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HIGH CHURCH PARTY IN THE
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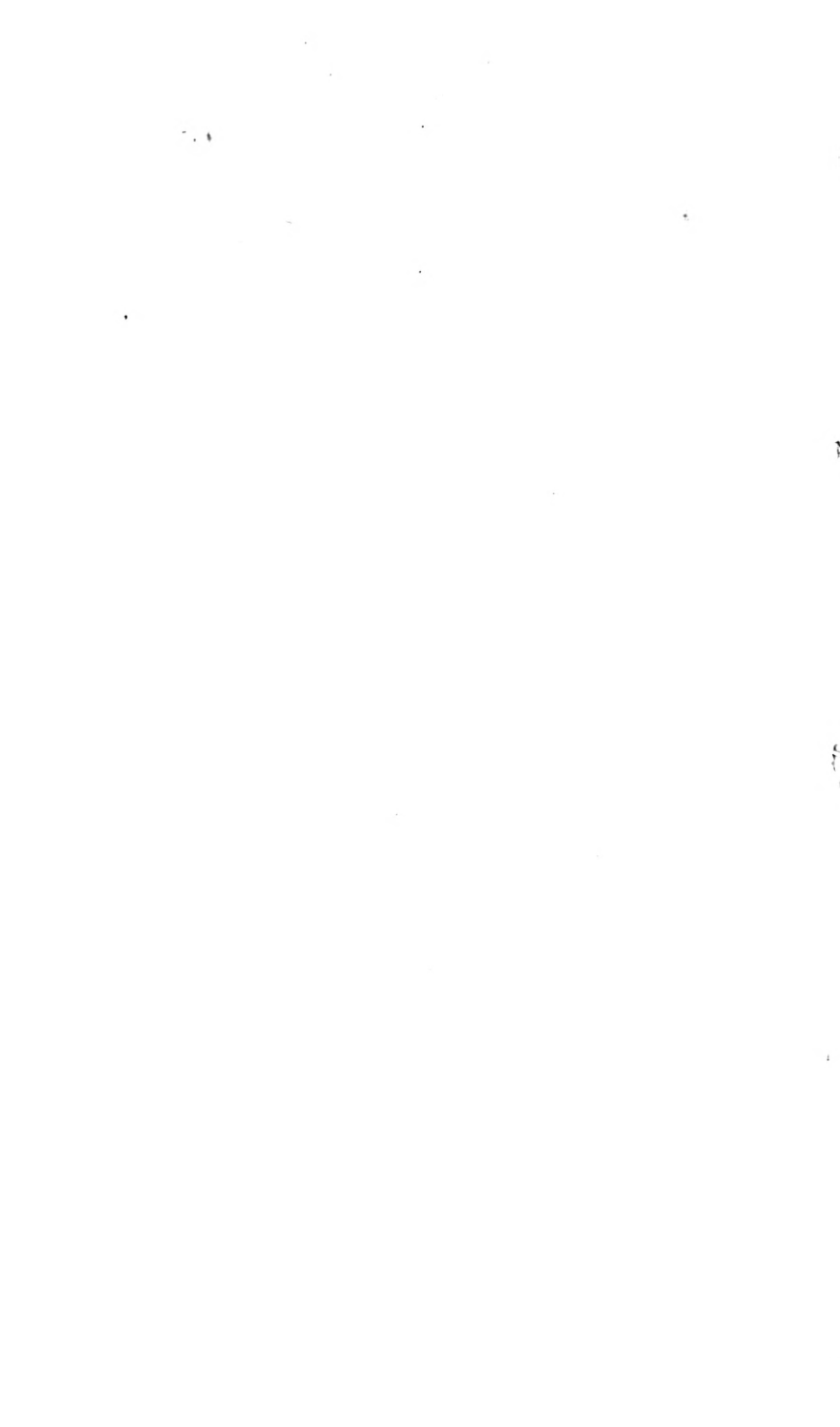
BY THE REV. WILLIAM MASKELL,
VICAR OF S. MARY CHURCH.

THE WANT OF DOGMATIC TEACHING IN THE
REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.

6 St. Dunstons

LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING.

1850.



MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU need not to be told with what pain and reluctance I feel myself, at last, compelled to approach the second subject upon which, in my former letter, I proposed to write to you. When these letters were commenced, now nearly four months ago, it seemed very probable that they would, both of them, have been published long before the present time. But the delay, unexpected by many of us, in the delivery of the late decision of the judicial committee of the privy council in the case of Mr. Gorham, has necessarily obliged me to defer the publication of this second letter. I mention this, in order that you might know, that what I am now about to say, flows not from the hasty, unconsidering, impulse of vexation, or disappointment, or anger, at the decision which has been pronounced, but—whatsoever its truth and weight may be—is at least the result of constant and very anxious thought for many weeks and months.

Nor do I regret the delay itself: it has enabled me to consider and to reconsider the whole bearing of the case: it has given me time to hear and to pay attention to the opinions of excellent and learned men, upon several of the points to be spoken of in the following pages: it has been the welcome cause of rightly procrastinating from day to day, from week to week, the doing what must inevitably be productive of great pain and serious consequences to myself; of consequences also little less serious,

it may be, to many others. For myself, I would repeat what has been already said in my first letter: it is my duty to be prepared to listen to reproach and accusation: I must be prepared to be judged harshly, and the more harshly, by oldest friends: to be condemned (it may be) by those, especially, in whom for years our chief reliance has been placed, and to whom we have looked most readily for counsel and support.

These, however, are but light trials in comparison with the responsibility which any person must incur, who, at such a time and crisis as the present, ventures to speak plainly what he conceives to be the actual state of things: a responsibility, almost infinitely increased, if the view which he takes be one of doubt and difficulty, unsettling to himself, and likely to harass and to unsettle others. Thus great is the responsibility on the one hand: upon the other, there would be no less in determining to be silent and quiet, and in allowing persons to go on—so far as he himself does not interfere with them—in the same security and fulness of faith in the church of England as of old, ignorant of much which he believes to be the truth, unwarned and undisturbed. And it is to be remembered by every one of us, who, in our several positions, some more some less, have been before the world during the last ten years, that *now* to sit still and to be silent, *now* to say nothing and to advise nothing, is in itself as distinct evidence as can be of the absence of immediate fear or anxiety.

There might have been, perhaps, one sufficient reason for any one among us to have believed himself

justified in not declaring publicly his own individual opinions, at such a time of doubt and excitement : namely, if our bishops had assembled to consult upon the position in which the Church is now placed, and had taken some first steps to show an intention to meet, as bishops of the Church Catholic are bound to meet, the pressing dangers and difficulties in which we are involved. We will not speak of the anxious weeks which passed away between the closing of the argument before the judicial committee, and the delivery of its judgment. It may seem strange that not a word was heard from any bishop of the English church : because, whilst it need not have had the unseemly appearance of an attempt to influence the pending decision of the Committee, yet, we might reasonably and unobjectionably have been told that our bishops were in deliberation upon the whole matter ; that they were preparing and considering what measures should be taken, to vindicate the church ; that they sympathized with those who were anxious ; that they would have courage themselves and boldness to defend the truth ; that they asked both of the clergy and laity, for the present, our prayers, our patience, and our unshaken hope.

And since the decision of the judicial committee, more than a month has passed away. Short time indeed for successful action ; quite long enough to have given us some ground of confidence and trust : long enough—as you know well—for many meetings and discussions of influential persons, in a lower station, both clergy and laymen. Where is, even now, the evidence of any general movement by our

bishops? where, even, of their own appreciation of the reality of the crisis at which we have arrived? It is a sign, foreboding evil, when the bishops of a church will stand forward, in defence of the Faith, only when driven to it, and forced, by the pressure of an agitation among their clergy and people, which they are no longer able to control.

Let these few words, then, serve as some token of the many reasons, which, as I have said, compel me to enter on the consideration of what seems to be the extent and nature of the difficulties by which we are now surrounded. In short, it appears to be something very like dishonesty and deceit, to act and teach, and suffer oneself to be supposed to be unchanged and uninfluenced, just as if nothing of material consequence had happened to the church of England, and as if all things were exactly as they were a year ago. May it not be so, with any of us: let those who are confident and firm, say so, and tell us why we are still to be unshaken, or in what we are still to hope: let us not shrink, however, from looking at our peril and our position fairly in the face; let us not seek to conceal, either from ourselves or others, wherein our real difficulties lie; rather, let us meet them boldly, and either prove that they are no difficulties, or get rid of them if we can.

I need not to be told, that (to use the lightest word, as some men say) it was questionable, whether the statements and observations which were in my First Letter, ought to have been published by a clergyman of the church of England, holding his benefice. Indeed this has been charged against me

in the harder terms of accusation. No one could feel that there was some appearance of truth in it more deeply, and none more quickly, than myself. If there was blame—blame of treachery, or disloyalty, or disobedience, or call it by what name we will,—for a time, at least, it was a duty to endeavour to bear it patiently. Perhaps there was one sentence in my former letter somewhat overlooked: “these are days of doubt and peculiar trial, unlike any which our fathers have known for several generations; and we must not lay down principles, applicable enough under common circumstances, by which men are now to be judged.” This, therefore, is the indulgence which I would ask. And, if I know myself, there was no unworthy or worldly motive, which prevented resignation of my benefice before a page of either of these letters was begun. On the contrary, to do so has since been a frequent suggestion of my own mind. But I remembered, also, if it could be shewn that the difficulties in which we seem to be involved, are, after all, slight and unimportant difficulties, and that there are remedies and hope plainly and near at hand, that then haste and the impatience of a sudden impulse would have been grievous errors, by which I had been induced to withdraw from the office and spiritual cure to which I had been called.

But, now, with regard to this present Letter, there is much which many might find impossible to be reconciled with a retaining the position of a beneficed minister of the established church. It is true that the present crisis, the strange occurrences of the last few months, and the unforeseen extremity

of trial into which the English church has almost hurriedly been plunged, might probably allow of much, both speech and action, which would not admit excuse or reason in times of less general excitement and enquiry. Yet I could not rely on so uncertain an apology for publishing very plain words and arguments concerning the position in which we appear to be placed.

And, moreover, it is my desire that the following pages should be considered as a statement of several chief reasons for which I have resigned my benefice and cure of souls.

If the publication of these reasons should be considered by some as equivalent to a declaration of an intention to take, speedily, a further step,—namely, to leave the communion of the church of England;—I am able only to say, that this is a matter neither necessary nor proper to be discussed at present. I am concerned only to put forth a statement of doubts and difficulties, to be considered, weighed, and answered, by the high-church party in the English church: and so long as they remain mere doubts and difficulties, no man has a right to say to me, that I should act as if they were certainties and convictions. Unanswered and unexplained they might and will, perhaps, become convictions; but that is a different question. Of course I know that when religion is the subject dealt with, the assertion of doubts is in itself to create doubts in the minds of many others, where all had been simple faith and unshaken trustfulness before: it is to encrease suspicion also, and to obstruct a return to confidence. Yet, it may be, that

it is our duty now, as churchmen labouring for the truth of the holy Gospel, to enquire, to hesitate, to doubt.

And let it not be thought that, so far as regards myself, the existence and recognition of the royal supremacy is the only difficulty and cause of doubt which we are bound, if possible, to remove, as to the sufficiency of the claims of the reformed church of England upon our obedience and faith. In my former letter, I have endeavoured to shew in what that supremacy, in its exercise of the power of finally determining spiritual causes involving doctrine, must be acknowledged to consist: and to shew, also, the extent to which the English church has accepted and upheld that power. But I have not given the reader any ground to suppose that it is the only difficulty in which, as holding what have been called high-church opinions, we must own ourselves to be. And the same may be said of the permitted denial amongst us of the catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration. I do not mean that the existence of these, together or separately, would not be sufficient to excite grave and anxious doubts, but that they are not our only, and not, indeed, our chief difficulties. To pretend that they are not grievous and weighty would be absurd, now, especially, that the archbishops of York and Canterbury — the two primates of the church of England — have given their sanction to both of them: to the exercise of the supremacy in finally determining causes of doctrine, by their presence at the deliberations of the judicial committee, and by their approval of its report to the queen in council; and to the permitted denial of the truth of

baptismal regeneration, the one by his charge in the autumn of last year, and the other, in a very marked and decided and honest way, by the preface to a new edition of his book on apostolical preaching.

I have one word more to add. It will be said that they who now despond, and seem ready to desert the church of England for some other communion,—and *that* the church of Rome,—have been only waiting for some better reasons than mere preference of the one and mere dislike of the other. It has been already said of myself, and the words were listened to with very bitter pain. It has been said in a general way by an eminent bishop, who spoke of such persons as are without hope, or who take a line of conduct inconsistent with confidence and trust, as “seeking a pretext for quitting” the English church. The occurrences of the time in which we live, a pretext and unfounded cause! But let this pass. And for myself I do deny, entirely, and with the indignation which every man may justly feel, a charge so untrue. Had it not been necessary, far would it have been from any wish of mine to speak of other books which I have written: but I declare solemnly that I have never spoken or written any word at all, upon chief doctrines of the Faith, and that I have never intended to do any one thing by way of public ministration or private duty, which did not, at the time, seem to be,—not merely permitted and allowed within the limits of the teaching of our church, but—the one, especial, and exclusive word or thing which alone she authorized and declared right to be said or done. I have never been drawn to, never

been inclined to adopt, what people call (and rightly call) Roman practices, and books, and forms. Nay, the time is not long past, when many, who will be the first now to accuse and to condemn me, blamed the cold, Anglican, view with which I wrote and argued in behalf of the church of England. If I seem to forsake her now, it is because I feel that what I have worked for, dreamt of, prayed for, will not and may not be: others may judge very differently, others may still hope, still labour, still—so they speak—be patient, trustful, confident. Be it so; and may GOD ever be with them: these are not days in which any man should venture to arraign his neighbour; and before One Alone, Who sees all hearts, must we hereafter stand.

Pardon so much that has been now said of myself. Let us proceed, without further preface, to the particular subject of this Letter: namely, the want of necessary dogmatic teaching in the church of England since the reformation. Great part of what I am about to write, springs out of and is connected with the cause of Mr. Gorham against the bishop of Exeter.

Now that the appeal has been decided by the confirmation of the report of the judicial committee, I see no objection to admitting, that on one account it seemed not improbable that it would be given in favour of Mr. Gorham. As the case went on, first in the court of Arches and afterwards before the Privy Council, it was impossible not to feel, more and more, that the reasons and arguments of the evangelical party had been too lightly esteemed. During the last two years, my attention had been constantly

directed in other ways to the same matter, and, it must as fairly be confessed, with similar results. Few of our own opinions would dispute,—at least I would not,—the absolute necessity of rejecting Mr. Gorham, after such answers as he gave in his examination before the bishop; yet every month, as it went by, suggested in my own mind graver and graver doubts as to the final success of such a proceeding, unavoidable as it was. I mean, doubts whether a bishop is really following the intention of the reformed church of England, and speaking in her spirit, when he condemns as heresy the denial of the unconditional efficacy of baptism in the case of all infant recipients.

My object is not to discuss the especial doctrines which Mr. Gorham acknowledges that he holds: it is a substitution of the real question in dispute between the two great parties in the church of England, to attempt to heal our differences by obtaining some kind of repudiation of his particular mode of interpreting the formularies of our church. The real question,—and no man who loves the truth will seek to evade it,—is this, namely; *Does the reformed church of England teach exclusively the unconditional efficacy of infant baptism?* Possibly it *may* be correct, though I venture to doubt it, that not ten persons agree with Mr. Gorham: but this is a light matter: his particular opinion is *not* the question which is now upon the point of rending our church asunder, and which,—if nothing else is,—must be settled either the one way or the other.

After the arguments on both sides were ended before the judicial committee, we were all enabled

calmly to consider what the result of the whole had been. For myself, I felt, with anxiety and disappointment, that the growing impressions and doubts of the preceding six or eight months had been strengthened rather than relieved. And it was impossible not to own that there could be little hope of further satisfaction to be gained in any way, if the speech of Mr. Badeley, in behalf of the bishop, had failed to give it. That speech was one, which ever must remain a record of all that deep research and eloquence could effect on behalf of the church of England. Speaking as a lawyer, the present Lord chief justice of the court of Queen's Bench declared, that he had never heard any argument more learned and more able: and it is equally well known, that the clergy who believe Mr. Gorham's doctrine to be unsound, speak, as theologians, in like manner, of Mr. Badeley's argument, in unqualified language of gratitude and admiration.

When Mr. Gorham was refused institution, more than two years ago, I thought that it was almost impossible for him to raise a reasonable question as to the exact teaching of the English church upon baptismal regeneration; a question, that is, such as a court would entertain. But time went on, and the real state of things and tone of doctrine which prevailed, for fifty or sixty years after the reign of Henry the eighth, during which the first movers of the changes in religion or their immediate disciples still lived, opened, and became clearer from day to day.

It would be dishonest to attempt to exaggerate or put an untrue face upon the real state of the matter.

Let me not be misunderstood in what I am now saying. I mean it to apply only to the earlier reformation: for it has been said, and in some sense truly said, that the English reformation did in fact take place, — rather, I suppose, it arrived at its mature and completed form, — so far as we are concerned, in 1662, and not in 1552, or 1562. Therefore, in all that regards baptism, it is to be carefully remembered on the one hand, that the opinions of the bishops at the Savoy conference are not merely equal with but of greater weight than any opinions of the reformers of Edward's days, or queen Elizabeth's: on the other hand, there is the fact that the 39 articles were framed in 1552 and 1562.

It is small disgrace perhaps even now, — certainly a few years ago it was so, — not to be well read in the almost forgotten books of Grindal, Fulke, Whitgift, Jewell, and their contemporaries. To be acquainted with Hooker's work of the ecclesiastical polity had become rather a fashion: but, with that solitary exception, we must acknowledge that the divines of the days of queen Elizabeth were little read and little valued, by the party calling itself Anglo-catholic and high-church and the like. Still, from circumstances, I had examined one part of the literature of that age somewhat carefully, namely, the famous controversy of Cartwright and his friends under the name of Martin Marprelate: and, in other respects, I think that I may claim to have known about as much as people commonly do of the theological books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This knowledge must have been loose and inde-

finite enough, for I was not prepared to learn, as I have learnt, that perhaps without two exceptions all the divines, bishops and archbishops, doctors and professors, of the Elizabethan age—the age, be it remembered, of the present common prayer book in its chief particulars, and of the book of homilies, and of the 39 articles—held and taught doctrines inconsistent (I write advisedly) with the true doctrine of baptism.*

There are two causes to which such a misapprehension of fact, so far as regards myself, may perhaps be traced: and others must decide whether these or some similar reasons will serve to account for their own previous opinions about the orthodoxy of theologians of the Elizabethan age.

First; we have been accustomed both to read and to refer to their books, under the impression of long-established prejudices: under the impression that they *must* have been sound divines, because they were the chief leaders and earliest children of the reformation; and because they had arguments, plenty and specious enough, against some of the doctrines and discipline of the church of Rome.

Secondly; we have known their writings, chiefly, by means of catenæ: a means very likely indeed

* In order to prevent misapprehension, it must be explained that I mean their doctrines of sacramental grace, and justification, and not of predestination; which, as all admit, was largely, nay, almost universally held, by the Elizabethan divines, in a very rigid and definite sense. Predestination, as taught by S. Augustine, is not, alone, inconsistent with the acceptance of the truth of the unconditional regeneration of all infants in holy baptism.

to lead to false conclusions, because whilst it professes to give fairly the judgement of those appealed to in the matter under dispute, it often does not, and in some cases cannot, in reality do anything of the kind. There are more doctrines than one,—for example, this doctrine of holy baptism—upon which writers may make very strong and catholic statements in one book, or in one part of a book, which are all explained away, or in various degrees qualified, or even, in truth, contradicted, by different statements in the same or in other books. Catenæ are useful enough, within their proper and reasonable limits ; they create difficulties sometimes, whilst they will very seldom suffice to establish a conclusion : employed, however, as they have been, of late years, by our own party, they are not merely a packed jury, but a jury permitted to speak only half their mind. In short, the value of catenæ can be only justly estimated, where there is also a living Church, ever prepared to speak with an infallible voice.

Nor is it to be forgotten that whilst many extracts from the Elizabethan books were produced, explaining in a sense inconsistent with Catholic truth the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, on the other hand there were no passages to be found, distinctly asserting that the reformed church of England holds exclusively the sacramental efficacy of baptism in the case of all infant recipients. It is one thing for a religious community to allow its ministers to hold and to teach a particular doctrine ; it is quite another that they should be enjoined to teach it, as being certainly and exclusively true. There are some parts

of the books of the Elizabethan writers, which are examples of the first of these positions, namely, the permission : but I do not remember any example of the second : on the contrary, numberless proofs that it could scarcely have been intended. It may rather be a question whether, in the days of queen Elizabeth, a clergyman would not have been liable to censure, who, not content with being suffered to teach what he himself believed with regard to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, should have gone on further to declare that the church of England still pronounced those to be unsound and heretical, who did not acknowledge the unconditional efficacy of infant baptism. Or, to put it in other words, if such an one had further declared that the teaching of the church of Rome and of the reformed church of England, upon the sacrament of baptism, was necessarily to be understood and accepted, by all English clergy, as identical and the same.

I must own, therefore, that the additional argument produced by Mr. Gorham's advocate in his speech before the committee, based upon a comparison between the articles of 1536, and the articles of 1552 and 1562, seemed to me to be forcible and correct.*

* The proof derived from a comparison of the articles has been very ably put by Mr. Dodsworth, in the appendix to his late sermon, *A house divided against itself*. He says:—

“I think it only fair to state, that having had the advantage of hearing the arguments in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the late case, my opinion of what was really intended to be the force of the Article XXII. has undergone considerable modification. I cannot *now* feel certain that the Reformers did not *intend* to leave Baptismal Regeneration an open question. In the very able argument of the Counsel for the appellant, Mr.

It supplied a cause of one effect of the alteration of the documents and formularies of the English church, which was so visibly and frequently to be observed,

Turner, it was urged with great effect, that upon a comparison of the Articles of 1536 with those of 1552, it might be fairly inferred that the latter were intended to open the question which was closed by the former. These Articles are as follow:—

1536.

Article on Baptism.

“Baptism is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of GOD, according to the saying of S. John, ‘Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum;’ that the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto this Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the use of reason, but also unto infants, innocents, and children; and that they ought therefore, and needs must, be baptized. And that by the sacrament they do also obtain remission of their sin, the grace and favour of GOD, and be made thereby the very sons and children of GOD; insomuch that infants and children dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not.”—Collier, II. fol. 123.

1552.

Article on Baptism.

(The same as now in force.)

“Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of GOD by the HOLY GHOST, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto GOD. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of CHRIST.”

Now it certainly does seem unaccountable, that if the Reformers of 1552 intended to assert the same doctrine as that enunciated in

in the language used by men, contemporaries or nearly so, respecting the sacrament of holy baptism. And I cannot dispute the principle involved in the

the Articles of 1536, they should have used language (to say the least) so much more open to dubious interpretation. I do not say that this is absolutely *decisive* on the point; but it furnishes an argument not easily answered. Having this precise language before them, why did they not use it? Had they *no reason* for adopting more ambiguous terms? One cannot say that it is other than a *probable* conclusion, that they so worded the Article of 1552 as to include the subscription of those who would have refused to subscribe the definite language of the previous Article. I cannot but think that great weight was justly given to this consideration, in the very able judgment which was delivered. This view of the matter will be confirmed by comparing another article with the devotional formularies. Thus, to place in the same juxtaposition the Articles of 1536 and 1562, on the holy Eucharist.

1536.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

“As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe that under the form and figure of Bread and Wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses is very substantially and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame Body and Blood of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross for our redemption. And that under the same form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very selfsame Body

1562.

XXVIII. *Of the LORD'S Supper.*

“The Supper of the LORD is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by CHRIST'S death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of CHRIST; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of CHRIST.

“Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the LORD, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, over-

following sentence of the judgment delivered by the judicial committee: they say; “—it appears that opinions, which we cannot in any important particular distinguish from those entertained by Mr. Gorham, have been propounded and maintained, without censure or reproach, by many eminent and illustrious prelates and divines who have adorned the church from the time when the [42 and 39] articles were first established. We do not affirm that the doctrines and opinions of Jewell, Hooker, Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Whitgift, Pearson, Carlton, Prideaux, and many others, can be received as evidence of the doctrine of the church of England; but their conduct, unblamed and unquestioned as it was, proves at least the liberty which has been allowed in maintaining such doctrine.”

and Blood of CHRIST is corporally, really, and in every substance exhibited, distributed, and received of all them which receive the said Sacrament: and therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of S. Paul, ‘*Quisquis ederit panem hunc, &c.*’

throweth the nature of a Sacrament, and has given occasion to many superstitions.

“The Body of CHRIST is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of CHRIST is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

“The Sacrament of the LORD’S Supper was not by CHRIST’S ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.”

Now it will be seen that there is here very much the same difference as in the Articles on Baptism. The Article of 1536 is plain, dogmatic and unmistakable. The Article of 1562, ambiguous, hesitating, indefinite, and to a great extent negative.”

Speak of it as one would, or regarded under every possible aspect, the proved opinions of the Elizabethan writers pressed upon my mind. The fact, to so great an extent, was unexpected, but it was to be considered, and to be dealt with, whether it were important or unimportant. It shewed, at least, that there were, in that day, many individuals of greater or less learning, of higher or lower station, who did not believe that they were bound by the apparently plain language about regeneration in our ritual, to hold and to teach the unconditional efficacy of the sacrament of holy baptism in the case of all infants. Nor was it only the opinion of private individuals. And I am now about to mention a remarkable fact, which was not brought forward in the late arguments.

The point at issue was, whether it is necessarily inconsistent with the assertions of certain parts of our formularies to deny the unconditional efficacy of infant baptism: or, in other words, whether the doctrine, that some infants do not receive in baptism the saving grace of regeneration, is excluded by the terms of our ritual and catechism.

A short time ago, it happened that I was obliged, for another purpose, to refer to the Dublin articles of 1615. In that year, the prayer-book and catechism of the reformed Irish church were identical, in all that relates to the sacrament of baptism, with our own. There were the same sentences, "Seeing now, that this child is regenerate;" and "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant;" and others which have been so often quoted. Yet the

whole body of the clergy of the established church of Ireland, assembled in convocation, did not hesitate to declare, notwithstanding, as follows: "A true lively justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in *the regenerate*, either finally or totally." I do assert that such a statement, whether it may or may not seem to be against the meaning of the words of the public offices of the Church, is utterly and distinctly irreconcilable with the catholic truth of the unconditional efficacy of infant baptism. Nor is it to be answered that this place in the Irish articles means nothing more than the famous Lambeth articles. For although the Lambeth articles were incorporated into those agreed upon at Dublin, and especially marked by references in the margin of the editions printed at the time, yet, in this instance, there is a material alteration; the Lambeth form says, "non evanescit *in electis*;" the Dublin articles change this into "*the regenerate*."

To put this argument in another shape: and it may be best to do so, in the way in which it affected and influenced myself. Some months ago, the language of our ritual seemed to be an unanswerable evidence of the intention of the reformed English church to teach, exclusively, the truth of regeneration in holy baptism. There, were the plain words and terms of the baptismal office; and although the articles alone would not prove the doctrine, yet it scarcely appeared requisite that any reference even should be made to it, with a devotional service so remarkably clear and decided. But, in opposition to such a conclusion, the Irish articles present

an insurmountable obstacle: and the strongest of all the reasons, which the high-church party in our Church had produced, began to fade away and vanish like a dream. Another established Church, in full communion with our own, using our ritual, unaltered, unmutilated, had obliged its clergy to subscribe and to accept articles of faith, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion," not merely making doubtful the catholic doctrine of regeneration in baptism, but positively and undeniably contradicting it.

In short it became manifest, that something besides and beyond plain words in the public ritual and offices was necessary to the confirmation of disputed truths of the Christian Faith. Before such truths had been denied or doubted, the case would have been very different. A controversy once opened, upon essential articles of the creeds,* and

* It is not easy to see, how it may be denied that the controversy upon baptismal regeneration had not been opened, before, and at the very period of, the convocations of 1552 and 1562.

One or two extracts will suffice to prove the fact: nay, more, the advocacy already of the particular form of doctrine insisted on by Mr. Gorham.

Tyndal says: "The inward baptisme of the soule, is the baptisme that onely auayleth in the sight of GOD, the new generation,—the earnest of everlastyng lyfe, and title whereby we chalenge our inheritance." This inward baptism having been just before declared to be, "to loue the law, and to long for the life to come." *Expos. of 5th ch. of S. Matt. prol. p.* 187.

So, also, John Frith: "This outward signe [baptism] doth neither geue us the spirite of GOD, neither yett grace that is the favour of GOD. Baptisme bringeth not grace, but doth testifie unto the congregation that he which is baptised had such grace geuen hym before; it is a sacrament, that is, a signe of an holy thyng, euen a

formally brought before the notice of the Church, cannot be left to be settled by an interpretation of terms used in very ancient public services, but must be decided either the one way or the other, or evidently left open, in some concurrent formulary of equal authority. Thus, whilst (for example) the Articles of 1536, and the King's book, and the Bishops' book, were in force, there could be no question made about the doctrine of the English church, regarding baptism. But a very different state of things was produced by the alterations and omissions made first in 1552, and continued in the 39 articles of 1562.

Thus we have the same ritual of the administration of holy baptism—the same, I mean, in points which bear upon the doctrine of regeneration—under three several aspects. Namely; in connexion with another formulary distinctly and exclusively teaching the whole Catholic truth, as did the articles of 1536; or, with a formulary which left it

token of the grace and free mercy which was before geuen hym." *A declaration of baptisme. p. 91.*

Soon after, bishop Hooper: "Baptism sanctifieth no man:—external baptism is but an inauguration or external consecration of those, that first believed and were cleansed of their sin." Again, he says, that the interrogatories and answers of sponsors in public and solemn baptism, show that baptism is but "the confirmation of Christ's promises, which be in the person that receiveth the sacrament before, or else these external signs availeth nothing:" those answers being made, "then is the child christened in the name of GOD. The which fact doth openly confirm the remission of sin, received before by faith." *A declaration of Christ and His Office. ch. 10.*

Far be it from me to say, that doctrine such as this has been accepted by the English church: but that, as a fact, the baptismal controversy had been plainly opened, by persons of name and authority, before the convocation of 1562.

open to be received or not, as do the 39 articles of 1562; or, with a formulary which denied and rejected it, as do the Dublin articles of 1615.

But it is not only on the doctrine of the sacrament of baptism, that the articles of the reformed Irish church claim our especial attention; and I shall therefore devote to them another page or two. That which I must now write will bring on me probably much reproof from more quarters than one: it will be written also with reluctance and sorrow by myself. Still, these are days in which we must endeavour to find out the truth, and the truth alone.

These Dublin articles of 1615 have never been formally repudiated by the church of Ireland: and in statements not contrariant, are now, equally with the English 39 (agreed to and approved of about twenty years later), the “standard of doctrine” in that communion. They contain other heretical statements. What are we to think, therefore, of *her* position?—Yet, it will be said, the Churches are United; and they must stand or fall together.

I am quite aware that there are technical objections to the fact itself of such an Union between the two Churches; but whatever the force of them may be, our connexion with the established Irish church, and our recognition of her in all acts of outward intercourse and communion, is a very fearful question.* An avowed and distinct denial of the Ca-

* There are few priests of the church of England now living, who did not acknowledge this Union at an hour, the most solemn, perhaps, of their whole lives: “Do you think in your heart, that you be truly called, according to the will of our LORD Jesus Christ, and the order of this United Church of England and Ireland, to the order and ministry of Priesthood? *Answer.* I think it.”

tholic doctrine of the eucharist and of baptism would be sufficient to prove an individual to be in heresy: *and such a denial has been synodically agreed to by the church of Ireland.* And I must say, that it is not easy to understand why any one person should be condemned for reasons which we are not equally prepared to press to a like conclusion, in the case of a reformed Church. Perhaps some Irish clergyman will be able to defend his Church from this charge which I have brought deliberately against her. Let him however remember, that he must either prove the formal renunciation of the articles of 1615: or show that the heretical doctrine of those articles has been plainly corrected by some clear statement to the contrary, contained in the 39 articles, since approved of. *And we, on our side, shall have to show, how it was that, at the time of their publication, no sign or mark of even disapprobation was made by the church of England.*

As to the authority of the Dublin articles, we cannot have better evidence than that of Dr. Bernard, the biographer of archbishop Usher: “Now whereas” he says “some have doubted whether they were fully established as the articles of Ireland; I can testify that I have heard him [Usher] say, that in the forenamed year, 1615, he saw them signed by archbishop Jones, then lord chancellor of Ireland, and speaker of the house of bishops in convocation; signed by the prolocutor of the house of the clergy in their names; and also signed by the then lord deputy Chichester, by order from King James, in his name. And” he proceeds “whereas some have rashly affirmed that they were repealed by act

of parliament, anno 1634, or recalled by a decree of the synod then, needs no further confutation than the sight of either.”*

The canon by which in 1634 the English articles were approved, proves distinctly that no intention existed of annulling the previous articles of 1615. The object aimed at was to shew, that according to the judgment of the church of Ireland, the two Churches agreed in doctrine: and in order to this, our 39 articles were admitted to be true. And any person would be very acute, as it seems, who could discover any material *contradiction* between the two confessions of faith: the only difference—and a considerable difference—being, that the Irish articles contained in full, plain, and express terms, a legitimate exposition—it may be, one of many possible expositions—of the doctrine of the English articles.

On so important a question, it is well that we should quote the canon: “1. For the manifestation of our agreement with the church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord, 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are in any part superstitious and erroneous, or such as he

* *cit.* Mant's hist. of the Irish Church, *vol.* 1. *p.* 388.

may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a public recantation of his error.”

It has been held, says bishop Mant, that the English articles *were only received in the sense of, and as they might be expounded by, those of Ireland*. And, as they certainly are not contradictory, this seems to be the just and obvious state of the matter. But archbishop Usher, a contemporary, is the best possible witness we can have, on such a question. In a letter to a friend, giving, a few months afterwards, an account of the late convocation, he observes, “The articles of religion, agreed upon in our former synod, anno 1615, we let stand as they did before. But, for the manifesting of our agreement with the church of England, we have received and approved your articles also, as you may see in the first of our canons.”*

Could the Church Catholic, or, might any Church claiming to be a part of the Church Catholic, speak of being “United” with, or admit to communion, the reformed Irish church, unless a distinct and formal renunciation of the several heresies contained in the Dublin articles of 1615, had previously and solemnly been made? †

* *cit.* Hist. of Irish Church, p. 493.

† The case also of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, sprung from ourselves, and with which we are (I believe) in full communion, might also be brought forward, if it were requisite. But her differences chiefly consist in declining to insist on certain things, generally supposed to be of very great importance in the Catholic Church, rather than in the plain and avowed acceptance of error. However, as a fact, we readily have given our support

But as these articles may not be very well known to some of my readers, it may be right to extract one or two of the statements which they contain. “By His eternal counsel GOD hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death: of both which there is a certain number, known only to GOD, which can neither be encreased nor diminished.” “None can come unto Christ, unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him: And all men are not so drawn by the Father, that they may come unto the Son: neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto every man, whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life. All GOD’s elect are in their time inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from Him, as from the Head, unto every true member of His mystical body. And *being thus made one with Christ, they are truly regenerated*, and made partakers of Him and all His benefits.” In the whole of a very long article of justification, not one syllable is said of holy baptism: it begins, “We are accounted righteous before GOD, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applied by faith: and not for our own works or merits. And this righteousness which we so receive of GOD’s mercy, and Christ’s merits, embraced by faith, is taken, ac-

and fellowship to a Protestant Church, which does not oblige the acceptance of all the articles of the Apostles’ creed; which does not read in her public service, at any time, the Athanasian creed; and which does not require her bishops to give in words to her priests at their ordination the power of remitting and of retaining sins; in other words, the power of absolution.

cepted, and allowed of GOD, for our perfect and full justification." And it ends; "By justifying faith we understand not only the common belief of the articles of Christian religion, and a persuasion of the truth of GOD's word in general; but also a particular application of the gracious promises of the Gospel, to the comfort of our own souls; whereby we lay hold on Christ, with all His benefits, having an earnest trust and confidence in GOD, that He will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake. So that a true believer may be certain, by the assurance of faith, of the forgiveness of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ. A true lively justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of GOD, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in the regenerate, either finally or totally." "The Catholic Church, (out of which there is no salvation,)—consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by GOD unto salvation, and regenerated by the power of His Spirit." "GOD hath given power to His ministers, not simply to forgive sins, (which prerogative He hath reserved only to Himself) but in His name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel, the absolution and forgiveness of sins." "Baptism is not only an outward sign of our profession,—but much more a sacrament of our admission into the Church, sealing unto us our new birth (and consequently our justification, adoption, and sanctification) by the communion which we have with Jesus Christ." "The Lord's supper is not only a sign of mutual love—but much more a sacrament of our preservation in the Church, sealing unto us our spi-

ritual nourishment and continual growth in Christ. —In the outward part of the Holy Communion, the Body and Blood of Christ is in a most lively manner *represented*; [the italics are in the original;] being no otherwise present with the visible elements, than things signified and sealed are present with the signs and seals, that is to say, symbolically and relatively.”

I now ask for the reader's grave consideration of the position of the established Church of Ireland; and of the effect, as regards ourselves, of our long continued fellowship and communion with her. Perhaps we are not bound to a necessity of communion with the Irish church; and the matter which we now have to discuss and to determine, is far too solemn to allow of our passing lightly over any particular connected with it, because of probable consequences. *If the reformed church of Ireland be not in heresy, according to the judgment of the reformed church of England, let it be shown.**

We will now pass on to the consideration of the

* A week or two ago, a series of resolutions was published signed by some whose names are amongst the most eminent of the members of our Church. I quote three of them:

“5. That, inasmuch as the faith is one, and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an article of the Creed destroys the Divine foundation upon which alone the entire faith is propounded by the Church.

“6. That any portion of the Church which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the Creed forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the universal Church.

subject to which I particularly proposed to direct your thoughts.

In former years, it never happened to cross my mind, that the foundations of the reformed church of England were less strong or real than the high-church or Anglican party declared them to be. As a system or theory, in its position with respect either to the church of Rome, or to the countless forms and communities of dissent, the modern church of England seemed to be sufficiently according to the words of Holy Scripture and to the traditions of the ancient Church.

If, at any time, in endeavouring to establish the truth of some important doctrine, difficulties seemed to arise from various statements in her formularies, these were put aside upon the supposition, that the English church could not mean to deny or dispute the Catholic faith, being herself unquestionably a part of the Church Catholic. And, upon some doctrines, further confirmation was furnished, not by the partial support of one, or two, or three of her earlier writers, — such as Andrewes, or Laud, or Mountagu — but, by the concurrent testimony of an overwhelming majority, including Ridley, and Hooker, and Whitgift; Bramhall, Bull, Pearson, and such as they were.

“ 7. That by such conscious, wilful, and deliberate act such portion of the Church becomes formally separated from the Catholic body, and can no longer assure to its members the grace of the sacraments and the remission of sins.”

Now I *demand* of those who subscribed these resolutions sufficient proof how far, and in what way, they do *not* apply to, and are *not* fatal to the claim of, the reformed Irish Church.

But the last twelvemonths has changed this much and materially. The case of Mr. Gorham, with its immediate and, if we may say so, its personal points, as well as the very many collateral difficulties connected with and springing out of it, forced one to enquire somewhat more accurately than before, into the exact facts and history and consequences of the reformation. It forced one to prove by somewhat sterner and, it may be, surer tests, the sufficiency of the claims advanced by the church of England.

It scarcely admits of enquiry, whether it be necessary that the Church Catholic, or that every religious body professing to be a portion of the Church Catholic, should lay down dogmatically, as truths, certain statements upon great Christian doctrines. I pass by (for the sake of argument) the two doctrines of the mystery of the Ever-Blessed Trinity,* and of holy baptism. The one is of too sacred and awful a character to be spoken of, when it may be avoided; the other (we will say) has just been determined, to some extent, by the Civil power in its appellate jurisdiction.†

Let us suppose then that we have these two doctrines clearly, fully, and distinctly taught by the church of England. What are the other doctrines which she teaches with like distinctness?

What is her especial doctrine, for example, upon

* See my First Letter, note p. 51.

† This sentence was written many weeks ago, before any rumour even of the nature of the decision of the judicial committee was abroad, and upon the supposition that it would be distinctly in confirmation of the judgment of the court below. I leave it unaltered, to be corrected as the reader may himself think fit.

the number of the Sacraments,* upon the blessings and spiritual graces which the sacraments convey, upon the distinctions between one sacrament and another, upon the necessity or advisableness of some

* We are accustomed to speak in rather glowing terms of the dogmatic character of the common prayer book, and of the catechism in particular. Few things have struck me more—and for some time past—than the manner in which the first question and answer is made in the second part of the catechism. The question is; “How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?” I suppose the plain answer would be, two; seven; ten; or twenty, as the case may be. For, let it be carefully observed that the question is not concerning sacraments necessary to salvation. And the answer is; “Two only, as generally necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.” Now I do assert, that such an answer evades—neither more nor less—*evades* the question: it is, strictly, no answer at all: it is an answer for which a witness would be justly rebuked in a court of law. However, the catechism (as if glad to escape from a difficulty) accepts the answer, and asks, “What meanest thou by this word [as used by you] Sacrament?” I say, “as used by you,” because concerning a sacrament in the catholic and true sense, it is incomplete to say “I mean an outward and *visible* sign, *etc.*” The more correct word would, in that case, be *sensible* sign. But the word visible may perhaps be right, when referred to two sacraments, “as generally necessary to salvation.”

I am writing, it must be recollected, for those, who make much of the catechism. Therefore I would suggest two other places of this same second part. Namely; the following question and answer: “Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform [repentance and faith]? Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.” What are we to understand by this? And another answer: teaching truth, but not excluding error: “For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, &c.” I allude in this last to the equivocal meaning of the term “remembrance:” excellent and sufficient in its catholic sense, as so applied to the blessed Eucharist: but most miserably deficient indeed if it is, as certainly (I suppose)

of them, or upon their virtue, powers, and efficacy? and do they contain, as well as convey, grace? Again, take the sacrament of the blessed Eucharist: what is *the* doctrine which the church of England openly, plainly, and distinctly, teaches about it? does she tell us that it *is* a sacrifice? does she tell us that it is *not* a sacrifice? if a sacrifice, what is the Thing sacrificed? and, is it or is it not propitiatory for the living, or for the dead, or for neither? are the elements after the words of conse-

it may be, understood in any other and a lower sense. And the difficulty is increased when we recollect, that this word “remembrance” is to be carried on to the second clause of the sentence, “and of the benefits which we receive thereby.” It will explain my meaning to quote the following passage from a sermon lately published on the sacrament of the Eucharist.

“Here I would warn you against a hasty and, therefore, an inadequate understanding of the answer in the Church catechism, where we are told that the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was ordained, ‘for the continual Remembrance of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive Thereby.’

“In this answer the term ‘Remembrance’ does not only mean, no, nor *chiefly* mean, what I have first spoken of as ‘commemoration.’ Which last word I have used as referring to ourselves; that is; *we* commemorate: *we* solemnly recall to our recollections: *we* remember. But the ‘Remembrance’ intended by the catechism must, in order that that formulary should not fall short of the full doctrine of the Catholic Church,—for, so to fall short would in this case be heresy,—*must*, I say, be understood in its perfect and complete theological sense. In which sense the term refers, in a lower way certainly to ourselves, but in a far higher and more correct way, to the Almighty Father:—putting Him, as it were, solemnly *in remembrance* of the Passion and the Atonement of the Son, and of the Sacrifice of His Death: bringing before Him the appointed Memorials, the Bread and Wine made to be the Body and the Blood.”—*Sermons preached at S. Mary Church*, 2nd edit. p. 39.

cration bread and wine, as they were before, or are they the Body and the Blood of our Lord? are they both? if only one, which of these are they? ought we, or ought we not, to pay outward honour and reverence to our Blessed Lord, Present upon His altar, after the consecration? Again; take Confirmation: is this a sacrament, or is it not? if a sacrament, what is meant by saying that it has not the like nature of a sacrament with baptism and the Lord's supper? is it a ceremony in which the candidates confirm the vows and promises made for them by others, long before, when they were baptized, or is it an ordinance in which they receive also after a sacramental and mysterious manner, by the laying on of hands, the gift of the Holy Ghost, never in like manner to be again given or received? and is this last the chief, or not the chief, end and object of confirmation? Take, again, Extreme Unction: is this, or is it not, lawful to be received and administered in the church of England?* if it be, what are its effects? if it be not, why is it not? is extreme unction "a corrupt following of the apostles," or not? if it be, in what sense is it, and

* I am aware that an argument may be raised on the omission of the ancient office from our revised ritual: and that a clergyman might be punishable for administering Extreme Unction, under his subscription to the 36th canon, in which he promises to use the rites and ceremonies and sacraments, as contained in the Prayer Book, "and none other." But this prohibition would include equally all modern offices of consecration of churches: for there is not one law for bishops and another for priests. And if so, a prelate (now living) would be right, after all, when he mocked at any form of consecration, and walked irreverently into the church, saying, "It is merely a signing of papers."

confirmation or orders not equally so? Again, take Matrimony: what is the especial teaching of the church of England about this? Again, Orders: is episcopacy essential or not essential to the existence of a Church? can the blessed Eucharist be given in a religious body — for example, in the kirk of Scotland — where there is no pretence of episcopal ordination, in fact, where there are no priests? is there a “character” given, or not given, in ordination? does a priest at his ordination receive power to remit and to retain sins? and if so, in what sense? Once more, before we pass from sacraments, or what the Catholic Church for 1000 years called sacraments, take Absolution: what does the church of England teach about this? is it a sacrament or is it not? is it, or is it not, an ordinance appointed by our Lord to be for ever continued and used in His Church, in order that penitents might through it obtain remission of mortal sin? is previous auricular confession—full, detailed, and particular—necessary, or not necessary, to the grace of forgiveness by means of priestly absolution? do the general public absolutions, pronounced in the daily prayers, convey remission of mortal sin, or do they not? are pardons and penance fond things vainly invented, rather repugnant to the word of God than otherwise, and grown of the “corrupt following of the apostles”? and, if pardons and penance be not so, in what sense and within what limits are they agreeable with God’s word and with the tradition of the apostles? in short, is absolution a power to forgive and to retain sins, inherent in and to be exercised by all priests, or is it a mere

word loosely and improperly retained in some of the formularies of the church of England, signifying nothing? if the first of these be too high a way of speaking of it, and the second be too low and mean, what else is it?

. This much, then, upon the sacraments. I shall trouble you with one or two more questions only: for, surely, enough has been already said to startle some, who have not hitherto thought upon the matter; but, contented with the liberty of teaching or believing what they please, have further taken for granted that the reformed church of England definitely taught the same.

For example; praying for the dead: is this, or is it not, a pious, lawful, and catholic duty? Is there, or is there not, a purgatory? Is invocation of saints an unlawful practice, contrary to the written word of God? May the sacrament of the Lord's supper be reserved, carried about, lifted up, and worshipped, by authority and custom of the Church, although "not by Christ's ordinance;" or may it not? In what sense is Faith "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper?" and do they only, who rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the Sacrament, partake of the Body and the Blood of Christ?

No one will deny that these last also, in various degrees, are grave questions, involving and connected with chief truths of Christ's Holy Gospel, and influencing the daily life and practice of the members of His Church.

And I must instance in two more particulars only.

First, what does the church of England now teach us respecting the blessed virgin Mary? Is it wrong—I do not ask, is it *right*, but is it *wrong*—especially to invoke her, or is it not wrong? did the English church at the reformation change at all the doctrines which she taught before the year 1540, regarding Mary, and if so, where are we to find the statement of that change, and to what extent does it reach? ought the acceptance, to which we are obliged, of the Catholic test “Mother of God” to affect our thought and practice; and, if so, in what way?

Second; the doctrine of Justification: and, on this, with respect to one particular alone. Namely; in what sense is it true “that we are justified by faith only,” and that it is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort? is it true in the Roman sense? or in the Lutheran? or in neither? and—not delaying to enquire whether the doctrine of justification by faith only, which seems to be put forth in the homily “of salvation,” is sound or sufficient—I further ask, where are we to find “the homily of justification?”

I again repeat, that all these doctrines, last specified, are of very high importance: some of them not less than the others, beforementioned, connected with the sacraments: indeed, several of them are also so connected. And, at any rate, upon the vital and essential character of one, justification by faith, protestants are agreed. Nevertheless, it is quite at the option of every minister of our reformed Church, to hold and to teach any one of them,

according to either of the two or (as the case may be) twenty modes in which he may choose to fancy it: in other words, every one of these great and solemn doctrines, is an “open question;” a mere matter of “opinion.”

Has the world ever before seen,—does there now exist anywhere—another example of a religious sect or community which does not take one side, or the other, clearly and distinctly, upon at least a very large proportion of the doctrines which we have just been speaking of?

If it shall appear to some, that the examples given are not all to be allowed to be “open questions,” let them take two only; namely, the doctrines of Justification and of the holy Eucharist. When they can tell us what the teaching of the reformed church of England is regarding these two, we will proceed to enquire a little more accurately concerning the rest.

We need not to be reminded that “open questions,” and doctrines of the gospel left to be matters “of opinion,” are as objectionable to the evangelical party in the church of England, as to ourselves. I can quite understand how the late decision of the judicial committee must offend all who are sincere and honest amongst them. It was good policy perhaps (to use the language of the world) which prompted them, whilst the cause continued, to speak in a liberal and humble way of being *suffered* and *allowed* to teach what they would: and which induced their advocate before the court of Arches to say, that “the arms of the church of England are wide enough to embrace both parties.” But the

recognition of such a principle is fatal to their old condemnation of the doctrine of regeneration in the sacrament of baptism, as being “ a delusion of Satan ;” “ a soul-destroying heresy ;” and the like.

It is not, however, within my purpose to consider the position of the evangelical, but of the high-church party : of that party by whom the very notion of a truth of the Christian Faith being an “ open question ” is to be utterly disavowed ; who know nothing about “ matters of opinion ” in the place of dogmatic teaching upon essential doctrines, on which our daily life and future salvation must depend.

Here, very probably, some one may object against me my own language, published rather more than a year ago. I allude to my book on the doctrine of absolution. Let me quote it. “ We declare therefore that the church of England now holds, teaches, and insists upon, all things whether of belief or practice, which she held, taught, and insisted on, before the year 1540, unless she has since that time, plainly, openly, and dogmatically asserted the contrary. This we declare in general. And, in particular, as regards that most important question, the right interpretation of the various services in our common prayer book, we further add : that whatsoever we find handed down from the earlier rituals of the church of England, and neither limited nor extended in its meaning by any subsequent canon or article, must be understood to signify (upon the one hand) fully and entirely all, and (on the other hand) no more than it signified before the revision of the ritual.” *p.* 49.

When that passage was written, it was written

in entire assurance that every word might be established. I do not think so, now. And with what ever pain I say this, it is not because my belief has altered from accepting the fixed principle that all essential Christian truth is one, and eternal; and that every part of the Church Catholic is bound of necessity to hold it whole and undefiled. Believing, as at that time I did, with the strongest confidence and trust, that the church of England was a living and sound portion of the One Holy Catholic Church, I could not but assert, as being capable of undeniable proof, her claims to teach authoritatively and undeniably every single doctrine of the Catholic Faith. If I searched into her foundations, it was with no shadow of fear lest they should be seen not to be resting on the Rock, but much rather, in the undoubting hope that the more she was tested and examined, the more triumphantly she would declare herself to be Divine.

If the end of long enquiry and consideration has resulted in disappointed hope, and what seems to be evidence of the fallacy of former expectations; if I am compelled to own that the utmost we are justified in declaring seems to be,—not that the church of England now “holds and teaches” &c., but—that the church of England now *suffers and permits* to be held and taught: and again, as to the right interpretation of the prayer book, not “*must* be understood,” but, “*may* be understood:” let none suppose that I have lightly yielded up that ground upon which, alone, a minister of the church of England, as a minister of the Church Catholic, can stand securely.

I would speak here one or two words more, upon confirmation. It is remarkable that in the catechism, to be learned of every child before confirmation, there is not one word said concerning it. Neither to tell us what it is, nor, what it is not. If we go to the homilies,—not that their every sentence is of authority or true—we find but little there. The index of the late Oxford university edition has one reference, under this head; “Confirmation, not a sacrament.” As if the faith of the reformed English church, about sacraments and sacramental grace, consists of negations. Turning, however, to the place, we read nothing which can give us any exalted notion of its great benefit and necessity, but rather otherwise.

And having spoken above of the acts done in 1662, it is remarkable (to say the least) that the long preface and promise by the candidates were then added. Until that time, with the exception of some ceremonies, the office stood much as it had been in the ancient books. And a very solemn, holy, service it must have been. There was in it nothing which could have led to the low and miserable notion, now so prevalent, that candidates go to “confirm themselves:” to make their promise, by their own word of mouth; to take on themselves—as if unobliged before—the vows made for them, at baptism. Alas! we cannot wonder at the scandals and irreverence so often shewn at confirmations.

Among all the things done by the English bishops and convocations since the reformation, I know nothing so unaccountable, as this addition made in 1662 to the office of confirmation. We are told

that the Savoy conference* most clearly proves that the catholic doctrine of holy baptism, was then intended — whatever might have been the case for the preceding hundred years—to be at last declared as *exclusively* the truth according to the teaching of the church of England. Yet, at this very period, for the first time in the history of any part of the Christian Church, and of which no example can be found in our ancient rituals, a new tone was given to the office of confirmation: and something very like an authoritative assent was made to the doctrine, that the grace of baptism depends or is suspended upon the personal faith and promise of the recipient,

* It is not to be forgotten that there were some long rubrics, in the Prayer books of 1549, and the intermediate Books till 1662, prefixed to the catechism and order of confirmation, in which there are assertions of the propriety of persons ratifying in after life, the promises made for them by others at their baptism. There can be no doubt that all this is right, properly understood: and it scarcely could be misunderstood, so long as this ratifying and “confirming” of promises formed no part of the office; or, so long as there was also to be found in the same rubrics, the following declaration of the benefit of the holy ordinance itself. This declaration would have corrected perhaps, in some measure, the effect of the prominence given in 1662 to the renewal and ratification, in a very solemn way, of the baptismal promises, if it had been suffered to remain. But it was at that same time removed. “Forasmuch as confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that, by imposition of hands and prayer, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil, it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.” Why have we not, now, this statement? why have we not something, at any rate, of the same kind? is it too dogmatic? or, is it untrue and tending towards a superstitious regard of confirmation?

and that confirmation is not a distinct gift of the Holy Ghost, but the completion of the sacrament of baptism. We know well that any sign even of leaning to so unsound a doctrine, is entirely incompatible with a right and full acceptance of the truth of baptismal regeneration. Far be it from me to say that this addition to the office of confirmation positively contradicts the spirit of the replies made by the bishops at the conference : but I do repeat that it is an unaccountable and strange proceeding, supposing—as for a long time we have supposed—that they believed the teaching of the church of England and of the church of Rome to be identical upon the sacrament of baptism.*

Before I pass altogether from the subject of our differences on essential doctrines of the Faith, it must be observed, that there is an objection likely enough to be urged by the evangelical party : namely, that, so far as they are themselves concerned, these differences do not reach, in any degree, to the

* Not less unaccountable, perhaps—admitting the Catholic spirit of the convocation and bishops of 1662,—is the restoration of the very important statement about the Presence of our Blessed Lord in the Eucharist. This, which first made its appearance in the second Book of king Edward, was rejected by queen Elizabeth in 1559, and might almost have been thought forgotten after an interval of 100 years. Doubtless there are some verbal alterations between the present rubric and that of 1552 : but this does not remove the difficulty of discovering the reason of its being replaced at all, upon the principles which we are anxious to attribute to the convocation of 1662. Would such a course be now recommended or even consented to by the Anglo-catholic party of the present day ? If this statement about the Real Presence had never been heard of, since its brief existence in the Book of 1552, should we allow it to be received once more, and from such a source ?

extent which has been above spoken of. It may be so: nay, in fairness to themselves I must own, it is so. The number and variety of opinions, in reality, begin to exist, after the one characteristic barrier has been passed, which divides the two great sections of our Church. As a whole, the evangelical party are tolerably unanimous in their judgment upon most of the questions above asserted to be matters “of opinion;” and they would decide readily upon conclusions distinctly denying the ancient doctrine of the church of England, held and taught before the reformation, on each and every one of those questions. This is not unimportant: rather, of material weight in such an enquiry as the present. The fact is not to be lightly regarded, that, the two great parties by which the church of England is divided having been distinguished, the further state of conflict and difference of opinion,—scarcely less miserable and fatal than the one great and fundamental difference,—is to be found chiefly, if not entirely, amongst ourselves. It begins alas! with the attempt to bring back Catholic teaching and Catholic faith into the reformed church of England, and into agreement with her articles and prayer book.

There is another point to which I had intended to direct your attention; namely, to the contradictions which appear to exist between the course of teaching which many of our party commonly adopt and the 39 articles, together with an enquiry into the kind of interpretation, and its admissibility, by which such apparent contradictions are avoided. It is, of course, in itself a relief openly to state our

mode of interpretation, and to leave to our rulers to decide by legal proceedings, whether it is, or is not, within the limits of our subscription. But I shall now pass this by. Some two or three considerations, however, which may be more briefly discussed, will come within my present purpose.

Scarcely a word need be said of the unbounded (—really there is no other term—) of the unbounded variety of opinion upon essential and important doctrines of the Faith, which exists among the clergy and people of the English church. It is a fact notorious and undeniable : deplored as an evil by the majority of us ; yet, regarded by not a few as a thing which is to be approved of rather than otherwise, and evidence that the reformation has given freedom to tender consciences, or to the exercise of a large and charitable liberality. Such a variety of opinion must be a necessary consequence of the numerous doctrines which careful consideration will show us have been left “open” by our Church.

It is very commonly urged that this is owing to our bishops not having attempted, for the last hundred years, to restrain their clergy, and to enforce a greater unanimity of opinion and teaching ; in short, to the want of discipline. Indeed it cannot be said that the frequent complaints which lately have been brought against our bishops, by persons of both classes of opinion, are all unfounded and untrue. I am not speaking of individuals whom we know to be exceptions, but of the bishops as a body, ruling over, guiding, caring for the Church, her clergy, and her people. It is a very serious, and a

mournful subject : one which I am bound to notice, though it be in fewest possible words. Can we then boldly defend the conduct of our bishops, during the last twenty years? Would that we could answer continual complaints, by telling how they have neglected the gathering of wealth, and refused to provide unduly for near relatives and children ; how they have despised the luxuries or refinements of society, and sought, instead, constant and familiar intercourse with the clergy over whom they have been placed, sometimes sharing the plain fare and resting in the humble lodging of their poorer brethren, yet oftener extending their own liberal hospitality to those who would gratefully have received it, as a token of sympathy, and kindness, and mutual regard, as testifying an approval also of zeal and labour, which could not, perhaps, be otherwise rewarded ; how they have been themselves examples to their dioceses in the practice of a holy and self-denying life ; how, by their diligent and avowed observance of religious rules, as to daily prayer, fasting, and the like, they have led others onwards to obey, by the shewing forth of their own obedience ; how they have endeavoured, so far as they could, to carry out the system and to establish the authority of the rubrics and orders of the Church ; how they have given their support to those who have taught (and taught without running into extremes) catholic doctrine, and recommended catholic duties ; how, on the other hand, they have refused their support to all who have leaned to the vagueness of puritan doctrine, and to the laxity of puritan piety. Would— I repeat it — that we might thus have spoken ; but

it may not be ; yet, I must say, it is not quite just to charge our bishops, either of the last century or this, with entire responsibility for the state of confusion now existing ; it is not quite just to accuse them of having caused it, solely by their neglect of the proper exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

If it be true — and I repeat that it is true — that the English reformation has advisedly and deliberately left “ open ” all those doctrines which have been specified, and other doctrines besides those, it is impossible, from the very nature of the case, but that as wide a variety of opinion should inevitably follow. It may, or it may not, be right that a church should have one faith ; but it is certain that there is not, and probably cannot be, one faith in the reformed church of England.

Nor is it to be forgotten that, taken together, the power of the supreme court of appeal, and the number of Christian truths which are allowed to be matters of opinion, increase the force of the objections which, under any circumstances, must lie against either the one or the other, separately, of these two great difficulties. They play into one another. If the English reformation had left us a clear and distinct form of religious teaching ; if it had decidedly explained what the doctrine of the sacraments, or of the eucharist, &c. really is ; if it had not aimed at including, if possible, persons of opposite opinions ; if its principle had not been to leave every man to the exercise of his private judgement upon the inspired word of God and the three creeds ; then it would not have been so completely within the jurisdiction of the royal supremacy, to

determine these questions to be no longer “open,” as they happen from time to time to be brought forward in appeal.

For I am ready to admit that the ecclesiastical court first, and afterwards the court of appeal, whatever its constitution may be, if called upon to do so, *might* possibly decide some one or two of the particular doctrines above mentioned, *not* to be “open” doctrines. Even this seems doubtful: but I am not at all in doubt,—very far from it indeed,—that if at any time such one or more doctrines be ruled and defined, it will *not* be according to the earlier and catholic teaching of our church, but of the reformers, foreign and English, of the sixteenth century.

Now, as far as our party is concerned, this is a solemn and weighty consideration. You may think, perhaps, that I am overstating the matter; and at the first view, it may seem to be so. But, carefully read again that list of doctrines; then, with equal care reflect upon the general tone of thought and opinion shewn by writers of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries, and upon the value also which must in justice be given to certain expressions in our formularies; and, lastly, if you are not convinced, ask the opinion of an ecclesiastical lawyer upon the question on which you may be in doubt.

In what has just been said, let me not be understood as admitting the opinions of individuals, however many in number or eminent in station, to be in any sort conclusive, as to the acceptance or rejection of doctrine. In the late case of Mr. Gorham, as it was argued before the court of Arches, you

will remember that his advocate relied — to what extent it would be hard to say—upon the numerous extracts which he produced from the works of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Becon, Jewell, Whitgift, and others. The court listened patiently, treated them with the consideration they deserved, and decided that they could not have any legitimate bearing upon the particular case then at issue. All such extracts were declared to be mere “opinions of individuals,” and “private opinions which must not be taken as authority.” I have already made some remarks upon this matter, in explaining how far it has influenced my own views on the subject. It is not necessary now to dispute the correctness of the principle laid down by the judge of the court of Arches: but there are few, however, who would not readily grant, that we must not run into the other extreme, and despise contemporary interpretation in all cases, and set aside writers (long looked to and esteemed) as wholly to be disregarded. A moment’s thought will shew us, that it is not the same thing to quote the authority of divines in favour of, and to quote it against, the apparent or primary meaning of disputed parts of the formularies of our Church. And, so far as my present purpose is concerned, this is all which I desire to press upon the reader’s consideration.

But the question is, itself, of so much interest and importance, that I should be sorry not to make one or two more observations, in as few words as may be.

In estimating the value of the writings of Elizabethan divines, we must remember one circum-

stance, which will incline us to listen to them more favourably than we otherwise might, when they seem to speak in opposition to what we believe to be Catholic truth. I mean in those instances, only, where the formularies themselves do not, seemingly, speak also in the same language, or to the same purpose. Even if we chose to admit that there is not one single writer of the church of England, between the years 1548 and 1600, who, upon some point or other, does not appear to have held and advanced heretical doctrine,—some, this doctrine ; some, that ; some, one only ; some, many ;—it is not to be wondered at. It was an age of religious excitement and alteration : all ancient teaching and practices of the Church were undergoing an examination : and every man, whatever his qualifications may have been, brought forward and advocated the reception of his own peculiar fancies. It by no means follows because certain opinions were then published, nay, for a time, pressed, that therefore their promoters would have been obstinate in the continued assertion of them. Probably some opinions, heretical in themselves, were propounded at such a period, rather to be enquired into and tested, than to be accepted. Submission also to the authority of the Church, (within the limits, whatsoever they can be shewn to be, which the reformers approved of,) was a duty which perhaps some would have acted upon as well as talked of.

But it is further argued that they were chief in station who, during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, held what we believe to be heretical opinions : bishops and archbishops, and professors of theology,

and men who would be, in virtue of their office, members of convocation. Let it be so. Say, moreover, that they were unanimous, upon any given doctrine which the Church seems to have decided in an opposite way. It was an unanimity, after all, only of opinions put forth as private men and individuals. We cannot tell what modifications of statement might have been made, what renunciations of erroneous teaching, what corrections, what retractations, when these same men came together in a provincial synod. This we know, that when the clergy of the church of England did meet in convocation, various private fancies were continually brought before her notice, and as continually rejected, and condemned by the rejection.

You will see that I am desirous to state this matter as favourably for our Church, as, in justice, I feel one can. And I do believe that the firm and humble piety, the catholic feeling and habit of thought, the accurate knowledge of very solemn questions of divinity, the practised acquaintance with the noble and exact theology of the schools, which in those days characterized, as a body, the parochial clergy of England, often enabled the lower house of convocation to see through the subtleties by which men, from their studies, tried to mislead the people. But it did not enable them also to withstand, on all occasions, the pressure to which they were exposed: and it is probable that,—still hopeful under Divine Providence for the best, and unable to foresee the sure consequences which we have learnt from the experience of three hundred years,—they were thankful even for so small a gain, as to have

succeeded in avoiding, as at that time it seemed, the distinct rejection of essential truths. In short, the opinions of individual writers are of importance, and only then, when it can be shewn that the church of England has favourably accepted the teaching which was offered her ; or, that she has deliberately removed statements in her earlier documents and rituals, which, if suffered to remain, would have been in opposition to such new teaching.

With regard to the acceptance and introduction of changes in doctrinal statements and formularies, which were consented to by the English convocation in the sixteenth century, let me observe, that although it is always right for men—so far as human foresight will enable them—to judge of the fitness of proposed acts by their probable tendencies, yet such a judgment may be shewn to be ill-founded and mistaken, by the results of after experience. Thus we may be, nay, we must be, necessarily, better judges of the true tendencies of the reformation, as an act, than they could have been who were its contemporaries. Because the consequences of the religious alterations in that age have shewn themselves to be, surely and certainly, in one direction, namely, to error of all kinds and confusion, it is not true that therefore men are to be hastily condemned, in that at the beginning of them they expected better things, and at least hoped that no other consequence than good could follow. The wise and prudent among the clergy of England, during the reigns of Henry and Edward, must have regarded the sweeping changes then made in doctrine, worship, and prac-

tice, with hearts fainting in them for fear. To speak of their having had confidence in the chief promoters of those changes, would be to accuse them of putting their trust in evil men, and not in God, and of a deliberate belief that the Divine Blessing would surely rest upon bloodshed, and sacrilege, and impiety, and hypocrisy, and sin. Nor could a reasonable confidence exist, in the very nature of things, at such a period of hasty reformation and almost unchecked liberty and desire of change, except upon some sufficient evidence that the Spirit of God directed all that was being done, whatever might be the character of the instruments He used. Can we say that they received, during their own time, any such evidence? can we say that we have found it in the years which have since gone by? This, at least, we know: that a claim to the assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was put forth solemnly in one of the most important documents of the reign of Edward the sixth, was dropt silently as regarded any words, and distinctly denied as regarded action, within the space of four short years. And, taught by experience, together with a moderation to which we are bound to give due praise, the reformed church of England has never attempted to renew so high a claim.

Let us return to the subject from which we have digressed. It being undenied, that there does exist amongst us a vast variety of opinion, I would go on to observe, that in its chief divisions, as regards the clergy, it may be distinguished into three classes, represented by the high-church, and by the low-

church, and by those (greater in number than we might like to acknowledge) who care very little or nothing about either the one party or the other.

With these last,—who are anxious only that matters may be kept quiet, saying, that things did well enough for their fathers and will continue their own time, that really all this controversy is about words, and is likely to do no good but rather very much harm, that it may tend—lamentable thought—even to a separation of Church and State, and to a difficulty about deaneries and canonries; about tithes, and houses, and glebe, and gardens, and things of that sort;—with these last, I say, we will not trouble ourselves.

As to the second of the two classes, namely, the low-church or evangelical, I have no hesitation in making a candid avowal. Whatever my opinions may have been some time ago, it is impossible for me to conceal from myself that further enquiry has convinced me, that the real spirit and intention of the reformed church of England are shewn and carried out and taught by the low-church party, as truly as by ourselves: * I cannot bring myself to say “rather than ourselves;” but that at least they have amply sufficient argument to oblige us to the acknowledgment, that the very utmost which we can claim for our opinions is, that they are “open” to us. And I would have you very seriously to consider whether we ought to be satisfied with teaching and believing essential doctrines of the Faith to be only *probably* true.

* Is there any doctrine on which the two parties differ, upon which we should have had the slightest chance of obtaining a sentence against an evangelical clergyman, except the doctrine of Baptism?

The steps by which this conclusion has been at length forced upon me are similar to those of which I have already spoken to you, with regard to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Remember, I am in no degree withdrawing from the full extent of the assertion, repeated more than once, that the church of England leaves "open" so many deep and important doctrines. But what I now say is, that, of the two extremes, the low-church clergy no less than the high-church or Anglo-catholic (as it is called) teach according to the spirit of the English reformation. Or, put it in another way: there are no greater difficulties in making their system, taken as a whole, or parts of their system, consistent with the formularies of the church of England, than we find, by experience, to be in our own.

It would be hard probably to specify any doctrine, except regeneration in holy baptism, which, upon the face of the formularies themselves, seems to contradict their system. Some would suggest absolution also: and to my mind it certainly is an equal stumbling-block in their way with baptismal regeneration: but then I have to recollect that my own teaching upon this doctrine is accepted by very few indeed, as the true interpretation of our forms of absolution; and that the usual explanation of them which has been commonly advanced amongst us, can scarcely be felt by any low-churchman to be a difficulty at all. I mean that explanation which does not insist upon the necessity of previous auricular confession in order to the grace of the sacrament of absolution: and which allows that the power

of retaining and remitting sins is fully and properly exercised, when the general forms of absolution are read in the daily offices; or, as some also put it, when the sacrament of baptism is administered. Such an explanation of the doctrine of absolution cannot be a difficulty in the way of an evangelical clergyman; and you know well that it is the explanation commonly agreed upon and taught amongst us. Moreover it admits, in a satisfactory way, the refusal to accept, and therefore gets rid of, the true and catholic meaning of the awful commission, given at ordination, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, *etc.*"

But, by way of illustration, take one or two examples. And these will perhaps show how certain passages which are difficulties, and we feel them to be such, in our own path, are, in the first and plainest sense of the words, in favour of the evangelical system: and not only so, but we have nothing so plain to produce against them. In short, these are passages which *we* "get out of" or explain away, whilst *they* take them in their simple and obvious meaning. In these one or two examples you will observe that I refer to the prayer-book, as well as the articles.

Take Justification: we hold and teach that a justified man is really so: that he is not merely *called*, and *reputed to be*, righteous, but that he actually is so. The opposite party deny this: and they readily appeal to the first opening of the morning and evening prayer, where this verse of the 143rd ps. is appointed to be read: "Enter not into judgement with Thy servant, O LORD; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." And then they may turn to the 11th article; "We are *accounted* righte-

ous before GOD." Of course, I am not speaking of the right sense of this verse of the psalm, but of the way in which a person holding unsound views of the doctrine of justification may (as indeed men do) refer to it, as having been selected in a marked way by those who compiled our formularies, and as declaring the mind of the English church.

Again, Absolution. What answer is to be given to those who assert that previous auricular confession is not essential to the reception of sacerdotal absolution, and that private absolution is not the highest and fittest exercise of the power of "the keys," when we find it to be thus declared in the exhortation before the daily prayers; "We ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before GOD; yet ought we *most chiefly* so to do, when we assemble and meet together, &c.?" Now, if there is any truth in the catholic doctrine of the sacrament of absolution, it is quite certain, that we ought *not* "most chiefly" to acknowledge our sins before GOD, when we assemble for public prayer. Let it be remembered also, that this assertion is immediately followed by the performance of the thing spoken of: namely, a solemn general acknowledgement of sins: and, moreover, that this declaration was first made by the church of England, at the very time when she asserted sacramental absolution not to be of necessity, and therefore removed also the necessity of auricular confession. Then, again, the articles might be referred to, and in them we find it to be distinctly said that "penance [pœnitentia or absolution] is not to be counted for a sacrament of the Gospel, but has grown of the

corrupt following of the apostles." I can only add upon this, that if absolution, after auricular confession, be not "a sacrament of the Gospel," it is a most fearful playing with holy things; and a blasphemy, both to utter and to listen to, to say, "I absolve thee from all thy sins."

Once more, the blessed Eucharist. An evangelical clergyman teaches his people that this sacrament is a sacrifice only in an improper and secondary sense: a sacrifice, in short, only of prayer and praise. Or, he might go on to say, a sacrifice or very solemn dedication of ourselves to Almighty God. And, that it is a sacrifice in no sense other than this. Nor has he any hesitation in pointing out more than one plain passage of the liturgy in which the Eucharist is so spoken of; and, from the fact of its being so spoken of, he concludes, and with great reason, that it is nothing more. For, it must be remembered that our liturgy as well as our other services and offices are not new forms, in the sense of being the first things of their kind. But, on the contrary, they superseded and occupy the place of other services which were declared to be superstitious and erroneous in doctrine. Therefore if the earlier liturgy contained, as it did contain, words and passages distinctly admitting and asserting the catholic truth of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which words have been carefully excluded from our present service, it may be most forcibly urged that with the words there was rejected also the doctrine which they contained. Let me remind you that I am not saying that the mere omission of words which were in the ancient liturgy does, in

itself and alone, prove the rejection of the doctrine, but that it looks that way, to say the least of it, in common fairness of interpretation. And we do certainly require a somewhat plain statement elsewhere, of a contrary kind, to counterbalance the effect of the omission. Where are we to find such a statement of the continued recognition by the church of England of the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist ?

The passages which have been alluded to are these ; both occurring in the prayer in which alone, as our best ritualists agree, the sacrifice—whatsoever it may be—is in strictness offered. And in them we find the Eucharist styled a “ sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving :” and the offering to be “ ourselves, our souls and bodies, as a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice.” Very different indeed was the Offering and the Sacrifice of which the ancient liturgy spoke. Add, as before, to this, the declaration on the same subject in the 31st article. “ The sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead—were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.” Again I remind you, that I am very far from saying now that the catholic doctrine is certainly denied and repudiated in this article : for I have for many years taught (and, as you know, have lately published in a sermon) that in the blessed Eucharist the Body and the Blood of our Lord are truly offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. But I repeat, that they are, on the one hand, a difficulty to be “ got out of ;” and, upon the other, they serve strongly to confirm

the low and heretical notion that there is no actual, real, sacrifice at all.

Another mysterious and solemn truth connected with the holy Eucharist, is that which is commonly termed the Real Presence. We need not now discuss whether this is a right or wrong term; the doctrine which is intended by it is quite sufficiently understood for our present purpose; namely, that independently of the faith and worthiness, or of the unbelief and unworthiness, of the recipient, our Blessed Lord is Present upon the altar, after the words of consecration, under the appearance of bread and wine; and that His Body and His Blood are given to every one, worthy or unworthy, who kneels down and offers to receive Them. Is this, or is it not, the teaching which is conveyed by such passages as these? "The benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament; for *then* we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink His Blood." Again, at the delivery of the Sacrament to each communicant; "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in Thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." Again, the affirmation, if it may be so called, at the end of the liturgy: that "the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances:" not merely "in their substances," nor "in their natural" substances, but "in their very natural substances." An accumulation of strong assertions, which we have been often assured do not necessarily exclude the catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, but which, in their plainest and obvious meaning, do

support the low view, held and insisted on by so many of our clergy, that the Real Presence is a doctrine not approved by the church of England, and not to be distinguished from the Romish error, as they go on to say, of transubstantiation. Again, we are referred to the catechism: and it is scarcely to be disputed that the question and answer on this point there, are against rather than for the catholic doctrine. “What is the inward part or thing signified? * The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.” Still, to all appearance, making the reality of the Presence to depend upon the faith of the recipient. At the risk of weary repetition, let me once more say, that of course this place of the catechism does not assert that the Body and Blood of Christ are not verily and indeed taken by all: and if there were in other places of our formularies any thing even approaching to a statement of the reality of the Presence of our Blessed Lord in the consecrated bread and wine, independently of any qualifications or dispositions

* The learned reader is doubtless acquainted with the theological distinction between the *sacramentum* and the *res sacramenti*. But it is not, in any way, according to my present purpose to enter into this subject. Scholastic distinctions, excellent as they are, are of value only in enabling us to show that the words of our formularies are not necessarily to be taken in the “evangelical” sense: that is, that our formularies are drawn up with such subtlety and acuteness, as to admit either the high-church or the low-church interpretation: sometimes leaning apparently to the one, sometimes to the other: but, as I have said above, on several main points their tendency generally and as a whole seems, at first sight, to favour the last.

in the soul of the receiver, we might be able to show at once and distinctly that these passages in the liturgy and catechism cannot justly mean what they are usually brought forward to prove. In order to find this, we are obliged to turn to the articles: remembering, however, beforehand, that it is for us to show, in a way which shall commend itself to the apprehension of common, simple, and unlearned minds, the distinction which exists between the doctrines of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation. For "Transubstantiation," according to the 28th article, "is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture." As to our present search, the same article declares, that "the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same." And, as if almost it were to shut out all further controversy upon the matter—not, of course, that it does so shut it out—a few lines below it is said that "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith."* Surely if the article

* I have heard both clergy and laity of the church of England,—and that, within the last twelve months,—declare that they accept and believe all Christian truth, as it is explained in the decrees and canons of the council of Trent. With regard to such a statement by any of our laity, it is curious, to say the least of it: and, probably, was never made by any one who had read and understood the Tridentine canons. But as to clergymen, ignorance cannot be supposed: and for them, bound as they are by subscription to our formularies, thus to speak, has always seemed to me amongst the greatest of all achievements of human intellect. Subtle as we know the mind of man to be, and wide its range, I cannot but confess that

chiefly meant “received and eaten *beneficially*,” it might have said so: the addition of that one word would not have proved and established the acceptance of the truth for which we contend, but at any rate it would have removed almost all the force of the argument against us: and we are bound not to forget that the word “beneficially,” or some word equivalent, is *not* in the article.

So much then, for the present, on the point of the general apparent agreement of the formularies of the church of England, in their first and obvious meaning, with the teaching of those who differ from us, rather than with our own.

Connected with this, there is another consideration which, for some time, has pressed heavily and painfully upon me. As a fact, the evangelical party, plainly, openly, and fully, declare their opinions upon the doctrines which they contend the church of England holds: they tell their people continually, what they ought, as a matter of duty towards GOD and towards

the more I think of it, the more I am amazed at so wonderful an example of its power and capability.

There are not, perhaps, many minds so large: I cannot tell. But there have not been many Homers, Platos, or Isaac Newtons.

The sentence in the text above has reminded me of this remarkable fact, which seems worth a passing observation in a note. Let us take one question, concerning which, to the common run of minds, the articles of the reformed church of England, and the canons of Trent, do seem to differ. The one asserts that, “The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.” The other has this language; “*Sess. xiiij. can. viij.* If any one saith, that Christ, given in the Eucharist, is eaten spiritually only, and not also sacramentally and really, let him be anathema.”

themselves, both to believe and practise. Can it be pretended that we, as a party, anxious to teach the truth, are equally open, plain, and unreserved? If we are not so, is prudence, or economy, or the desire to lead people gently and without rashly disturbing them, or any other like reason, a sufficient ground for our withholding large portions of catholic truth? Can any one chief doctrine or duty be reserved by us, without blame or suspicion of dishonesty? And it is not to be alleged, that only the less important duties and doctrines are so reserved: as if it would be an easy thing to distinguish and draw a line of division between them. Besides, that which we are disputing about cannot be trivial and unimportant; if it were so, we rather ought, in Christian charity, to acknowledge our agreement in essentials and consent to give up the rest.

But we do reserve vital and essential truths; we often hesitate and fear to teach our people many duties, not all necessary perhaps in every case or to every person, but eminently practical, and sure to encrease the growth of the inner, spiritual, life; we differ, in short, as widely from the evangelical party in the manner and openness, as in the matter and details, of our doctrine. Take, for example, the doctrine of invocation of saints; or, of prayers for the dead; or, of justification by faith only; or, of the merit of good works; or, of the necessity of regular and obedient fasting; or, of the reverence due to the blessed virgin Mary; or, of the propitiatory sacrifice of the blessed Eucharist; or, of the almost necessity of auricular confession and absolution, in order to the remission of mortal sin;—and more

might be mentioned than these. Now, let me ask you; do we speak of these doctrines from our pulpits in the same manner, or to the same allowed extent, as we speak of them to one another, or think of them in our closets? Far from it: rather, when we do speak of them at all, in the way of public, ministerial, teaching, we use certain symbols and a shibboleth of phrases, well enough understood by the initiated few, but dark and meaningless to the many. All this seems to me to be, day by day and hour by hour, more and more hard to be reconciled with the real spirit, mind, and purpose of the English reformation, and of the modern English church, shown by the experience of 300 years. It does seem to be, daily, more and more opposed to that single-mindedness of purpose, that simplicity and truthfulness and openness of speech and action, which the gospel of our Blessed Lord requires. We are, indeed, to be "wise as serpents;" but has our wisdom of the last few years, been justly within the exceptions of that law? Let me not be understood as if supposing that any motive, except prudence and caution, has caused this reserve: but there are limits beyond which Christian caution degenerates into deceit, and an enemy might think that we could forget that there are more texts than one of Holy Scripture which speak of persecution to be undergone, for His sake, and for the Faith.

And if reserve in teaching carried to such an extent be, as I conceive it to be, unjustifiable, it is equally wrong, and to be condemned, in the practice of those who listen to, and endeavour to obey, such teaching. What can we think—when honestly we

bring our minds to its consideration—what *can* we think, I say, of the moral evils which must attend upon and follow conduct and a rule of religious life, full of shifts and compromises and evasions? a rule of life, based upon the acceptance of half one doctrine, all the next, and none of the third; upon the belief entirely of another, but not daring to say so; upon the constant practice, if possible, of this or that particular duty, but secretly, and fearful of being “found out;” doing it as if under the pretence of not doing it; if questioned, explaining it away, or answering with some dubious answer; creeping out of difficulties; anything, in a word, but sincere, straightforward, and true. It would really seem as if, instead of being Catholics,—as we say we are—in a Christian land, we were living in the city of heathen Rome, and forced to worship in the catacombs and dark places of the earth.

People often say, it is wrong to use such terms as “the spirit of the reformed English church;” or, “its intention,” “purpose,” and the like. And is it really so? was the reformation nothing? did it effect nothing, change nothing, remove nothing? is the condemnation by the church of Rome of several doctrines,—doctrines, accepted by the church of England for the first time in the sixteenth century,—a mere matter of words; or, is there not rather some essential difference, after all, in the “spirit” of the teaching of the two communions? * and if there be a

* In the year 1714, a Form of admitting converts from the church of Rome was prepared for convocation, in which the “penitent” was required to renounce “the errors of the present Roman church,”

difference and distinction, does it, or does it not, tend, with us, to the acceptance of the evangelical more than of the high-church party? No doubt the reformed church of England claims to be a portion of the Holy Catholic Church: and it has been common for many of our own opinions, to add also the assertion, that she rejects and condemns, as being out of the Church Catholic, the reformed churches abroad, Lutheran, Genevan, and others, together with the kirk of Scotland or the dissenters at home. Upon our principles—nay, on any consistent church principle at all—such a corollary must follow. But there is a strangeness in it: it commends itself, perhaps, to our intellect, but not to the eye and ear; nor, it may be, to the heart and conscience. Is there so great a difference between the reformed churches abroad, or the presbyterians, or the better kinds of dissent,—the Wesleyans, for example,—and our own, as between the modern English church and Rome? Which does our Church most resemble, in doctrine, ceremonies, and practice? I say, practice, especially: for it is in practice, and in the doing of common, daily, duties, that as time goes on the tendencies of articles of faith, or of doctrine, are declared. What then is commonly thought and said—and the voice of the multitude is sometimes right—when men are seen to imitate Roman forms and ceremonies, or to advocate the observance of forgotten rules of holy living, and self-denial? *

and, if in holy orders, to reject all the 12 articles of the creed of pope Pius IV. and to acknowledge the royal supremacy “as by law established.” *Wilkins. concil. iv. 661.*

* Illustrations are often useful: I give the following remarks which

Again ; it is usual for numbers to unite with dissenting teachers for various religious purposes : English clergymen will join with them in prayer, or on the platform : English laity will frequently go to listen to their preaching :—to church perhaps in the morning ; to “ meeting ” in the evening : and how frequent is the remark of the lower classes ; “ I have no *objection* to come to church : ”—now, whatever of wrongness there may be about such conduct as this, do we ever find any thing in any degree like it with regard to the church of Rome ? Do the common people ever go, in the same manner, to Roman Catholic chapels ? What should we say of them, if they did ? And would they see the same similitude of interior arrangement, or listen to sermons which might equally well be preached in half the parish churches of the land ?

* * * * *

It is now more than three months since the last pages of this Letter were written. The rumours

a bishop—himself very far indeed from being what is called evangelical in his opinions—made to a clergyman, who had been complained of for adopting Roman practices : the particular objections in this case were bowing at the gloria, and standing before the altar. “ I cannot understand,” the bishop said, “ how any man can place himself, his affections, and sympathies, so totally in opposition to the authority which he has sworn to obey, and to the church in which he ministers. When I look at the spirit and tone of the church of England, I am at a loss to reconcile such a course of action with my sense of what is right and true and straightforward.” Then going on to speak of a late secession to the church of Rome, he continued ; “ I hope it will be a lesson to those who use Roman Catholic books of devotion : and I can only say, the sooner they follow such an example the better : they are disloyal and dishonest members of the church of England.”

which, in January, became prevalent as to what the decision of the judicial committee, in the case of Mr. Gorham, would probably be, prevented my going on with some further remarks, bearing on the subject which we have been discussing. Nor can I now bring myself to enter upon them.

On the other hand, although additions have been made, I do not recall one sentence which had, at that time, been written: if you think such a fact, as a declaration that the truth of baptismal regeneration is an open question in the church of England, encreases the weight of the difficulties already spoken of, I should be unwilling to dispute it.

Yet; can it be possible that the formularies of the reformed church of England do not teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be undeniably a certain truth of the Christian Faith?—again we ask, *do they not even teach that doctrine?*—what a reformation!

And what have we to fall back upon? where are we? can we rest upon “opinions” which demand of us to *believe* either a great deal too much, or a great deal too little? upon opinions, which—call them by what name we will—will lead us most surely, by a longer or a shorter road as men may choose to tread it, either to Rome or infidelity.

Are not our minds very strangely confused? are we not labouring under doubts, which are doubts only because we refuse to be resolved? why do we hesitate, and dispute and differ amongst ourselves, but because we wish, and are determined (if it be possible), not to see things as they really are; because we are determined to reconcile things irrecon-

cilable, and to justify that which, upon our own principles, is not to be justified?

Do not think that I would argue that one such event, as this decision on the doctrine of holy baptism, is sufficient to unchurch the church of England; it may, or it may not be; but we need not enter upon the enquiry, until we can show that it is the sole difficulty with which, upon high-church principles, we have to deal, and not one among many. As a single circumstance, its extreme importance arises from the fact, that regeneration in holy baptism having been supposed to be more clearly taught in our reformed Church, than any Catholic truth whatsoever, (always excepting the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity,) we now discover that even this is, after all, equally with other essential points of the Christian Faith, a matter of "opinion." If the judgement of the court of Arches had been affirmed, distinctly and unequivocally, we might perhaps have hoped to have gone on to establish the complete doctrine of sacramental grace. But there can be no doubt, that with the permitted denial of the unconditional efficacy of baptism in the case of infants, the vital truth of sacramental grace is declared also to be an "open question."

Besides, it is not necessary to pretend to know the dealings of Almighty God with men and nations so accurately as to attempt to lay one's finger, in a positive manner, upon special acts, and distinguish the one or two or three, which should in themselves avail to cut off any portion of the One Holy Catholic Church. And, as regards the church of England in particular, it may be, that the so-called reforma-

tion contained—perhaps unknown to the original promoters of it—poisonous seeds of evil, bringing in certain though slow decay: and that either new principles were then secretly established, which in their development would most surely lead to the destruction and confusion of essential truths, or old principles were, in ignorance, given up, which the gradual course of time would prove to be necessary, because they lie at the very foundation of Christianity itself. Or, once more, it may be with portions of the Church Catholic as with the Vine, her mysterious type. “I am the Vine, ye are the branches,” were the words of our Blessed LORD, speaking of His Body, the Church, of which He is Himself the Head. And we may well conceive how a branch, full of sap and vigour, may be severed from the stem, and yet for a period—longer or shorter—still continue to put forth leaves, and perhaps the blossoms of fruit also; nevertheless, cut off all the while, and severed; requiring time to die, but death itself inevitable at last.

Let me, in this place, sum up briefly what has been said, in the two Letters which I have written to you.

1. That the Crown, at the time of the Reformation, and since that time, in virtue of the supremacy, has claimed, and exercised, the right of finally deciding ecclesiastical causes, involving doctrine;—that this right has been sanctioned, established, and maintained by several statutes of the realm; and both recognized and insisted on by canons and articles of the English Church, as accordant with the true spirit of the Gospel;—and that we, the clergy,

have promised obedience to the due and legal exercise of this same right.

2. That the decision in the particular cause of Mr. Gorham against the bishop of Exeter explains, to some extent, the dogmatic teaching of the church of England upon the sacrament of holy baptism.

3. That the judgment of the Judicial Committee in that cause is probably a correct and true judgment; and, if it be so, that the reformed church of England did not, and at the present time does not, exclusively require her clergy to teach, and her people to believe, the unconditional efficacy of baptism in the case of all infants.

4. That the two questions of the royal supremacy, and of baptismal regeneration, are not the only difficulties in which we are involved.

5. That the reformed church of England, deliberately and advisedly, has left many essential doctrines of the Christian Faith to be received as "matters of opinion."

6. That the Evangelical clergy, as a party, no less than the Anglican or high-church party, represent and carry out the spirit and the system of the English reformation, as declared by contemporary authorities, and sanctioned by the existing formularies.

7. That our church for two hundred and thirty years has been in full communion with the established church of Ireland, in which church heresy has been synodically and formally received and taught, and "the essential meaning of an article of the Creed abandoned."

Upon these grounds it is, that I cannot, I dare

not, offer to give any support or aid to those, who seem to be desirous of struggling for the church of England, as if the doctrine of baptismal regeneration were the sole question in dispute, or the only doctrine for which we must contend.*

There will be a ready answer, I suppose; namely, that we must wait; that we must be patient; that we must see what the bishops are about to do. Wait for the bishops of the church of England!—and yet, of *one* there are no words in which, if we are true-hearted, and sincere, and earnest for the Truth, we can express all that we ought to feel of gratitude, and sympathy, and regard. He, alone, of all our bishops, has endeavoured to vindicate the Catholic claims which others have feebly spoken of; he, alone, has dared to keep the promise which he made at his con-

* “We shall be very much mistaken, if we presume that we may hold a single great doctrine of the Gospel, and be at liberty to accept or not, as we think it agreeable, other doctrines which rest upon precisely the same foundation, and which are supported by the like kind of evidence. For example, it is almost idle to insist upon the truth of regeneration in holy baptism,—unless we are prepared to believe and to teach other truths of the one same chain of doctrine, no less important, whether in regard of faith or practice. As a matter of mere argument and speculation, rather than of reality, we may perhaps accept this one and not that: may (so to speak) pick and choose: far otherwise, however, if we remember what we are doing; if we can but bring ourselves to the conviction that we are not disputing and enquiring about dialectical subtleties, but about the deep things of GOD; about His dealings with sinful and fallen man; about eternity; about the application of the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of GOD, GOD himself, to the soul and body of each member of the church; about questions which, dispute as long as we will, are, in some one sense and meaning, true, independent utterly of us, and only in that sense are true.”

secration, “to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God’s Word :” he, alone, has had sufficient trust in the power and reality of the Christian Faith, to labour in its defence, unsupported, amidst calumny and opposition and reproach. And no man living knows, as I in some small measure know, the labours and untiring patience,—the anxious, wearing, toil,—which have been devoted to the cause of the church of England, by him, who looked for nothing, hoped for nothing, but the one, single, glorious end of saving the Church, of which he is the noblest ornament, from the stain and sin of heresy. Oh! may God ever be with him; now, when, in his declining years, disappointments in the past, and fears for time to come, are darkening round us all; now, when the weight and anger of the storm seems gathering, before it bursts; now, when the hopes of the church of England are to be found, not in hearts, faint and desponding as my own, but in such as his, firm, unshaken still, and confident, and bold. Again and again I pray, may all the gifts and blessings of our Almighty Lord and Saviour be upon him, evermore.

Yet, you will ask me, Do you think then that our case is hopeless? I cannot tell. Fairly, openly, and from my heart I have endeavoured to speak to you upon a matter, not of temporal interests, but concerning the salvation of our souls. I have avoided argument as much as possible, for it is, at present, a question of facts. If these have been misstated, it has been only from the want of knowing better, and let them be set right. If there is

any remedy, solemnly and carefully let us ask, Where is it to be found ?

It will *not* be found in evasions, and in temporizing, and in compromise : it will not be found,—so that we may think fearlessly of the Great Day in which we must give account,—in attempts to make the church of England last for our own time, careless of the deposit and the heritage which we are bound to deliver onwards to our children, and our children's children. A very few weeks will shew what course is likely to be ours to follow : I have resigned my cure of souls, because I have no doctrines and no Faith to teach, as certainly the Faith and doctrines of the English Church ; but, for a time at least, I leave not her communion. Brief time, it may be : One Alone can tell. But, if there really be truth and life in our Church, if she indeed be that which she claims to be,—a part of the Church Catholic—she will not shrink from speaking plainly in such a day as is the present, on all essential doctrines of the Faith, and we shall know in what we are to trust.

It *must* be said, however reluctantly, that in such a crisis as now exists, it is no true remedy to “ call together the com-provincial bishops ; and to invite them to declare what is the faith of the Church on the articles impugned in the judgment ” of the judicial committee in Mr. Gorham's cause : nor, “ to obtain from the said Episcopate, acting only in its spiritual character, a re-affirmation of the doctrine of Holy Baptism, impugned by the said sentence.” Far from it. Such a declaration or re-affirming would not be law ; neither would it be the voice of

the church of England. Besides, that which is required, even upon the subject of baptism, is not an opinion or judgment of the bishops upon Mr. Gorham's particular heresy ; but A NEW, FULL, AND INTELLIGIBLE CANON OR ARTICLE OF FAITH, PUT FORTH SYNODICALLY BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *plainly declaring, as EXCLUSIVELY true, the entire Catholic doctrine of the sacrament of holy Baptism.* I say, without fear of contradiction by any man who holds that doctrine, THAT NOTHING LESS THAN THIS CAN BE SUFFICIENT.

Are we, who so hold and believe, prepared to demand that a synod of the reformed church of England shall re-accept and re-affirm the doctrine of baptism, which was laid down and taught by the articles agreed upon in the convocation of 1536, with the exception of the few words relating to the future state of infants dying unbaptised? If it be true that such an article is again necessary, in order to save our Church from being formally and virtually committed to the avowed permission of erroneous teaching, let us—in His Name Who is the Truth, the Way, and the Life—determine *now* to ask for nothing less, for nothing short of it, for nothing which shall in fact be different, whilst it seems to be the same.

Let us recollect, also, that if now, roused by the alarm and anxieties of the present time, we are induced to use our energies and zeal in pursuing remedies, which, however specious looking, will prove to be shadows and deceptions, we are throwing away an opportunity, available only if seized boldly and at once.

This then and not less than this, let me repeat it, is absolutely required, in order that the church of England shall truly be said to have One Faith upon the “One Baptism for the remission of sins.”* If, in the dispensations of the Most High, the time at last has come, when the discords amongst us must be settled, either the one way or the other, let us not, playing with our peril, loosely talk about hopes, and prospects; and of life and zeal; and of Catholic minds and Catholic wishes; but let us take,—if there is hope indeed,—instantly, firmly, honestly, each man, our side. We may regret that our own lot is cast in troubled days: but it would be as wise to deny that the sun shines in heaven, as refuse to admit the fact—grieve over it how we will—that there are two great parties in the church of England: and that the contest now begun must end—sooner or later—in the victory of the one over the other. It is a fearful particular in the many difficulties against which *we* are opposed, that “toleration,” and “liberality,” and “communions wide enough to embrace both,” and “open questions,” and “matters of opinion,” are terms and cries which may not be uttered by us, in the same breath with our defence of vital doctrines of the One Catholic Faith. We must ever remember, that any portion of the Church, which, acting advisedly and deliberately, fails to teach ex-

* Even though for a season, we venture to pass by a determination upon other doctrines, no less fundamental, which have been declared to be “matters of opinion” in our Church. Is not the question of the royal supremacy beginning already to be put aside? if so, it is significant.

clusively essential Christian truths, *permits* error : and, I suppose, few among us would be prepared to say, that such deliberate *permission* is not fatal.

One thing we certainly have no right to expect : namely, an audible or visible interposition of Almighty God. It may, of course, be disputed whether this or that event be, or be not, a sign and token by which we are to be guided. But we must not wait to see His handwriting on the wall, or to hear His voice amongst us, as once of old time, saying, “ Let Us depart.” Such are not the usual dealings of God with man.

And I would end as I began : with a repeated expression of the sorrow and the pain with which I have been writing to you. The Church of England !—let me say one word more—if, for years past, we have had one object, one hope, one source of comfort and encouragement, in labours and anxiety and reproach, these have sprung from a most sure and firm belief, in the reality of her claim to be within the pale of the One Catholic Church. Where is the *assurance* of such faith now ? It is a bitter, bitter thought ; alas ! how very different from the thoughts of the years that are gone by : and some—old and long-loved friends—will call it wilful and perverse, to speak as I have spoken.

No one would desire, from mere wilfulness, to make the worst of any thing : yet, whilst we acknowledge this, looking at our present position and remembering the awful nature of the subject which we have been considering, there can be very few indeed, who would set a false face upon the truth, and

try to make the best of it, and prophesy smooth words, because the people love to have it so, and cry, Peace, where there is no peace.

May the Divine Blessing rest upon and guide us all.

Ever, your affectionate friend,

W. M.

*Vicarage, S. Mary Church.
April 8th.*

APPENDIX.

No. I.

EXTRACT FROM THE ARTICLES OF 1536, REFERRED
TO ABOVE, P. 78.

“ The Sacrament of Baptism.”

“ **S**ECONDLY as touching the holy sacrament of Baptism, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received, and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesu Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum sanctorum*; that is to say, No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost.

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ, *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*; that is to say, Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.

Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life (which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism) pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; and that they ought therefore and must needs be baptized: and that by

the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, (*and else not*).

Item, That infants must needs be christened because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done [ordinarily] but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by His most secret virtue and operation.

Item, That children or men once baptized, can, nor ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, That they ought to refute and take all the anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall, by the virtue of that holy sacrament, obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the first article."

No. II.

IF any man could have proved that the Irish Church is not now answerable for, and bound by, the Dublin Articles of 1615, except in so far as they are not distinctly contradicted by the 39 articles of 1562, since received and approved, he would have been the late Dr. Elrington. Nothing can be more convincing than the statements which that writer has been forced to admit, in his life of archbi-

shop Usher : proving that not only were the Irish articles of 1615 *not* disowned and rejected as heretical by the convocation of 1634, but the temper and opinions of the Irish Church at that time to be such, that the chief persons who advocated the reception of our 39 articles, did not dare to permit even a discussion upon the earlier Irish articles, lest they might fail utterly in their attempt.

Bramhall then bishop of Derry was the most earnest and clever among those who endeavoured to induce the Irish convocation to approve the English 39 articles. Bishop Vesey, in his life of Bramhall, gives us some information about this : concerning which I would premise that the “blow to be feared” was a repeated *confirmation* of the articles of 1615. The bishop of Derry, we are told, replied to an objection against receiving the English articles, and which also urged “that it was more material to *confirm and strengthen* the articles of 1615,” by arguing that such a course would bring a sort of discredit upon the former synod, *as if it required ratification*: “by this prudent dressing of the objection he avoided the blow he most feared, and therefore again earnestly pressed the receiving of the English articles, which were at last admitted.” *Elrington's life of Usher*, p. 174. Some further facts which Dr. Elrington mentions, show how great the difficulty was, and that threats even were resorted to, in order to prevent the Irish convocation from deliberately reaffirming the articles of 1615, and obliging them to be received, under pain of excommunication, p. 170.

No. III.

I HAD intended to have taken the present opportunity of making such replies as I could, to any objections and arguments which had been published, during the last six weeks, in answer to my First Letter on the Royal Supremacy. But the fact which I now have to remind the reader of, is this; namely, that there has been *no answer* at all.

Many remarks have been made upon the tone and temper of that Letter : upon the line of argument being “offensive,” or “disloyal;” and its general treatment “cold,” “hard,” “technical,” “literal,” and the like.

But there has been nothing, which can be called an answer, offered against the argument and facts produced.

Some have said that I have ascribed to “the church of England, on the strength of certain acts of parliament, the most Erastian doctrines possible.” *English Review*. This is untrue; I referred, especially and chiefly, to the words of the church of England, as we find them in her canons, articles, and ordinal. And no man would have wished so to misrepresent my statement, except one who knew that the strength of the difficulty which is involved in the question of the royal supremacy, does not lie in acts of parliament and in claims made by the civil power, but in the repeated acknowledgment and recognition of it which has been agreed to and insisted on by the Church herself.

An old and dear friend has printed a Letter on the subject :* of which I would say, that no one felt more deeply than myself, both the great ability and truthfulness with which it was written, and its spirit of unshaken loyalty and devotion to the reformed English church. But, as it was not intended to be an answer to the facts stated in my First Letter, so it seemed to me to fail in meeting the real difficulty of the case. Its point was, that even granting an ambiguity to exist in our formularies, yet it might have been an inadvertence at the time when our prayer book and articles were put forth, and that we must prove that the church of England at the reformation *intended* that there should be such an ambiguity. But this is a line of argument which must admit that which has been so energetically denied to bear upon the question at issue, namely, the opinions of the reformers and divines of the sixteenth century. And it is to be remembered, that if such are to be referred to, as evi-

* A Letter, &c. by the Rev. M. W. Mayow.

dence of the animus of our Church upon the doctrine of baptism, so they must equally be appealed to upon the doctrines, for example, of the eucharist and sacramental grace. In short it is making use of an argument, wisely and long repudiated by the high-church party.

I cannot refrain from citing one passage from this Letter. Mr. Mayow says; "Let me be well understood. If such ambiguity of language be intentional on the part of the church; if she can be proved to have *desired* in drawing up her articles and services to admit two interpretations on baptismal regeneration: if it be her view and plan to include two such opposite parties within her as those represented by Mr. Gorham and the bishop of Exeter, by such ambiguous, and therefore comprehensive language, I most fully admit she stands convicted of unpalliated heresy both in form and matter." p. 9. Instead of *baptismal regeneration* in the above sentence, put *the Eucharist*, or, *justification*.

There is one other pamphlet on which I must say a word or two. More than it deserves for its own sake, but because of the importance which some, who have not been able to find anything better, have pretended to give to it. I mean a publication on "The present crisis in the church of England, by W. I. Irons, B.D. vicar of Brompton."

Mr. Irons endeavours to show that the Royal Supremacy was equally exercised before as well as since the reformation: and he tells us of various interferences on the part of the Crown between the conquest and the sixteenth century. Of these it must suffice to say, that not one of them bears in the slightest degree upon the true difficulty of our position now. Not one of them is a true example of any claim made by the Civil Power finally to determine spiritual causes involving doctrine, together with evidence, or anything in the remotest way like evidence, of consent given to such a claim by the ancient church of England. Instances of persecution, and injustice, and violence, some of Mr. Irons's cases are; but they are instances of nothing more: in short, they serve to confirm the novelty of the

present powers vested by our Church in the Crown. And if the learned writer had even taken time to give us references to his own authorities, it might possibly have been sufficient also to have enabled him to see a little more clearly what is the real question in dispute.

Mr. Irons mentions, however, the Constitutions of Clarendon. I would not pass by these altogether, because of the reference which some other writers have also lately made to them.

The 8th of these constitutions is that which is supposed to bear upon the present power to determine finally ecclesiastical causes, claimed by the Crown. As printed by Mr. Irons it reads thus: "That all appeals in *spiritual* causes [the italics are Mr. Irons's] should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king, and should be carried no further without the king's consent." This seems to have been taken from Hume's history, (vol. i. p. 351) and, with deference to Mr. Irons's further researches, there is nothing in the original constitution which answers to the translation "appeals in *spiritual* causes." The words "in spiritual causes," are interpolated, and Mr. Irons's italics had better not have been ventured upon.

For, on the contrary, there is an epistle of Gilbert Foliot, at that time bishop of London, and of the king's party against the archbishop of Canterbury, which explains to us in what sense we are to understand the word "appeals," as meant and intended by the king. The bishop is writing to the pope, Alexander the third. "In appellationibus ex antiqua regni sui constitutione id sibi vindicat honoris et oneris, ut ob civilem causam nullus clericorum regni sui ejusdem regni fines exeat, nisi an ipsius autoritate et mandato jus suum obtinere queat, experiendo cognoscat. Quod si nec sic obtinuerit, ad excellentiam vestram, ipso in nullo reclamante, cum volet quilibet appellabit. In quo si juri vel honori vestro præjudicatur in aliquo, id se totius ecclesiæ regni sui consilio correcturum in proximo, jurante Do-

mino, pollicetur." *Epist. S. Thomæ Cantuar.* xxxviii. p. 60. So that the causes which are spoken of in the constitutions of Clarendon, according to the intention of Henry the second himself, are civil causes, and *not* ecclesiastical; a distinction which, as most people will agree, carries with it a difference.

. Whether Mr. Irons will acknowledge this, is, to my mind, somewhat doubtful. Because he is prepared to hold and (I suppose) believe, that "the spirit of the [English] Reformation was altogether hostile to the royal supremacy; and even when yielding to it, it was able at length to modify it." p. 19. I cannot consent to discuss a very serious question, agitating men's minds to an extent unknown and unfelt for generations, when it is presented to us in so strange a disguise.

P O S T S C R I P T,

TO THE READER.

IT will be seen that I have spoken in the following Letter, of my having already tendered my resignation of my benefice. An utterly unexpected circumstance has occurred, which has delayed my resignation.

Yesterday, the 6th, I explained to my parishioners, at our annual vestry, the obligation, which seemed to lie upon me, of immediately resigning my cure of souls. I had hoped to have received from them the expression of their regret and of personal regard and kindly feelings towards myself. But I was not prepared to receive, within an hour afterwards, the following resolution which had been adopted at a meeting of the same parishioners, who had constituted the vestry, one of the most numerously attended of all that I remember.

“Mr. Maskell having communicated to the Vestry his intention to resign his ministry on Monday next, it is the wish of the undersigned inhabitants to express their deep regret that he should come to this determination; and considering that the question which has occasioned Mr. Maskell to take this step has not been finally settled, earnestly to request him, at least, to defer doing so for the present.”

This is not the place for me to state more than that, in deference to such an expression both of opinion and of desire, on the part of those to whom I am especially bound, by every tie of duty, next after GOD and His Church, it does seem right that I should delay my resignation for a few days, at least ; in order that my parishioners might be better able to judge, after a consideration of this Letter itself, of the weight and sufficiency of the reasons by which I am influenced. I would not have them think, that I had failed to give the best consideration in my power to their opinion and wishes upon the right course which, under existing circumstances, ought to be taken by their vicar : much more, when they have spoken in a way so solemn and so very seriously entitled to the gravest thought and deliberation.

It ought, perhaps, to be added, that besides the above, two other resolutions of the same meeting were also sent to me, bearing on and supporting, in a manner the most kind to myself, the opinion and wish already stated.

W. M.

First Sunday after Easter.

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A second letter on the present position

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