulgently to any one, but certainly I did feel at the time, that in the midst of the kindness you shewed to me personally, you were exercising an anxious vigilance over my publication, which reminded me of my responsibility to your Lordship. I wrote to the Archdeacon on the subject, submitting the Tracts entirely to your Lordship's disposal. What I thought about your Charge will appear from the words I then used to him. I said, "A Bishop's lightest word *ex Cathedrâ*, is heavy. His judgment on a book cannot be light. It is a rare occurrence." And I offered to withdraw any of the Tracts over which I had control, if I were informed which were those to which your Lordship had objections. I afterwards wrote to your Lordship to this effect: that

“I trusted I might say sincerely, that I should feel a more lively pleasure in knowing that I was submitting myself to your Lordship’s expressed judgment in a matter of that kind, than I could have even in the widest circulation of the volumes in question.” Your Lordship did not think it necessary to proceed to such a measure, but I felt, and always have felt, that, if ever you determined on it, I was bound to obey.

Accordingly on the late occasion, directly I heard that you had expressed an unfavourable opinion of Tract 90, I again placed myself at your disposal, and now readily submit to the course on which your Lordship has finally decided in consequence of it. I am quite sure that in so doing I am not only fulfilling a duty I owe to your Lordship, but consulting for the well-being of the Church, and benefiting myself.

And now, in proceeding to make some explanations in addition, which your Lordship desires of me, I hope I shall not say a word which will seem like introducing discussion before your Lordship. It would ill become me to be stating private views of my own, and defending them, on an occasion like this. If I allude to what has been maintained in the Tracts, it will not be at all by way of maintaining it in these pages, but in illustration of the impressions and the drift with which they have been written. I need scarcely say they are thought by many to betray a leaning towards Roman Catholic error, and a deficient appreciation of our own truth; and your Lordship wishes me to shew that

these apprehensions have no foundation in fact. This I propose to do, and that by extracts from what I have before now written on the subject, which, while they can be open to no suspicion of having been provided to serve an occasion, will, by being now cited, be made a second time my own. .

2. First, however, I hope to be allowed to make one or two remarks by way of explaining some peculiarities in the Tracts which at first sight might appear, if not to tend toward Romanism, at least to alienate their readers from that favoured communion in which God's good providence has placed us.

I know it is a prevalent idea, and entertained by persons of such consideration that it cannot be lightly treated, that many of the Tracts are the writing of persons who either are ignorant of what goes on in the world, and are gratifying their love of antiquarian research or of intellectual exercise at any risk; or, who are culpably reckless of consequences, or even find a satisfaction in the sensation or disturbance which may result from such novelties or paradoxes as they may find themselves in a condition to put forward. It is thought, that the writers in question often have had no aim at all in what they have hazarded, that they did not mean what they said, that they did not know the strength of their own words, and that they were putting forth the first crude notions which came into their minds; or that they were pursuing principles to their consequences as a sort of pastime, and developing their own theories in grave practical mat-

ters, in which no one should move without a deep sense of responsibility. In fact, that whatever incidental or intrinsic excellence there may be in the Tracts, and whatever direct or indirect benefits have attended them, there is much in them which is nothing more or less than mischievous, and convicts its authors of a wanton inconsiderateness towards the feelings of others.

I am very far from saying that there is any one evil temper or motive which may not have its share in any thing that I write myself; and it does not become me to deny the charge as far as it is brought against me, though I am not conscious of its justice. But still I would direct attention to this circumstance, that what persons who are not in the position of the writers of the Tracts set down to wantonness, may have its definite objects, though those objects be not manifest to those who are in other positions. I am neither maintaining that those objects are real, or important, or defensible, or pursued wisely or seasonably; but if they exist in the mind of the writers, I trust they will serve so far as to relieve them from the odious charge of scattering firebrands about without caring for or apprehending consequences.

May I then, without (as I have said) at all assuming the soundness of the doctrines to be mentioned, or by mentioning them seeking indirectly a sanction for them from your Lordship, be allowed to allude to one or two Tracts, merely in illustration of what I have said?

One of the latest Tracts is written upon "The

Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church." It discusses the subject of the mystical interpretation of nature and Scripture with a learning and seriousness which no one will wish to deny; but the question arises, and has actually been asked, why discuss it at all? why startle and unsettle the Christian of this age by modes of thought which are now unusual and strange; and which being thus fixed upon the Fathers, serve but to burden with an additional unpopularity an authority which the Church of England has ever revered, ever used in due measure to support her own claims upon the attachment of her children? But the state of the case has been this. For some years the argument in favour of our Church drawn from Antiquity has been met by the assertion, that that same Antiquity held also other opinions which no one now would think of maintaining; that if it were mistaken in one set of opinions, it might be in the other; that its mistakes were of a nature which argued feebleness of intellect, or unsoundness of judgment, or want of logical acumen in those who held them, which would avail against its authority in the instance in which it was used, as well as in that in which it was passed over. Moreover it was said that those who used it in defence of the Church knew this well, but were not honest enough to confess it. They were challenged to confess or deny the charges thus brought against the Fathers; and, since to deny the fact was supposed impossible, they were bid to draw out a case, such, as either to admit of a defence of the fact on grounds of reason,

or of its surrender without surrendering the authority of the Fathers altogether.

Such challenges, and they have not been unfrequent, afford, I conceive, a sufficient reason for any one who considers that the Church of England derives essential assistance from Christian antiquity in her interpretation of Scripture, to enter upon the examination of the particular objections by which certain authors have assailed its authority. Yet it is plain that by those who had not heard of their writings, such an examination would be considered a wanton mooting of points which no one had called in question.

Again, much animadversion has been expressed, and in quarters which claim the highest deference, upon the Tract upon "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." Yet I do not think it will be called a wanton exercise of ingenuity. Not only does it bear marks, which no reader can mistake, of deep earnestness, but it in fact originated in a conviction in the mind of the writer of certain actual evils at present resulting from the defective appreciation with which the mass of even religious men regard the mysteries and privileges of the Gospel.

And another Tract, which has experienced a great deal of censure, is that which is made up of Selections from the Roman Breviary. I will not here take upon me to say a word in its defence, except to rescue its author from the charge of wantonness. He had observed what a very powerful source of attraction the Church of Rome possessed in her devotional Services, and he wished, judiciously or

not, to remove it by claiming it for ourselves. He was desirous of shewing, that such Devotions would be but a continuation in private of those public Services which we use in Church ; and that they might be used by individuals with a sort of fitness, (removing such portions as were against the Anglican creed or practice,) *because* they were a continuation. He said, in the opening of the Tract,

“It will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries’ hands ; who have in this, as in many other instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs. . . . It may suggest . . . character and matter for our private devotions, over and above what our Reformers have thought fit to adopt into our public Services ; a use of it which will be but carrying out and completing what they have begun.” *Tract 75.*

I repeat it, that I have no intention here of defending the proceeding except from the charge of wantonness ; and with that view I would add, that though there is a difference not to be mistaken between a book published by authority and an anonymous Tract, yet, as far as its object is concerned, it is not very unlike the publication of Bishop Cosin’s Hours of Prayer, of which I hope I may be permitted to remind your Lordship in the words of the recent Editor.

“At the first coming of the Queen Henrietta into England, she and her French ladies, it appears, were equally surprised and dissatisfied at the disregard of the hours of Prayer, and the want of Breviaries. Their remarks, and perhaps the strength of their arguments, and the beauty of many of their books, induced the Protestant ladies of the house-

hold, to apply to King Charles. The King consulted Bishop White as to the best plan of supplying them with Forms of Prayer, collected out of already approved Forms. The Bishop assured him of the ease and the great necessity of such a work, and chose Cosin as the fittest person to frame the Manual. He at once undertook it, and in three months finished it and brought it to the King. The Bishop of London (Mountain), who was commanded to read it over and make his report, is said to have liked it so well, that instead of employing a Chaplain as was usual, he gave it an "*imprimatur*" under his own hand. There were at first only two hundred copies printed. There was, as Evelyn tells us, nothing of Cosin's own composure, nor any name set as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, &c., touching the times and seasons of Prayer, all the rest being entirely translated and collected out of an Office published by authority of Queen Elizabeth and out of our own Liturgy. 'This,' adds Evelyn, 'I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Dean, who had exceedingly suffered by it, as if he had done it of his own head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and who was one who, in this time of temptation and apostasy, held and confirmed many to our Church.'

"The book soon grew into esteem, and justified the judgment which had been passed upon it, so that many who were at first startled at the title, 'found in the body of it so much piety, such regular forms of divine worship, such necessary consolations in special exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a jewel of great price and value.' 'Not one book,' it was said, 'was in more esteem with the Church of England, next to the Office of the Liturgy itself.' It appears, in fact, to have become exceedingly popular, and ran through ten editions, the last of which was published in 1719." *Preface to Cosin's Devotions*, p. xi.—xiii.

3. There has been another, and more serious pecu-

liarity in the line of discussion adopted in the Tracts, which, whatever its merits or demerits, has led to their being charged, I earnestly hope groundlessly, with wanton innovation on things established. I mean the circumstance that they have attempted to defend our Ecclesiastical system upon almost first principles. The *immediate* argument for acquiescing in what is established is that it *is* established: but when what has been established is in course of alteration, (and this evil was partly realized, and feared still more, eight years since,) the argument ceases, and then one is driven to considerations which are less safe because less investigated, which it is impossible at once to survey in all their bearings, or to have confidence in, that they will not do a disservice to the cause we are defending as well as a benefit. It seemed safe at the period in question, when the immediate and usual arguments failed, to recur to those which were used by our divines in the seventeenth century, and by the most esteemed in the century which followed, and down to this day. But every existing establishment, whatever be its nature, is a *fact*, a thing *sui simile*, which cannot be resolved into any one principle, nor can be defended and built up upon one idea. Its position is the result of a long history, which has moulded it, and stationed it, in the form and place which characterize it. It has grown into what it is by the influence of a number of concurrent causes in time past, and in consequence no one first principle can be urged in its defence, but what in some other respect or measure may also possibly be urged against it. This applies, I conceive, as to

all social institutions, so to the case of our religious establishment and system at this day. It is a matter of extreme difficulty and delicacy, to say the least, so to defend them in an argumentative discussion in one respect as not to tend to unsettle them in another. And all but minds of the greatest powers, or even genius, will find nothing left to them, if they do attempt it, but to strike a balance between gain and loss, and to attempt to do the most good on the whole.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood as if, in thus speaking, I meant to justify to your Lordship the consequences which have followed under these circumstances from the attempts of the Tracts for the Times in defence of the Church. I am but shewing that, even though evil has resulted, it need not have been wanton evil. Nor am I at all insinuating, that our established system is necessarily in fault, because it was exposed to this inconvenience; rather, as I have said, the cause lies in the nature of things, abstract principles being no sufficient measure of matters of fact. There cannot be a clearer proof of this than will be found in a reference to that antagonist system, which it has been the object of the Tracts in so great a measure to oppose. I do not put the case of Rome and her defenders as parallel to that between the Tracts and our own Church, of course; it would be preposterous to do so; but it may avail as an *à fortiori* argument, considering how systematic and complete the Roman system is, and what transcendent ability is universally allowed to Bossuet. Yet even Bossuet,

so great a controversialist, could not defend Romanism, so perfect a system, without doing a harm while he did a service. At least we may fairly conclude, that what the authorities of the Church of Rome thought to be a disservice to it, really was so at the time, though in the event it might prove a benefit. Dr. Maclaine in a note on his translation of Mosheim, observes of Bossuet's Exposition: "It is remarkable that nine years passed before this book could obtain the Pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman Catholic Priests were rigorously treated and severely persecuted for preaching the doctrine contained in the Exposition of Bossuet, which was moreover formally condemned by the University of Louvain in the year 1685, and declared to be scandalous and pernicious. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book." (Vol. v. p. 126.)

I am not presuming to draw an illustration from the history of Bossuet, except as regards his intention and its result. No one can accuse him of wantonness. What happened to him in spite of great abilities, may happen to others in defect of them.

Several obvious illustrations may be given from the controversies to which the Tracts for the Times have given rise. Much attention, for instance, has of late years been paid by learned men to the question of the origin of our public Services. The Tracts have made use of the results of their investigations with a view of exalting our ideas of the

sacredness of our Eucharistical Rite; but in proportion as they have discerned what may be truly called an awful light resting on its component parts, they have discovered also that those parts have experienced some change in their disposition and circumstances by the hand of time; and accordingly, the higher appreciation the Tracts tend to create of the substance of the Service in the minds of their readers, the greater regret do they incidentally infuse, were they ever so unwilling to do so, that any external causes should have interfered with the shape in which we at this day receive it. The effect then has been to raise our reverence towards the whole indefinitely, yet to fling around that reverence somewhat of a melancholy feeling. I am not defending either process or result, but shewing how good and evil have gone together.

Again, as regards the doctrine of Purgatory, that the present Roman doctrine was not Catholically received in the first ages, is as clear as any fact of history. But there is an argument which Roman controversialists use in its favour, founded on a fact of very early antiquity, the practice of praying for the faithful departed. To meet this objection, the Tracts gave a reprint of Archbishop Ussher's chapter on the subject in his Answer to a Jesuit, in which he shews that the objects of those prayers were very different from those which the Roman doctrine of Purgatory requires. Thus the argument in question is effectually overthrown, but at the expense of incidentally bringing to light a primitive practice confessedly uncongenial to our present views of reli-

gion. In other words, if the Churchman is by the result of the discussion confirmed against Romanism, he has been incidentally, and for the moment, (I cannot deny it,) unsettled in some of his existing opinions.

Or again, the charge brought against the defenders of Baptismal Regeneration has commonly been, that such a doctrine explained away regeneration, and made a mere name and a shadow of that gift of which Scripture speaks so awfully. We answer, "So far from it, every one is in a worse condition for being regenerate, if he is not in a better. If he resist the grace he has received, it is a burden to him, not a blessing. He cannot take it for granted, that all is right with his soul, and think no more about it; for the gift involves responsibilities as well as privileges." And thus, while engaged in maintaining the truth, that all Christians are in a state of grace, we incidently elicit the further truth, that sin after Baptism is a heavier matter than sin before it; or, in maintaining the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, we introduce the doctrine of repentance. We fortify our brethren in one direction; and may be charged with unsettling them in another.

Or again, in defending such doctrines and practices of the Church as Infant Baptism or the Episcopal Succession, the Tracts have argued that they rested on substantially the same basis as the Canon of Scripture, viz. the testimony of ancient Christendom. But to those who think this basis weak, the argument becomes a disparagement of the Canon, not a recommendation of the Creed.

My Lord, I have not said a word to imply that this disturbing and unsettling process is indissolubly connected with argumentative efforts in defence of our own system. I only say, that the good *naturally* runs into the evil; and so, without entering into the question whether or how they might have been kept apart in the Tracts, I am accounting for what looks like wantonness, yet I trust is not.

And perhaps I may be permitted to add, that our difficulties are much increased in a place like this, where there are a number of persons of practised intellects, who with or without unfriendly motives are ever drawing out the ultimate conclusions in which our principles result, and forcing us to affirm or deny what we would fain not consider or not pronounce upon. I am not complaining of this as unfair to us at all, but am shewing that we may have said extreme things, yet not from any wanton disregard of the feelings and opinions of others. The appeal is made to reason, and reason has its own laws, and does not depend on our will to take the more or less; and this is not less the case as regards the result, even though it be false reason which we follow, and our conclusions be wrong from our failing to detect the counteracting considerations which would avert the principles we hold from the direction in which we pursue them. And a conscientious feeling sometimes operates to keep men from concealing a conclusion which they think they see involved in their principles, and which others see not; and moreover a dread of appearing disingenuous

to others, who are directing their minds to the same subjects.

An instance has occurred in point quite lately as regards a subject introduced into Tract 90, which I am very glad to have an opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship. I have said in the Postscript of a Letter which I have lately addressed to Dr. Jelf, that the "vagueness and deficiency" of some parts of the Tract, in the conclusions drawn from the premises stated, arose in great measure from the author's being "more bent on laying down his principle than defining its results." In truth I was very unwilling to commit the view of the Articles which I was taking, to any precise statement of the ultimate approaches towards the Roman system allowed by our own. To say *how far* a person may go, is almost to tempt him to go up to the boundary line. I am far from denying that an evil arose from the vagueness which ensued, but it arose mainly from this feeling. Accordingly I left, for instance, the portion which treated of the Invocation of Saints without any definite conclusion at all, after bringing together various passages in illustration. However, friends and opponents discovered that my premises required, what I was very unwilling to state categorically, for various reasons, that the *ora pro nobis* was not on my shewing necessarily included in the invocation of Saints which the Article condemns. And in my Letter to Dr. Jelf, I have been obliged to declare this, under a representation that to pass it over would be considered disingenuous. I avail myself, however, of

the opportunity which this Letter to your Lordship affords me, without any suggestion as your Lordship knows, from yourself, or from any one else, to state as plainly as I can, lest my brethren should mistake me, my great apprehension concerning the use even of such modified invocations. Every feeling which interferes with God's sovereignty in our hearts, is of an idolatrous nature; and, as men are tempted to idolize their rank and substance, or their talent, or their children, or themselves, so may they easily be led to substitute the thought of Saints and Angels for the one supreme idea of their Creator and Redeemer, which should fill them. It is nothing to the purpose to urge the example of such men as St. Bernard in defence of such invocations. The holier the man, the less likely are they to be injurious to him; but it is another matter entirely when ordinary persons do the same. There is much less of awe and severity in the devotion which rests upon created excellence as its object, and worldly minds will gladly have recourse to it, to be saved the necessity of lifting up their eyes to their Sanctifier and Judge. And the multitude of men are incapable of many ideas; one is enough for them, and if the image of a Saint is admitted into their heart, he occupies it, and there is no room for Almighty God. And moreover there is the additional danger of *presumptuousness* in addressing Saints and Angels; by which I mean cases when men do so from a sort of curiosity, as the heathen might feel towards strange and exciting rites of worship, not with a clear conscience and spontane-

ously, but rather with certain doubts and misgivings about its propriety, and a secret feeling that it does not become them, and a certain forcing of themselves in consequence.

4. Unless your Lordship had ordered me to speak my mind on these subjects, I should feel that in these reflections I was adopting a tone very unlike that which becomes a private Clergyman addressing his Diocesan; but, encouraged by the notion that I am obeying your wishes, I will proceed in what I feel it very strange to allow myself in, though I do so. And, since I have been naturally led into the subject of Romanism, I will continue it, and explain the misapprehension which has been entertained of my views concerning it.

I do not wonder that persons who happen to fall upon certain writings of mine, and are unacquainted with others, and, as is natural, do not understand the sense in which I use certain words and phrases, should think that I explain away the differences between the Roman system and our own, which I hope I do not. They find in what I have written, no abuse, at least I trust not, of the individual Roman Catholic, nor of the Church of Rome, viewed abstractedly as a Church. I cannot speak against the Church of Rome, viewed in her formal character, as a true Church, since she is "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner-stone." Nor can I speak against her private members, numbers of whom, I trust, are God's people, in the way to Heaven, and one with us in heart, though not in profession. But what

I have spoken, and do strongly speak against is, that energetic system and engrossing influence in the Church *by which* it acts towards us, and meets our eyes, like a cloud filling it, to the eclipse of all that is holy, whether in its ordinances or its members. This system I have called in what I have written, Romanism or Popery, and by Romanists or Papists I mean all its members, so far as they are under the power of these principles; and while, and so far as this system exists, and it does exist now as fully as heretofore, I say that we can have no peace with that Church, however we may secretly love its particular members. I cannot speak against its private members; I should be doing violence to every feeling of my nature if I did, and your Lordship would not require it of me. I wish from my heart we and they were one; but we cannot, without a sin, sacrifice truth to peace; and, in the words of Archbishop Laud, "till Rome be other than it is" we must be estranged from her.

This view which, not inconsistently, I hope, with our chief divines, I would maintain against the Roman errors, seems to me to allow at once of zeal for the truth, and charity towards individuals and towards the Church of Rome herself. It presents her under a twofold aspect, and while recognizing her as an appointment of God on the one hand, it leads us practically to shun her, as beset with heinous and dangerous influences on the other. It is drawn out in the following extracts, under which I have thought it best to set it before your Lordship, rather than in statements made for the occasion, for the

reason I have given above. I think they will serve to shew, consistently with those which I made in my Letter to Dr. Jelf, both the real and practical stand I would make against Romanism, yet the natural opening there is for an unfounded suspicion that I feel more favourably towards it than I do.

“Our controversy with Romanists,” I say, “turns more upon facts than upon first principles; with Protestant sectaries it is more about principles than about facts. This general contrast between the two religions, which I would not seem to extend beyond what the sober truth warrants, for the sake of an antithesis, is paralleled in the common remark of our most learned controversialists, that Romanism *holds the foundation, or is the truth overlaid with corruptions*. This is saying the same thing in other words. They discern in it the great outlines of primitive Christianity, but they find them touched, if nothing worse, touched and tainted by error, and so made dangerous to the multitude,—dangerous except to men of spiritual minds, who can undo the evil, arresting the tendencies of the system by their own purity, and restoring it to the sweetness and freshness of its original state. The very force of the word *corruption*, implies that this is the peculiarity of Romanism. All error indeed of whatever kind, may be called a corruption of truth; still we properly apply the term to such kinds of error as are not denials but perversions, distortions, or excesses of it. Such is the relation of Romanism towards true Catholicity. . . .

“The same view of Romanism is implied; when we call our ecclesiastical changes in the sixteenth century a Reformation. A building has not been reformed or repaired, when it has been pulled down and built up again; but the word is used when it has been left substantially what it was before, only amended or restored in detail. In like manner we Anglo-Catholics do not profess a different religion from

the Romanists, we profess their Faith *all but* their corruptions.

“Again, this same character of Romanism as a perversion, not a contradiction of Christian Truth, is confessed as often as members of our Church in controversy with it contend, as they may rightly do, that it must be judged, not by the formal decrees of the Council of Trent, as its advocates are fond of doing, but by its practical working and its existing state in the countries which profess it. Romanists would fain confine us in controversy to the consideration of the bare and acknowledged principles of their Church; we consider this to be an unfair restriction; why? because we conceive that Romanism is far more faulty in its details than in its formal principles, and that Councils, to which its adherents would send us, have more to do with its abstract system than with its practical working; that the abstract system contains, for the most part, *tendencies* to evil, which the actual working brings out, thus supplying illustrations of that evil which is really though latently contained in principles capable in themselves of an honest interpretation. Thus for instance, the decree concerning Purgatory might be charitably made almost to conform to the doctrine of St. Austin, or St. Chrysostom, were it not for the comment on it afforded by the popular belief as existing in those countries which hold it, and by the opinions of the Roman schools.” *On Romanism*, p. 50—54.

Again,

“I have been speaking of Romanism, not as an existing political sect among us, but considered in itself, in its abstract system, and in a state of quiescence. Viewed indeed in action, and as realized in its present partisans, it is but one out of the many denominations which are the disgrace of our age and country. In temper and conduct it does but resemble that unruly Protestantism which lies on our other side, and it submits without reluctance to be

allied and to act with it towards the overthrow of a purer religion The reproach of the present Romanists, is that they are inconsistent; and it is a reproach which is popularly felt to be just. They are confessedly unlike the loyal men who rallied round the throne of our first Charles, or who fought, however ill-advisedly, for his exiled descendants I have here considered Romanism in its abstract professions for two reasons. First, I would willingly believe, that in spite of the violence and rancour of its public supporters, there are many individuals in its communion of gentle, affectionate, and deeply religious minds; and such a belief is justified when we find that the *necessary* difference between us and them is not one of essential principle, that it is the difference of superstition, and not of unbelief, from religion. Next, I have insisted upon it, by way of shewing what must be the nature of their Reformation, if in God's merciful counsels a Reformation awaits them. It will be far more a reform of their popular usages and opinions, and Ecclesiastical policy, or a destruction of what is commonly called Popery, than of their abstract principles and maxims." *On Romanism, p. 56, 57.*

And again,

"They profess to appeal to primitive Christianity; we honestly take their ground, as holding it ourselves; but when the controversy grows animated, and descends into details, they suddenly leave it, and desire to finish the dispute on some other field. In like manner in their teaching and acting, they begin as if in the name of all the Fathers at once, but will be found in the sequel to prove, instruct, and enjoin, simply in their own name. Our differences from them, considered not in theory but in fact, are in no sense matters of detail and questions of degree. In truth, there is a tenet in their theology which assumes quite a new position in relation to the rest, when we pass from the abstract and quiescent theory to the practical workings of the

system. The infallibility of the existing Church is then found to be its first principle, whereas, before, it was a necessary, but a secondary doctrine. Whatever principles they profess in theory, resembling or coincident with our own, yet when they come to particulars, when they have to prove this or that article of their creed, they supersede the appeal to Scripture and Antiquity by the pretence of the infallibility of the Church, thus solving the whole question, by a summary and final interpretation both of Antiquity and of Scripture." *On Romanism*, p. 59, 60.

In the following passage the Anglican and Roman systems are contrasted with each other.

"Both we and Romanists hold that the Church Catholic is unerring in its declarations of Faith, or saving doctrine; but we differ from each other as to what is the faith, and what is the Church Catholic. They maintain that faith depends on the Church, we that the Church is built on the faith. By Church Catholic, we mean the Church Universal, as descended from the Apostles; they those branches of it which are in communion with Rome. They consider the see of St. Peter, to have a promise of permanence; we the Church Catholic and Apostolic. Again, they understand by the Faith, whatever the Church at any time declares to be faith; we what it has actually so declared from the beginning. We hold that the Church Catholic will never depart from those outlines of doctrine, which the Apostles formally published; they that she will never depart in any of her acts from that entire system, written and oral, public and private, explicit and implicit, which they received and taught; we that she has a gift of fidelity, they of discrimination.

"Again, both they and we anathematize those who deny the Faith; but they extend the condemnation to all who question any decree of the Roman Church; we apply it to those only who deny any article of the original Apostolic Creed. The creed of Romanism is ever subject to

increase; ours is fixed once for all. We confine our anathema to the Athanasian Creed; Romanists extend it to Pope Pius's. They cut themselves off from the rest of Christendom; we cut ourselves off from no branch, not even from themselves. We are at peace with Rome as regards the essentials of faith; but she tolerates us as little as any sect or heresy. We admit her Baptism and her Orders; her custom is" [conditionally] "to re-baptize and re-ordain our members who chance to join her." *On Romanism*, p. 259, 260.

And I shew, in one of the Tracts, the unfairness of detaching the Canons of Trent from the actual conduct of the Roman Church for any practical purposes, while things are as they are, as follows:—

“An equally important question remains to be discussed; *viz.* What the *sources* are, whence we are to gather our opinions of Popery. Here the Romanists complain of their opponents, that, instead of referring to the authoritative documents of their Church, Protestants avail themselves of any errors or excesses of individuals in it, as if the Church were responsible for acts and opinions which it does not enjoin. Thus the legends of relics, superstitions about images, the cruelty of particular Prelates or Kings, or the accidental fury of a populace, are unfairly imputed to the Church itself.... Accordingly they claim to be judged by their formal documents, especially by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

“Now here we shall find the truth to lie between the two contending parties. Candour will oblige us to grant that the mere acts of individuals should not be imputed to the body;...yet not so much as they themselves desire. For though the acts of individuals are not the acts of the Church, yet they may be the results, and therefore illustrations, of its principles. We cannot consent then to confine ourselves to a mere reference to the text of the Tridentine

decrees, as Romanists would have us, apart from the teaching of their Doctors, and the practice of the Church, which are surely the legitimate comment upon them. The case stands as follows. A certain system of teaching and practice has existed in the Churches of the Roman Communion for many centuries; this system was discriminated and fixed in all its outlines at the Council of Trent. It is therefore not unnatural, or rather it is the procedure we adopt in any historical research, to take the general opinions and conduct of the Church in elucidation of their Synodal decrees; just as we take the tradition of the Church Catholic and Apostolic as the legitimate interpreter of Scripture, or of the Apostles' Creed. On the other hand, it is as natural that these decrees, being necessarily concise and guarded, should be much less objectionable than the actual system they represent. It is not wonderful then, yet it is unreasonable, that Romanists should protest against our going beyond these decrees in adducing evidence of their Church's doctrine, on the ground that nothing more than an assent to them is requisite for communion with her: *e. g.* the Creed of Pope Pius, which is framed upon the Tridentine decrees, and is the Roman Creed of Communion, only says, 'I firmly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that souls therein detained are aided by the prayers of the faithful,' nothing being said of its being a place of punishment, nothing, or all but nothing, which does not admit of being explained of merely an intermediate state.

"Now supposing we found ourselves in the Roman Communion, of course it would be a great relief to find that we were not bound to believe more than this vague statement, nor should we (I conceive) on account of the received interpretation about Purgatory superadded to it, be obliged to leave our Church. But it is another matter entirely, whether we who are external to that Church, are not bound to consider it as one whole system, written and unwritten,

defined indeed and adjusted by general statements, but not limited to them or coincident with them.

“The conduct of the Catholics during the troubles of Arianism, affords us a parallel case and a direction in this question. The Arian Creeds were often quite unexceptionable, differing from the orthodox only in this, that they omitted the celebrated word *Homoöusion*, and in consequence did not obviate the possibility of that perverse explanation of them, which in fact their framers adopted. Why then did the Catholics refuse to subscribe them? Why did they rather submit to banishment from one end of the Roman world to the other? Why did they become Confessors and Martyrs? The answer is ready. They interpreted the language of the creeds by the professed opinions of their framers. They would not allow error to be introduced into the Church by an artifice. On the other hand, when at Ariminum they were seduced into a subscription of one of these creeds, though unobjectionable in its wording, their opponents instantly triumphed, and circulated the news that the Catholic world had come over to their opinion. It may be added that, in consequence, ever since that era, phrases have been banished from the language of theology which heretofore had been innocently used by orthodox teachers.

“Apply this to the case of Romanism. We are not indeed allowed to take at random the accidental doctrine or practice of this or that age, as an explanation of the decrees of the Latin Church; but when we see clearly that certain of these decrees have a natural tendency to produce certain evils, when we see those evils actually existing far and wide in that Church, in different nations and ages, existing especially where the system is allowed to act most freely, and only absent where external checks are present, sanctioned moreover by its celebrated teachers and expositors, and advocated by its controversialists with the tacit consent of the whole body, under such circumstances

surely it is not unfair to consider our case parallel to that of the Catholics during the ascendancy of Arianism. Surely it is not unfair in such a case to interpret the formal document of belief by the realized form of it in the Church, and to apprehend that, did we express our assent to the creed of Pope Pius, we should find ourselves bound hand and foot, as the Fathers at Ariminum, to the corruptions of those who profess it.

“To take the instances of the Adoration of Images and the Invocation of Saints. The Tridentine Decree declares that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the Saints, and that the Images of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints should ‘receive due honour and veneration;’ words, which themselves go to the very verge of what could be received by the cautious Christian, though possibly admitting of a honest interpretation. Now we know in matter of fact that in various parts of the Roman Church, a worship approaching to idolatrous is actually paid to Saints and Images, in countries very different from each other, as for instance, Italy and the Netherlands, and has been countenanced by eminent men and doctors, and that without any serious or successful protest from any quarter: further that, though there may be countries where no scandal of the kind exists, yet these are such as have, in their neighbourhood to Protestantism, a practical restraint upon the natural tendency of their system.

“Moreover, the silence which has been observed, age after age, by the Roman Church, as regards these excesses, is a point deserving of serious attention;—for two reasons: first, because of the very solemn warnings pronounced by our Lord and His Apostle, against those who introduce scandals into the Church, warnings which seem almost prophetic of such as exist in the Latin branches of it. Next it must be considered that the Roman Church has had the power to denounce and extirpate them. Not to mention its use of its Apostolical powers in other matters, it has had the civil

power at its command, as it has shewn in the case of errors which less called for its interference; all of which shews it, has not felt sensitively on the subject of this particular evil.” — *Tracts for the Times*, No. 71. p. 14—18.

And in the following passage, written in the course of last year, the contrariety between the Primitive and Roman systems is pointed out.

“Allowing the Church Catholic ever so much power over the faith, allowing that it may add what it will, so that it does not contradict what has been determined in former times, yet let us come to the plain question, Does the Church, according to Romanists, know more now than the Apostles knew? Their theory seems to be that the whole faith was present in the minds of the Apostles, nay, of all Saints at all times, but in great measure as a matter of mere temper, feeling, and unconscious opinion, or implicitly, not in the way of exact statements and in an intellectual form. All men certainly hold a number of truths and act on them, without knowing it; when a question is asked about them, then they are obliged to reflect what their opinion has ever been, and they bring before themselves and assent to doctrines which before were but latent within them. We have all heard of men changing to so-called Unitarianism, and confessing on a review of themselves that they had been Unitarians all along without knowing it, till some accident tore the bandage off their eyes. In like manner the Roman Catholics, we suppose, would maintain that the Apostles were implicit Tridentines; that the Church held in the first age what she holds now; only that heresy, by raising questions, has led to her throwing her faith into dogmatic shape, and has served to precipitate truths which before were held in solution. Now this is all very well in the abstract, but let us return to the point, as to what the Apostles held and did, and what they did not. Does the Romanist mean, for instance, to tell us that St. Paul the

Apostle, when he was in perils of robbers or perils by the sea, offered up his addresses to St. Mary, and vowed some memorial to her, if she would be pleased ‘deprecari pro illo Filium Dei?’ Does he mean to say that the same Apostle, during that period of his life when as yet he was not ‘perfect’ or had ‘attained,’ was accustomed to pray that the merits of St. John the Baptist should be imputed to him? Did he or did he not hold that St. Peter could give indulgences to shorten the prospective sufferings of the Corinthians in purgatory? We do not deny that St. Paul certainly does bring out his thoughts only in answer to express questions asked, and according to the occasion; that St. John has written a Gospel, as later, so also more dogmatic, than his fellow-Evangelists, in consequence of the rise of heresy. We do not at all mean to affirm, that the sacred writers said out at one time all they had to say. There are many things we can *imagine* them doing and holding, which yet, in matter of fact, we believe they did not do, or did not hold. We can *imagine* them administering extreme unction or wearing copes. Again, there are many things which they *could* neither hold nor do, merely from the circumstances of the times or the moment. They could not determine whether general councils might or might not be held without the consent of Princes, or determine the authority of the Vulgate before it was written, or enjoin infant baptism before Christians had children, or decide upon the value of heretical baptism before there were heretics, and before those heretics were baptized. But still there are limits to these concessions; we cannot imagine an Apostle saying and doing what Romanists say and do: can they imagine it themselves? Do they themselves, for instance, think that St. Paul was in the habit of saying what Bellarmine and others say,—*Laus Deo Virginiæ Matri*? Would they not pronounce a professed epistle of St. Paul’s which contained these words spurious on this one ground?”

It is commonly urged by Romanists, that the Notes of their Church are sufficiently clear to enable the private Christian to dispense with argument in joining their Communion in preference to any other. Now in the following passage it is observed, that that Communion has Notes of error upon it, serving in practice quite as truly as a guide from it, as the Notes which it brings forward can be made to tell in its favour.

“Our Lord said of false prophets, ‘By their fruits shall ye know them;’ and, however the mind may be entangled theoretically, yet surely it will fall upon certain marks in Rome which seem intended to convey to the simple and honest enquirer a solemn warning to keep clear of her, while she carries them about her. Such are her denying the Cup to the laity, her idolatrous worship of the Blessed Virgin, her Image-worship, her recklessness in anathematizing, and her schismatical and overbearing spirit. Surely we have more reason for thinking that her doctrines concerning Images and the Saints are false, than that her saying they are Apostolical is true. I conceive, then, on the whole, that while Rome confirms by her accordant witness our own teaching in all greater things, she does not tend by her novelties, and violence, and threats, to disturb the practical certainty of Catholic doctrine, or to seduce from us any sober and conscientious enquirer.” *On Romanism*, p. 324, 325.

And in one of the Tracts for the Times, speaking of certain Invocations in the Breviary, I say,

“These portions of the Breviary carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgment of an English Christian; no commendation of the general structure and matter of the Breviary itself will have any tendency to reconcile him to them; and it has been the strong feeling

that this is really the case, that has led the writer of these pages fearlessly and securely to admit the real excellencies, and to dwell upon the antiquity of the Roman Ritual. He has felt that, since the Romanists required an unqualified assent to the *whole* of the Breviary, and that there were passages which no Anglican ever could admit, praise the true Catholic portion of it as much as he might, he did not in the slightest degree approximate to a recommendation of Romanism." *Tract 75. p. 9, 10.*

"They" [the Antiphons to the blessed Virgin] "shall be here given in order to shew clearly, as a simple inspection of them will suffice to do, the utter contrariety between the Roman system, as actually existing, and our own; which, however similar in certain respects, are in others so at variance, as to make any attempt to reconcile them together in their present state, perfectly nugatory. Till Rome moves towards us, it is quite impossible that we should move towards Rome; however closely we may approximate to her in particular doctrines, principles, or views." *Tract 75. p. 23.*

In the foregoing passages, protests will be found against the Roman worship of St. Mary, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images, Purgatory, Denial of the Cup, Indulgences, and Infallibility; besides those which are entered against the fundamental theory out of which these errors arise.

5. And now having said, I trust, as much as your Lordship requires on the subject of Romanism, I will add a few words, to complete my explanation, in acknowledgment of the inestimable privilege I feel in being a member of that Church over which your Lordship, with others, presides. Indeed, did I not feel it to be a privilege which I am able to seek no

where else on earth, why should I be at this moment writing to your Lordship? What motive have I for an unreserved and joyful submission to your authority, but the feeling that the Church in which your Lordship rules is a divinely-ordained channel of supernatural grace to the souls of her members? Why should I not prefer my own opinion, and my own way of acting, to that of the Bishop's, except that I know full well that in matters indifferent I should be acting lightly towards the Spouse of Christ and the Awful Presence which dwells in her, if I hesitated a moment to put your Lordship's will before my own? I know full well that your Lordship's kindness to me personally, would be in itself quite enough to win any but the most insensible heart, and, did a clear matter of conscience occur in which I felt bound to act for myself, my feelings towards your Lordship would be a most severe trial to me, independently of the higher considerations to which I have alluded; but I trust I have shewn my dutifulness to you prior to the influence of personal motives; and this I have done because I think that to belong to the Catholic Church is the first of all privileges here below, as involving in it heavenly privileges, and because I consider the Church over which your Lordship presides to be the Catholic Church in this country. Surely then I have no need to profess in words, I will not say my attachment, but my deep reverence towards the Mother of Saints, when I am shewing it in action; yet that words may not be altogether wanting, I beg to lay before your Lordship the following extract from a

defence of the English Church, which I wrote against a Roman controversialist in the course of the last year.

“The Church is emphatically a living body, and there can be no greater proof of a particular communion being part of the Church, than the appearance in it of a continued and abiding energy, nor a more melancholy proof of its being a corpse than torpidity. We say an energy continued and abiding, for accident will cause the activity of a moment, and an external principle give the semblance of self-motion. On the other hand, even a living body may for a while be asleep. And here we have an illustration of what we just now urged about the varying cogency of the Notes of the Church according to times and circumstances. No one can deny that at times the Roman Church itself, restless as it is at most times, has been in a state of sleep or disease, so great as to resemble death; the words of Baronius, speaking of the tenth century, are well known: “*Dormiebat tunc plane alto, ut apparet, sopore Christus in navi, cum hisce flantibus validis ventis, navis ipsa fluctibus operiretur. Una illa reliqua consolatio piis, quia etsi Dominus dormivit, in eadem tamen navi dormivit.*” It concerns then those who deny that we are the true Church, because we have not at present this special Note, intercommunion with other Christians, to shew cause why the Roman Church in the tenth century should be so accounted, with profligates, or rather the profligate mothers of profligate sons, for her supreme rulers. And still notwithstanding life *is* a note of the Church; she alone revives, even if she declines; heretical and schismatical bodies cannot keep life; they gradually become cold, stiff, and insensible. They may do some energetic work at first from excitement or remaining warmth, as the Arians converted the Goths, though even this seems, as the history shews us, to have been an accident, for which they can claim

no praise ; or as the Nestorians spread in the East, from circumstances which need not here be noticed. But wait awhile, and ‘see the end of these men.’ ‘I myself,’ says the Psalmist, ‘have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree. I went by, and lo, he was gone ; I sought him, but his place could no where be found.’ Heresies and schisms, whatever be their promise at first, and whatever be their struggles, yet gradually and surely tend not to be. Utter dissolution is the scope to which their principles are directed from the first, and towards which for the most part they steadily and continually move. Or, if the principle of destruction in them, be not so living as to hurry them forward in their career, then they remain inert and motionless, where they first are found, kept together in one by external circumstances, and going to pieces as soon as air is let in upon them. Now if there ever were a Church on whom the experiment has been tried, whether it had life in it or not, the English is that one. For three centuries it has endured all vicissitudes of fortune. It has endured in trouble and prosperity, under seduction and under oppression. It has been practised upon by theorists, browbeaten by sophists, intimidated by princes, betrayed by false sons, laid waste by tyranny, corrupted by wealth, torn by schism, and persecuted by fanaticism. Revolutions have come upon it sharply and suddenly, to and fro, hot and cold, as if to try what it was made of. It has been a sort of battle-field on which opposite principles have been tried. No opinion, however extreme any way, but may be found, as the Romanists are not slow to reproach us, among its Bishops and Divines. Yet what has been its career upon the whole ? Which way has it been moving through three hundred years ? Where does it find itself at the end ? Lutherans have tended to Rationalism ; Calvinists have become Socinians ; but what has it become ? As far as its Formularies are concerned, it may be said all along to have

grown towards a more perfect Catholicism than that with which it started at the time of its estrangement; every act, every crisis, which marks its course, has been upward. It never was in so miserable case as in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. At the end of Elizabeth's there was a conspicuous revival of the true doctrine. Advancements were made in the Canons of 1603. How much was done under Charles the First, need not be said; and done permanently, so as to remain to this day in spite of the storm which immediately arose, sweeping off the chief agents in the work, and for a time levelling the Church to the ground. More was done than even yet appears, as a philosophical writer has lately remarked, in the Convocation of 1661. One juncture there was of a later date (1688) which seemed to threaten a relapse; yet it was the only crisis in which no Ecclesiastical act took place. The temper, however, of the Church, certainly did go back; a secular and semi-sceptical spirit came in. Now then was the time when the Church lay open to injury; yet, by a wonderful providence, the Convocation being, during this period, suspended, there was no means of making permanent impressions on its character; and thus civil tyranny was its protection against itself. That very Convocation too expired in an act of zeal and faith. In our own times, temporal defences have been removed which the most strenuous political partisans of the Church considered essential to its well-being, and the loss of which they deplored as the first steps towards its ruin. To their surprise these well-intentioned men have beheld what they thought a mere establishment, dependent on man to create and destroy, rise up and walk with a life of its own, such as it had before they and their constitution came into being. How many learned Divines have we had, even our enemies being judges! and in proportion as they were learned, so on the whole have they approximated towards the full ancient truth. Or take again those whom by a natural instinct 'all the people count as Prophets,' and will

it not be found that either altogether or in those works which are most popular, those writers are ruled by primitive and Catholic principles? No man, for instance, was an abler writer in the last century than Warburton, or more famous in his day; yet the glare is over, and now Bishops Wilson and Horne, men of far inferior powers, but of Catholic temper and principles, fill the doctor's Chair in the eyes of the many. What a note of the Church is the mere production of a man like Butler, a pregnant fact much to be meditated on! and how strange it is, if it be as it seems to be, that the real influence of his work is only just now beginning! and who can prophecy in what it will end? Thus our Divines grow with centuries, expanding after their death in the minds of their readers into more and more exact Catholicism as years roll on. Nay even our errors and heterodoxies turn to good. Wesleyanism in itself tends to heresy, if it was not heretical in the outset; but so far as it has been in the Church, it has been overruled to rouse and stimulate us, when we were asleep. Moreover look at the internal state of the Church at this moment; much that is melancholy is there, strife, division, error. But still on the whole, enlarge on the evils as you will, there is *life* there, perceptible, visible life; rude indeed, undisciplined, perhaps self-willed, but life; and not the life of death, not that heretical restlessness, which, as we have observed, only runs out the quicker for its activity, and hastens to be no more, but, we may humbly trust, a heavenly principle after all, which is struggling towards development, and gives presage of truth and holiness to come. Look across the Atlantic to the daughter Churches of England in the States; shall one that is barren bear a child in her old age? yet 'the barren hath borne seven.' Schismatic branches put out their leaves at once in an expiring effort; our Church has waited three centuries, and then blossoms, like Aaron's rod, budding and blooming and yielding fruit, while the rest are dry. And

lastly look at the present position of the Church at home; there too we shall find a Note of the true city of God, the Holy Jerusalem. She is in warfare with the world as the Church Militant should be; she is rebuking the world, she is hated, she is pillaged by the world. And as if it were providentially intended to shew this resemblance between her and the sister branches, what place she has here, that they have there; the same enemies encompassing both them and her, and the same trials and exploits lying in prospect. She has a common cause with them, as far as they are faithful, if not a common speech and language; and is together with them in warfare, if not in peace.

“Much might be said on this subject. At all times, since Christianity came into the world, an open contest has been going on between religion and irreligion; and the true Church, of course, has ever been on the religious side. This then is a sure test in every age, *where* the Christian should stand. . . . Now applying this simple criterion to the public parties of this day, it is very plain that the English Church is at present on God’s side, and therefore so far God’s Church;—we are sorry to be obliged to add that there is as little doubt on which side English Romanism is. It must be a very galling thought to serious minds who profess it, to feel that they are standing with the enemies of God, cooperating with the haters of truth and haters of the light, and thereby prejudicing religious minds even against those verities which Rome continues to hold.

“As for the English Church, surely she has Notes enough, ‘the signs of an Apostle in all patience, and signs and wonders and mighty deeds.’ She has the Note of possession, the Note of freedom from party-titles; the Note of life, a tough life and a vigorous; she has ancient descent, unbroken continuance, agreement in doctrine with the ancient Church. Those of Bellarmine’s Notes, which she certainly has not, are intercommunion with Christendom, the glory of miracles, and the prophetic

light, but the question is, whether she has not enough of divinity about her to satisfy her sister Churches on their own principles, that she is one body with them."

6. This may be sufficient to shew my feelings towards my Church, as far as statements on paper can shew them. I have already, however, referred to what is much more conclusive, a practical evidence of them; and I think I can shew your Lordship besides without difficulty that my present conduct is no solitary instance of such obedience, but that I have observed an habitual submission to things as they are, and have avoided in practice, as far as might be, any indulgence of private tastes and opinions, which left to myself perhaps I should have pursued.

And first, as regards my public teaching; though every one has his peculiarities, and I of course in the number, yet I do hope that it has not on the whole transgressed that liberty of opinion which is allowed on all hands to the Anglican Clergyman. Nay I might perhaps insist upon it, that in the general run of my Sermons, fainter and fewer traces will be found than might have been expected of those characteristics of doctrine, with which my name is commonly associated. I might without offence have introduced what is technically called High-Church doctrine in much greater fulness; since there are many who do not hold it to my own extent, or with my own eagerness, whose teaching is more prominently coloured by it. My Sermons have been far more practical than doctrinal; and this, from a dislike of introducing a character and tone of preaching very different from that which is

generally to be found. And I hope this circumstance may serve as my reply to an apprehension which has been felt, as if what I say in Tract 90 concerning a cast of opinions which is not irreconcilable with our Articles, involves an introduction of those opinions into the pulpit. Yet who will maintain, that what merely happens not to be forbidden or denied in the Articles, may at once be made the subject of teaching or observance? There is nothing concerning the Inspiration of Scripture in the Articles; yet would a Bishop allow a Clergyman openly to deny it in the pulpit? May the Scripture Miracles be explained away, because the Articles say nothing about them? Would your Lordship allow me to preach in favour of duelling, gaming, or simony? or to revile persons by name from the pulpit? or be grossly and violently political? Every one will surely appreciate the importance and sacredness of Pulpit instruction; and will allow, that though the holding certain opinions may be compatible with subscription to the Articles, the publishing and teaching them may be inconsistent with ecclesiastical station.

Those who frequent St. Mary's, know that the case is the same as regards the mode in which worship is conducted there. I have altered nothing I found established; when I have increased the number of the Services, and had to determine points connected with the manner of performing them for myself, if there was no danger of offending others, I have followed my own judgment, but not otherwise. I have left many things, which I

did not like, and which most other persons would have altered. And here, with your Lordship's leave, I will make allusion to one mistake concerning me which I believe has reached your Lordship's ears, and which I only care to explain to my Bishop. The explanation, I trust, will be an additional proof of my adherence to the principle of acquiescing in the state of things in which I find myself. It has been said, I believe, that in the Communion Service I am in the practice of mixing water with the wine, and that of course on a religious or ecclesiastical ground. This is not the case. We are in the custom at St. Mary's of celebrating the Holy Communion every Sunday, and most weeks early in the morning. When I began the early celebration, communicants represented to me that the wine was so strong as to distress them at that early hour. Accordingly I mixed it with water in the bottle. However, it became corrupt. On this I mixed it at the time. I speak honestly when I say that this has been my only motive. I have not mixed it when the Service has been in the middle of the day.

If I were not writing to my Bishop, I should feel much shame at writing so much about myself; but confession cannot be called egotism. Friend and stranger have from time to time asked for my cooperation in the attempt to gain additional power for the Church. I have been accustomed to answer that it was my duty to acquiesce in the state of things under which I found myself, and to serve God, if so be, in it. New precedents indeed, con-

firming or aggravating our present Ecclesiastical defects, I have ever desired to oppose; but as regards changes, persons to whom I defer very much, know that, rightly or wrongly, I have discountenanced, for instance, any movement tending to the repeal even of the Statutes of *Præmunire*, which has been frequently agitated, under the notion that such matters were not our business, and that we had better “remain in the calling wherein we were called.” Of course I cannot be blind to the fact that “time is the great innovator;” and that the course of events may of itself put the Church in possession of greater liberty of action, as in time past it has abridged it. This would be the act of a higher power; and then I should think it a duty to act according to that new state in which the Church found itself. Knowledge and virtue certainly are power. When the Church’s gifts were doubled, its influence would be multiplied a hundred fold; and influence tends to become constituted authority. This is the nature of things, which I do not attempt to oppose; but I have no wish at all to take part in any measures which aim at changes.

And in like manner I have set my face altogether against suggestions which zealous and warm-hearted persons sometimes have made of reviving the project of Archbishop Wake, for considering the differences between ourselves and the foreign Churches with a view to their adjustment. Our business is with ourselves—to make ourselves more holy, more self-denying, more primitive, more worthy our high calling. Let the Church of Rome

do the same, and it will come nearer to us, and will cease to be what we one and all mean, when we speak of Rome. To be anxious for a composition of differences, is to begin at the end. Did God visit us with large measures of His grace, and the Roman Catholics also, they would be drawn to us, and would acknowledge our Church as the Catholic Church in this country, and would give up whatever offended and grieved us in their doctrine and worship, and would unite themselves to us. This would be a true union; but political reconciliations are but outward and hollow, and fallacious. And till they renounce political efforts, and manifest in their public measures the light of holiness and truth, perpetual warfare is our only prospect. It was the prophetic announcement concerning the Elijah of the first Advent, that he should "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers." This is the only change which promises good and is worth an effort.

What I have been saying as regards Roman Catholics, I trust I have kept steadily before me in ecclesiastical matters generally. While I have considered that we ought to be content with the outward circumstances in which Providence has placed us, I have tried to feel that the great business of one and all of us is, to endeavour to raise the moral tone of the Church. It is sanctity of heart and conduct which commends us to God. If we be holy, all will go well with us. External things are comparatively nothing; whatever be a

religious body's relations to the State—whatever its regimen—whatever its doctrines—whatever its worship—if it has but the life of holiness within it, this inward gift will, if I may so speak, take care of itself. It will turn all accidents into good, it will supply defects, and it will gain for itself from above what is wanting. I desire to look at this first, in all persons and all communities. Where Almighty God stirs the heart, there His other gifts follow in time; sanctity is the great Note of the Church. If the Established Church of Scotland has this Note, I will hope all good things of it; if the Roman Church in Ireland has it not, I can hope no good of it. And in like manner, in our own Church, I will unite with all persons as brethren, who have this Note, without any distinction of party. Persons who know me can testify that I have endeavoured to cooperate with those who did not agree with me, and that again and again I have been put aside by them, not put them aside. I have never concealed my own opinions, nor wished them to conceal theirs; but have found that I could bear them better than they me. And I have long insisted upon it, that the only way in which the members of our Church, so widely differing in opinion at this time, can be brought together in one, is by a “turning of heart” to one another. Argumentative efforts are most useful for this end under this sacred feeling; but till we try to love each other, and what is holy in each other, and wish to be all one, and mourn that we

are not so, and pray that we may be so, I do not see what good can come of argument.

7. Before concluding, there is one more subject on which I wish briefly to address your Lordship, though it is one which I have neither direct claim nor encouragement to introduce to your Lordship's notice. Yet our Colleges here being situated in your Lordship's diocese, it is natural for me to allude to the lately expressed opinion of the Heads of Houses upon the Tract which has given rise to this Letter. I shall only do so, however, for the purpose of assuring your Lordship of the great sorrow it gives me to have incurred their disapprobation, and of the anxiety I have felt for some time past from the apprehension that I was incurring it. I reverence their position in the country too highly to be indifferent to their good opinion. I never can be indifferent to the opinion of those who hold in their hands the education of the classes on which our national well-being, spiritual and temporal, depends; who preside over the foundations of "famous men" of old, whose "name liveth for evermore;" and from whom are from time to time selected the members of the sacred order to which your Lordship belongs. Considering my own peculiar position in the University, so much have these considerations pressed upon me for a long while, that, as various persons know, I seriously contemplated, some time since, the resignation of my Living, and was only kept from it by the advice of a friend to whom I felt I ought to submit myself. I say this, moreover, in explanation

of a Letter I lately addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, lest it should seem dictated either by a mere perception of what was becoming in my situation, or from some sudden softening of feeling under an unexpected event. It expressed my habitual deference to persons in station.

And now, my Lord, suffer me to thank your Lordship for your most abundant and extraordinary kindness towards me, in the midst of the exercise of your authority. I have nothing to be sorry for, except having made your Lordship anxious, and others whom I am bound to revere. I have nothing to be sorry for, but every thing to rejoice in and be thankful for. I have never taken pleasure in seeming to be able to move a party, and whatever influence I have had has been found not sought after. I have acted because others did not act, and have sacrificed a quiet which I prized. May God be with me in time to come, as He has been hitherto! and He will be, if I can but keep my hand clean and my heart pure. I think I can bear, or at least will try to bear, any personal humiliation, so that I am preserved from betraying sacred interests, which the Lord of grace and power has given into my charge.

I am, My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and affectionate Servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

Oriel College,
March 29th, 1841.

SOME REMARKS

ON

Edw. Rogers

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE REVEREND R. W. JELF, D.D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,

IN EXPLANATION OF No. 90

IN THE SERIES CALLED

The Tracts for the Times.

BY

AMBROSE LISLE PHILLIPPS, Esq.

OF GRACE DIEU MANOR.

LONDON :

CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

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REMARKS,

ETC.

No one, who has read the Letter which is mentioned in the title-page of these remarks, or the Tract No. 90, of which it was intended to give an explanation, or who reflects on the fact which is now made public, that both the one and the other proceed from the pen of a clergyman, who holds the high reputation which the Rev. Mr. Newman possesses in the Church of England; no one, I say, who has so read and reflected, whether he be a Catholic or a Protestant, can doubt for a single instant the justice and propriety of some remarks being published upon both the Tract and the Letter, expressive of the feeling produced in Catholic minds by the perusal of them.

While I readily admit that there are many in our English Catholic body, who are far more capable than I am, of treating this important subject as it ought to be treated (and I am confident such will be found to come forward on this occasion), yet after the part I have recently and publicly taken in reference to the supporters of the doctrines contained in the Oxford Tracts, it appears, at least to me, no less than to many others, whom I have

consulted, that it is my duty publicly to express my sentiments upon these two remarkable documents.

It is impossible to do sufficient justice to the firmness and courage which Mr. Newman has evinced in acknowledging the authorship of Tract No. 90. I rejoice also to see that, in his subsequent Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, he persists in his noble declaration in favour of so many Catholic truths, no less than in his generous attempt to soften down the differences between the Church of England and the Catholic Church, which to me at least appears a most important step towards the reunion and the peace of distracted Christendom. Above all, I hail with inexpressible joy, and the deepest gratitude towards Him who holds in his hands the hearts of men, and who for the love of mankind turns every event to the good of His Church, the glorious admissions which, both in the Tract and the Letter, are so fearlessly proclaimed in behalf of that holy Council of Trent, against which for three centuries such absurd and irrational prejudices had taken root in the minds of our separated brethren. At the same time, much as I feel for Mr. Newman's difficult and painful position, no less than for that of all who think with him, I cannot consistently with my duty as a Catholic pass over his Letter to Dr. Jelf, without entering a respectful but firm protest against very many things which it contains.

And here let me say that, in these remarks I confine myself chiefly to Mr. Newman's *Letter*, inasmuch as I am not aware of anything which could appear objectionable to Catholic minds in Tract No. 90, which is not perhaps even more forcibly stated in that Letter. The remarks, therefore, on the latter, apply to the former also. I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible.

In *page 6*, Mr. Newman contrasts the *Council of Trent* with *the authoritative teaching* of the Church of Rome. Against this distinction I most positively protest; neither the Church of Rome, nor the other Churches in communion with her, which taken in their totality form the Church Catholic, acknowledge *any other authoritative standard of teaching* than the *Council of Trent* and *the other general Councils* which preceded the Tridentine. But I go further; I hesitate not to declare that neither in the *Roman schools*, to which Mr. Newman appeals as bearing him out in the justice of his distinction, nor *in those* of any other Catholic university, is there in *point of fact* any teaching considered as *authoritative*, whether moral or dogmatical, in any way contrary to or beyond *the Council of Trent*. In asserting this, I do not mean to deny that there are theological *opinions*, left as open questions in the Church, in regard to which Catholic divines are at liberty to follow each his own private judgment, or that *in some particular schools*, in regard to some one or

other of these, there may be a general agreement of theologians, and consequently a general teaching on the part of the same; but I do most distinctly deny that any such agreement is anything beyond an agreement in *opinion*, or that it could raise any such opinion to the rank of an article of faith, or justify any man in pronouncing it to constitute *the authoritative teaching* of the Roman Catholic Church. Any doctrines of such a nature, never having been proposed by the whole Church as articles of faith, are received by all Catholics as mere opinions, no matter how great the number or how holy and learned the character of the divines who support them.

I protest against the term *Church of Rome*, as used by Mr. Newman. It is contrary to facts, and to sound theology, to call the Churches (which Mr. Newman includes under that term) the *Church of Rome*. The Church of Rome is indeed their head, or (to use the words of a grave and authentic document, the Creed, as it is called, of Pope Pius IV), “the Mother and Mistress of all Churches,” but it would be as absurd to call the Church of France the Church of Rome, as it would be to say that a man’s head was the same as his arms or his legs.

Page 7 is truly afflicting: I hope Mr. Newman will pardon me for saying so: Exeter Hall itself could not have produced anything more so. My eldest little boy, though only six years old, could

answer it. The beggar boys at Naples could answer it, as *many of them* did to me twelve years ago, when out of curiosity I questioned them on these points. In short, every Catholic *in the Universe, who has learnt his catechism* (and it would be unfair to question others) could answer it. "The Roman," (i. e. the Catholic) "system preaches the Blessed Virgin Mary, the saints, and purgatory, instead of the Holy Trinity, heaven, and hell"!!! Look at *page 7*, and see whether I exaggerate Mr. Newman's words; but if they be there, as my eyes testify that they are, tell me when a more unjust caricature was drawn even by the fanatics at Exeter Hall?

Pages 8 and 9 are less objectionable; still why does Mr. Newman speak of the Tridentine Catechism, commonly called the *Catechismus Romanus*, as an authoritative work, *on a par* with the Council itself? where is his authority for such an assertion? If that Catechism declare its belief in a purgatorial *fire*, it does so not by way of obliging men to adopt that as an *article of faith*, but because it follows the generally received *opinion* of theologians from the days of St. Augustine downwards. But let any one consult the passage of the Catechism to which Mr. Newman refers (Catechismi Concilii Tridentini, Pars i. page 55), and he will find, that though the article in question commences with these words — "Prætereà est purgatorius ignis," it yet, a few lines afterwards,

explains the expression by the following words :—
 “ ac de hujus quidem doctrinæ veritate, quam et scripturarum testimoniis, et apostolicâ traditione confirmatam esse *Sancta Concilia* declarant ; ”
 from which it is perfectly evident that the Tridentine Catechism aims at asserting nothing beyond what had been defined by the holy Councils, and consequently that the term *purgatorius ignis* was used by the Catechism as expressive of nothing beyond what the Tridentine Council had declared, in reference to which Mr. Newman has already shewn with great ability, that the belief of a purgatorial fire is in nowise decreed. And here let me observe, that the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine, who may justly be styled the prince of controversialists, writes with admirable reserve concerning this matter :—“ It is no article of faith,” says he, (*Bellarmin. lib. ii. de Purgat. cap. 11*), “ that there is a true and real fire in purgatory, . . . because this has not been defined by any of our councils ; and though in the Council of Florence the Greeks openly declared that they did not believe in a purgatorial fire, yet, in the decree passed in the last session, it was merely defined that there is a purgatory, but not one word said as to there being a fire there.” This sentence of the great Bellarmine appears to me of immense importance, the more so as it is notorious that he himself did actually hold the opinion that there was a real fire in purgatory. From which it is evident how cautious is the language of Catholic divines, when they

are speaking of theological opinions, and how far they are from expressing themselves in reference to these in any manner that could justify others in terming it the *authoritative teaching* of the Church.

Page 10. I do not understand Mr. Newman's meaning, when he says;—"while these decrees remain unexplained in any truer and more Catholic way."—At the same time it is consolatory to find, after three centuries of cavilling and resisting against the decrees of the holy Council of Trent, that now in the full blaze of the boasted light of the nineteenth century, a clergyman, decidedly the most learned in the whole Church of England, is compelled by the omnipotent force of truth to do justice, tardily though it be, to those holy decrees; yet cannot I understand why this beautiful testimony is to be marred by a cavil about their *explanation*. Oh! in the name of charity, unity, and peace, do I entreat that learned clergyman, and all who think with him, with patience and candour to examine our authentic books. What must be the infallible result of such an examination? I am sure it will be to admit, that from the days of the Council of Trent to our own, these decrees have never been explained in any other way than what in fact amounts to what Mr. Newman himself claims in *page 18*, the liberty to hold the very same doctrines in the Church of England.

Page 11. Mr. Newman quotes a passage from

the late Bishop Lloyd, in which his lordship states his preference for English Roman Catholics above the Catholics of the Continent. This testimony of Bishop Lloyd's is certainly a very flattering one to us, but one the justice of which true humility, no less than true Catholic feeling, ought to lead us to deny. I for one hesitate not to declare that I think we have much to learn from our Continental brethren; and when we shall have learnt it, such men as Bishop Lloyd will perhaps love *us* less exclusively, but they will love *our* religion more. It is amusing (if it be not irreverent to use such a word in treating of such awful and important subjects) to hear Bishop Lloyd commending us for the disuse of processions and the rest of our grand ceremonial, which, by-the-bye, has arisen solely from the persecuting enactments of a Protestant legislature; but I should have thought, that, at such an hour as this, learned prelates of the Anglican Church had had experience enough of the deficient machinery of their own system, not to rake up the silly and worn out objections against ceremonial. Surely it is not to so little purpose, that during the last thirty years Englishmen have been travelling in every direction over the globe, or that the study of history has been brought to so admirable a degree of perfection, that they have not yet learnt that no system of religion, true or false, can long maintain its sway over the minds and hearts of men without the aid

of ceremonial. The Right Honourable and eloquent author of that admirable article in a recent Number of the Edinburgh Review, on *Ranke's History of the Popes*, might with justice have added, in his survey of the causes of weakness in the Anglican system, the absence of processions and grand ceremonial, to that still greater source of weakness occasioned by the want of religious orders. But the fact is, the movement is going on rapidly, and what Bishop Lloyd wrote on this subject he wrote in the year 1825. To judge from the fact of his having so far outstripped his contemporaries even then, I suspect he would, had he lived longer, have kept pace with them since, to say the least ; nor do I think he would have quoted in the year 1841 his sentiments of 1825.

Page 15. The *infallibility* of the Roman Church *separate* from the rest of the Church Catholic, was never advanced as an article of faith. It was the *opinion* of Bellarmine, and of many other divines ; but never having been asserted by the whole Church as an article of faith, it is not fair to object to it as an obstacle for Catholic communion. The infallibility of *the whole Church* in her teaching capacity, whether in regard to questions of faith or definitions of morality, is an article of faith received by all Catholics. He who stands up for Church authority, without admitting the infallibility of that authority, is either a bad logician, or a bad moralist. By *infallibility*, it is not

meant that the Church has any arbitrary power of decreeing articles of faith ; she can never decree anything to be an article of faith, which was not universally held to be so by the Church in all ages, from the days of Jesus Christ and the apostles. All that is meant, therefore, by *infallibility* is, that the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, whom our Lord promised should ever abide with her, can never decree anything *new* to be believed as an article of faith, that is anything contrary to the revelation made to us by God in the Old Testament, and by his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, under the New Testament, who promised to be with his visible Church, in her office of “*teaching all nations,*” even until the end of the world. But observe, this infallibility is promised by Jesus Christ only to the Church *teaching all nations*—that is, to the Universal Church. The moment, therefore, that any portion of that Church isolates herself from the rest of the Church Catholic, that instant she forfeits the glorious promise which was made only to the totality, and which cannot be inherited by the several parts of which that totality is composed, unless they remain in the original position in which God’s providence had placed them in reference to that universal body—that is, living members of Christ’s holy vine. It is, however, a delightful thought to reflect, that what the malice of man has separated, the mercy and grace of God can reunite. Nothing can be more con-

soling to those who hold it, than the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church. It is true that the unlearned must receive it on trust, though not without proofs which carry conviction evidently along with them. But the learned can easily demonstrate the infallibility of the Church, not only as a theoretical proposition, but as a grand and glorious FACT, in the circumstance, which their investigations cannot fail to lay open to them, that the Church *has never changed her doctrines*, from the days of the Apostles to our own.

Page 16. In reference to what is stated by Mr. Newman concerning our doctrine of Pardons, whether in this part of his Letter to Dr. Jelf, or in pages 28, 29, 30, 31, of Tract No. 90, I would refer the reader who desires to know the real doctrine of the Catholic Church on this head, to an admirable work published many years ago by the learned Veron, entitled "The Rule of Catholic Faith, or the Principles and Doctrines of the Catholic Church discriminated from the opinions of the Schools, and from popular errors and misstatements." This able treatise has been exceedingly well translated by the Rev. Mr. Waterworth, who published it in the year 1833. To quote at length the masterly exposition which Veron gives of the Catholic doctrine of pardons, would carry me far beyond the limits to which I deem it right to confine these remarks; I refer the reader to

the book itself, every page of which will amply repay him for the trouble of reading. I cannot, however, forbear from citing an admirable passage of the great Bellarmine, which seems to me to set at rest all the cavils and objections of writers like Bishop Jeremy Taylor, quoted in Tract No. 90, no less than those of all others who would make the absurdities of individual Catholics pass for the general doctrine and practice of the Church: "Some writers," says he, "amongst whom are Gerson and Soto, deny altogether that certain indulgences, which promise remission of punishment for thousands of years, have ever been granted by any Pope; and they assert, that all such indulgences are mere forgeries of the mendicants. It has been the custom of the Popes to confine their grants of indulgences to the same number of years as the Church did her penitential canons; which were sometimes for two, three, five, ten, or twenty years, or at most for a person's life-time, which seldom reaches beyond a hundred years. A person that really wishes to know the true history of Papal indulgences, must not seek it in the writings of our professed enemies, nor in obscure and miserable pamphlets. . . . Let him not refer to such sources, but rather to the decrees of our Popes; to the authorized documents of our Church; or, at all events, to writers who have a just claim to veracity, authority, learning, and probity. . . . We never find any mention, in writers *whose*

authority is of any weight, of indulgences, either of several thousand days, or of thousands of years." Can any declaration be more explicit or more satisfactory than this of Cardinal Bellarmine? (*Bellarmin.* lib. c. cap. 9.) The learned Veron, after quoting it, sums up his remarks on the whole subject with these plain words: "Let us propose nothing to the belief of our dissenting brethren, but what is contained in our Profession of Faith, and the Council of Trent: let us not pretend to be wiser than the fathers of the Council, or the author of the Profession, Pope Pius IV. Let us pass over all other questions; since the profession of what is propounded by these two authorities, is undoubtedly enough to make any man a true Catholic on this point. (*Veron, Rule of Faith*, p. 65.) In short, so far from the strange opinions, to which Mr. Newman refers, embodying the *authoritative teaching* of the Roman Catholic Church on this head, it is perfectly clear that they are even repugnant to it, if not plainly and absolutely condemned by it.

With regard to what Mr. Newman states in the same page, 16, concerning St. Bonaventure's Psalter in honour of our Lady, I possess a copy of that very curious production, which I purchased at Rome some years ago. It is published with the usual approbation prefixed to all devotional books printed in Catholic countries which are not absolutely prohibited, "Superiorum permissu;" but as

for any Papal approbation of it, Mr. Newman may be correct, when he states that the Pope sanctioned it, but I can find *no authority* for such a statement; assuredly in the copy which I possess there is no Papal approbation prefixed. But even if it were so, the private opinion of an individual Pope constitutes *no article of faith* amongst Catholics. On the other hand, it is quite clear that there is nothing idolatrous in St. Bonaventure's Psalter; it certainly is not a book which I would circulate amongst Protestants, for fear of mistakes: at the same time I can perfectly conceive many Catholics, especially in Catholic countries, using such a book with great spiritual profit, because understood, as they would understand it from their previous knowledge of Catholic doctrine, it would tend to nourish in their souls a lively sense of the efficacy of the Blessed Virgin's intercession with her Divine Son. It is quite clear from many expressions which we find in the writings of St. Athanasius, of St. Ephrem, and of St. Augustine, that in the primitive ages of the Church, it was not unusual to address the Blessed Virgin Mary, when invoking her intercession, in terms quite as strong as any to be found in St. Bonaventure's Psalter. I will just quote one from the great St. Augustine, of Hippo (*Sermon xviii. de Sanctis in medio.*) Addressing our Blessed Lady, he says "Sit per Te excusabile, quod per Te ingerimus: fiat impetrabile, quod fidâ mente poscimus. Accipe quod offerimus, redona quod rogamus,

excusa quod timemus : quia Tu es SPES UNICA PECCATORUM: per Te speramus veniam delictorum, et in Te beatissima nostrorum est expectatio præmiorum. O Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, refove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu : sentiant omnes tuum juvamen, quicumque celebrant tuam sanctam commemorationem.” Now assuredly if St Bonaventure used idolatrous language in his Psalter, the language of St. Augustine, in this sermon, is equally idolatrous. Interpret the language of either according to a Protestant interpretation, and I admit that both would stand convicted of something like idolatry ; for Protestants cannot imagine men using such strong language, without putting the object to whom it is addressed on a par with God : but let them suppose for a moment that they had been brought up from their infancy with a great confidence in the prayers of Jesus Christ’s immaculate mother, would it be unnatural for them, in that case, occasionally to express that confidence in words, which in their strict sense can only be applied to God, and can only be applied to a creature, when in addressing such an one, we feel that we are in reality addressing God through the medium of that creature? We have instances of the invocation of saints and angels in Scripture, quite as strong in point of expression. I will cite one only—it is given us in our Lord’s parable of Dives and Lazarus. It is written, “ The rich man

also died, and was buried in hell: and lifting up his eyes, when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom: and he cried and said, FATHER ABRAHAM HAVE MERCY ON ME AND SEND Lazarus, &c.” Now if the expressions of St. Bonaventure and those of St. Augustine be idolatrous, those of Dives are equally so. What then was Abraham’s duty under such circumstances? Was it sufficient for him to reply to the poor damned soul that his invocation, his supplication, was *useless*? Ought he not also to have rebuked him for his idolatry? But does he? I maintain then that the man, who would convict St. Bonaventure and St. Augustine of idolatry, would bring in Abraham himself as guilty of the misprision of idolatry, to say nothing of Christ, our Lord, for teaching us such doctrine in one of his parables. But why this eternal disputing about expressions to be met with in Catholic authors? Are not they to be interpreted by the doctrine of the Church, not the doctrine of the Church by these expressions? And when has the church made it an article of her faith that her children were bound to use such expressions? Is it not a notorious fact that there is hardly an instance in her whole Liturgy, in which any invocation of saints goes beyond the simple comprecatory form, “*ora pro nobis*”? And is it not equally notorious that the Church has contented herself with pronouncing the invocation of saints to be “*bonum et salutare,*” and that she has never

enjoined it as *necessary to salvation* ? If this be so,—and who can deny it ?—it is surely most unjust to appeal to such a book as St. Bonaventure's Psalter, as expressing the *authoritative teaching* of the Roman Catholic Church.

Page 18. If Mr. Newman would come forward to advocate a reunion between the Church of England and the Catholic Church, I should think him quite *consistent* in claiming a right to hold “a *comprecation* with the saints” with Bramhall—the Sacrifice of the Mass with Andrews—or that Transubstantiation was an innocent doctrine with Hooker—or with Hammond, that no general council ever did or shall err—or with Thorndike, the satisfactory nature of penitential works : but to advocate isolation, and yet to advocate the right of holding the very doctrines, on the ground of the supposed erroneousness of which the right of isolation was first asserted, appears to me a plain inconsistency.

Page 19 speaks of “articles which admit both Arminians and Calvinists,” and a few lines lower down of “broad Roman errors.” *Page 19* seems to me to make out a poor case for the Church of Christ, what with the broad errors of Rome and the trimming of the English Church. Protestants never seem to reflect what they are about, when they make out the visible Church to be a less faithful voucher for the doctrines of Christ, than the Mahometan sect is on all hands allowed to be for the doctrines of Mahomet.

Page 26. How can a man of Mr. Newman's learning, and with his Catholic feelings, seriously assert "that the main idea really encouraged by Rome concerning Purgatory is, that it is a *substitute* for hell in the case of the unholy" ? I give the sense of his words.

Pages 27 to 30 contain most interesting matter. Mr. Newman certainly does justice to the Catholic movement which characterizes our age ; but I am surprised, that in quoting Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Alexander Knox, and even the fanatical Mr. Irving, as so many witnesses of it, that he should have overlooked the name of that learned and noble writer, who was formerly a Member of the Anglican Church, and whose admirable works, the *Broad Stone of Honour* and the *Mores Catholici*, will certainly form one of the brightest ornaments of our national literature in the nineteenth century, as long as the English language shall endure ; or that he should not have noticed some recent works of Protestant Authors, such as Mr. Hallam's admirable *History of European Literature*, or an eloquent article on *Ranke's History of the Popes*, attributed to the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay. The two latter unquestionably indicate the approximation of great minds to Catholic truth ; whilst the *Mores Catholici* and the *Broad Stone of Honour* may be triumphantly cited as a splendid proof of what genius, united to vast learning, may produce, when tempered and directed by the sanctifying and ennobling influence of the

Catholic religion. But it is not alone in literature that this movement manifests itself; we may appeal to the progress of art as another proof. Surely the name no less than the productions of that magnificent artist, Mr. Pugin, can recall to the mind no other associations than such as are connected with the sublimest inspirations of Catholicism. Who that has seen the churches which he has erected at Derby and Macclesfield, or that truly beautiful cathedral which he is now raising to the honour of God at Birmingham, can fail to breathe that air of Catholic sanctity and devotion which dwells within them?

But it is not alone in the learned class that this movement prevails: look to the lower orders—look to the multitudes of converts to the Catholic religion, who, amongst the poor all over England, in all our large towns, and even in many of our country villages, betake themselves to the Catholic system, as the only one that can afford them solid peace and comfort, worn out, as they are, with the doubts and divisions of Protestantism. Listen to the ardent language in which some of these poor converts will describe the consolations they experience, amid the ineffable solemnities of the Catholic worship; and say whether the people of England will much longer endure the dull, cold formalities, the monotonous uniformity, or the dreary absence of all that beautifies and enlivens, which stamp the Protestant system with barren-

ness and failure. Truly, under such circumstances, it is not surprising that men of keen observation, like Mr. Newman, should come forwards to re-invest, if possible, his own distracted and desolate Church with the mantle of Catholicism. I, for one, applaud his endeavour; but let him beware lest in his attempt, noble though it be, he fail, from not carrying out his principles to their legitimate conclusion. The English Church can never be Catholic, while she remains in her present position, isolated, separated from the rest of Christendom,—not even holding communion with any other Protestant Church,—torn and divided too within herself by conflicting factions. The English Church can never command the respect and veneration of the people, so long as she justifies separation in her language to Catholics—condemning it, when she addresses the Dissenters. It is in vain for the English Church to affect to speak the language of the Fathers, while she continues to repeat the jargon of Calvin and Bucer, and while her temples have all the air of Genevan preaching-houses, and not a single characteristic of Catholic antiquity. Let her remember that the eyes of Catholic Europe are fixed upon her, watching whether yet again she will join their vast family. It is in her power to do so: the Catholic Church, like a benignant mother, waits with outstretched arms ready to embrace her. Let her not disappoint the universal hope of Christ-

endom ; myriads of faithful souls all over the earth are now praying with one accord for this blessed consummation : let not the grace be offered in vain.

Now is the moment for men of learning and piety in her communion to come forward boldly to advocate what Grotius, what Leibnitz, what Archbishop Wake, what a learned clergyman in Queen Anne's reign, with such vast erudition, and so forcibly advocated in an admirable treatise now lying before me, entitled "*An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion,*" an essay which, in my opinion, it would be of infinite service to the cause of unity and peace to reprint. Let Mr. Newman advocate this, let others do this ; there is every thing to encourage them. That there are difficulties and obstacles I do not deny : but this I fearlessly assert, that from the hour of the ill-fated Reformation up to the present, there never was a moment more favourable for such an attempt. This I will confidently predict, that if any other course be adopted, neither Mr. Newman nor any other man living will be able much longer to satisfy the cravings of really Catholic hearts with the miserable crumbs of Catholicism, which the present rulers of the Anglican Church, in her actual Protestant position, will suffer to be doled out to appease their hunger. Such men will not stop much longer to enquire how far it is possible to reconcile the contradictory and ambiguous

statements of the Thirty-nine Articles with Catholic verity, but whether they are to be held back by such a formulary from the profession and the enjoyment of that divine truth, for which the Catholic Church of God has testified with the blood of innumerable martyrs in every age.

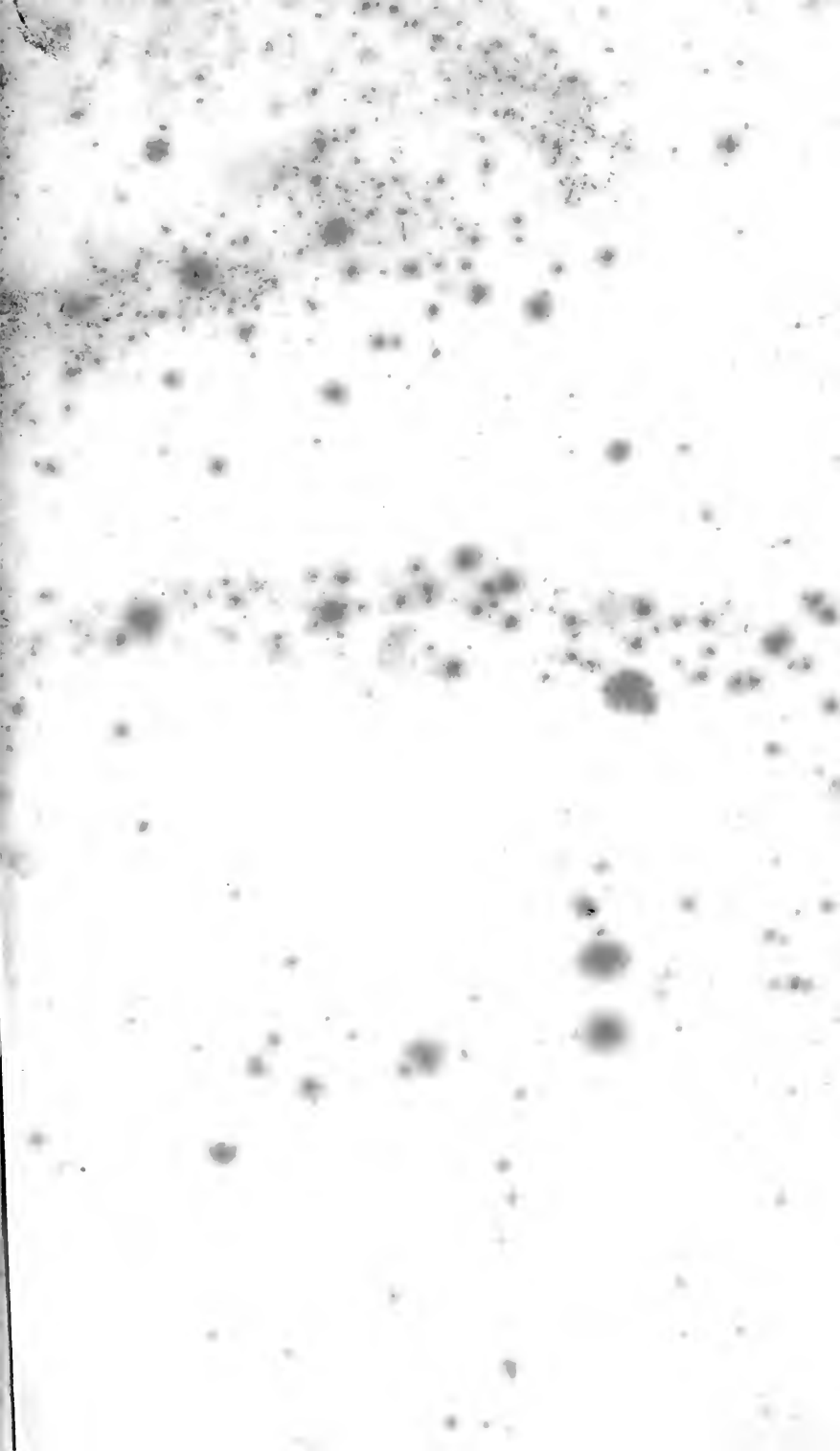
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Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady,

1841.







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