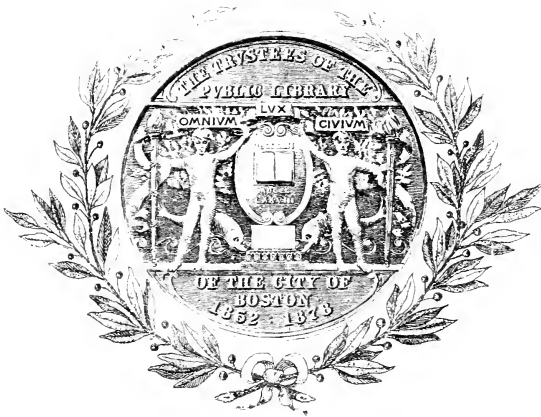
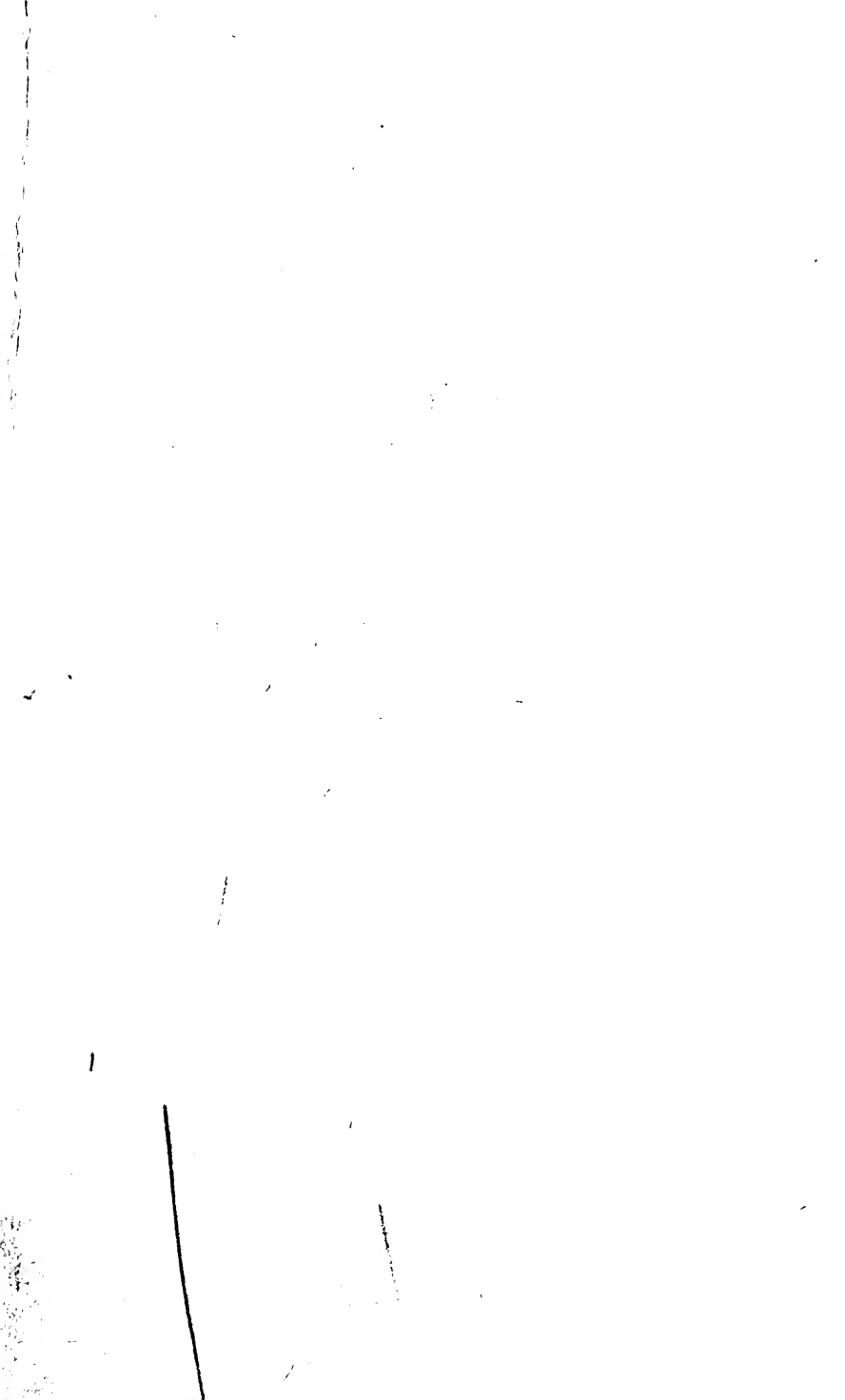
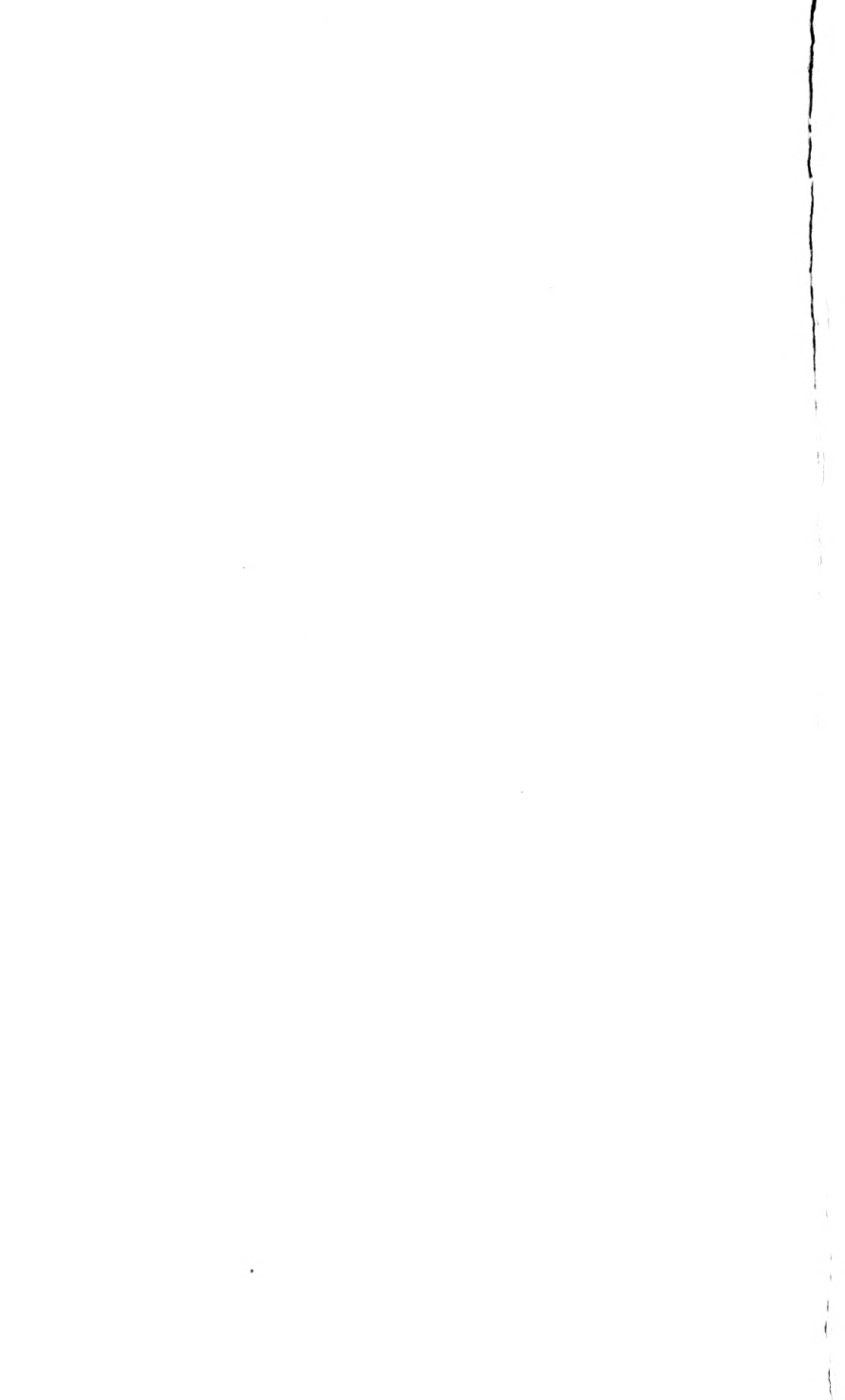


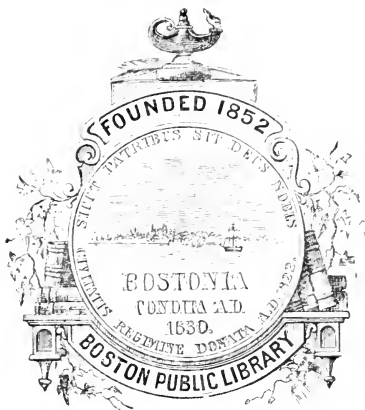


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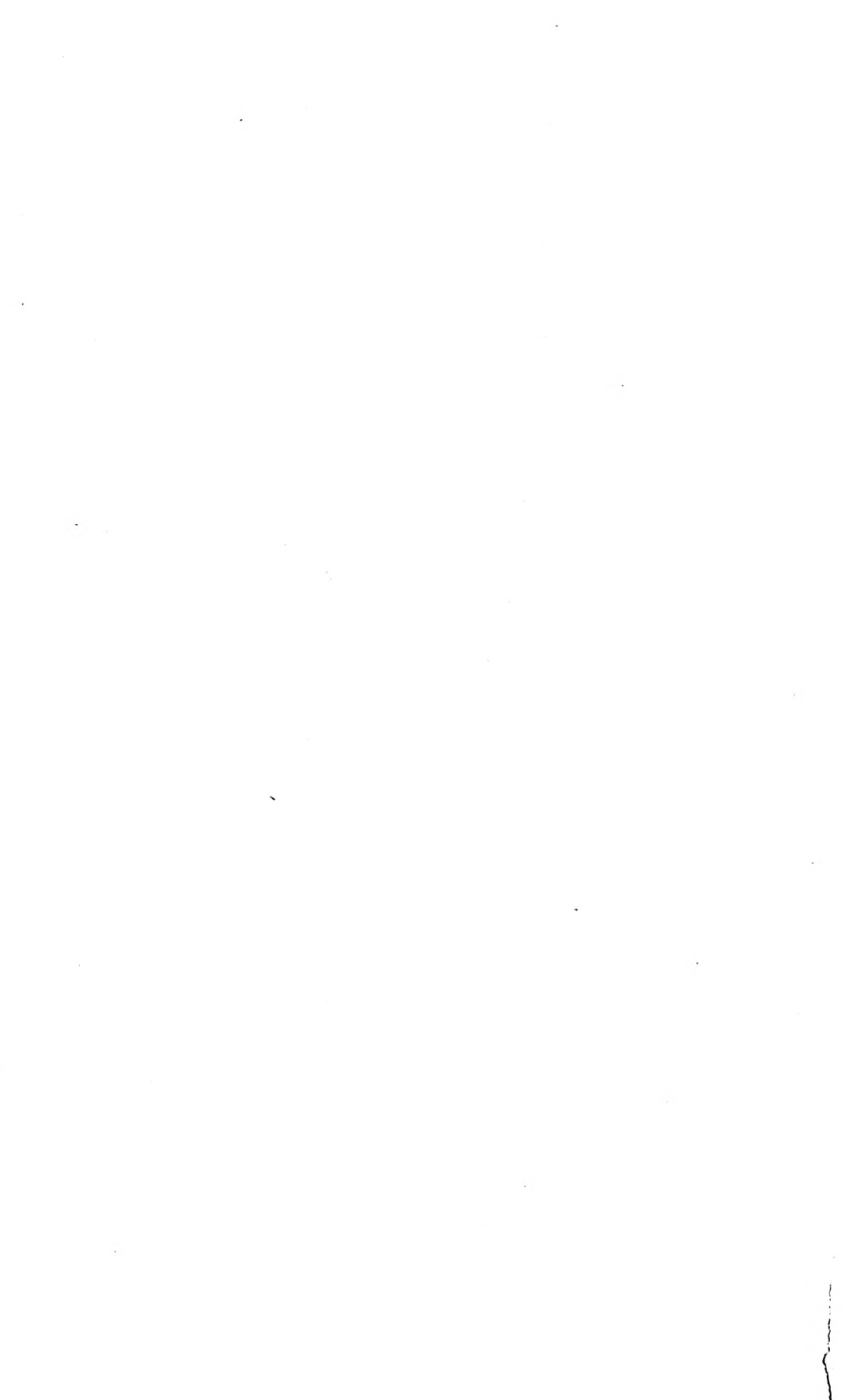


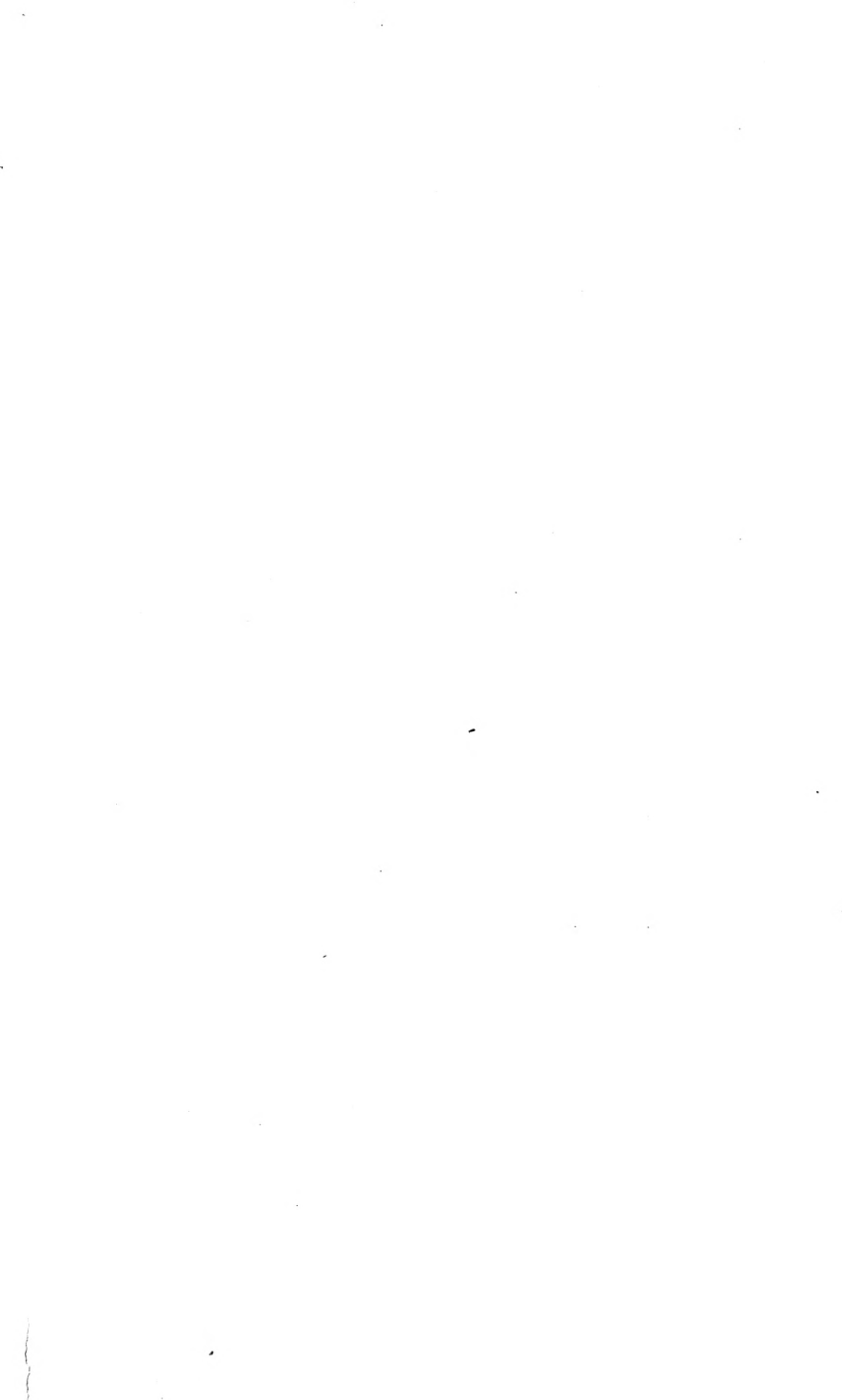


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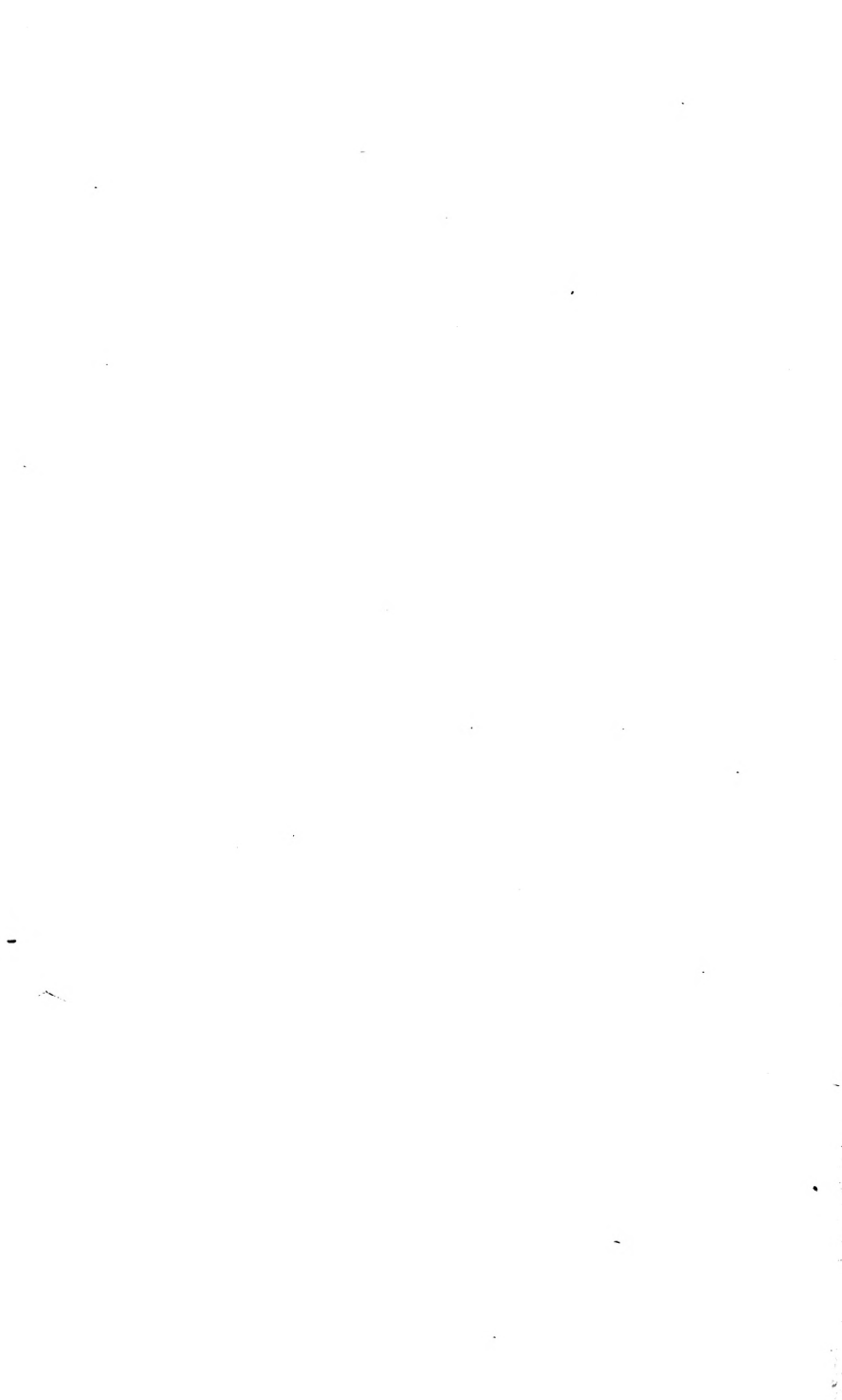
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BISHOP HOPKINS'

**S E C O N D   L E T T E R**

TO BISHOP KENRICK.

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**SECOND LETTER**

TO THE

**RIGHT REV. FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,**

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA.

---

BY JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.

BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF VERMONT.

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**BURLINGTON, VT:**  
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## A SECOND LETTER, &c.

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RIGHT REVEREND SIR:

Your answer to my letter, I must frankly confess, has disappointed me. Considering your Address to the whole body of our bishops, however well intended, as a serious assault upon our ecclesiastical integrity, impeaching, alike, our consistency as Christians, and our honesty as men, I invited you to an open and public discussion of the doctrines contained in the well-known Thirty-nine Articles, which involve not only the profession of our faith, but the condemnation, in many important points, of yours. And I proposed this course, because I thought it was the most direct and effective mode of defending those principles, to which we stand so solemnly pledged, and thus—so far as my humble agency was concerned—of freeing the Church from a most injurious and unjust aspersion. On the other hand, it secured to you an equal opportunity to substantiate your charge, and convict us, if you could, first, of having undertaken to reform what needed no reformation, and next, of having become weary of our task, and covertly desirous to return to the Roman Communion.

Placed, therefore, as I conceived you to be, in the position of a public accuser, my desire was to bring your accusation, in the fairest manner, to the test of public proof. And I did not see how, according to the usual maxims of justice, you could, with propriety, decline the appeal.

But you have declined it, and in terms which substantially repeat the accusation ; totally regardless of the denial so distinctly expressed not only by myself, but by many of my more worthy colleagues. And you seem to think that enough is conceded by your proposing the substitute of a written discussion, offering the columns of your organ, the *Catholic Herald*, for my communications, on condition that yours shall be printed in the *Churchman*, a periodical belonging to another diocese, and over which you must surely be aware that I have no control. This proposal on your part demands an explicit answer, and I shall avail myself of the occasion to notice the other points, whether of alleged fact or of argument, presented by your letter.

You commence by re-iterating your views of the Oxford Tracts, as a perfect justification of your strange and extravagant call upon us to forsake our principles and our ordination vows, in order to unite with the Church of Rome. "There had arisen," you say, "in a leading University in England, a class of divines, in communion with the Established Church, who, in the re-examination of the topics of former controversy, had *yielded, one by one, almost every ground of dispute*; and there had just appeared a pamphlet, *professing to reconcile the Thirty-nine Articles with the doctrinal decisions of the Council of Trent, and styling the Pope, HEAD OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD*. The influence of that class of divines was known to be felt very widely throughout the ministry of the Establishment, and their efforts had met with marked encouragement from the laity. *Astonishment seized all at the rapid strides with which they had advanced towards the ancient faith*, and it was thought that they could not stop at the portals of the temple. *On this side of the Atlantic, their views had found favor*, and a leading hebdomadal, on the first news of the appearance of Tract No. 90, had ventured to provide for contingencies, by stating that the Articles could not be directed against the definitions of Trent, because they were

composed before the close of that Council. There was clearly manifested *by some* a strong sympathy with Oxford, and the Thirty-nine Articles did not appear to be an insuperable barrier. Paley had taught me that the English Legislature, in requiring subscription to them, never could have meant to bind the conscience to assent, since it was not to be expected that a countless succession of men should implicitly assent to a number of Articles embracing so many details. It had been said that they were Articles of peace, and not of faith; that they were not enjoined on the laity as terms of receiving baptism or communion; and that *the ministry, without scruple and without censure, preached doctrines either manifestly opposed to the Articles, or in themselves conflicting*, and grounded on a two-fold interpretation of them." You proceed to state that "there had not been, as yet, any general expression of the views of American Episcopalians on the subject of the Oxford doctrines, but several dignitaries were known to cherish them, and already, in various quarters, disciplinary improvements had been introduced, in harmony with them." Under these circumstances, you "respectfully submit that it was not altogether extravagant to solicit the bishops of our communion seriously to review the grounds of controversy, and generously to make those advances which might secure for so large a number of our fellow-Christians, the inestimable blessing of unity."

Now here, Right Reverend Sir, although the proposition which you made to us in your first Address appears under a very favorable modification, yet even in its present shape, I must call it unauthorized and unfair. Not, however, because we have the slightest objections "*seriously to review the grounds of controversy*," or "*to make those advances*" towards unity which belong to the exhibition of truth, in contradistinction from error. On the contrary, we are always ready to review the principles which we maintain, in the firm consciousness that they will bear, and amply reward, the closest examination. But while we are both willing and pre-

pared to confer and to discuss, in the service of what we hold to be the undefiled Gospel of Christ, we cannot be insensible of the gross injustice which assumes that we have already deserted our profession, and asks us to join your standard upon the very ground that we are traitors to our own.

That such is the plain and unsophisticated meaning of the passage which I have just quoted from your letter, is too manifest for equivocation. You charge the Oxford divines with having yielded, one by one, almost every ground of dispute. You say that they have published a pamphlet reconciling the 39 Articles with the Council of Trent, and calling the Pope the Head of the catholic world. You assert that on this side of the Atlantic, those views have found favor, and that several dignitaries are known to cherish them. And you state it as if it were the settled doctrine of the Church, that the Articles are not Articles of faith but of peace only, and that our ministry, without scruple and without censure, preach in opposition to them. Let me first, then, disprove those charges by some counter-statements from the writings of these much-calumniated Oxford divines. Next, I shall adduce your own favorite Bishop Milner's authority against you, on the subject of the 39 Articles. And after I shall have exhibited my proofs on thus much of your letter, you will understand why I regard you as a public accuser, and why I sought to repel, in the most direct form, the charges which you have thought fit to bring against us, not only without, but in the face of all competent evidence.

I shall commence by quoting from the Oxford Tract No. 71, (page 76 of the Am. Ed.) what may be termed a general statement of the design with which a large portion of those Tracts was written. "This, be it observed," saith the author, "is proposed as the chief object of this series, viz. to erect safe and substantial bulwarks for the Anglican believer *against the Church of Rome*, to draw clear and intelligible lines, which may allow him securely to expatiate in the rich



pastures of Catholicism, without the reasonable dread, that he, as an individual, may fall into that *great snare which has bewildered the whole Latin Church, the snare of Popery*. And it is conceived that the foregoing citation from Usher proves thus much at least, that *Romanism is not the pure creed of antiquity*, and that the tenet of Purgatory, in particular, is but the gradual creation of centuries, and has no claim on our consideration."

From Tract No. 38, (Vol. 1. of Am. Ed. p. 281,) I shall next transcribe a list of what the author terms "irreconcilable differences with Rome as she is."

"I consider," says the writer of this Tract, "that it is unscriptural to say with the Church of Rome that we are justified by inherent righteousness."

"That it is unscriptural that the good works of a man justified do truly merit eternal life."

"That the doctrine of transubstantiation, as not being revealed, but a theory of man's devising, is profane and impious."

"That the denial of the cup to the laity, is a bold and unwarranted encroachment on their privileges as CHRIST's people."

"That the sacrifice of masses, as it has been practised in the Roman Church, is without foundation in Scripture or antiquity: and therefore is blasphemous and dangerous."

"That the honor paid to images is very full of peril in the case of the uneducated, that is, of the greater part of Christians."

"That indulgences, as in use, are a gross, monstrous invention of later times."

"That the received doctrine of purgatory is at variance with Scripture, cruel to the better sort of Christians, and administering deceitful comfort to the irreligious."

"That the practice of celebrating divine service in an unknown tongue is a great corruption."

“That forced confession is an unauthorized and dangerous practice.”

“That the invocation of saints is a dangerous practice, as tending to give, often actually giving, to creatures, the honor and reliance due to the Creator alone.”

“That there are not seven Sacraments.”

“That the Romish doctrine of tradition is unscriptural.”

“That the claim of the Pope to be universal Bishop is against Scripture and antiquity.”

“I might add,” says the writer, “other points, in which also I protest against the Church of Rome.” And then he proceeds to ask the significant question, “Which uses the stronger language against Popery, the Articles, or I?”

In Tract No. 20, (Am. Ed. I, p. 136,) we read as follows, viz. With Rome, “*alas! A UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heresy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. They cannot repent. POKERY MUST BE DESTROYED; IT CANNOT BE REFORMED.*”

From the writings of Rev. Dr. Pusey, whose name has been so absurdly attached to the whole system of the Oxford Tracts, I transcribe the following extracts.

“From the time that the Church of Rome *began to forsake the principles of the Church Catholic*, and grasp after human means, she began also to take evil means for good ends, and, incurring the apostolic curse on those who do evil that good may come, *took at last evil means for evil ends*. She, the Apostolic Church of the West, consecrated by Apostolic blood, shewed herself rather the descendant of them who slew the Apostles, and ‘thought they did God service,’ stained herself with the blood of the saints, that on her might come all the righteous blood which was shed within her; even of the Apostles who had shed blood for her.

*There is not an enormity which has been practised against people or kings by miscreants, in the name of God, but the divines of that unhappy Church have abetted or justified.*" (See Pusey's sermon on the Fifth of November, p. 29.)

And again, in the same discourse, p. 31, we read as follows, viz. "The principle of the Roman Church was expediency ; *it was a plotting, scheming, worldly spirit*, having at first God's glory for its end, but seeking it by secular means, and at last in punishment, left *to seek its own glory, and set itself up in the place of God.*"

And yet again, in his work on Baptism, p. 201, the same writer uses the following language : " Alexandria, the bulwark of the faith in the Holy Trinity, and North Africa, of the unmeritedness of God's free grace, a desolation ! *Rome*, once characterized for steady practical adherence to sound doctrine, A SEAT OF ANTICHRIST ! "

Nor does the Rev. J. H. Newman, considered by many as the very chief of the Oxford school, display a more indulgent spirit of forgetfulness towards the characteristics of your Church, as may be plainly shewn by the following nervous passage in his work on Romanism, p. 102. " We must take and deal with things as they are, not as they pretend to be. If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances towards her, as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless unnatural relation, who will but triumph in the acts which have inveigled us within her reach. No ; dismissing the dreams which the romance of early Church history, and the high doctrines of Catholicism will raise in the inexperienced mind, let us be sure that *she is our enemy, and will do us a mischief if she can.* For in truth she is a *Church beside herself*, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, *but unable to use them religiously ; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are :* or rather, she may be said to resemble a DEMONIAK, *...ruled within by an inexorable spirit.*"

Nay, Mr. Froude himself, when further observation and reflection had corrected his earlier views, writes thus: "The Romanists are wretched Tridentines every where,"—"I NEVER COULD BE A ROMANIST." The Council of Trent he calls "*the atrocious Council*," and says, "it has altogether changed my notions of the Roman Catholics, and *made me wish for a total overthrow of their system.*" (Remains, vol. 1, p. 34, p. 308.)

I shall close these brief extracts by a quotation from Tract No. 90, (Am. ed. p. 79,) taken from the same page on which occurs the phrase, "*the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Catholic world*," marked in your letter by capitals, as pre-eminently worthy of observation.

"The Gospel ministry," says the writer, "began in Christ and his Apostles: and what they began, they only can end. *The Papacy began in the exertions and passions of man; and what man can make, man can destroy.* Its jurisdiction, while it lasted, was 'ordained of God;' when it ceased to be, it ceased to claim our obedience, and it ceased to be, at the Reformation. The Reformers, who could not destroy a ministry which the Apostles began, could destroy a dominion which the Popes founded." The writer proceeds to state, in the following lucid terms, the true idea of Church unity. "The Anglican view of the Church has ever been this: that its portions need not otherwise have been united together for their essential completeness, than as being descended from one original. They are like a number of colonies sent out from a mother country—Each diocese is a perfect independent Church, sufficient for itself; and the communion of Christians one with another, and the unity of them altogether, lie not in a mutual understanding, intercourse, and combination; not in what they *do* in common, but in what they *are and have* in common: in their possession of the Succession, their Episcopal form, their Apostolic faith, and the use of the Sacraments. Mutual intercourse is but an *accident* of the Church, *not of its essence.*"

Now these extracts from the very writings of the men to whom you appeal, are more than sufficient to show the utter extravagance of your assertion, that *in the re-examination of the controversy with Rome, they had yielded, one by one, almost every ground of dispute, and had proposed to reconcile the Articles with the Council of Trent, styling the Pope the head of the catholic world.* This last phrase does, indeed, occur, in the latter part of Tract No. 90; but taken in connexion with the rest of the argument, on the same page, I am unable to conceive how any candid mind could have been misled by it for a moment into the idea, that the author held your doctrine of the papacy.

Hence I maintain that the Oxford divines themselves, so far from having yielded, one by one, almost every ground of dispute with the Church of Rome, have recorded in the strongest language—the stronger from its calmness—their condemnation of Popery, and the impossibility of uniting with it, under any conceivable circumstances. For they are even hopeless of its reformation. Their language is: “*Popery cannot be reformed, it must be destroyed.*” If you are willing to accept such declarations, as the voice of praise, it passes my ingenuity to imagine what you would call the voice of censure.

I am, indeed, aware that the Oxford Tracts have created no small alarm throughout the Church of England, on account of the tendency which many of them were believed to have displayed towards Romanism; a tendency very naturally exaggerated by the extreme sensitiveness of the Dissenters, as well as of a large proportion of the Church itself, to the slightest movement in that direction. I grant, too, most willingly, that there has been a warm sympathy in this alarm amongst a highly esteemed class in our own ranks. And for myself, I must add, that while I cherish a deep and cordial admiration of those Tracts in many respects, and have no doubt of their extensive usefulness, particularly in England, yet I dissent from several of the opinions which

they maintain, and should be obliged, in a variety of instances, to modify, before I could adopt, their statements of doctrine. For the fears entertained of their soundness, among Protestants, however, it is easy to account. You cannot be ignorant that few amongst us apply ourselves to a thorough examination of the papal system, and therefore great allowances should in justice be made for apprehensions, which even when unfounded, are at least thought to be on the safe side. But the apology which justice would suggest for the accusations of Dissenters, and of that class of our own clergy who have expressed the same disapprobation, can have no proper application to a case like yours. A Roman Catholic Bishop must know Popery too well to suppose, for a moment, that the tone of the Oxford Tracts indicated a readiness in the Church in England, much less in the United States, to unite with the Church of Rome. And therefore, while, on my own part, there has been an earnest effort to give you credit for sincerity, I cannot wonder that the prevailing impression with others should be the very reverse. For it cannot be denied that both your Address and your letter seem to harmonize, in perfect concord, with the subtle policy which has marked the course of your European brethren; affecting to patronize the views of the Oxford divines, in order to inflame the accusing spirit against them, and thus derive as much advantage as possible from the old maxim, *Divide and conquer*.

Your views of the authority which we attach to our own accredited system, as contained in the 39 Articles, next demand a brief consideration. You make no difficulty of charging us roundly with being so recklessly indifferent to these, that we not only regard them simply as Articles of peace, but even violate that very peace by preaching contrary doctrines without scruple and without censure. The exceeding coolness with which you cast this gross aspersion upon our whole body of divines, merits especial admiration. Let the answer be given to it by your own favorite, the Roman Catho-

lic Dr. Milner, where, in his well known "Letters to a Prebendary," he strenuously defends the authority of the Articles, and on that very ground triumphantly exposes the unprincipled latitudinarianism of Hoadly. For as that highly gifted, but dangerous man, had openly maintained that nothing more was required of the clergy than to declare their assent and consent to THE USE of the Book of Common Prayer, &c., whatever might be their opinion of the contents of it, Milner asserts most justly that there was no pretence for such an evasion, and quotes the Act of Uniformity as well as the work of Burnet on the 39 Articles against him. And then Milner goes on to argue as follows: "Supposing, however, that nothing more were required of a subscriber than barely to make use of the Book of Common Prayer, with what conscience could he, for example, read the several passages in the Communion Service, and teach the Catechism contained in it, concerning the mysterious efficacy of the Sacraments, believing in his own conscience at the same time, that they are mere positive rites, productive of no such effect at all as is there ascribed to them? And when all this is got over, what will Hoadly and his disciples say to the subscription they are required to make *unfeignedly* and *ex animo*, that all and every one of the 39 Articles are agreeable to the word of God." (p. 339 of Am. Ed.) Again, after referring in a note, to the 5th Canon of the English Church, which declares: "Whoever shall affirm that any of the 39 Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*," he asserts, in capital letters, that "BISHOP HOADLY HAD, BY HIS DOCTRINES, UNDERMINED THE CHURCH, OF WHICH HE WAS A PRELATE." I can hardly suppose you ignorant of the victorious opposition which the celebrated William Law, a divine of the same communion, conducted against Hoadly. The Bangorian controversy, as it was called, from the diocese which the Bishop occupied at the time, was of sufficient importance to fill a space on the page of secular history. You must also

be aware that the Convocation of the English Church had resolved to publish its solemn censure upon her unworthy prelate, and that nothing but its sudden dissolution, by a high-handed act of Royal authority, prevented his disgrace. While I admit, therefore, that a few inconsistent and prevailing men in our mother Church have espoused the unworthy sentiments which you impute to us, I prove to you, *by your own witness*, that they were such men as the Church of England herself condemned, and such as he consistently and honorably pronounced to have UNDERMINED THE CHURCH of which they were the ministers. What renders the honest judgment of Dr. Milner the more conclusive against you on this point, is not merely the circumstance that his controversial zeal and ability gained for him the papal appointment of Bishop of Castaballa, but the still more pertinent fact that you have singled him out as a "*distinguished Catholic Prelate*," to whose "*learned and profound work*" you refer us, in order to perfect our supposed conversion to Popery. Were it possible, however, that a doubt could remain on any candid mind, upon the binding obligations of the Articles in our mother Church, the question amongst us has been distinctly settled before either you or I began the study of divinity. For you ought to know that *Burnet on the Articles* is the standard in all our seminaries of Theology, by express canonical provision. And your favorite, Dr. Milner, might have taught you that Burnet pronounces the subscription of the clergy to be "*declaratory of THEIR OWN OPINION, and not a bare consent to articles of peace, or an engagement to silence and submission.*" I put it, therefore, to your own good sense to say, whether your charge against us, in this important particular, is not plainly liable to the reproach either of wilful ignorance, or of the most deliberate, because twice repeated, misrepresentation.

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\*See Letters to a Prebendary, note to p. 339, Am. Ed.



I come, now, to that part of your letter, in which you are pleased to say, that my invitation of yourself and your episcopal brethren to a public discussion of the whole controversy between our respective Churches—which you chuse to call by the invidious name of a challenge—“*after the statement of your views in regard to such exhibitions, resembles a message to one who is professedly opposed to duelling.*” Now here I am totally at a loss to understand what you mean by the *statement of your views in regard to such exhibitions*. If you allude to your first Address to myself and my colleagues, I find nothing there which intimates the slightest distinction in your mind between oral and written controversy. You tell us, on page 6, that you “*disclaim, most sincerely, all wish to provoke a controversy.*” And, on page 7, you say, “*that you do not conceive discussion, either oral or written, the means most likely to bring about a union of the Churches.*” Assuredly no ordinary mind could discover, from these words, that you were professedly more opposed to one sort of controversy than to the other. We all know that you seem perfectly ready, not to say inclined, to engage in *written* discussion ; and your last letter has given me the first intimation that you were not equally prepared for *oral* discussion, if the opportunity were fairly afforded you. I must frankly say, therefore, that in comparing my invitation to “*a message sent to one who is professedly opposed to duelling,*” you have only exhibited another instance of your unfortunate facility in making disreputable charges against others, without seeming to trouble yourself about the evidence of their truth.

But I must take the liberty of pointing your attention to a circumstance, which ought to have shewn you the absurdity as well as the injustice of your imputation. And this is the fact, that my invitation was not only to you, individually, but also to AS MANY OF YOUR EPISCOPAL BRETHERN AS YOU MIGHT THINK FIT. You surely do not imagine that all your colleagues are professedly opposed to oral discussion, even

if you should be. You know, as well as I do, if not much better, that several of them have been actually engaged in public oral discussions within a very few years, and I believe with a large measure of credit and applause. In extending my invitation, therefore, to the whole, subject only to your own unlimited selection, I gave you the strongest possible proof that I knew myself to be addressing those amongst whom there were men already pledged and practised; and therefore I could not have anticipated the slightest reluctance towards the course proposed, on account of your personal antipathies against the oral method of controversy, even if you had given me—what you certainly had not—any intelligible notice of your private opinion.

I proceed, next, to consider your several reasons against this species of discussion. 1. "*That we live far apart, and it might not be convenient for either to pass to the residence of the other, or to spend sufficient time at any intermediate point.*" To this you will permit me to answer by referring you to my letter, in which the very last sentence provided that "the place and time should be arranged to suit your convenience." You next object that "*the discussion would be necessarily limited to a few topics, or would be prolonged beyond a reasonable time.*" The answer is obvious: that previous arrangement, as in all similar cases, could and should have obviated both these difficulties. Your third argument is that "*Documentary evidence, so important in such investigations, might not always be at hand, and assertions might remain unproved.*" My reply is, that WRITTEN assertions, as you have abundantly shewn, may be made without proof as well as ORAL ones, and that in both the same rule applies, viz. that assertion without proof, if to the discredit of the opposite party, should be considered as so much slander, only operating to the prejudice of him that publishes it. It would, therefore, merely result, that the party who intended to make assertions, would be obliged to provide himself with the evidence, or take the consequences

of his own want of foresight. Your fourth reason states that “*the number of our hearers would be necessarily limited, and the public must trust to reporters for the substance of our discussion, with danger of being misled on points in which they might easily be mistaken ; or we must revise, and, perhaps, remodel the reports.*” To all this I answer affirmatively, but cannot possibly discover how it yields any objection to oral, when contrasted with written discussion. For certainly if the HEARERS are necessarily limited in the one case, the READERS must be more limited in the other. And if the public could only be rightly informed by our revising, or even remodeling the reports, it is but a question of comparative labor, in which it is at least doubtful whether there is any advantage on the side of those who prefer written controversy. And this for a twofold reason : because the public make every allowance for faults of style in the one case, not expecting that polished accuracy which they have a right to demand in the other ; and because the animation and interest of an oral debate extend themselves, in a good degree, even to the report ; and thereby confer upon it a really higher value in the scale of public feeling.

Your last objection yet remains, which I presume, according to the rules of rhetoric, you esteem one of the strongest. *You know not*, as you say, “*whether it would entirely comport with the sacred character of a Catholic Bishop to appear on the arena.*” Here, again, however, I profess myself exceedingly at a loss to understand your meaning. Is it beneath your official dignity to speak, what it is not beneath that dignity to have written ? Or does your sacred character shrink from accusation in the most public form, lest your own people might hear the public correction of the error ? The object of controversial discussion is to establish truth ; and it is certainly new to me that the oral method is unfit for the sacred character of a bishop, when it is the only method practised, since the world began, in the administration of government, in the decisions of jus-

tice, in the enacting of laws, in the establishment of the Gospel, in a word, in all the concerns of humanity. I take for granted that you do not mean to set the sacredness of your character above that of the Redeemer of mankind, and yet—to say nothing of his commencement at the age of twelve years, when he was found disputing with the doctors in the temple—it is certain that through the whole period of his blessed ministry, public oral discussion was his frequent work. If HE condescended to bear the contradictions of his sinful and rebellious creatures, it seems somewhat unaccountable that your sacred character should revolt from a systematic discussion with your fellow man, and one who also claims, however unworthily, to be a bishop, in the *catholic*, though not in the *Roman* Church. Nay, let me refer you to the language of the Almighty, saying to Israel, through the prophet Isaiah, “*Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord.*” And what is a regulated public disputation but a REASONING TOGETHER on solemn invitation, the principle of which, when its object is the confirmation of religious truth, is thus dignified and consecrated by the gracious adoption of the Most High?

Leaving all this, however, out of the question, let us come to a more appropriate range of examples. Beginning, then, with the Apostles, we find them constantly occupied in public oral controversy. The litigated question about the ceremonial law was settled by their appointing a day to come together, and there was “*much disputing*” before the ultimate decision. St. Paul is especially recorded as conducting his ministry in the mode of public disputation. Thus at Athens, he “*disputed* in the Synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the *market daily* with them that met with him.” (Acts, 17.) Again, at Ephesus, “*he went into the Synagogue*, and spake boldly for the space of three months, *disputing and persuading* the things concerning the kingdom of God.” And again, “*he disputed daily* in the school of one Tyrannus.” Then, after the

Apostolic era, we have the regular oral controversy between the bishop Archelaus and the heretic Manes,\* another between the orthodox bishops and the Arian philosopher at the Council of Nice, another between Augustin and his fellows upon the one side, and the Donatists upon the other; in a word, the history of the early Church is filled with instances, to prove that oral discussion was a regular part of the Apostolic and Episcopal office, in the purest and best days of Christian simplicity. But it is enough for me to advert to the late example of several of your colleagues, and to set their judgment against yours in this matter. They could not have "*doubted,*" I presume, "*whether it would entirely comport with the sacred character of a Catholic Bishop to appear on the arena,*" as you term it, or they would not have thus appeared. I cannot, therefore, attach the slightest weight to this last of your objections. It is opposed to reason, to analogy, to the example of Christ and his apostles, to that of the primitive bishops, to the current practice of the whole theological world for centuries together, when *public oral disputation* was the scholastic custom throughout all the universities of Europe, and, lastly, to the recent precedents amongst yourselves. And my only apology for spending so much time on so plain a matter, is because your objection is of a character which is apt to find more favor, by far, than it deserves, in the artificial dignity and fastidious apprehensiveness of the day we live in.

There is yet, however, another reason, which, as you have thought fit to add it to the rest, should have a passing notice. By proposing *a discussion of the whole ground of controversy*, you say that I "*do not appear to intend discussing the merits of it,* but rather to show to you, and to the various Protestant sects, that we still adhere to the principles of what we call the Reformation." Now it is true that I specified this latter object, as one to which I at-

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\* Epiph. de hæ. 61. Fleur. Hist. Ecc. Tom. 2, p. 412.

tached a leading importance ; because I considered the character of the Church and her bishops wantonly assailed in your Address, and felt it to be my solemn duty to raise my humble voice in their vindication. But so far was I from designing to exclude the MERITS of the controversy, that I used the language which you quote for the very opposite purpose of shewing that they were to hold their fit place in the proposed discussion. And I pray you to determine, at your convenience, if only for your own satisfaction, how any rational man could propose to discuss the WHOLE GROUND of a religious controversy, and yet mean to leave THE MERITS OF IT out of question.

You are next pleased to cite a sentence from my book on the Church of Rome, in which I asked your Hierarchy, why you should not propose to meet the various Christian denominations for the sake of friendly and affectionate discussion, instead of casting down the gauntlet of proud defiance, and challenging each other to the public war of words ? And you say that I can doubtless “ *reconcile this to my invitation to a public oral discussion.* ” I fear, Right Reverend Sir, that you have here spoken ironically, and yet I believe that you have said the plain and sober truth. For in that passage, I endeavored to point out the path of what I then thought, and still think, your interest and duty. It would be a happy day for the peace and unity of Christendom, if the prelates of the Roman Church, which forms so large a majority in Europe, and is constantly increased by immigration, in the United States, should be disposed to follow the course to which you have referred. A proposal from such a body to meet the various Christian denominations for the sake of friendly and affectionate discussion, would come upon the broken and distracted world, like the first ray of sunshine after a night of storms. It would indicate the return of the Spirit of peace and love, before whose mighty influence all things would become possible. And assuredly it would be generically opposite to the proud

and bitter temper of modern controversy, in which the object of the parties is simply belligerent, and therefore far removed from the hope or promise of the Divine blessing.

But it does not result from this vision of what might be, if Rome were animated by a different spirit, that our own reformed branch of the ancient Catholic Church must be publicly slandered and defamed, without our inviting the accuser to the ordeal of a public investigation. You cannot suppose that there is any contrariety between the sentiment of my book, and my invitation of yourself and your colleagues to an open discussion of the imputations which you have thought fit to cast upon us, unless you confound it with "*a casting down the gauntlet of proud defiance, and challenging you to the public war of words.*" You must permit me, however, to say, that this aspect of the case is your work, not mine. You may find it expedient to speak of it under the name of a *challenge*, and talk of *the arena*, and compare it with the *sending of a message to one professedly opposed to duelling*, as you have done. But I have used no such language, and I do not admit the propriety of its application. The true comparison would be drawn from the case of one, who hears his *parent assailed* in the tenderest point of character, and under a strong sense of filial duty, soberly and temperately calls on the defamer to justify his accusation if he can; while, feeling conscious that the slander cannot abide the test, he desires that the public may witness the trial, in order that the public may know the truth. In such a proceeding, I confess myself unable to see the air of a gladiator. You have been the assailant: I seek only to defend. And the defence which I have undertaken is not that of myself, but of the Church of Christ—the spiritual mother that bore me.

This moderate and just appeal, however, you have declined. Well! be it so. Your objections I have already examined, and shall not recur to them again. The substitute you offer is a written discussion, and for this you tender to

me the use of the paper called the CATHOLIC HERALD, on condition that I procure the insertion of your letters in the CHURCHMAN of New York. To this proposition I cannot accede, for many reasons. First, because, as you must be quite aware, the condition on which you make it is beyond my control. The CHURCHMAN is published in another diocese. Its columns are devoted to a select variety, suited to the views of its numerous subscribers; and if I had—what I have not—either authority or influence in the matter, I should doubt the propriety of asking its able editor to pledge himself to the insertion of what might become a long and wearisome discussion. In the second place I object, because the interruption of several weeks, which must necessarily intervene between the publication of your letters and that of my replies, would effectually destroy the continuity of the argument; and few readers would take the trouble of going back, in order to compare their respective force and consistency. In the third place, such a mode of conducting a controversy might suit your location, but would be exceedingly inexpedient in mine; since the distance of my residence would deprive me of the opportunity of correcting the press, and expose me to the accidents of frequent misrepresentation. I could assign many other reasons, but these may suffice. If I must write controversy, I prefer going on as I began, in the form of books, rather than in the pages of a periodical.

And this brings me to that part of your letter in which you speak of your Treatise on the Primacy, published in answer to my volume on the Church of Rome. Thus, in one passage, (p. 8.) you recommend me to begin my labors with *a review of your book*, and in another (p. 6.) you say that you “*disproved my charges, pointed out mistakes in my quotations, played with some literary trifles, and sustained the claims of the Holy See, by the very witnesses which I summoned to overturn them.*” And yet a little farther on,



(p. 11.) you talk of my "*offering to decide the quarrel in single combat*, as if TO RETRIEVE MY LITERARY HONOR!"

I am sorry, Right Reverend Sir, that you have pressed this perfectly irrelevant topic into notice, and have even thought fit to give it an offensive prominence by assigning it as the true motive of my letter, as if my *literary honor had been sacrificed* by your triumphant answer to my book, and my only hope of retrieving it lay in "*offering to decide the quarrel in single combat*;" whereas, in point of fact, the whole of what you are pleased to call *the quarrel* has been produced by your wanton attack upon the Church, addressed to all our Bishops, and repelled by several of them before I made my late appeal; and the *single combat*, as it is your choice to consider it, was tendered solely in justification of the character of the Church, without the slightest reference to any point involving the merits of my humble volume, or the *literary honor* of its author.

But since you are determined that whatever subject is to be discussed, the claims of your book shall make a part of it, and it is highly probable that this is the last occasion on which I shall have the honor of addressing you, I shall follow the track laid down by your last letter, however devious it may be. You will blame yourself, I trust, if it leads to conclusions less agreeable than your pardonable self-esteem appears to have anticipated.

In the first place, then, with regard to my work on the Church of Rome, it was published as the commencement of a series, which, if the reception of it should seem to warrant, was to be subsequently put forth, until all the subjects properly belonging to the Roman controversy should have been discussed in their order. This design has been suspended by untoward circumstances, as briefly stated in the first paragraph of my late letter, but has never been abandoned; and, if it please an all-wise Providence, may be resumed at the earliest convenient season.

Of the plan, the temper, the learning, or the literary merits

of that book, it becomes not me to speak. I should be ungrateful, however, if I did not acknowledge, that as well the first edition of it in this country, as the second published in London, was received with a measure of applause which surpassed my most sanguine expectations, and certainly relieved me from all inducement to sound my own praise. That author is greatly to be pitied who thinks himself compelled to sin against the divine precept ; “ Let another praise thee, and not thy own mouth ; a stranger, and not thy own lips.”

It was perhaps about six months after my book appeared, when you honored it by an elaborate reply, in the form of letters, addressed to myself, and forming a volume considerably larger than mine. I lost no time, as you may well suppose, in obtaining a copy, which came, (I think) from a Boston bookseller ; and in the month of January, 1838,—rendered memorable to me by a long confinement to a sick room,—I gave it a careful perusal. The result, to my judgment, was satisfactory indeed. Out of three hundred and sixteen distinct quotations, chiefly from the fathers, the councils, and other authorities which your Church acknowledges, (forming upwards of sixty pages of solid Latin and Greek, collected from more than seventy folio volumes during many years of study, transcribed from the originals with my own hand, and translated by my own solitary labor,) your critical acumen cavilled at the rendering of some ten lines, and in two or three of these I was quite willing to accept your aid, and improve my version. But in a greater number of instances, I had been called on to rectify the translation of your most profound scholars, with this difference, however, that their errors were manifestly the result of design, to exalt the claims of the papacy, while mine, after they were corrected, left the argument precisely where it was before. I was devoutly thankful, therefore, that my humble production had passed so safely through the ordeal ; and although I felt assured, before I published it, that it was faithful to the truth, yet after I perused your answer, I thought my confidence was

based upon a two-fold demonstration. From the beginning to the end of it, I had not found your reasoning able to subvert the evidence I had set forth, nor to evade, in logical fairness, the inference deduced from it.

I was well aware, however,—to use the words of my letter,—that it was expected I should make some reply. The custom of theologians, the desire of friends, and my own character for perseverance and consistency, all seemed to demand that I should go forward in the course which I had undertaken. But to write another book, merely to expose what I could not help regarding as a failure, seemed to me a task both selfish and unnecessary. And after much reflection, I at length concluded, that the only notice which your work required would be best taken in the introduction to the next volume of my projected series, and in some additional notes to a second American edition of the book which you had professed to answer, in case the demand should warrant its republication.

Having thus dismissed the idea of any immediate action, the month of May brought to me the unexpected intelligence that your book, though printed in Philadelphia, was not to be found in Baltimore, and that one of the very persons set forth on its title-page as publishers, disavowed all knowledge of it. My correspondent added the conjecture, that the volume had perhaps been quietly suppressed, from some reason best known to its author. The month of October following led me to Philadelphia, and then I determined to satisfy myself by inquiry of your principal publishers. I went to their establishment accordingly, and asked for your book. The answer I received was, that a considerable period had elapsed since the whole remaining part of the edition had been sent to your own house, and that if I wanted a copy I must apply to you. To these singular facts, the next month of July (1839) added the information, that one of my brethren from the South had applied at the Roman Catholic bookstore in New York for a copy, and was told that there was

no such work in being. Here, then, I had the strongest presumptive evidence that the conjecture of my Baltimore friend was the truth ; and that the state of the matter was such as would render any notice on my part altogether nugatory ; for why should I trouble myself about a book which its own author, before it was one year old, had thought proper to withdraw from public circulation ?

From the summer of 1839 to the fall of 1841, I saw no further mention of your Treatise on the Primacy. Then, indeed, I found you had adverted to it, in the extraordinary call which you thought fit to send to our bishops, and which has given rise to the present correspondence. In my former letter to you, I replied to that part of your Address, by simply stating that I had been withheld from prosecuting my controversial labors by a long and weary course of disappointment, loss, and trial, but still hoped to resume them at a more propitious season. And I should have been much better content if you had accepted this general answer, instead of obliging me to enter into details, by openly proposing *that I should review your book*, proclaiming your supposed achievements in ‘ *disproving my charges, pointing out mistakes in my quotations, playing with some literary trifles, and sustaining the claims of the Holy See by the very witnesses which I had summoned to overturn them.*’ Nay, more than all, by telling me that I “ *offered to decide our quarrel by single combat, AS IF TO RETRIEVE MY LITERARY HONOR!*”

Now, I am desirous, Right Reverend Sir, to make all reasonable allowances for parental partiality. There is something amiable and respectable even in the weakness of an author’s affection for his intellectual progeny ; and I am the more solicitous to indulge it in the case of those, who, like yourself, can have no other offspring by whom their name and memory may be transmitted to mankind. But really you must pardon my obtuseness if I cannot see the propriety of reviewing your work at all ; especially after the strange

process of withdrawing it from circulation. If it has as much merit in the eyes of others as it happily possesses in your own, there must be many abler pens than mine, ready to do it justice. I trust, therefore, that you will excuse my declining an office from which I could derive neither interest nor pleasure; and that you will forgive my incredulity if I doubt whether my literary honor has been lost, at least until I have some better evidence of the fact than the opinion of the interested party.

But this peculiar strain of courtesy, on your part, brings me to a remarkable passage, in which you charge me with a *violation of courtesy* in calling you the *Roman Bishop* of Arath, on the title-page of my letter. “*The laws of good society require,*” you say, “*that each one should receive his official designation, whatever may be the sentiment of the individual addressing him with regard to his claims to the title.*” And *on this principle it is*—as you proceed to assure me—*that you have given myself and all my colleagues our official titles, although it can be no secret to me in what light you view our claims to the episcopal character.* In this singular passage, there are two topics to be examined. The first, my *want of courtesy* in calling you a *Roman Bishop*, and the second, your intimation, that although you have given us the title of bishops, on the principle of courtesy, it is a title which you do not think we can justly claim.

As to the first of these topics, I must frankly confess that I do not see any real ground of complaint, although I should be loth to dispute about so small a matter. In the title-page of your treatise on the Primacy, as well as in your subscription to your late Address, you have called yourself the Bishop of Arath, and Co-adjutor to the Bishop of Philadelphia. These titles I have given you just as I found them, merely adding the word *Roman*, as a proper note of distinction between the Bishops of your Communion and those of others. I can discover no just occasion, here, for the charge of a

want of courtesy. For surely you do not claim to be a Greek Bishop, nor yet a Russian, nor a Maronite, nor a Syrian, nor an English, nor a Protestant Episcopal Bishop. You must be a Roman Bishop, as it seems to me, even on your own ground of fact and principle, because your appointment is derived solely from the Pope of Rome, to whom you are under a solemn oath of fealty and obedience; and, as Bishop of Arath, its whole validity depended upon the papal power to create, in the middle ages, a new kind of bishop, whose diocese should be *in partibus infidelium*; that is to say, purely nominal, or, in plain terms, no diocese at all. I beg leave to congratulate you upon your advancement to a real diocese, since I perceive, by your last letter, that you now write yourself, "Bishop of Philadelphia." But your former office was destitute even of the shadow of Catholicity. The ancient Catholic Church would have anathematized the attempt to make bishops, such as the late Bishop of Arath; for the accredited doctrine of the Church has always been that the bishop must be consecrated *for the service of his diocese*, whereas you know, full well, that you were never meant to serve the diocese of Arath; nay, that in point of fact there was no such diocese, so that for all practical purposes you might just as well have taken your title from the mountains in the moon. Now it may be seriously doubted whether such an episcopate be not simply void, as manifestly in conflict with the very nature of the office, and with every rule sanctioned either by the Canons or Councils—in a word, totally and emphatically *uncatholic*, and entitled to no epithet higher than that which I bestowed upon it—*Roman*—the utmost concession that courtesy itself could make, unless at the cost of all true ecclesiastical principle.\*

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\* I add a few authorities upon this important subject, worthy of the highest respect from every lover of Catholicity.

"Episcopus Græcè idem est ac inspector, speculator, superintendens. Hinc apud profanos scriptores inditum Episcopis nomen tum Diis ab Homero, quia humano generi; tum summo Pontifici a Plutarcho, quia ves-

Nor is the difficulty confined to your former appointment, for I think it a grave question how far it affects your present office, as bishop of Philadelphia. Your diocese, indeed, is no longer a mere name—*vox et praterea nihil*—and that, in itself, is a very important matter. But if, as I take for granted, you were supposed to be already consecrated, as bishop of Arath, you could not have been consecrated again as bishop of Philadelphia; and therefore the doubt resting on your first episcopate, attaches itself to the other also. The only sufficient mode of surmounting this

talibus; tum ab Aristophane iis magistratibus, qui jubente Atheniensium Senatu Provincias peragrabunt, quia civium bono invigilarent.” (Prælec. Theolog. Hon. Tournely, De ordine, Tom. 1, p. 50. Ed. Ven. 1751.) See also Is. 60, 17, Septuagint version, *καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντας σου ἐν ἑιρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*, and the New Testament, *passim*. A bishop or overseer consecrated to a diocese which he is *not* to oversee, is a contradiction in terms.

So fundamental was this principle considered in the *Catholic Church*, that all elections of bishops were made by the people in the diocese. Thus the same author, with the reputation of whom, in your Church, you must be familiar, in his 2d vol. p. 359, gives us the following authorities.—“*Ipsa plebs,*” inquit Cyprianus, Epist. 67, alias 68, “*maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.*” Et infra, “*De traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, et fere per universas Provincias tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentī, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit.*” Here, you perceive, Cyprian expressly calls this mode of election a *divine and apostolical tradition*.

Again, in the 5th century, hear St. Leo, one of your most celebrated popes. “S. Leo, Epist. 12, alias 84, ad Anastasium, Thessalonicem Episcopum adstruit, cum de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri populi que consensus concorditer postularit. . . . ne civitas Episcopum non optatum aut contemnat, aut oderit.” (*ib.*)

It was your Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, which deprived the people and the comprovincial bishops of all their power in elections, and devolved it altogether on the “*Capitulum,*” after which you may find the rise of the yet more gross abuse of bishops in *partibus*, amongst the extravagancies of papal supremacy. What a *consistent catholic* would say of an episcopate like this, your own judgment can easily determine.

difficulty, as it seems to me, is to recur to that highest theory of papal power, which it has long been the effort of your doctors to disavow and explode. This, truly, will cure all defects, since it makes the pope ecclesiastically omnipotent, as well as temporally supreme. As, however, it has become your policy to abjure that unpalatable doctrine since the days of Bossuet, I am at a loss to discover how you will defend the claim of bishops *in partibus* on any consistent scheme ; although I would not for a moment deny your ability to settle the point, at least to your own satisfaction.

But now I have to deal with *your* display of courtesy, in calling us bishops, and then, because I prefixed the word *Roman* to your title, plainly giving me to understand that we have no just claim to our office. From this, I presume, you design me to infer that you patronize the silly and absurd tale of the *Nag's head ordination* : by which it was attempted to cast doubt on the consecration of the English bishops at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and which I have been told has lately been republished in your city. In reply to this old and oft refuted slander, it is enough for me to remind you that men belonging to your own Church, of the highest character, and most perfect means of information, have admitted it to be a sheer fabrication, again and again. The celebrated Bossuet, decidedly the first divine which your Church has produced since the Reformation, Dr. Courayer, who wrote a book upon the very point, and within a few years, your distinguished historian, Dr. Lingard, with many others, have pronounced the clear vindication of our mother Church from this paltry calumny. The latter author, especially, who composed his elaborate and voluminous History of England with a zealous regard to the interests of the Church of Rome, has published a subsequent essay in support of his historical statement, in which the most indisputable evidence, from records, documents, and co-temporary witnesses, is distinctly set forth ; so that he amongst you who now pretends to doubt the canonical regu-



larity and completeness of the English episcopal succession, may as well go on to deny the whole truth of history. I must needs say, therefore, that this is one of those points, in which we can afford to dispense with courtesy, if we can only have simple justice. And I trust that on a fair and careful reconsideration of our respective claims, even you will not think that my language has afforded you any reason to complain.

The rest of your communication consists of a short but comprehensive charge against three of my colleagues, who, as you say, *forgot in your regard, the charity of Christians, and the courtesy of gentlemen.* Then you favor me with an ingenious enumeration of our discordant opinions; and after erroneously claiming for Pope Gregory the great, the work of England's first Apostle, you repeat your former invitations to unity and peace. I shall endeavour to take a respectful notice of all these topics, and so conclude.

As to my colleagues, they are abundantly competent to their own defence, and wield a pen with which, whether it be in point or in power, my humbler skill pretends to no comparison. But inasmuch as you have introduced the topic in your letter, I must take leave to say, that your Address, when stript of all disguise, deserved to be treated as a wanton attack upon our principles, as Christians and as men; and therefore I cannot think it a matter of just surprise, if some of those whom you assailed retorted with severity. You assumed the extravagant hypothesis that our whole body were already prepared to yield up almost every point of our distinctive doctrines, and pour disgrace upon the reformers who died in their defence. You advised us to complete our conversion by reading Milner's *End of Controversy*, and then to come over, unconditionally, without even the formality of any previous discussion, to the embrace of Rome. You urged us to hasten our recantation, lest our flocks should abandon their pastors, and go before us. You assured us, in good set terms, that we did not believe our own Articles of religion, that our subscrip-

tion did not bind our consciences, that our declaration of assent *ex animo* meant nothing,—in a word, Right Reverend Sir, you gave us to understand, that in your judgment we were a band of hypocrites, without sincerity or truth, without knowledge to discern our duty, or without honesty to practise it. And after an assault like this, does it really become you to complain, that those whom you attacked *forgot*, in your regard, the *charity of Christians and the courtesy of gentlemen*, merely because learning and eloquence were united with a measure of rightful indignation and caustic sarcasm, to repel the shameful imputation? We all know that the courtesy of the gentleman is not expected to endure the lightest charge which presumes to question his veracity. And although the far nobler spirit of Christian principle is taught to turn the left cheek when the right is smitten, yet is it also taught to *rebuke sharply*, when the subject involves the interests of the Church of God. Courtesy, therefore, is only to be accounted a virtue, when it is exercised in accordance with the higher law of truth. Who ever thought of censuring St. Paul's want of courtesy, in saying to the magician Elymas, "O thou full of all guile, and of all deceit, son of the devil, enemy of all justice, thou dost not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" Or who, on the other hand, ever praised the courtesy of Joab, because he took hold of Amasa's chin with his right hand to kiss him, in the guise of kindness, saying, "God save thee, my brother!" while his left hand grasped the concealed weapon, to inflict the mortal blow?\*

But I come now to one of the most subtle and ingeniously managed passages in your letter, in which, disclaiming any design of impeaching our honesty, you take occasion to reproach us with our differences of opinion. And in order that I may not run the slightest risk of misrepresenting you, I shall transcribe the whole at length, in its own integrity.

"I formed," you say, (p. 6.) "no unfavorable estimate of

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\* Acts, 13, 10, and 2 Ki. 20, 9. *Doway Version.*

“ your honesty. I gave you full credit for honest adherence  
 “ to the Religious Society in which you hold so eminent a  
 “ station ; but as you do not harmonize in your teaching, some  
 “ opposing the Oxford views as heretical, while others defend  
 “ them as the genuine doctrines of the Church ; some holding  
 “ that you possess a real effective episcopacy, such as the an-  
 “ cient Church enjoyed ; while others among you consider  
 “ that even the pastoral relation in reference to the laity is  
 “ but the shadow of a name : some maintaining the existence  
 “ of a true priesthood and sacrifice, and raising altars on  
 “ which it may be offered ; whilst others deny that there is  
 “ properly priesthood, sacrifice, or altar : I thought that  
 “ your adherence did not imply a settled conviction of mind  
 “ on the doctrines, or on the nature of your worship. From  
 “ the perusal of Anglican and American divines, I perceived  
 “ that the divine origin of episcopacy, and its need for the  
 “ essential constitution of the Church, were disputable points.  
 “ This latitude of belief might determine you to remain in  
 “ your stations, as long as you saw no fair prospect of uniting  
 “ the various Christian sects in faith and communion, but you  
 “ might feel it your duty to abandon them, if by the sacrifice  
 “ you could secure the unity of Christendom.”

To this quotation, I shall add a short sentence on page 10,  
 where you say, “ In return for your polite invitation to us to  
 “ restore our Church to primitive purity, in order to enjoy  
 “ your communion, I invited you to return to the faith which  
 “ Augustin preached in England, and to the worship which  
 “ he practised, as clearly testified by the venerable Bede, that  
 “ you might be under the paternal government of him who  
 “ worthily inherits the name and authority of England’s *pri-  
 “ mary Apostle.*”

Now I trust, Right Reverend Sir, that you will bear with  
 me, while I shall endeavor to deal candidly and justly with  
 the many interesting and important topics presented in these  
 lines. To act fairly towards them, I shall speak first of our  
 alleged divisions, and of your proposed remedy. I shall

then have some remarks to offer on your position in our present controversy, and on the historical accuracy of your reference to England's primary apostle.

It is, then, most true, that there is considerable diversity of sentiment amongst us, and if we include our mother Church of England, and sister Church of Scotland, that diversity will extend to a greater variety of points, and occupy a still wider range of disputation. The leading difference of opinion is that which is so commonly expressed by the terms *High* and *Low Churchman*; besides which, there are I know not how many, who dislike these names, discourage their application, and prefer calling themselves simple *Churchmen*, symbolizing in all respects with neither party, and therefore exposed, as a matter of course, to be thought quite too High by the one, and quite too Low by the other. Such, if you will pardon the egotism, is my own position. It is not the position of a leader, nor is it that of a follower of those who lead. My feelings and my moderate capacity are alike unsuited to the one; my habits of independent thought are unfavorable to the other. A contented mediocrity seems therefore to be my appointed lot; happy, if I can only assist my abler brethren, to "keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace.

But permit me to assure you, that if you have inferred, from this diversity, the existence of any serious dissatisfaction with the Church as she is, or of any disposition to choose some other Christian communion as a better or a purer one, you could not have fallen into a more egregious error. Our disputes are frequent enough, and pertinacious enough, and conducted with heat and intemperance enough, God knows! to alarm, full often, the timid mind, which looks not beyond the surface of things, and imagines, in its simplicity, that ruin must be at hand, when the ministry of Christ begin to wrangle. Such a mistake, however, I must beg leave to say, is scarcely pardonable in a theologian. Least of all is it pardonable in a *Roman* theologian, who cannot be supposed igno-

rant of the innumerable and interminable disputes which have agitated his own Church in the ages that are past, and which still exist, only smothered into external peace, under a political regard to the risk of "Protestant ascendancy."

Let me, therefore, rectify your ideas on the subject, by reminding you, that all the points which are controverted amongst us are but *speculative opinions*, in which the disputants on all sides claim the doctrinal standards of the Church with equal confidence, as substantially in their favor. Now so long as this is the case, it is as clear as the light of day that the existence of controversy argues no discontent with the Church or her system; so far from it, indeed, that it rather seems to increase a love for the Church, in proportion as the litigants are accustomed to appeal to her authority. If you ask, however, that this authority should be so expressed, that our ministry could not vary from each other in their speculative interpretations, you must be aware that you ask what never did exist, and what, in the nature of things, never can. It is the honest acknowledgment of your own favorite, Dr. Milner, that "*the Articles and Creeds of the Church of England,*" (which we inherit from her) "*are not less copious, emphatical, and precise, with respect to the grand mysteries of the Gospel, than are those of ANY OTHER CHURCH THAT NOW IS, OR HAS EXISTED SINCE THE TIME OF CHRIST.*"\* All that the Church could do, when it was truly catholic, to guard by her great Councils the right interpretation of the Word of God, remains, as you well know, in our Liturgy and Articles, undiminished by the frauds of heresy, and unadulterated by the alloys of superstition. With these, you also know that we have the Apostolic Succession, government, and discipline, as an Episcopal Church, secured by the strongest laws of ecclesiastical authority. Here, then, are all that can be asked to

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\* See Letters to a Prebendary, Am. Ed. p. 329.

keep the minds of men in unity—such unity as is needed for the earthly communion of saints. Within this range there will, and there ought to be, a reasonable scope for individual speculation ; and so long as this is governed by the love of truth, kept within the limits of kindness and sobriety, and open to a frank and fraternal rebuke when it passes its proper bounds, it would be neither wisdom nor charity, in my humble judgment, to fetter its Christian liberty, in the vain desire of that *perfect* unity, which can only be enjoyed by the Church, after she has passed from her militant state on earth, to her glorified state in heaven.

As to the low condition of *practical discipline* amongst us, I affect not to deny it. On the contrary, I have openly stated and deplored the degeneracy and worldliness of the Church, in a late Charge to my own clergy, from which I perceive you have done me the honor to take some evidence for your accusation. But surely that man must be wholly blind who cannot see that this degeneracy is universal. No body of Christians can truly claim to be an exception. Above all, the Church of Rome cannot set up for superiority, since you well know that her only apology for the modern system of Penance and Indulgences, is rested on the acknowledged decay of the ancient discipline ; and the cry against her awful abuses brought together the Councils of Basle and Pisa—for Councils they were, although Rome does not own them—long before the era of the English Reformation. It may well be admitted, then, that we are practically far behind the system of the Church ; but that the blame rests on the Church, instead of on ourselves, is an idea which you will find yourself permitted to enjoy, without the slightest participation from any *sane* mind belonging to our Communion.

But whatever our speculations, and disputes, and worldliness may be, we have one blessing for which we are devoutly thankful, and that is, their UNRESTRAINED PUBLICITY. Free as the air, open as the day, is every thing belonging to

us; doctrine, worship, discipline, parties, controversies, life, and conduct. It was our Lord's command to his Apostles: "What I tell you in the ear, that PREACH YE UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS," and he compared his Church to a "*City set upon a hill, which cannot be hid.*" We have, therefore, no scale of Christian perfection, which requires, in order to secure its developement of what you call the *interior life*, to be tied fast by vows of human institution, and secured by bolts and bars, and wrapped carefully up in secrecy and seclusion. We have no orders of the sexes, who stand aloof from the social community around them, invested with the suspicious mantle of mystery and gloom. We have no variable and politic plan of administration, by which the superstitions which we openly preach in one part of the world, we as openly disavow in another. We are under no oaths to a foreign prelate, nor are we in danger of finding ourselves entangled in doubtful constructions, in order to settle the boundary line between conflicting rights and duties. The Church, as we acknowledge her, is indeed the spouse of Christ; one, undefiled, pure from all the stains of corrupt human invention, and replenished with gifts and graces from the bountiful hand of her Creator and her Lord; transparent as the light, hating darkness, holding before the eyes of all the same high and holy standard; strenuous for form only so far as is needful for the stability of doctrine, and the reverent order of the house of God; strenuous for government only so far as is demanded for the preservation of peace and unity; and in all respects that are truly important,—although, it may be, despoiled of a few primitive ornaments in the struggle of her escape from bondage, yet—without spot or blemish, and, as the faithful image of her glorious Maker, worthy of all fidelity and confidence. Our acknowledgment of our own defects, therefore, involves no charge against the Church. God forbid! On the subject of her character and claims, there is but one heart and voice amongst us; and we should as soon think of suicide in order

to remedy the infirmities of life, as think of forsaking the Church in the hope of improving our religion.

Admitting, therefore, Right Reverend Sir, as I do frankly admit, our individual deficiencies, I have but a few words to say upon the remedy which you propose, when you urge us to abandon our present highly favored lot, for the peace and unity of your communion. And I say to you, in all personal kindness, but with sincerity and candor, that if it were possible for Rome to re-absorb into herself the reformed Catholic Church to which it is our privilege to belong, I verily believe that it would not only be ruin irretrievable to ourselves, but destruction to the best hopes of Christian truth, and emphatically to the very peace which you boast of possessing. For where, I beseech you, was your peace before the Reformation? Is it not notorious to all the world, that every engine of policy and every weapon of state, fire and sword, crusades and inquisitions, racks and gibbets, the actual torture of the body, and the threatened torture of the soul, were unceasingly employed for successive centuries to secure peace and unity to the papal dominion, and all in vain? Where is unity of doctrine amongst you even now, with all the inducements which the hope of conquest and the fear of defeat can set before you? You say, for example, that your Church is infallible; but you have never settled your theory of this infallibility, nor ascertained the tribunal in which it resides. You say that the pope is the vicar of Christ, and that it is essential to salvation that every soul should acknowledge him; but you have never determined the extent of his powers, nor defined the limits of your obedience. You say that we are accursed if we do not supplicate the virgin and the saints, but you have never settled the questions how they can hear our supplications, nor whether they can hear, or not. You call the virgin, "the queen of heaven, the queen of saints, the queen of angels," with many other epithets which we think open to the charge of blasphemy; and yet you have never



settled the doubtful point, as to the evidence of her assumption, nor decided the much vexed question, whether she was free from original sin. Your Council of Trent pronounced a curse on all who disbelieve in Purgatory, and your Church grants indulgences from fixed periods of purgatorial pains on regular days in every year; and yet you have not agreed upon the nature of those pains, nor even upon the authority from whence you derive the doctrine. Some of you say that the pope is infallible, others deny it flatly. Some say that he is superior to a general Council, others that a general Council is superior to him. On the point of episcopacy too, you have far more unsettled questions than we have; for some of you maintain that bishops hold their office *jure divino* immediately from God, others, that they have it immediately from the pope, that he is in fact the only bishop, and that the rest act merely as his *vicars apostolic*, having no power but what they derive from him. You have serious difficulties, also, if you would but consider them rightly, concerning the question of the episcopal succession, in those cases where there has been but *one* to consecrate, whereas the canons, from the apostles down, require *three*. And the outrageous innovation of bishops without dioceses, or bishops *in partibus infidelium*, would of itself give more trouble to my conscience, if I had the misfortune of being one of them, than all the debated topics amongst ourselves put together.

These may suffice, I trust, Right Reverend Sir, as a specimen of the *unity in doctrine* which we should obtain, by exchanging the pure simplicity of the ancient Catholic Church, for the tortuous and complicated system of modern Romanism. And as to your *peace*, you cannot be ignorant that we ascribe it all to the effects of the Reformation. You are kept so occupied by the assaults of Protestants from without, that you have neither time nor spirit for intestine dissensions. But we all know that the peace of PRINCIPLE is one thing, and the peace of POLICY is another. The first is a spiritual privilege, resulting from the unity of faith, and the influence

of charity. The second is nothing better than a carnal calculation about profit and loss ; yea, so carnal, that it may be found, to a certain extent, among the very brutes that perish. For even the lordly lion, whose roar, at times, can make the forest tremble, understands the policy of being still and quiet, when he crouches for his prey.

A few words more, upon the sentence in which you say, that *in return for my polite invitation to your hierarchy to restore your Church to its primitive purity, you invited us to return to the faith which Augustin preached*, alluding to A. D. 590, when Gregory the great sent Augustin to England, and calling that pope expressly, "*England's primary apostle.*"

Now here, you seem to consider your Address to our bishops as a fair return to my book on the Church of Rome, apparently forgetting that your volume on the Primacy was published in answer to that book, and that your Address, predicated solely on the Oxford Tracts, was written four years later. Whether you wrote this sentence for the purpose of making me *seem* to be the aggressor in our present controversy or not, is beyond my power to determine. I can easily shew, however, that not only are the two works perfectly distinct in the point of chronology, and in the line of argument, but they are altogether different in purpose and in spirit. I did not ask your prelates,—as you have urged our bishops—to abandon their Church ! I did not charge them,—as you have charged our ministry—with disregard to their professed Articles of faith, and with preaching against them at their pleasure ! I did not tell them,—as you have told our clergy—that their divines had given up, one by one, almost every point in controversy ! Nor did I counsel them to come over to us without loss of time, lest their people should desert, and come before them ! Far from all this, I presented their own favorite authors to their consideration, and argued the duty and expediency of their returning to *their own original Church*, by advancing in the work of reformation which they

had in part commenced ; but in no one instance implicating their sincerity, or desiring that they should disregard the best interests of *their own communion*. You must permit me, therefore, Right Reverend Sir, to repel, in the most positive terms, this attempt to divide the odium of your late assault, as plainly inconsistent with the time, the facts, and the whole strain of your argumentation. The responsibility of *my* work I shall take with pleasure, but the excitement of the present discussion is all your own.

The last topic presented by your letter, is the total subversion of all historical accuracy, in calling pope Gregory the great, *England's primary apostle*. And as this gross mistake serves as the foundation of many others, inducing your writers to say a variety of idle things about the debt of gratitude which England owes to Rome for her conversion, and the consequent impiety of her desertion of her spiritual mother, I must beg a little more of your indulgence, for the sake of adducing something better than vague assertion, viz. the irrefragable testimony of your own ancient witnesses, to establish the true origin of the Church from which we descend.

The statements of your modern authors are nearly all unanimous in the assumption that the Church of England had its birth and parentage from the Church of Rome, in A. D. 590, when Gregory the great, sent the abbot Augustin with 40 monks, as missionaries into Britain. Now this was the period of the Saxon Heptarchy, and the Saxons were pagans, beyond all doubt. But the body of the nation were Britons still. The Saxons were foreigners from Germany, invited, unhappily, by the advice of the British prince Vortigern, to assist in the protracted contests with the Picts and Scots, but who afterwards used their arms to establish themselves, as masters of the country. And although it is true that the Britons were at last partly compelled to submit, and partly driven from their homes, and forced to defend themselves chiefly in Cornwall and Wales, yet all experience proves that such conquests are never so total as to subvert the religion of a

nation, when the objects of the conquerors are only dominion and spoil.

The historian Hume, who certainly was under no bias in this particular, places the facts upon fair and reasonable ground, in his account of the state of England previous to the effort of Gregory's missionary zeal. It must be remembered, in order to form just ideas upon this subject, that when the Romans left the British to themselves in A. D. 448, after having been in possession of the greater part of the island for nearly four centuries, (Hume, 1, 8.) the people had become, to a great degree, civilized. Twenty-eight considerable cities, with a great number of towns and villages, bore witness to their advancement in the arts; the father of the great Constantine had long held his imperial court among them, and at York, where he died, the British legions proclaimed the son his parent's successor. Although, therefore, a long period of war and commotion followed, ending in the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy, yet, as the historian well observes, "a civilized people, however subdued by arms, still maintain a sensible superiority over barbarous and ignorant nations. All the other northern conquerors of Europe had already been induced to embrace the Christian faith, which they found established in the empire; and it was impossible but the Saxons, informed of this event, must have regarded with some degree of veneration a doctrine which had acquired the ascendant over all their brethren. However limited in their views, they could not but have perceived a degree of cultivation in the southern counties, beyond what they themselves possessed; and it was natural for them to yield to that superior knowledge, as well as zeal, by which the inhabitants of the Christian kingdoms were, even at that time, distinguished."

In the order of Providence, however, a favorable opening had been prepared for the conversion of the Saxon invaders, which I shall also describe in the words of this historian.—"Ethelbert," the king of Kent, "had married Bertha, the

only daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, one of the descendants of Clovis, the conqueror of Gaul ; but before he was admitted to this alliance, he was obliged to stipulate, that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion ; a concession not difficult to be obtained from the idolatrous Saxons. Bertha brought over a French bishop to the court of Canterbury, and being zealous for the propagation of her religion, she had been very assiduous in her devotional exercises ; had supported the credit of her faith by an irreproachable conduct, and had employed every art of insinuation and address to reconcile her husband to her religious principles. Her popularity in the court, and her influence over Ethelbert, had so well paved the way for the reception of the Christian doctrine, that Gregory, surnamed the great, then Roman pontiff, began to entertain hopes of effecting a project, which he himself, before he mounted the papal throne, had once embraced, of converting the British Saxons.”

You will have no difficulty, I trust, Right Reverend Sir, in understanding the view which I feel quite sure is the only one consistent with the facts of history. The nation was British, the rulers and the dominant party were Saxons. The very intention of the Pope was limited to these last, who did, indeed, require the work of Christian zeal to convert them to the faith. But the nation had been converted long before, and therefore, granting that the mission of Gregory was successful as to these Saxon marauders, it was neither the beginning of the British Church, nor was it conducted with any just regard to her rights and privileges. I shall now proceed to substantiate these assertions by evidence which you cannot question. I do not, of course, offer you the statement of Hume *as proof*, in a matter of ecclesiastical history ; but have presented it rather as a preparation for the evidence, which I presume you would find better stated in his words than in mine. First, then, I shall establish the fact that the British Church was in being, perfectly and in-

dependently organized, for centuries before the days of pope Gregory. Secondly, I shall shew how truly his emissary represented the character of his Roman master, in lording it over the national Church, through the power of her Saxon oppressors; and then you will perceive with how little justice you and your Church have claimed for that pope the name of ENGLAND'S PRIMARY APOSTLE.

My first witness is Tertullian, who wrote, as you know, within a century after the death of St. John, about A. D. 200. In his book against the Jews he quotes the prophet Isaiah, predicting the universal preaching of the gospel, and then, referring to the apostles, he cites the text of St. Paul, where he saith, that "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." He next reckons up the nations who had believed in Christ, the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Africa, Rome, Jerusalem, the Getuli, the Moors, the Spaniards, the Gauls, and then he adds: "*those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans, BUT SUBJECT TO CHRIST;*"\* adding many other nations, which it is beside my purpose to mention. Observe, I beseech you, the connexion here, clearly proving that in the time of Tertullian, the planting of the gospel in Britain was ascribed to the apostles; though whether it were St. Paul, St. James, or Simon Zelotes, or some other of the thirteen, it is now impossible to ascertain, no early writer having recorded it.

The next witness is Origen, who says that "the power of

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\* "Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita;" and a little further on he adds, "In quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat:" and again, in a very eloquent passage, still farther on, he recurs to Britain in these words, "Britanni intra Oceani sui ambitum conclusi, Maurorum gens, et Getulorum barbaries a Romanis obsidentur, ne regionem suarum fines excedant. Quid de Romanis dicam, qui de legionum suarum præsiidiis imperium suum muniunt, nec trans istas gentes porrigere vires regni sui possent? Christi autem regnum ac nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur," &c. Tertul. adv. Judæos, § vii and § viii, p. 188-9. Ed. Paris. 1695.

God our Saviour is even with them which in Britain are divided from our world.”\* And this testimony is only about fifty years later than Tertullian.

The third witness is the record of the great Council of Arles, summoned by the emperor Constantine in A. D. 314, at which no less than five delegates attended from the Church of Britain, viz. “Eborius, the bishop of York, Restitutus, the bishop of London, Adelfius, the bishop of the city called the colony of London,” (which some suppose to be the modern Colchester,) “Sacerdos a priest, and Arminius a deacon,” both from the same city as Adelfius.† No proof could be more conclusive to shew the mature and vigorous state of the British Church at this time.

The fourth witness is Eusebius, who testifies that the British bishops concurred in the judgment of the Council of Nice.‡

The fifth witness is Athanasius, who says that the British bishops agreed in his acquittal at the Council of Sardis.

The sixth witness is the Council of Rimini, at which were also present a deputation of British bishops.

The seventh witness is St. Jerome, who frequently mentions Britain, in one place saying, that “the court of heaven is open alike from *Jerusalem & Britain;*” again, he speaks of the *Briton, though divided from their world*, seeking to increase his piety by going to Bethlehem. And elsewhere he adverts to British Christianity, as to a familiar fact. ||

\* *Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est, qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur.* Orig. in Lucæ, c. 1. Homil. 6. This citation is from Fuller. The original is not at hand.

† Eborius, Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, Provinciæ Britannicæ.

Restitutus, Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, Prov. supradicta.

Adelfius, Episcopus, de civitate Colonie Londinensium.

Exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconos.—See Hard. Con. Tom. 1, p. 267.

‡ Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. iii, c. 19. The next two I have also given from Fuller.

|| “Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia æqualiter patet aula cœlestis. Hieron. Op. Tom. 1, p. 66. G. Epist. 13, ad Paulinum.

Divisus ab orbe nostro Britannus, si in religione processerit, occiduo sole

The eighth witness is Pope Gregory himself; for when his emissary Augustin consulted him in order to know what line of conduct should be adopted in relation to the bishops of Gaul and Britain, the pontiff answers him, that the jurisdiction of Archbishop over the bishops in Gaul had already been conferred upon the bishop of Arles; "but we commit to you," continues Gregory, "the care of all the bishops of Britain, that the ignorant may learn, that the weak may be strengthened, and that the obstinate may be corrected by authority."\*

More might easily be adduced, if necessary, to prove the indisputable fact, that from the days of the Apostles the Church of Christ had been established in Britain, and that this Church was still in existence, having many bishops, at the time when the pope sent his emissary Augustin to convert the Saxon king of Kent. I need not detain you by rehearsing the history of the success of Augustin with this royal proselyte, the vast numbers said to be baptized by him, and the miracles supposed to be wrought by his power. But it should be recollected, that on the very spot assigned to him, there was still standing the old British Church of St. Martin, Canterbury, in which the queen was accustomed to offer up her own worship with the Gallican bishop Luidhard, long before his arrival.† My next quotation must be from the letter of the pope to the king of Kent, after his

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dimisso, quærit locum fama sibi tantum et scripturarum relatione cognitum.' ib. p. 82. C. Epist. ad Marcellam. See also Epist. ad Oceanum, p. 130. E. and Lib. adv. Luciferianos, Tom. 2, p. 97. 9.

\* Interrogatio Augustini, Postulo etiam qualiter debeamus cum Galliarum atque Britanniarum episcopis agere?

Responsio Beati Gregorii Papæ. "In Galliarum episcopus nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus, quia ab antiquis prædecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit quem nos privare auctoritate percepta minime debemus — Britanniarum vero omnium episcoporum curam tuæ fraternitati committimus: ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur." Hard. Con. Tom. 3, p. 512.

† See Fuller, p. 56, who cites Bede, Hist. Ecc. lib. 1, c. 25.



conversion and the appointment of Augustin to the primacy, in which we have a notable specimen of the policy with which Rome had already learned to wield the spiritual, under the authority of the temporal sword. In favor of brevity, however, I shall only cite a portion of his epistle. The beginning is of no importance to the subject, and the other part is simply an exhortation to diligence, founded on the pope's idea that the end of the world was at hand; a plain proof that whatever his other merits may have been, the power of prophetic interpretation was not among them.

Addressing himself to Ethelbert, as king of England, the pontiff says, "Therefore, O glorious son, keep the grace which thou hast divinely received, with all diligence. Make haste to extend the Christian faith amongst your subjects, enlarge the zeal of thy righteousness in their conversion, overturn the temples and worship of idols, establish your people in purity of life by exhorting, affrighting, soothing, and correcting, and by showing examples of virtue." \* \* \*

"And whatever our most reverend brother Augustin, your bishop, admonishes, hear willingly, perform devoutly, and studiously keep in mind, since if you hear him in that which he delivers on the part of the omnipotent God, the same God will more quickly answer his prayers on your behalf."\*

My last quotation shall be from the venerable Bede, showing the style in which Augustin proceeded to reduce the British Church to obedience.

\* "Et ideo, gloriose Fili, eam quam accepisti divinitus gratiam sollicita mente custodi. Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina, zelum rectitudinis tuæ in eorum conversione multiplica, idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum ædificia everte, subditorum mores in magna vitæ munditia exhortando, terrendo, blandiundo, corrigendo, et boni operis exempla monstrando ædifica."——"Reverendissimus autem frater noster Augustinus, episcopus—quæque vos admonet libenter audite, devotè peragite, studiosè in memoria reservate; quia si vos eum in eo quod pro omnipotente Deo loquitur, auditis, idem omnipotens Deus hunc pro vobis exorantem celerius exaudit." Greg. Mag. Op. ed. Benedict, Tom. 2, p. 1165, epis. 66.

“Using the help of king Ethelbert,” says this ancient historian, “Augustin called the bishops and doctors of the nearest and greatest British province to a conference, at the place called to this day Augustin’s oak, and endeavored to persuade them to unite with him in the common work of evangelizing the nations, to lay aside their mode of keeping Easter, and their other customs which were contrary to the unity of the Church.” They declined his proposal, however, although Augustin, as Bede relates the matter, worked a miracle to convince them. A second conference being appointed, “there came seven British bishops, and many learned men, chiefly from that most noble monastery of Bangor, over which the abbot Dinooth is said to have then presided.” Disgusted, as the historian states, by the pride of Augustin, at this second interview, and partly influenced by the counsels of a celebrated hermit with whom they had previously conferred, they positively refused either to change their customs for those of Rome, or to receive Augustin for their archbishop. On this, saith the historian, “Augustin is reported to have threatened them, predicting that if they would not have peace with their brethren, they should have war with their enemies; and if they refused to preach to the English the way of life, they should suffer from their hands, the vengeance of death.”

This prediction came to pass accordingly. The English king Adelfrid attacked the British at Caarlegeon, or Chester, where he found not only the forces of the Britons, but also their priests, along with a large body of monks, who had assembled, after a three days’ fast, to oppose him with their prayers. These monks were chiefly from the great monastery of Bangor, which was so extensive, that it consisted of seven divisions, each containing 300 men, all of them bound to *maintain themselves by their own manual labor*. The king being told that this assembly of worshippers were praying for his defeat, ordered his soldiers to attack them first, and thus he butchered twelve hundred of them upon the

spot, fifty only, out of the whole, escaping. In this way the historian pronounces the *prophecy* of Augustin to have been fulfilled, although after its author had departed to another world.\*

Here, then, Right Reverend Sir, I trust that you have abundant proof—*satis superque*—to justify our denying to pope Gregory or to any other pope, the title of “*England’s primary apostle*.” For aught I know, he may be called the chief converter, through his emissary Augustin, of the Saxons of Kent, although even there, the Gallican bishop Luidhard and the Christian example of queen Bertha preceded him. But granting all you can ask for his influence over the Saxon invaders and usurpers, who had established their wretched Heptarchy, it remains undeniably true that the British Church had been in quiet possession of the land from the

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\* “Interea Augustinus, adjutorio usus Edilberthi regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos sive doctores maximæ et proximæ Britonum provincæ, in loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum *Augustineizac*, id est, robur Augustini appellatur; coeptique eis fraterna admonitione suadere, ut pace catholica secum habita, communem evangelizandi gentibus pro Domino laborem susciperent: non enim Paschæ diem dominicum suo tempore, sed a decima quarta usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant—et alia plurima unitati ecclesiæ contraria faciebant. Qui cum longa disputatione habita, neque precibus, neque hortamentis, neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum ejus assensum præbere voluissent.”——“Unde postulabant ut secundo synodus pluribus advenientibus fieret. Quod cum esset statutum, venerunt, ut perhibent, septem Britonum episcopi, et plures viri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui tempore illo Dinooth abbas præfuisse narratur.”——“Factum est, ut venientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi videntes, mox in iram conversi sunt, eumque notantes superbiæ, cunctis quæ dicebat contradicere laborabant.”——“Illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant.”——“Quibus vir Domini Augustinus fertur minitans prædixisse, quod si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent; bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi: et si nationi Anglorum nolissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri.” (*Bede Hist. Ang. lib. 11. c. 11*; vel *Hard. Conc. Tom. 3. p. 540.*) The account of the conferences, the miracle professed to have been wrought by Augustin, the counsel of the hermit, the monastery, and the slaughter, are all included in the same extract from Bede, but are too long for insertion.

times of the apostles, that the bishops had assisted at the great Councils centuries before either the pope or Augustin were born, and that at the very time of this celebrated mission, the same Church was in full being ; oppressed, indeed, and mourning, yet having her bishops, her doctors, her monasteries, her customs, variant from those of Rome, and according more with the oriental Christians. Equally manifest it is, that the papacy in England, like the Saxon dominion, was an assault and an usurpation ; that it was the arm of force which established its supremacy, and that when the ancient Church of Britain at last succumbed to the yoke, the conquest was gained by the complex influence of policy and power. Let not Rome, then, complain, if policy and power, which first gave her empire over the Church of Britain, were the first instruments by which, in the person of Henry the eighth, that empire was destroyed. And be not surprised if your invitations to *return to the faith which Augustin preached*, should remind us of the British bishops who refused to own his sway, and of the Saxon sword which massacred the poor monks of Bangor.

And now, Right Reverend Sir, I have but little more to add, upon the point of your last suggestion, where you say that *if a glimmering of hope should be afforded of union, you should be happy to meet myself, or any of my colleagues, in private, before a few intelligent friends, to examine calmly and dispassionately, on what basis it could be established*. Here you have given me, truly, a most extraordinary set of inconsistencies. A *public* intimation about a *private* conference ! An attempt to arrange the *basis* of union, when the parties are known to be at irreconcilable variance on *fundamental principles* ! A proposition to discuss *terms* from one who claims an *unconditional* surrender ! An offer to treat, from one who has no diplomatic authority ! A show of independent action, from a prelate who has no independent will, since you are sworn to defend the “*royal-*

ties" of St. Peter, and are quite incompetent to effectuate the slightest modification in your existing system! Ah! would to God that you and your colleagues were free to use the privileges which even a Provincial Church, in catholic days, would have blushed to disclaim. Would that you were at liberty to regard the bishop of Rome with no higher reverence than his predecessor in the third century received from Cyprian, the saint and martyr, with his episcopal brethren in the Council of Carthage. But so long as you are bound, hand and foot, to the papal throne, I cannot regard your language as intended for any thing more than a flight of rhetoric. Whenever you shall have burst your chains, and stand unfettered on the firm ground of ancient catholicity, we may be ready to receive such a proposal, but not till then.

It is high time, however, to close this letter, and with it, our present correspondence. I trust it may have some effect in vindicating the cause of truth and justice, notwithstanding the mediocrity of its author's powers. On that point, I beg you to remember that I hold no dispute with you. I have long ago claimed my place as the least amongst my brethren, and have distinctly granted to yourself all that you can possibly ask, on the score of individual qualification. Willing to practise, as well as I may, the apostolic precept, *In lowliness of mind, let each esteem other better than himself*, I shall cheerfully yield the palm in any point of merely personal merit. The same concessions I am ready to make, to your book on the Primacy. It shall be admitted, if you please, that so far as our respective proportions of learning, talent, ingenuity, or eloquence are concerned, it is altogether superior to my humble volume on the Church of Rome. If it be, notwithstanding, a failure, as I assuredly consider it, the fault lies, doubtless, in the subject, rather than in you. The best advocate must fail, who has to defend the wrong side of the question.

In the invidious range of personal comparison, therefore,

there is nothing which I should think worth the pain and trouble of contention. It is only when the controversy concerns the "CHURCH OF THE LIVING GOD, WHICH IS THE PILLAR AND GROUND OF THE TRUTH," that I conceive myself called to contend, and in the words of the Apostle, to *contend earnestly*. From that solemn responsibility I shall not seek to escape, however conscious I may be of my own deficiencies, for I know who has said: "NOT BY MIGHT NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD." It is our duty, in faithful dependence on that Spirit, to contend for His truth; it is His incommunicable prerogative to award the final victory.

With sentiments of the most respectful consideration, I remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

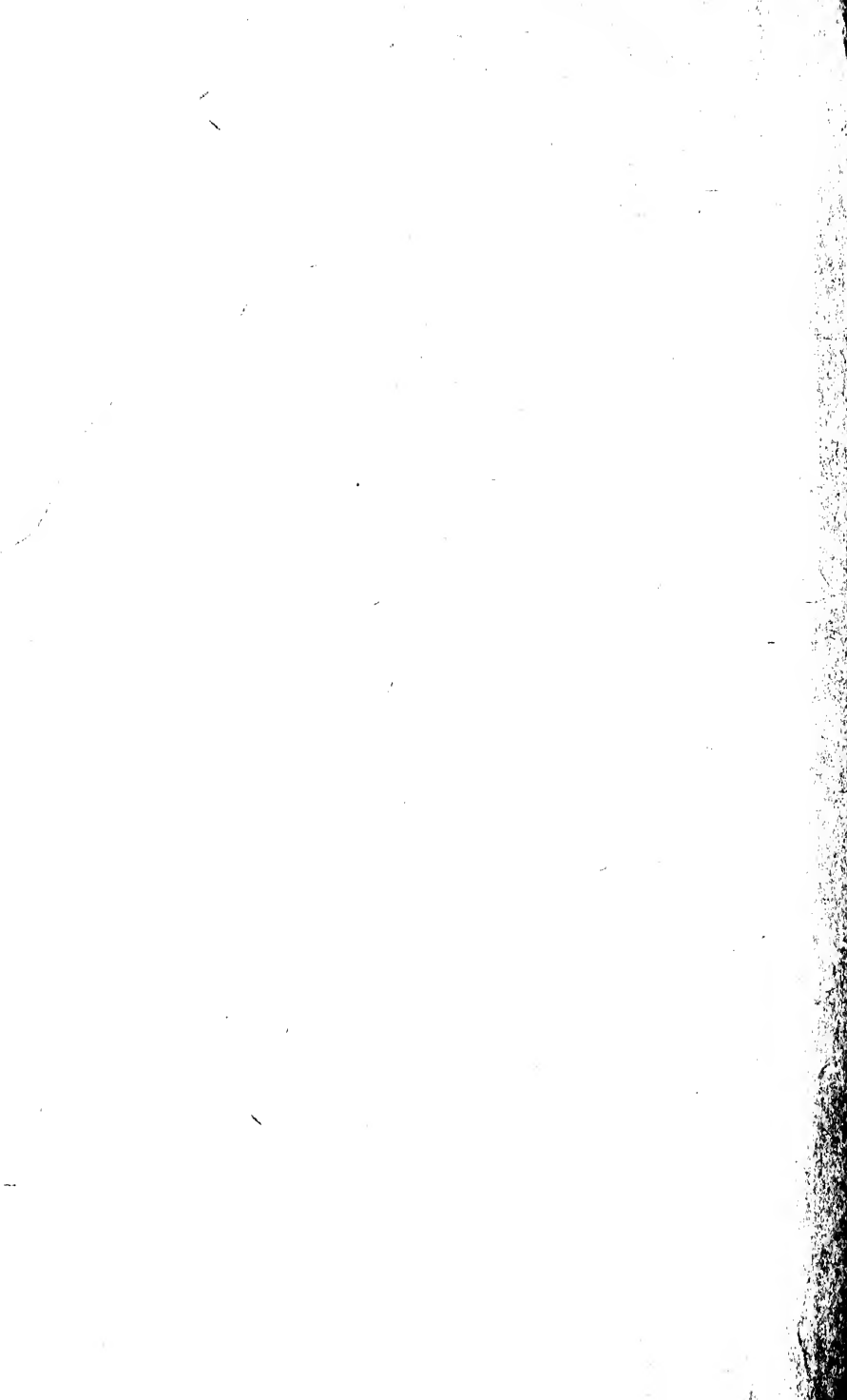
Your servant in Christ,

JOHN HENRY HOPKINS,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church,  
in the diocese of Vermont.

BURLINGTON, VT. }  
St. Matthias' day, 1843. }







APR 8 1929

