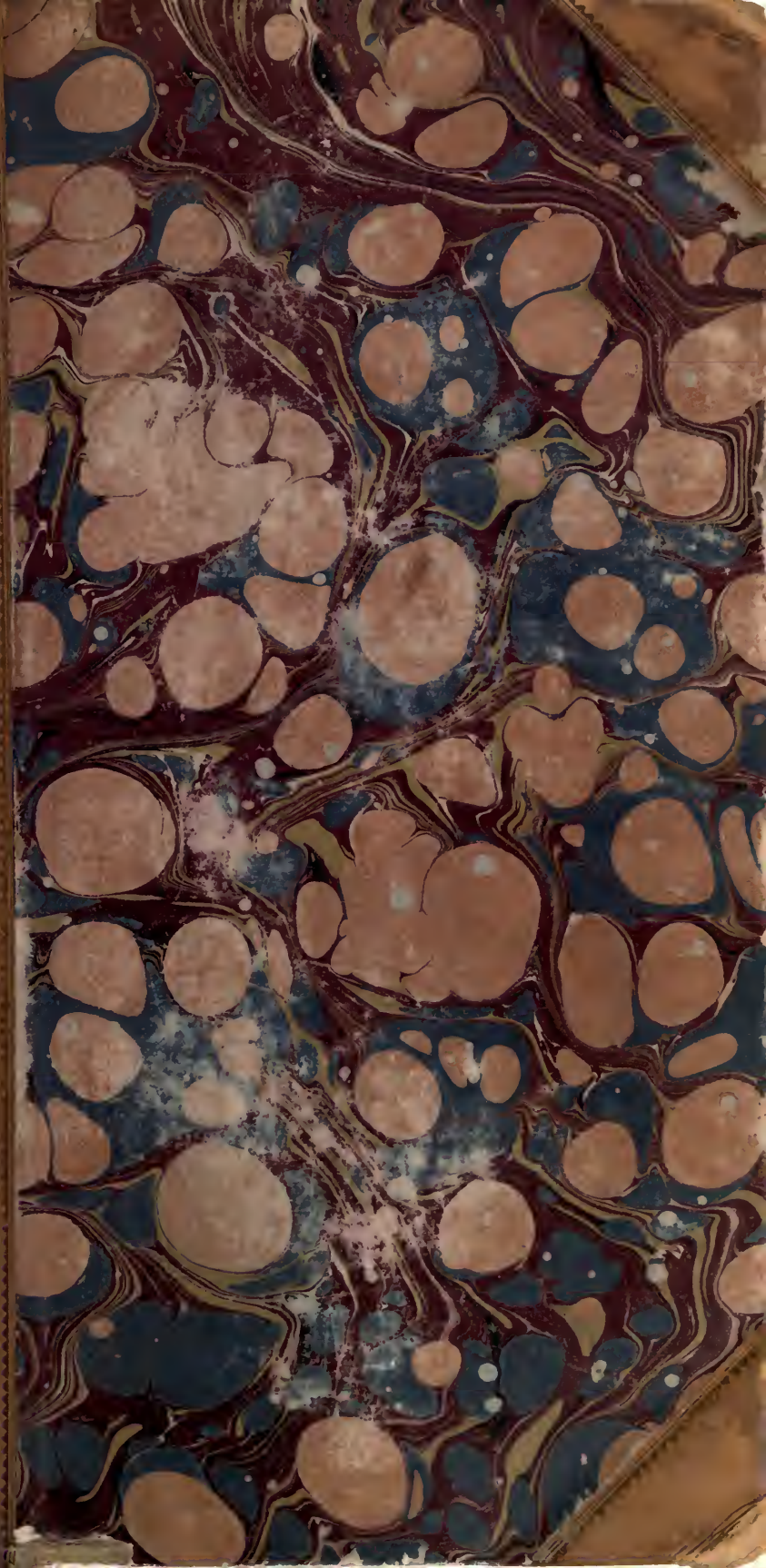


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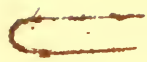
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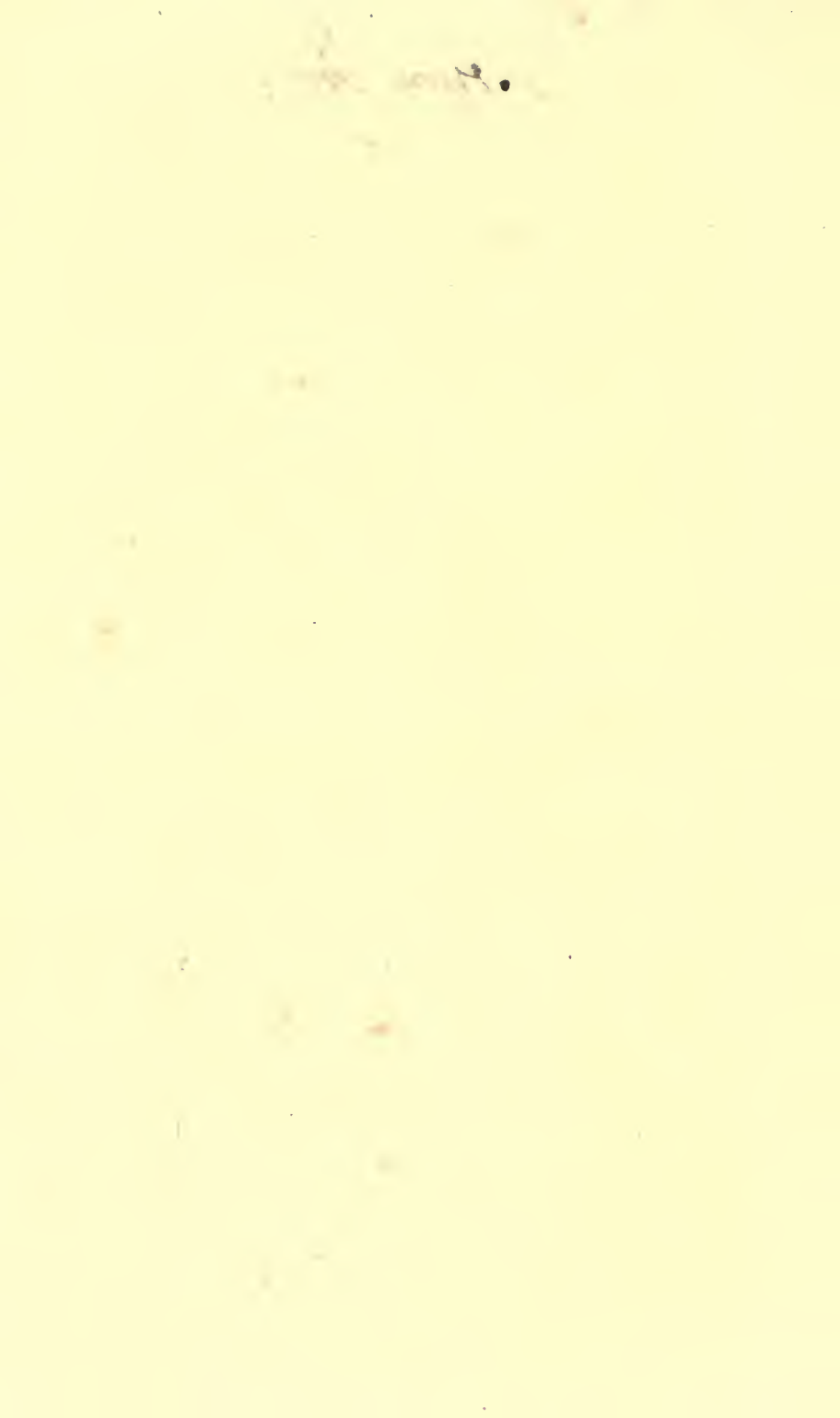
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A TREATISE
ON
THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

LONDON ·
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST:

DESIGNED CHIEFLY

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS IN THEOLOGY.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THIRD EDITION,

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND WATERLOO PLACE, FALL MALL.

1842.

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TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHERS IN CHRIST,

WILLIAM, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND;

AND

JOHN GEORGE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND;

These Volumes

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P R E F A C E

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE chief design of the following work is to supply some Design of
this work. answer to the assertions so frequently made, that individuals are not bound to submit to any ecclesiastical authority whatever; or that if they are, they must, in consistency, accept Romanism, with all its claims and all its errors.

Lamentable indeed would have been our condition, had no alternative been left between unbounded licence of belief and practice, and the adoption of a system, the evils of which are as clear as the noon-day sun; had it been impossible to retain, with a firm and reasonable faith, the doctrines "once delivered to the saints," without mingling with them the corrupt inventions of man.

But we dare not judge so of the Gospel; we dare not thus far distrust the wisdom of its divine Author, as to conceive that His Church has been left without the power of holding her course apart from Rationalism and Anarchy on the one hand, and from Superstition on the other. And though we may not trace the path with absolute certainty in all its minute details, we must be able to discern enough to establish our faith on a firm and immoveable basis, and to submit our practice to the direction of lawful authority.

In developing the system by which the Church of God is guided and governed, we have to encounter several unsound and dangerous theories.

Latitudinarian theory rejected.

I. In opposition to the principles of those who contend for the right of an *unrestricted* exercise of private judgment in all matters connected with religion, and who would accordingly relieve men from the obligation of adhering to any particular creeds, sacraments, doctrine, discipline, or church communion, it will be the object of this work to show, that all Christians are under the restraint of certain ordinances, laws, and authorities, human as well as divine; and in particular, that God has admonished believers in all ages^a to be members of a visible church^b, which either actually or virtually retains one true faith^c, which is holy in its doctrine^d, universal in its extent^e, apostolical in its derivation and ministry^f; and that, as no particular branch of this church has a right voluntarily to separate from the remainder, so individuals cannot lawfully separate themselves voluntarily from that particular branch of the church of which they are members^g.

It will be shown, further, that the received doctrine or tradition of the universal church in all ages from the beginning, possesses so great an authority, that it ought to outweigh any private interpretation of texts by which individuals may seek to justify their rejection of the creeds and received articles of faith of the universal church^h; and that the doctrines of the genuine œcumenical synods approved by the whole Christian world, and deduced from holy scripture, are of an irrefragable authority, to which all individuals, and all branches of the church, are bound to adhereⁱ.

The validity of our scriptural proofs of the creeds and articles of faith being thus established by the corroborative testimony of the universal church, the faith of Christians is

^a Part i. chap. i.

^b Chap. iii.

^c Chap. v.

^d Chap. vi.

^e Chap. vii.

^f Chap. viii.

^g Chap. iv. sect. 1, 2, 3.

^h Part iii. chap. iii.

ⁱ Part iv. chap. i.—iv.

evidently ONE, UNALTERABLE, IMMUTABLE, and NOT LIABLE TO ERROR OR UNCERTAINTY.

With reference to the duties of individuals to their particular churches, it will be shown, that the churches of the British or Anglo-catholic communion have so many external signs or notes^k of being a portion of the universal church, that it is not necessary to establish their soundness by proving in detail all their doctrines and discipline to be conformable to the word of God ; but that their general and external characteristics should determine their members to remain attached to their communion^l.

It will also appear, that the Reformation of the British churches in the sixteenth century, was conducted in such a mode, and on such principles, as to afford every reasonable security for the continuity of their faith, and to exempt them from all just imputation of heresy or schism^m.

I shall endeavour, further, to prove, that these churches, like other branches of the universal church, are authorized to make regulations in discipline obligatory on their membersⁿ; and that, while they have no pretensions to infallibility, they may enforce the profession of the catholic faith established by scripture, and supported by universal tradition and the decrees of oecumenical synods^o; may suppress needless controversies^p; and may require their ministers to teach such doctrines as are at least probably or certainly true, and essential to the unity and well-being of the Church; even though they be not articles of faith^q.

The measure of restraint thus imposed on the liberty of thought and action, seems to be the very least which is consistent with the maintenance of any fixed faith, any established order, any church communion whatever. If men are at liberty to misinterpret scripture, in direct opposition to the authority of their spiritual pastors, confirmed by the united judgment of

^k Part i. chap. ii.

^l Part i. chap. x.

^m Part ii.

ⁿ Part iii. ch. iv. ; part iv. ch. xvi.

^o Part iv. chap. xiii. xiv.

^p Part iv. chap. xiv. sect. 2.

^q Ibid.

Christians in all ages, Christianity must speedily become a mass of anarchy and confusion, totally unworthy of the Author from whom it has proceeded.

Romanism
rejected.

II. We have, in the second place, to prove, that the maintenance of a sufficient ecclesiastical authority does not lead, by any necessary inference, to the adoption of the Romish system.

If, then, we maintain, that separation from particular churches, and from the universal church, is unjustifiable, we also deny the further inference of Romanists,—that *the communion of the universal church itself can never be interrupted*; that divisions between churches always infer formal schism or heresy on one side or the other^r. And hence, we deny the very *basis* of that argument by which the claim of the Roman communion to be the whole universal church, is deduced from a comparison of its external characteristics with those of all other churches and sects; assuming as its first principle, that the universal church *can only exist in one communion*.

It will also be found on examination, that the external notes or characteristics of the Christian church are applicable to such an extent, not merely to the Roman churches^s, but to the Oriental^t, and the Anglo-catholic^u; that the pretensions of the latter to be portions of the universal church, cannot be reasonably disputed; and therefore that the Roman is not the whole universal church^x.

If we contend, that there is an authority in the *genuine* universal tradition of all ages, we do not allow that every tradition commonly received in the *Roman* communion can lay claim to such an authority; since it is certain, that even in the universal church, as well as in every portion of it, modern and erroneous opinions, and even heresies and idolatries, may often be widely prevalent^v. Hence we are at liberty, consistently with our principle, to reject any errors, heresies, and

^r Part i. chap. iv. sect. 4.

^s Chap. xi.

^t Chap. ix.

^u Chap. x.

^x Chap. xi. sect. 3.

^v Chap. v. sect. 3; part. iv. chap. vi

idolatry which may be found in the communion of Rome^z; and to regard that church as blameable and unsound, for permitting their inculcation.

The admission of an authority in the real decisions of the universal church, to which individuals and particular churches are bound to submit, does not oblige us to hold, with Romanists, that *some central visible tribunal must always exist, and be in readiness to decide all controversies with an infallible authority*^a; and that such a tribunal exists either in the papacy, or in general synods^b, or in synods of the western church. Hence we consistently deny the papal jurisdiction^c, and the infallibility of synods held under its influence^d, especially the synod of Trent^e.

One of the principal errors on which Romanism is based, consists in measuring the institutions of God by merely human and earthly standards. It is thus that the absolute certainty of *unity of communion* in the universal church, and of a *central visible tribunal*, is argued from the nature of *temporal* monarchies and associations, in which a central authority is as necessary to unity, as unity itself is essential to existence. Such analogies are easily refuted by an appeal to scripture, and to the facts of history and experience^f.

Another great error consists in the formation of a theory of optimism in the Church, irrespective of the actual declarations of revelation, or the testimony of facts. It is this most unsound theory which leads to the notion of a universal church, perfectly united in communion and in faith, free from all unsoundness in doctrine and morals, and possessed of a standing tribunal, infallible in all its decisions.

This theory of *perfection* in the Church is wholly at variance with our experience of the laws of creation. Imperfection is the necessary condition of human nature in all its parts, and throughout the whole course of its history; and even the

^z Part i. chap. xi. Appendix iv.

^c Part vii.

^a Part iv. chap. v.; part vii. chap. viii. Appendix.

^d Part iv. chap. x. xi.

^e Chap. xii.

^b Part iv. chap. vii. sect. 1. 2.; part vii. chap. viii. Appendix.

^f Part vii. chap. viii. Appendix.

abundant graces of the Gospel are insufficient to elevate man in this world beyond the reach of infirmities and passions. Hence it is as unreasonable as it is unscriptural, to conceive the notion of a visible church which shall be in any respect free from imperfection ^g.

Various objections to the system of this work.

III. But this theory is not peculiar to Romanism, it forms the basis of objections which are frequently made to some of the positions advocated in the following work.

Thus Dissent frames the notion of a church perfectly holy, consisting only of saints; and separates from the English churches as not realizing this notion, and therefore as being no true churches of Christ ^h.

Others, on the same principle, deny that the Roman or the Greek churches can be included within the pale of the universal church; the prevalence of serious errors and corruptions within those societies seeming to such reasoners quite sufficient to condemn them as anti-christian. A more attentive study of the nature of the Church, as represented in scripture and in Christian antiquity, would lead them at once to an humbler estimate of its actual perfection, and a less sweeping excision of the great body of Christendom from the way of salvation ⁱ.

Others again are perhaps, in a degree, influenced by the same notion, when, contemplating the faults and imperfections of some adherents of the Reformation abroad, they seem almost inclined to exclude all its followers from the Christian church; but I cannot help being of opinion, that a less severe judgment seems warranted by the facts of the case ^k.

But besides those who may object to this work as too liberal and comprehensive, there are others to whom it may appear too narrow and exclusive. Such persons would include within the Christian church all sects and denominations calling themselves Protestant; as if the rejection of the papacy and its superstitions could atone for every imaginable fault. In

^g Part i. chap. iv. sect. 5; chap. v. sect. 3; chap. vi.

^h Part i. chap. xiii.

ⁱ The Romanists of these coun-

tries, however, are proved to be in schism. Part i. chap. x. sect. 4; Part ii. chap. ii.

^k Part i. chap. xii.

particular, the exclusion of Presbyterians from the visible church is regarded as a harsh and uncharitable proceeding; and yet a moment's calm reflection, one would think, might remind such objectors, that it is somewhat unreasonable to expect from members of the English church an admission so fatal to themselves, as the lawfulness of separating from a national church in full communion with their own, and subverting its episcopacy and its established order, under pretence that the whole system is *anti-christian*¹. If such a proceeding was justifiable in Scotland, it must be equally so elsewhere; and thus the real meaning of the demand so modestly made on us, to adopt Scottish Presbyterianism as a branch of the Christian church, is *to exact a similar concession in favour of every English dissenting denomination*; to justify separation from the Church of England, and subversion of her established constitution^m.

With reference to the minor sects calling themselves Protestant, it would be impossible, consistently with the maintenance of any principles of unity, order, or faith, to allow that they constitute part of the visible church of Christⁿ.

The imputation of *uncharitableness* which must be endured by those who are obliged to draw conclusions so unpalatable to particular sects, can have but little effect in inducing them to approve what the word of God condemns; and if their view be in some degree exclusive, it is surely less so than that which is taken by their opponents in general. The exclusion of the Presbyterian and Dissenting communities from the Church,—bodies comparatively insignificant in point of numbers,—seems far less harsh than the condemnation of the whole Roman and Greek churches, which are probably more than twenty times as numerous.

IV. The claims advanced on behalf of the Church of England in this work, will not, I trust, appear to be in any degree

Moderation of the claim on behalf of the English church.

¹ Part ii. chap. x.

^m It will be maintained, however, that the sovereign may lawfully take an oath to protect the Presbyterian

establishment in Scotland. Part v. chap. vii.

ⁿ Part i. chap. xiii.

excessive or exorbitant. The reader will not find any attempts to prove our churches wholly faultless, absolutely perfect, or even superior in every respect to other communities ; while, at the same time, I would hope that he will be unable to discover any depreciation of their institutions, or any disposition to regard other and less sound churches as the models to which they should conform themselves. All that is attempted is to show, that our churches are *Christian*—a part of the universal church of Christ. The power claimed for them is simply what is essential to the preservation of order within themselves, and to the discharge of the great duty of handing down the faith and discipline of the Gospel,—a power which equally belongs to every branch of the universal church. If their Christian liberty is defended from encroachments on the part of other particular churches, and if they are held exempt from the necessity of submitting themselves to any judgments, decisions, or traditions, supported by an authority *inferior to that of the universal church of all ages*, they are still subjected to that final authority ; nor are they exempted from the duty of desiring and praying for the union of all churches of the East and West in the true faith ; and of labouring for the removal of all scandals, whether amongst themselves or elsewhere, which may defer the hour of so blessed a reconciliation.

The questions of the relations between the Church and State^o, and of the nature and constitution of the ecclesiastical Ministry^p, are of such importance, that their discussion could not be omitted in a work like the present. It will be found, I trust, that, in either case, no excessive claims have been made on behalf of the church ; nothing, in fact, beyond what her absolute necessity requires.

In conclusion I have only to remark, that some of the subjects discussed in the following treatise having recently assumed somewhat of a different aspect, under the influence of controversy, it has seemed advisable to make some additions and

alterations in the present edition, which the Reader will find chiefly in the following places :—

Vol. I., pages 19, 30, 33, 34, 35, 48, 49, 64-69, 82-94, 102-106, 124-130, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 150, 162, 165-168, 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 186, 193, 194, 195, 198, 213, 220, 221, 225, 228-231, 235, 237, 238, 239, 242, 244, 262, 263, 265, 272-274, 276, 283, 284, 285, 286, 293, 295, 296, 297-302, 322, 331, 336, 347, 349, 350, 352, 353, 355, 358, 359, 362, 367, 369, 371, 373, 374, 387, 388, 392, 393, 395, 406-410, 413, 414, 437, 438-440, 442, 443.

Vol. II., pages 5, 73, 74, 105, 133, 135, 138, 141, 155, 186, 213, 214, 223, 282, 293, 309, 310, 317, 318, 320, 322, 348, 351-359, 362, 363-365, 376, 378, 379, 383, 384, 388, 390, 401, 405, 410, 413, 420-422, 424-428, 440-451, 455, 456, 458, 459, 460.

The Index has also been considerably enlarged, and various other improvements have been introduced, which will, it is hoped, conduce to the Reader's convenience.

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A TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART I.

THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH APPLIED TO THE EXISTING
COMMUNITIES OF PROFESSING CHRISTIANS.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART I.—CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.—THE PERPETUITY OF THE CHURCH.—
SALVATION IN THE CHURCH ONLY.

SECTION I.

DEFINITIONS.

THE term ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, which we translate “Church,” is occasionally employed by the sacred writers in senses different from those which we connect with it; as for instance, to designate the people of God under the former dispensation, or even to express any public assembly: with these meanings I am not at present concerned. Its ordinary application in Scripture is to a society of Christians, or of those who believe in Christ. God Himself, according to Scripture, has “called” all such “out of darkness into his marvellous light^a,” so that, as it is said elsewhere, “It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy^b.” Thus the church of Christ is not formed by the mere voluntary association of individuals^c, but by divine grace, operating either by miracle, or by ordinary means of divine institution. And this seems implied in the very word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, derived from ΕΚΚΑΛΕΙΝ, “to call forth.”

^a 1 Pet. ii. 9.

^b Rom. ix. 16.

^c Potter on Church Government,
chap. i.

The applications of this term to the Christian society are various.

1. It sometimes means the whole Christian body or society, considered as composed of its vital and essential members, the elect and sanctified children of God, and as distinguished from those who are only externally and temporarily united to Christ. In this sense we may understand the apostle speaking of a "glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing ^d." And again: "the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven ^e." It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only *externally* to the church ^f.

2. The church means the whole society of Christians throughout the world, including all who profess their belief in Christ, and who are subject to lawful pastors; as in these passages: "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God ^g." "God hath set some in the church; first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers ^h," &c. In this universal church are many lesser societies or churches.

3. It is applied to the whole Christian community of a city and its neighbourhood; thus we read, "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth" (1 Cor. i. 2); the church of Jerusalem is mentioned (Acts viii. 1), Antioch (Acts xiii. 1), Ephesus (xx. 17), Laodicea (Col. v. 16), Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia. (Rev. ii. iii.)

4. It sometimes means a Christian family or a very small community meeting in one house for worship, as in the following passages: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, . . . likewise greet the church that is in their house" (Rom. xvi. 3. 5); "Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house" (1 Cor. xvi. 19); "Nymphas and the church which is in his house" (Col. iv. 15); "The church in thy house" (Philemon 2).

^d Eph. v. 27.

^e Heb. xii. 23.

^f Field on the Church, b. i. ch. 7, 8. The Romish theologians generally concur in the same doctrine. Tournely says, "solos electos ac justos ad nobiliorum ecclesiæ partem, quæ *anima* ipsius dicitur et in virtutibus consistit, reprobos vero et malos ad illius dumtaxat *corpus*, hoc

est externam fidei professionem ac eorundem sacramentorum participationem pertinere." De Eccl. qu. i. art. 2. See also Bailly, Tract. de Ecclesia, prænotata; Delahogue, c. 1; Collet, Prælect. de Eccl. qu. 1; Bouvier, part iii. c. 2. See Chapter VI. of this Part.

^g 1 Cor. x. 32.

^h 1 Cor. xii. 28.

5. Since the Scriptures speak of the universal church in the *singular* number, though it comprises many particular churches; and since each particular church is so called, though it includes many Christian families or lesser communities of Christians, we on the same principle may speak of “the church” of England, or of France, of the Eastern or the Western church, though many particular churches are included under each; or we may, with equal propriety, say, “the *churches* of Britain,” or of France, &c. This latter form is indeed used in Scripture itself, *e. g.* “The churches of Galatia” (1 Cor. xvi. 1); but the singular form is justifiable from the usage of Scripture¹.

SECTION II.

ON THE PERPETUITY OF THE CHURCH.

No one denies that our Lord Jesus Christ founded a society of men professing his doctrines on earth. That he did so is certain from his own words: “On this rock I will build my church” (Matt. xvi. 18); and we read afterwards, that “The Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved” (Acts ii. 47). The very object of Christ’s mission, and of his death, was to “purify unto himself a peculiar people” (Tit. ii. 14), whom St. Peter describes as “a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation,” even “the people of God” (1 Pet. ii. 9, 10). The intention of our Saviour was to establish a kingdom upon earth, and draw all men unto him; and it was impossible that this object could fail: its completion had been decreed before the foundation of the world; it had been predicted by prophets, and the Son of God accomplished it.

It is needless to occupy space in proving what is generally admitted, namely, the *institution* of a society of Christians called the church, by Christ and his apostles; but it has been enquired whether this society was to continue always in the world¹.

The perpetuity of the church was predicted by the prophet

Scriptural
Proofs.

¹ For the various appellations and types of the Church, see Jo. Gerhard. *Leci Theologici*, l. 23, c. 3.

¹ On this subject see Archbishop Potter on Church Government, chapter i.

acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed" (Is. lxi. 8, 9). The prophecy of Daniel is still more clear: "In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall *never* be destroyed . . . and it shall stand *for ever*" (Dan. ii. 44)^k. It was also promised by our Lord himself, on several occasions: "On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18); "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you *for ever*; even the Spirit of Truth" (John xiv. 16, 17); "Lo, I am with you *always*, even unto the *end of the world*" (Matt. xxviii. 20). These remarkable and positive promises clearly establish the perpetuity of the church; and it may be also inferred easily from the promise made to the faithful servant, whom the Lord should set over his household: "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord, *when he cometh*, shall find so doing" (Matt. xiv. 46); in which words it is intimated, that when Christ shall come in the latter day, he shall, even then, find faithful servants presiding over his own household, still existing upon the earth. It is also proved by the words of the apostle Paul, in describing the coming of Christ: "Then *we* which *are alive and remain*, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 17). It is also to be deduced from the parables of the tares and the draw-net, in which the angels of God are represented as gathering out of his kingdom, still existing up to the end of the world, all the wicked and hypocrites (Matt. xiii. 41, 49).

The same divine love which caused the humiliation of the Eternal Son, that a new people might be gathered from all nations, and constituted the church of the living God; this love would most assuredly not permit that a system designed for the salvation of mankind, should after a time entirely cease. Man is always in the same need of divine mercy; and if the church of Christ was originally the way of salvation, and God willed that all men should receive the offer of salvation, it must be supposed that the church once founded, would continue always, because the Christian dispensation is not to be superseded by any other. If it were supposed, indeed, that the

^k See also Isa. liv.; Ps. xlvi. 8; lxxxix. 29.

church of Christ had no promise of perpetuity from God, and might have altogether failed, it would be, at least, uncertain whether there is any church of God now existing on earth. It would be useless in this case to enter into the investigation of controversies between different sects, because all might alike be cut off from Christ, and from the privileges granted to his disciples. And if we suppose the church once to perish, it could not revive except by a new outpouring of divine power; for God alone can call men to be the disciples and members of Christ, either by miracle or by ordinary means of his appointment; and since, in case of the failure of the church, there would no longer be any ordinary means (for the Scripture says, "How shall they hear without a preacher?"), it would be necessary that Christianity should be revived by a display of miraculous power, not inferior to that which accompanied its foundation. And if the church has ever failed, and there has been no such outpouring of the Spirit in after-times, it must be concluded that the Christian revelation was designed only for temporary purposes, and that it is now obsolete. Such are the conclusions to which those must be led who deny the perpetuity of the church or Christian society¹.

I do not yet enter on the question whether the church of Christ is visible or invisible; all that is here maintained is, that there shall always be a church of Christ in the world; that the Christian society shall never fail. The perpetuity of the church is, indeed, in some sense, admitted by all parties. The creeds which are received by the infinite majority of professing Christians, express a belief in the existence of "one, holy, catholic, apostolic church," which usage can only be founded in the doctrine that the church was always to continue, for why otherwise should men profess their belief in the existence of the church as an *article of the faith*? We find that such a belief was universal amongst Christians from a very remote period. St. Athanasius says: "The word is faithful, the promise is unshaken, and the church is invincible, though the gates of hell should come, though hell itself, and the rulers of the darkness of the world therein be set in motion^m." His

Proof from
general
consent.

¹ The perpetuity of the church was denied by the Socinians and the Arminians, especially by Episcopus, Curcellæus, and Limborch.

^m Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀσάλευτος ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀήττητος, κἂν ἄδου πύλαι ἐπιγίνωνται, κἂν ὁ ἄδης αὐτὸς κινήθῃ, κἂν οἱ ἐν

immediate predecessor in the see of Alexandria, St. Alexander, had taught the same doctrine: "We confess one and only one catholic and apostolic church, never to be destroyed, though the whole world should war against it". Eusebius observes that the Lord "foretold that not only his doctrines should be preached throughout all the inhabited world, for a testimony to all nations," but "that his church, afterwards composed of all nations by his power . . . should be invincible, unconquerable, and never to be overcome even by death^o." "Hence," says Jerome, "we understand that the church may indeed be assailed by persecutions to the end of the world, but cannot be subverted; may be tempted, but not overcome; and this will be because the Lord God Almighty, the Lord God of the church, has promised that he will do so, whose promise is the law of nature^p." Augustine confirms the same truth: "The church shall not be overcome, it shall not be rooted up, nor shall it yield to any temptations, until the end of this world shall come, and we shall be received from this temporal to an eternal habitation^q."

It is needless to multiply quotations from the more ancient Christian writers, in testimony of the general belief of professing Christians, that the church of Christ was to exist always on earth. The Nicene and Apostles' Creed have been already alluded to as intimating this doctrine, and they have been accepted not only by all ancient societies of Christians, but even by those of modern formation. The Reformation made no alteration in this respect, and Bellarmine admits, that many of the Romish theologians had taken much needless pains, in

αὐτῷ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους.— Athan. Oratio, quod unus sit Christus, tom. ii. p. 51, oper. Benedict.

ⁿ Μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν τῆν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀκαθαίρετον μὴν αἰεὶ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῇ πολεμεῖν βουλευῆται.—Alexandri Epist. ad Alex. Const. Theodoret. lib. i. c. iv.

^o Τὴν τε ὑστερόν ποτε συστάσαν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν . . . ἀήττητον καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μηδέποτε ὑπὸ θανάτου νικηθῆσεσθαι. κ. τ. λ.—Eusebii Præpar. Evang. lib. i. c. 3.

^p "Ex quo intelligimus Eccle-

siam usque ad finem mundi concuti quidem persecutionibus, sed nequaquam posse subverti: tentari, non superari. Et hoc fiet, quia Dominus Deus omnipotens, sive Dominus Deus ejus, id est, Ecclesiæ, se facturum esse pollicitus est; cujus promissio lex naturæ est." Hieronymus, Comment. in Amos, ad finem, tom. iii. p. 1454. ed. Benedict.

^q "Non vincetur Ecclesia, non eradicabitur, nec cedet quibuslibet tentationibus, donec veniat hujus sæculi finis, et nos ab ista temporalis æterna illa habitatio suscipiat."—August. Enarr. in Ps. lx. tom. iii. p. 587. oper. ed. Benedict.

proving against their opponents the perpetuity of the church, which none of them denied^r. The Confession of Augsburgh expressly maintains it. "Item docent, quod sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit^s." The Helvetic Confession says, "Since God from the beginning wished men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, there must always have been, and now, and even to the end of the world be, a church, that is, a congregation of faithful men called forth or collected from the world; a communion of all the holy; of those who truly know and rightly worship the true God in Christ the Saviour, by the Word and Holy Spirit, and who partake by faith of all the benefits freely offered through Christ^t," &c. Calvin argues that God preserves his church in every age. "Although," he says, "immediately, even from the beginning, the whole race of mankind was corrupted and vitiated by the sin of Adam, yet from this polluted mass he always sanctifieth some vessels unto honour, lest there should be *any age* which did not experience his mercy. Which also he testified by certain promises such as these: 'I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant, thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations' (Ps. lxxxix. 3, 4). Again: 'The Lord hath chosen Zion; he hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest for ever,'" &c. (Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14^u.) In fine, almost all professing Christians regard their respective communities as churches of Christ, and endeavour to prove them to be so; whence it must be supposed that they assume as a principle, that such churches were always to exist. The modern dissenters, in their "Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge," say, "we *cannot doubt* that in this, as in *every preceding age*, such a church exists^v." In the following section additional proof will be furnished of the general agreement on this subject, from the fact that all parties admit, that the church of Christ is the way of salvation.

The English Church expresses her belief in the existence of the church in the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds; and the

English
Church.

^r Bellarm. de Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. iii. c. 13.

^s Art. vii.

^t Conf. Helvetic. A. D. 1536. cap. 17.

^u Calvin. Institut. iv. c. i. s. 17.

^v Tract on the Christian Ministry, Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 355.

Articles also invariably speak of the church as still existing. In the hymn ‘Te Deum,’ the prayer for the church militant, and many other parts of the ritual, the existence of the church is always recognized. This can only arise from a belief that the church was to be perpetual by the divine promises. Nowell observes, that we profess our belief in the church, “because unless there be a church, Christ would have died in vain,” and all which relates to the causes and foundations of salvation would be in vain and reduced to nothing, for the “effect of them is, that there is a church, a certain blessed city and commonwealth, in which we ought to deposit and consecrate all that is ours, and to which we should give ourselves wholly up, and even die for it^w.” Field assumes the perpetuity of the church, to be the general doctrine of the Reformation^x. Bishop Pearson says: “Though the providence of God doth suffer many particular churches to cease, yet the promise of the same God will never permit that all of them at once should perish. When Christ spake first, particularly to St. Peter, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of *perpetuity*, saying, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it’ (Matt. xvi. 18). When he spake generally to all the rest of the apostles to the same purpose . . . he added a promise to the same effect; ‘and, lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.’ . . . Wherefore being Christ doth promise his presence unto the church, even unto the end of the world, he doth thereby assure us of the existence of the church until that time, of which his presence is the cause^y.”

SECTION III.

OF SALVATION IN THE CHURCH ONLY.

The Christian revelation is so far necessary to be believed by those to whom it is proposed, that our Lord himself affirms of such: “he that believeth not shall be damned.” How far the unsearchable goodness and mercy of God may provide some means of escape for those who are beyond the illumination of the Gospel, we know not: for the Revelation of God

^w Noelli Catechismus, p. 101.
Oxford ed. 1835.

^x Field, Of the Church, b. i. c. 10.
^y Pearson on the Creed, Art. ix.

only offers salvation in the name of Jesus Christ. But faith in the infinite justice and mercy of God will inspire hope even where Revelation is silent; and the apostolic principle, "them that are without God judgeth," will teach us not to condemn those, to whom the way of life has not been pointed out. On the same principles I maintain that salvation is only offered in the church of Christ by divine revelation, and that all men to whom the Gospel is preached, must be members of this church when *sufficiently proposed* to them, on pain of being excluded from the favour of God for ever ^z.

That salvation is only to be obtained in the church, may be argued from Scripture thus: "Christ is the head of the body, the church" (Col. i. 18), therefore those who are separated from the church of Christ are separated from his body, and from himself. Now "if any man abide not in Christ, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered, and men gather them, and *cast them into the fire, and they are burned*" (John xv. 6). We are taught that "Christ is the Saviour of the body," that is, "of the church" (Eph. v. 23). He is only said to save the church: there is no promise beyond it. It is said that "Without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. xi. 6); but "how shall men believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be *sent*?" (Rom. x. 14, 15). Therefore there is ordinarily no faith and no salvation except through the teaching of God's ministers; but these ministers are *only* in the church. "God hath set some *in the church*; first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers," &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28.) In fine, this doctrine is directly taught in the following passage: "The Lord added to the church daily *such as should be saved*" (Acts ii. 47). Therefore the way of salvation is by divine appointment to be found in the church only.

Such indeed has been at all times the tradition of the Christian community. Theophilus of Antioch says: "God hath given unto the world troubled with waves and storms through sin, those congregations called holy churches, in which, as in secure island havens, the truth is taught; where those who *desire salvation* take refuge^a." Origen says: "Let no one

^z On this subject, see Potter on Church Government, chap. i.

^a Οὐτοι δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ κόσμῳ κυμαιομένων καὶ χεμαζομένων ὑπὸ

persuade himself, let no one deceive himself: without this house, that is, without the church, no one is saved^b.” The martyr Cyprian says: “That man cannot have God for his father who has not the church for his mother. If any one could escape the deluge out of Noah’s ark, he who is out of the church may also escape^c.” “He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church, he cannot come to the kingdom, who deserts that which is to reign^d.” Augustine continues the chain of tradition thus: “No one cometh to salvation and eternal life, except he who hath Christ for his Head, but no one can have Christ for his Head, except he that is in his body, the church^e.” Fulgentius observes, that “Without this church neither doth the name of Christian help in any degree, nor doth baptism save, nor is a clean sacrifice offered to God, nor is remission of sins received, nor is the felicity of eternal life found^f.” These are indeed the sentiments of all the fathers and doctors of the church. I shall only add the testimony of two councils. The synod of Zerta (A. D. 412) said: “Whosoever is separated from this catholic church, however innocently he may think he lives; for this crime alone, that he is separated from the unity of Christ, will not have life, but the wrath of God remaineth on him^g.”

τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰς συναγωγὰς λεγόμενας ἐκκλησίας ἀγίας, ἐν αἷς καθ’ ἄπερ λιμέσιν εὐόρμοις ἐν νήσοις αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶ πρὸς ἃς καταφεύγουσιν οἱ θέλοντες σώζεσθαι.—Theophil. Antioch. ad Autolyicum, lib. ii. p. 123. ed. Paris, 1624.

^b “Nemo ergo sibi persuadeat, nemo semetipsum decipiat: extra hanc domum, id est extra ecclesiam, nemo salvatur.”—Origen. in lib. Jesu Nave Hom. iv. tom. ii. p. 414. oper. ed. Ben.

^c “Habere jam non potest Deum Patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noë fuit; et qui extra Ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadit.”—Cyprian. de Unit. p. 254, ed. Pamel.

^d “Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est: ad regnum pervenire non poterit, qui eam quæ regnatura est, derelinquit.”—Ibid. p. 257.

^e “Ad ipsam vero salutem ac vitam æternam nemo pervenit, nisi qui habet caput Christum. Habere autem caput Christum nemo poterit, nisi qui in ejus corpore fuerit, quod est ecclesia.”—August. cont. Donatist. Epist. vulgo de Unit. Eccl. tom. ix. p. 392. ed. Benedict.

^f “Extra hanc ecclesiam nec Christianum nomen aliquem juvat, nec baptismus salvat, nec mundum Deo sacrificium offertur, nec peccatorum remissio accipitur, nec æternæ vitæ felicitas invenitur.”—Fulgentius, de Remissione Peccatorum, lib. i. c. 22.

^g “Quisquis ergo ab hac Catholica ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere, quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum.”—Concil. Zertense, Harduini Concilia, tom. i. p. 1203.

The fourth council of Carthage (A. D. 398) directed, that every bishop, before his ordination, should be questioned, “whether he believes that there is no salvation beyond the church^h.”

We are not to suppose that this was the opinion of Christians in the primitive ages only: it has been generally admitted in later times. The doctrine of salvation in the church, was held by all the Lutherans and Reformed, and by the sects which separated from them; as well as by the Romish and other churches. Luther teaches that remission of sins and sanctification are only obtained in it; and Calvin says, “beyond the bosom of the church no remission of sins is to be hoped for, nor any salvationⁱ.” The Saxon confession presented to the synod of Trent, 1551^j, the Helvetic confession^k, the Belgic^l, the Scottish^m, all avow that salvation is only to be had in the church. The Presbyterian Divines assembled at Westminster, A. D. 1647, in their “Humble Advice concerning a Confession of Faith,” (chap. xxv.) declare that “the visible church, which is also Catholique or Universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the Law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children: and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, *out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation*ⁿ.” The Inde-

From the
Reforma-
tion.

From sec-
tarians.

^h “Quærendum etiam ab eo . . . si extra ecclesiam catholicam nullus salvetur.”—Conc. Carthag. iv. cap. i. Harduini Concilia, tom. i. p. 978. For further proofs, see Gerhard, Loc. Theol. l. xxiii. §. 36.

ⁱ Luther, speaking of the church, says, “extra hanc Christianitatem, ubi huic evangelio locus non est, neque ulla est peccatorum remissio, quemadmodum nec ulla sanctificatio adesse potest.”—Catechismus Major, P. ii. Symbol. Apost. art. iii. “Quia nunc *de visibili* ecclesia disserere propositum est, etc. . . . Extra ejus gremium nulla est speranda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus, teste Iesaia (37, 32) et Joele (2, 32); quibus subscribit Ezechiel (13, 9),” etc.—Calvin. Institut. iv. l.

^j Conf. Sax. art. xii. De eccl.

^k “Communionem vero cum ecclesia Christi vera tanti facimus, ut

negemus eos coram Deo vivere posse, qui cum vera Christi ecclesia non communicant, sed ab ea se separant; nam ut extra arcam Noë non erat ulla salus . . . ita credimus, extra Christum, qui se electis in ecclesia fruendum præbet, nullam esse salutem certam.”—Conf. Helvet. art. xvii. de Ecclesia.

^l “Credimus quod cum . . . extra eam nulla sit salus, neminem . . . sese ab eo subducere ut se ipso contentus separatim degat: sed omnes pariter teneri huic se adjungere, eique uniri, Ecclesiæ unitatem conservare,” &c.—Conf. Belgica, art. xxviii.

^m “Extra quam Ecclesiam nec est vita, nec æterna felicitas.”—Conf. Scot. art. xvi.

ⁿ This confession was approved by the Scottish Presbyterians in their assembly, 1647; and being

pendents admitted the same. Dr. Owen, their principal writer, says: "It is required that we believe that the Lord Christ hath had, in all ages, and especially hath in that wherein we live, a church on the earth, confined unto no places nor parties of men, no empires nor dominions, or capable of any confinement; as also that this church is redeemed, called, sanctified by him; that it is his kingdom, his interest, his concernment in the world; that thereunto all the members of it, *all the promises of God do belong and are confined*; that this church he will save, preserve, and deliver from all oppositions, so as that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and after death will raise it up, and glorify it at the last day. This is the faith of the catholic church concerning itself; which is an ancient fundamental article of our religion. And if any one deny that there is such a church, called out of the world, separated from it, unto which alone, and all the members of it, all the promises of God do appertain in contradistinction unto all others, or confines it unto a party, unto whom these things are not appropriate, he cuts himself off from the communion of the church of Christ^o. Even the Quakers admit "that out of the church there is no salvation," though they hold that "there may be members of this catholic church among Heathens, Turks, Jews^p!" "Beyond all question," say the Dissenters, "the church, and *the church only*, will be finally saved; the church, and the church alone, is the pillar and ground of truth; the church, and nothing but the church, secures a living and faithful ministry^q."

From the
Church of
England.

The British churches hold salvation as inseparably connected with the church only. Thus in the office of baptism we pray, that the person to be baptized may be "washed and sanctified with the Holy Ghost, that he, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church, and being stedfast in faith, &c., may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally he may come to the land of everlasting life:" here the church of Christ is represented as the ark in which alone we obtain salvation. We afterwards pray, that

ratified by their Parliament in 1690, it is still received by them and their collateral societies.

^o Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, chap. xi.

^p Barclay, prop. x. p. 273.

^q Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge: Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 367.

“with the residue of thy holy church he may be an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom;” evidently implying that the church only shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. And in the collect for Good Friday we pray “for all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, that they may be fetched home to God’s *flock*, that they *may be saved* among the remnant of the true Israelites;” evidently implying that salvation is not found out of the church of Christ. Indeed, the contrary doctrine of those who say “that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth,” is declared Anathema by the xviiiith article of the Synod of London, A. D. 1562.

The catechism of Dean Nowell, which was approved by several bishops and theologians in the time of Queen Elizabeth, speaks as follows: “Is there no hope of salvation out of the church? Without it there can be nothing but *damnation*, *destruction*, and *perdition*. For what hope of life can remain, when the members are torn or severed from the head or body? Those therefore who seditiously excite discord in the church of God, and cause strife and dissent therein, and disturb it with factions, such men are *cut off from all hope of salvation* through the remission of sins, until they agree and are re-united with the church^r.”

I shall only cite the words of Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, and Wilson, in further confirmation of this doctrine. The first writes thus: “The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that ‘the Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved’ (Acts ii. 47); and what was then daily done hath been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a church to save some, and make another institution for other men’s salvation. ‘There is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus;’ and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, formed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood, by the appoint-

^r Noelli Catechismus, p. 108, ed. Oxon. 1835.

ment of God for their preservation ; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire and sword but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made ; so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God which belong not to the church of God^s."

Bishop Beveridge on those words, "the Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved," says, "This being the way and method that he hath settled in the world for the saving of souls, or for the applying that salvation to them which he hath purchased for them, we have no ground to expect that he should ever recede from it." And afterwards: "Seeing, therefore, that the Holy Ghost hath so positively affirmed that the Lord added to the church such as should be saved, and likewise hath given us such extraordinary instances of it, it is no wonder that the Fathers so frequently assert that there is no salvation to be had out of Christ's Holy Catholic Church ; but that whosoever would be a member of the church triumphant in heaven, he must first be a member of the church here militant on earth^t." Bishop Wilson says: "If God addeth to this church such as shall be saved, then if I for my wicked life shall deserve to be separated, cut off, or excommunicated out of any particular church which is a true member of this Holy Catholic Church, then am I most assuredly deprived of the ordinary means of grace, and out of the way of salvation^u."

OBJECTIONS.

I. The doctrine of salvation in the church only is a popish and intolerant doctrine.

Answer. (1.) The Romanists are orthodox in maintaining this doctrine in the abstract, but they err in identifying the church exclusively with their own societies. (2.) *Intolerance* might with equal justice be objected to the doctrine of salvation through Christ only: it is therefore a frivolous objection.

II. The church under the law was limited within the province of Judea, yet salvation was obtained by some who were not Jews, as, for instance, by Job, and by others of the Gentiles.

^s Pearson on the Creed, art. ix. ii. 47.
vol. ii. p. 254.

^u Bishop Wilson, Sermon on Acts

^t Beveridge, Sermon IV. on Acts ii. 32, 33.

Answer. (1.) The church of the Jews was only instituted for a particular people, and not for the world generally, as the Christian church was; therefore there was no obligation on other nations to adopt the Jewish polity. (2.) Job, and other righteous men of the Gentiles, who were not called to unite themselves with the Jewish church, we know from Scripture itself to have been acceptable to God through faith. But the Scripture does not enable us to judge in general of the state of those who have died in ignorance of Christ, even *after* the Gospel was preached throughout the world; all, however, who believed not when they *heard* it, were condemned.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH IN GENERAL.

IF it be true, as I have endeavoured to prove in the last chapter, that Christ's church was always to continue, even to the end of the world, and that it is the only way of salvation, it is evident that nothing deserves our attentive examination more than the signs by which we can distinguish the church of Christ at present existing. Surrounded by a vast multitude of contending societies calling themselves Christian, and all alike claiming to be churches of Christ, there is an apparent necessity for the discovery of some method, by which, without any extreme difficulty or labour, we may discriminate the church of God from its rivals.

It cannot be requisite to prove that all societies calling themselves Christian, are not necessarily what they pretend to be; nor is it probable that the multiplied "denominations" around us, should be all alike faithful and obedient to our Divine Master. The unanimous opinion, indeed, of professing Christians is, that some of these societies belong not to Christ but to Antichrist. Every particular doctrine and duty of Christianity is made a matter of dispute, and denied or corrupted by some community; and it seems irrational to suppose that God could have instituted "a kingdom divided

Church
does not
include all
Denomina-
tions.

against itself” on *every* point, torn by *irreconcilable* divisions and mortal enmities, and exhibiting a chaotic confusion even in the most elementary principles of religion. It is incredible, if Revelation be indeed from God, if it be designed for perpetuity, if all men be bound to receive it, and if means be provided by Divine Providence for enabling them to receive it; it is incredible, I say, that when all its doctrines and precepts are made matters of dispute, and denied by some, all professing Christians should be equally included in the Church of Christ. Besides this, Christ himself and the Apostles predicted, that, after their departure, there should be false Christs and false prophets, Antichrists and false teachers, who should privily bring in damnable heresies; and that many should be deceived by their arts^a. These evils were to continue even in the latter days of the world; and therefore there is a very great probability; that some of the communities calling themselves Christian, may have arisen in this manner, and are not to be reckoned as any part of the church of Christ.

Necessity
of notes.

By what means then can we determine with certainty, which, among these communities, are indeed portions of the church of God? All declare that they are themselves within its pale: all assert that their doctrines and practice are in accordance with Scripture, and with the commandment of Christ. A hundred different societies present their respective claims to our adherence, on the ground of their peculiar purity and sanctity. The mind is perplexed at their number, and the positiveness of their assertions. The labour of investigating all, or many, of these cases in detail, is beyond human power and endurance; and the learning and judgment requisite to determine such a multitude of difficult questions in doctrine and morality, are possessed by very few men; while, if the research be commenced fortuitously, without any clue to guide us to those societies which may most probably be of the church of Christ, we may begin by devoting a great deal of time to the examination of objects totally unworthy of our attention.

The precepts of Christian prudence require, that we should take the *briefest* course, consistent with a security of arriving at a sound conclusion in a practical question of such vital importance. “The time is short” to run the race of Chris-

^a Matt. vii. 15. xxiv. 23—25; 1 Timothy iv. 1; 2 Peter ii. 1, 2; Acts xx. 29; 2 Thess. ii. 3—12; Rev. xiii. 8. 16.

tianity, even when we have entered on it : how necessary then is it that we should endeavour to find speedily, as well as certainly, the arena in which it is to be run. It is with such views that theologians, in various ages, have endeavoured to lay down rules for the discrimination of Christ's church, by a comparatively short and intelligible process ; and these rules are styled *notes* or *signs* of the church. By notes of the church are meant some of its more prominent attributes, which may be ascertained and applied to all existing communities of professing Christians, without any very lengthened discussion on obscure and difficult points.

In this point of view, general Truth of doctrine and general accordance with the law and institutions of Christ, do not seem to be positive notes of the church. Each society pretends its own soundness in these respects, and sustains its own views by scriptural and other arguments ; and the critical investigation of *all* the doctrines and duties of Christianity in controversy would be impossible to the infinite majority of men. It would demand, at all events, too lengthened a process ; and as men are, in general, always obliged either to follow the doctrine of their church, or to be uncertain on many points ; it is impossible that they should *discover* the true church, by investigating all those doctrines which, through their ignorance, they are obliged by the arrangements of Divine Providence to receive on her testimony. It may be observed, however, that *false doctrine* and *wrong administration of the sacraments* are, in a certain sense, notes of the church, *i. e.* when it can be shown that a society obstinately *rejects* any one article of the Christian faith, or refuses to administer any one sacrament, it is plainly no part of the church. Thus Arians and Socinians are at once excluded from the Christian society by their heresy. Their errors are manifest : they demand no lengthened investigation ; and they are thus notes of separation from Christ and from his church.

The necessity of devising some general notes of the church, and of not entering at once on controversial debates concerning all points of doctrine and discipline, was early perceived by Christian theologians. Tertullian appeals in refutation of the heresies of his age, to the antiquity of the church derived from the Apostles, and its priority to all heretical communities^b.

^b Præscriptiones advers. Hæreticos.

Truth of doctrine, &c. in what sense unfit for notes.

In what sense, notes.

Notes assigned by various writers.

Irenæus refers to the unity of the church's doctrines, and the succession of her bishops from the Apostles^c. The universality of the church was more especially urged in the controversy with the Donatists. St. Augustine reckons amongst those things which attached him to the church: The consent of nations, authority founded on miracles, sanctity of morals, antiquity of origin, succession of bishops from St. Peter to the present Episcopate, and the very name of the catholic church^d. St. Jerome mentions the continual duration of the church from the Apostles, and the very appellation of the Christian name^e. In modern times Bellarmine, one of the Roman school, added several other notes, such as: Agreement with the primitive church in doctrine, union of members among themselves and with their Head, sanctity of doctrine and of founders, efficacy of doctrine, continuance of miracles and prophecy, confessions of adversaries, the unhappy end of those who opposed the church, and the temporal felicity conferred on it^f. Luther assigned as notes of the true church, the true and uncorrupted preaching of the Gospel, administration of baptism, of the eucharist, and of the keys; a legitimate ministry, public service in a known language, and tribulations internally and externally^g. Calvin reckons only truth of doctrine, and right administration of the sacraments; and seems to reject succession^h. Our learned theologians adopt a different view in some respects. Dr. Field admits the following notes of the church: Truth of doctrine; use of sacraments and means instituted by Christ; union under lawful ministers; antiquity without change of doctrine; lawful succession, *i. e.* with true doctrine; and universality in the *successive* sense, *i. e.* the prevalence of the church successively in all nationsⁱ. Bishop Taylor admits as notes of the church, antiquity, duration, succession of bishops, union of members among themselves and with Christ, sanctity of doctrine, &c.^j

It is plain that we are not obliged to follow implicitly the

^c Adv. Hæreses, lib. i. c. 10; lib. iii.

^d Contra Epistolam Manichæi Fundamenti, c. 45. Tom. viii. p. 153, ed. Benedict.

^e Dialogus adversus Luciferianos, tom. iv. pars ii. p. 306, ed. Benedict.

^f De Eccl. lib. iv. c. 3, &c.

^g Lutherus, De Ecclesia, et quæ

sint notæ, &c tom. vii. p. 147, oper. ed. 1550, &c.

^h Institutiones, lib. iv. c. 1. s. 7—9.

ⁱ Of the Church, b. ii. c. 1, 2, 5, &c.

^j Dissuasive from Popery, part ii. b. i. s. 1; art. vi. p. 182, &c. Oxford ed. 1836.

judgment of particular theologians in ancient or modern times, in selecting notes of the church. Bellarmine's notes of temporal prosperity and the unhappy end of the church's enemies, are rejected by Tournely, Bailly^k, and generally by modern Romish theologians. They also differ with him and several other writers of their communion, on the question of the universality of the church, which they rightly maintain, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, in the simultaneous and permanent sense, as opposed to the doctrine of successive universality, which Melchior Canus, Bellarmine, and others admitted^l. We have a right to the same liberty of selection and addition as regards the notes assigned by our theologians; and if any of them have appeared to dwell on truth of doctrine as a note, in the *first* of the senses mentioned above, or to adopt the notion of successive universality, we are in no degree bound to sustain a line of argument which we may not judge to be conclusive.

The Constantinopolitan Creed gives to the Church the attributes of "ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLICAL;" and as the notes of the church may, in fact, be included under these four heads, and as many of those with whom we are engaged in controversy make use of them for the purpose, I shall, for the sake of convenience, adopt this arrangement in examining the notes of the church and marking the points in which Romanists and others are to be corrected. But, in order to avoid a preliminary difficulty which might arise on the question, whether the church of Christ is visible or invisible, I shall first examine that point.

^k Multi nihilominus inter Catholicos existimant duas posteriores notas, quas assignat Bellarminus, nempe infelicem exitum hostium ecclesiæ, et felicitatem temporalem eorum qui ecclesiam defenderunt, ab eo expungi debuisse.—Tournely de Ecclesia, qu. i. art. 2. p. 60,

where he argues against these notes. —See also Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. c. v.

^l Melchior Canus de Locis Theolog. lib. iv. cap. postremum. Resp. ad 13. Bellarmin. l. iv. de Notis Eccl. c. 7. This subject is examined by Gerhard, Loc. Theol. l. 23. s. 147.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.

The church
visible.

BY the visibility of the church is meant the manifest, public, known existence of congregations or churches professing Christianity, and joining in external acts of Christian worship. The point which I am about to establish is, that there were always to exist such societies, according to the Divine appointment^a; and that Christianity was never to be reduced at any time to obscurity; or to be a secret profession, held by a few scattered individuals, living and uniting externally in the profession of a *false* religion. The question of an invisible church will be considered among the objections.

Scripture.

That the church of Christ was to be eminently conspicuous and visible, we collect from the following words of the prophet Isaiah: "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it" (Isa. ii. 2). This shows that the church of Christ was to be visible and known to all the world. And the prophet Daniel's expressions are equally remarkable: "The stone that smote the image became a *great mountain* and filled the whole earth" (Dan. ii. 35). This is afterwards explained to mean, that "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall *never be destroyed*" (v. 44); that is, the church, which had been before described as "a great mountain," and was therefore to be in the highest degree visible.

The words of Christ Himself prove the visibility of the church when he says, "Ye are the light of the world. A city

^a See Archbp. Potter on Church Government, chap. i.; Rogers, Discourse on the Visible and Invisible Church of Christ; Barrow, on the Unity of the Church.

that is set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v. 14); and it equally follows from his directions in the case of an offending brother: "Tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican" (Matt. xviii. 17): which proves that the church must be always visible; for were it invisible, this precept would be in vain.

The directions of St. Paul to the Corinthians relating to judgments in the church (1 Cor. vi. 4), for the decorous and proper order of divine worship in their religious assemblies (1 Cor. xi.), and his rules for the appointment of pastors and teachers (1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.), all establish the fact that Christians were formed into visible societies by the apostles. The churches to whom the Epistles were addressed were all visible societies, known to the heathen, and often persecuted by them. If, indeed, this had not been the case, but Christianity had been a secret invisible profession, the prophecies of our Saviour that they should be "brought before kings and rulers for his sake," that they should be reviled and persecuted for his name's sake, could not have been fulfilled. In conclusion, it may be asserted without hesitation, that there is *not a single instance in the New Testament of a believer who was not externally united with the rest in the profession of Christianity.* Hence it results that the visible public profession of Christianity in common is, according to the divine institution, essential to the Christian church.

This is confirmed by the doctrine of primitive tradition, Fathers. which always describes the church as a visible and conspicuous society. Irenæus says, "The preaching of the church is true and firm, wherein the same way of salvation is shown throughout all the world. For to her has been entrusted the light of God, and thus, the wisdom of God, by which He saveth all men, 'uttereth her voice in the streets, she crieth in the chief place of concourse,' &c. . . . For everywhere the church proclaims the truth; and she is the candlestick with seven branches, bearing the light of Christ^b." Origen observes, that "we ought not to give heed to those who say, 'Here is Christ,' but do not so manifest him in the church which from the east even to the west is full of glory, which is full of the true light, which

^b Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. v. c. xx.

is the pillar and ground of the truth, in which is the whole advent of the Son of Man, who saith to all that are in every place, ‘Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world^c.’” Cyprian says, “The church of the Lord, full of light, diffuses her rays throughout the whole world. Yet the light which is every where diffused is one, nor is the unity of the body separated^d.” Chrysostom declares that “it is easier for the sun to be extinguished than for the church to disappear^e.” Augustine says, “There is no security for the preservation of unity except from the promises of Christ to his church, which being placed on a mountain, as it was said, cannot be hidden; and therefore it is necessary that this church should be known to all parts of the world^f.” And in another place: “Hence it is that the true church cannot be hidden to any one; and hence that which he saith in the Gospel, ‘A city set on an hill cannot be hid^g.’”

Reason.

It is certain, in fact, that all the Fathers considered the church as visible throughout the world in all its particular churches or congregations. If, indeed, the church of Christ had not been visible by divine institution, it could not have been the light of the world or a witness of Christianity; and if it had ever ceased to be visible, the gates of hell might well have been said to have prevailed against it. If the church of Christ, once exalted on the top of the mountains, and spreading herself from Judea to the ends of the earth, could have so far fallen away as to become a heretical community, wherein

^c “Non debemus attendere eis qui dicunt, ‘Ecce hic Christus,’ non autem ostendunt eum in ecclesia quæ plena est fulgore ab oriente usque ad occidentem, quæ plena est lumine vero, quæ est columna et firmamentum veritatis, in qua tota est adventus Filii hominis dicentis omnibus qui ubique sunt: ‘Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus vitæ, usque ad consummationem sæculi.’”—Origen in Matt. tract. xxx. tom. ii. p. 865, ed. Bened.

^d “Sic et ecclesia Domini luce per fusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit, unum tamen lumen est, quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur.”—Cypr. de Unitate, p. 254, ed. Pamel.

^e *Ἐυκολώτερον τὸν ἥλιον σβεσθῆναι, ἢ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφανισθῆναι.*—In illud, vidi Dominum, Hom. iv. tom. vi. p. 122, oper. ed. Bened.

^f “Nulla est igitur securitas unitatis, nisi ex promissis Dei ecclesie declarata, quæ super montem, ut dictum est, constituta, abscondi non potest: et ideo necesse est ut omnibus terrarum partibus nota sit.”—Aug. contr. Epist. Parmeniani, lib. iii. c. 5, tom. ix. p. 75, ed. Benedict.

^g “Hinc fit ut ecclesia vera neminem lateat. Unde est illud quod in Evangelio ipse dicit: Non potest civitas abscondi super montem constituta.”—Cont. Petil. lib. ii. c. xxxii. tom. ix. p. 240.

some few souls alone retained their Christianity in obscurity, while they externally united in the abominations of an apostate society; in such a case, it seems impossible to deny that the gates of hell must have prevailed against her. Were there no promise that the church should be always visible, what assurance could we have that any existing community of Christians is a church of Christ? It might be that the true church still lurks unperceived in some corner, or that, as yet, its members are concealed amongst various communities of professing Christians; it might be that all existing visible churches are Antichristian.

But I proceed to show the general agreement of Christians Reformers. in modern times that the church is visible. It would be superfluous to prove that those of the Roman obedience and the Eastern churches maintain the visibility of the church; none of them have ever denied it. But the perpetual visibility of the church has been also acknowledged by the Lutherans, the Reformed, and by various sects.

The confession of Augsburg professes "that there is one holy church which is to endure for ever;" that it is "a congregation of saints, in which the gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments administered ^h." The preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments are attributes of a visible church only. The Apology, also, drawn up by Melancthon, declares that the impious only communicate *externally* with the true church: the notes of which are, "the pure doctrine of the gospel, and the sacraments; and this church is properly the pillar of the truth ⁱ." This proves that they esteemed the church a visible society; and the confession of Augsburg denies that "all ceremonies, all old institutions were abolished in their churches ^j," evidently understanding visible societies. The Saxon confession says, that "the church may be seen and heard, according to that text, 'their sound went into all the

^h "Item docent, quod una sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem Ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta"—Art. vii. de Ecclesia.

ⁱ "Docet impios illos quamvis habeant societatem externorum signorum, tamen non esse verum regnum Christi . . . neque vero somniamus

nos Platoniam civitatem, ut quidam impie cavillantur, sed dicimus existere hanc Ecclesiam. . . Et addimus notas: puram doctrinam evangelii et sacramenta."—Apol. Conf. iv. de Ecclesia.

^j "Falsa enim calumnia est, quod omnes ceremoniæ, omnia vetera instituta in Ecclesiis nostris aboleantur."—Conf. August. pars i. xxii.

world;” and that there is a visible church in which God operates^k. The Bohemian confession, approved by Luther^l; the confession of the Reformed of Strasburgh^m; the Helvetic confessionⁿ; that of Basil, in 1536^o; the Gallican^p; all speak repeatedly of the church as essentially visible. This was also the doctrine of Calvin, who declares that out of the *visible* church there is no salvation^q.

In fact, the Reformed seem generally to have taught the doctrine of the visibility of the church, until some of them deemed it necessary, in consequence of their controversy with the Romanists, who asked them where their church existed before Luther, to maintain that the church might *sometimes* be invisible. This mistaken view appears in the Belgic confession, and was adopted by some of the Protestants; but it arose entirely from their error in forsaking the defensive ground which their predecessors had taken at first, and placing themselves in the false position of claiming the exclusive title of the church of Christ, according to the ordinary signification of the term. Jurieu, a minister of the French Protestants, has shown this^r, and has endeavoured to prove that the church of Christ is essentially visible, and that it never remained obscured, without ministry or sacraments, even in the persecutions, or in the time of Arianism. The same truth has been

Dissenters. acknowledged by several denominations of dissenters in Britain.

^k “Non igitur de Ecclesia, tanquam de idea Platonica loquimur; sed Ecclesiam monstramus, quæ conspici et exaudiri potest; juxta illud: In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum . . . Dicimus igitur, Ecclesiam visibilem in hac vita cœtum esse amplectentium evangelium Christi, et recte utentium sacramentis, in quo Deus per ministerium evangelii est efficax, et multos ad vitam æternam regenerat.”—Conf. Saxon art. xii.

^l Confess. Bohemica, cap. viii.

^m Confessio Tetrapolit. c. xvi. 16.

ⁿ Conf. Helvetica, c. xvii. “Militans in terris Ecclesia *semper* plurimas habet particulares Ecclesias, quæ tamen omnes ad unitatem Catholicæ Ecclesiæ referuntur.” It is evident that the church is all through regarded as a visible society.

^o Art. xiv. xv.

^p Conf. Gallicana, cap. xxvii.

^q “In symbolo, ubi profitemur nos credere Ecclesiam, id non solum ad *visibilem*, de qua nunc agimus, refertur, sed ad omnes quoque electos Dei.”—Inst. iv. 1. s. 2. “Quia nunc de *visibili* Ecclesia disserere propositum est, discamus vel uno *matris* elogio quam utilis sit nobis ejus cognitio, imo necessaria: quando non alius est in vitam ingressus, &c. . . . extra ejus gremium nulla est speranda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus,” &c.—Ibid. s. 4. If salvation is only to be obtained in the *visible* church, it follows that there must always be a visible church. He adds that “paternus Dei favor et peculiare spiritualis vitæ testimonium ad gregem ejus restringitur: ut *semper exitialis* sit *ab Ecclesia discessio*.”—Ibid.

^r In his *Système de l’Eglise*.

Thus the Presbyterian divines of Westminster (1647) declared, that the visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel, . . . is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation^s." Dr. Owen, the chief of the Independents in the seventeenth century, admits the existence of "a *visible* catholic church^t;" and says, that the "union of the catholic church in all particular churches (which are *visible* according to him), is *always* the same, inviolable, unchangeable, comprehending all the churches in the world *at all times*, . . . nor to be prevailed against by the gates of hell^u." In fact, all the dissenting societies claim to be "Churches of Christ;" therefore they must admit that the church of Christ was to be visible, which, unless they believed that Christ had promised this visibility, they could not be certain of. Even the Quakers admit the visibility of the church. Barclay speaks of the "Christians, as they are stated, in a joint fellowship and communion, and come under a *visible* and outward society; which society is called the church of God, and in Scripture compared to a body, and therefore named the body of Christ^v."

Finally, I proceed to show that the visibility of the church is recognised by the British churches and our theologians. The articles of the Synod of London (1562) uniformly regard the church as a visible society; as in the following passages: "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered," &c. . . . "As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred^w." . . . "The church hath power

Church of England.

^s Westminster Confession, chap. xxv.

^t Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 50.

^u Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 403.—The modern dissenters, in their "Ecclesiastical Library" (on religious creeds, p. 126), say, "The Redeemer promised to be with his church *always, even to the end of the world* . . . as defending and perpetuating the prosperity of his *whole* body, and maintaining its *purity and vitality to the consummation of all earthly things*. And if so, his church will, *to the end*, con-

tinue to *prefer truth to falsehood*, and will preserve that *purity in its ministry* by virtue of its own ever-living purity, which will in vain be attempted by instruments, artificial and extraneous to itself." No words can more strongly express the perpetuity of the church, and the total impossibility that it could ever have apostatized. Yet dissent only exists on the supposition that the universal church had apostatized.

^v Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, prop. xi. p. 272.

^w Art. xix.

to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith ^x." "It is repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the people ^y." "Although in the visible church . . . sometimes the evil have chief authority in the administration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as they . . . do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry ^z." "That person which by open denunciation of the church is rightly cut off from the unity of the church and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and a publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the church ^a." "Who-soever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church." "Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites ^b," &c. In all these passages the church is uniformly regarded as a *visible society*, in which the gospel is preached, the sacraments administered, a ministry presides, rites and ceremonies are decreed, controversies of faith determined, and offenders censured by authority. A visible association, visible sacraments, a visible priesthood, are all supposed to be instituted by Christ, and therefore essential to the church: and there is no trace of the notion that Christianity should lie concealed, a few scattered believers, surrounded and overpowered by a triumphant and universal apostasy.

The catechism of Dr. Nowell, approved by several bishops, confesses that the church of God is visible, and that those who disturb this church or dissent from it, are without hope of salvation ^c." Bishop Jewell says, that "we believe there is one church of God," and "that there are various orders of ministers in it; that some are deacons, some priests, some bishops ^d," &c. This plainly refers only to a visible church. Bishop Pearson professes, as "a necessary and infallible truth, that Christ, by the preaching of the apostles, did gather unto him-

^x Art. xx.

^y Art. xxiv.

^z Art. xxvi.

^a Art. xxxiii.

^b Art. xxxiv.

^c Noelli Catechismus, p. 106. 108. Oxford ed. 1836.

^d Juelli Apologia, p. 27, 28. Ed. London. 1606.

self a church consisting of thousands of believers and numerous congregations, to which he added daily such as should be saved, and will successively and daily add to the same unto the end of the world ^e." This church he had before described as possessing unity of government and sacraments; therefore it was visible. Dr. Field denies that the writers of the Reformation generally maintain the church to be invisible. Bellarmine, he says, labours in vain, "in proving that there is, and *always* hath been a visible church, and that not consisting of some few scattered Christians without order of ministry or use of sacraments; *for all this we do most willingly yield unto*; howsoever, perhaps, *some few* have been of opinion that though all others failing from the faith, the truth of God should remain only in some few of the laity, yet the promise of Christ concerning the perpetuity of his church might still be verified ^f."

I shall conclude with the words of the profound Bishop Butler. "Miraculous powers were given to the first preachers of Christianity, in order to their introducing it into the world; *a visible Church* was established in order to continue it, and carry it on successively throughout all ages. Had Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, only taught, and by miracles proved, religion to their contemporaries, the benefit of their instructions would have reached but to a small part of mankind. Christianity must have been in a great degree sunk and forgot in a very few ages. To prevent this, appears to have been one reason why *a visible Church* was instituted; to be like a city upon a hill, a standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe our Maker; to call men continually, both by precept and instruction, to attend to it, and by the form of religion ever before their eyes, remind them of the reality; to be the repository of the oracles of God; to hold up the light of revelation in aid of that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world ^g."

^e On the Creed, art. ix. vol. ii. p. 256. by Ockham and some other schoolmen.

^f Field, *Of the Church*, book i. c. 10. This doctrine was maintained ^g Butler's *Analogy*, part ii. c. 1.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The true church of Christ consists only of the elect, but the elect are not known and visible to the world ; therefore the church of Christ is invisible.

Church,
how invi-
sible.

Answer. I deny the first proposition, if it be understood of election to eternal life. The church or kingdom of God comprises many who shall not inherit eternal life. This is evident from the parable of the tares and the draw-net, in which it appears that the evil will only be separated from the good at the day of judgment. It is true, indeed, that the sanctified and elect are *principally* and *essentially* the church of Christ, and in this point of view the church may be called invisible^h ; but besides them are many sinners and hypocrites who belong to the church, though only externally, temporarily, and imperfectly. The second proposition requires a distinction. I grant that the elect are not visible *as elect*, but I deny that they are not visible *as professing Christians*. There is not a single instance of any saint in the New Testament who did not externally and visibly confess Christ with all other Christians ; nor is there an instance of a church whose existence was unknown and secret. On the contrary, a visible profession of Christianity is essential, for, “ With the mouth *confession* is made *unto salvation*” (Rom. x. 10) ; and again : “ Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man confess before the angels of God.” As St. Augustine saith : “ Faith requires from us the office both of the heart and the tongue ; . . . we cannot be saved unless we labour for the salvation of our neighbours, by professing with our mouth the faith which we bear in our heartⁱ.” While, therefore, we admit that those who are essentially members of the church are not discernible *as such* from hypocritical professors or false brethren, and are therefore in one sense *invisible* ; we maintain that they

^h See Gerhard, *Loci Theol.* l. 23, s. 69-78 ; Rogers, *On the Visible and Invisible Church*.

ⁱ “ Quoniam scriptum est ‘ quia justus ex fide vivit,’ eaque fides officium a nobis exigit et cordis et linguæ ; ait enim Apostolus, ‘ Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem :’

oportet nos esse et justitiæ memores et salutis. Quando quidem in sempiterna justitia regnaturi, a præsentis seculo maligno salvi fieri non possumus, nisi et nos ad salutem proximorum nitentes, etiam ore profiteamur fidem, quam corde gestamus.” —August. de Fide et Symbolo, tom. vi. p. 151, ed. Bened.

always openly profess Christ, and are therefore always and essentially *visible*.

II. The worship of the faithful is entirely spiritual, therefore the church is not visible. The former proposition is proved by Scripture. "After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts" (Jer. xxxi. 33). "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 23). "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices" (1 Pet. ii. 5).

Answer. (1.) This proves too much, namely, that no external worship, sacraments, or ordinances, were instituted by Christ; which would be contrary to Scripture and the general consent of all nations and ages. (2.) These expressions signify that the Christian religion was not to be chiefly typical, ceremonial, and external, like the Jewish, or rather like what it had been made by the Scribes and Pharisees; but chiefly internal, though not without external rites, and the form of a visible church.

III. "The kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii. 21).

Answer. This is only intended to correct the errors of the Jews, who thought it would come with external pomp and power, or "with observation" (verse 20). In these words Christ meant that his dominion was chiefly in the mind and heart; but this does not prove that it was not also to be manifested by external signs of obedience and profession.

IV. "When the Son of Man cometh shall he find faith on the earth" (Luke xviii. 8)? it seems, from this, that the visible church, if it then exist, shall not be the church of Christ.

Answer. Christ only speaks of "faith which *worketh by love*". (Gal. v. 6); of which there will be little in the church of Christ in the latter days, "Because iniquity shall abound, the *love* of many shall wax cold" (Matt. xxiv. 12)^k; yet still

^k This explanation is given by St. Jerome (Dialog. adv. Lucifer.), Augustine, lib. de Unitate, and Sermo 36, de Verbis Dom. Cyprian applies the words to his own time, and explains their meaning as above. "Filius hominis cum venerit, putas

inveniet fidem in terra? Videmus fieri quod ille prædixit. In Dei timore, in lege justitiæ, in dilectione, in opere, fides nulla est. Nemo futurorum metum cogitat, diem Domini, et iram Dei Quod metueret conscientia nostra, si cre-

there shall be some faithful in the visible church of Christ : for, “ Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world ; ” and again, “ We which are alive and remain, shall be caught up . . . and so shall we ever be with the Lord ” (1 Thess. iv. 17).

V. “ That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God ” (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4).

Answer. (1.) It does not follow that because there is an apostasy there is not also a true church. (2.) The man of sin sits in *God's temple*, which still remains God's temple ; he usurps the attributes of God, but it does not follow that he is worshipped by all, or even by the majority of those who form the temple ; consequently there may be always a true visible church¹.

VI. The church of God, under the former dispensation, sometimes became invisible, or failed. Thus Elijah says, “ The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword ; and I, even I only, am left ” (1 Kings xix. 10. 14).

Answer. (1.) Moses had prophesied or intimated the falling away of the children of Israel (Deut. xxviii. xxix. 25, 26. xxx. 17). (2.) The kingdom of *Judah* retained the true worship of God at the time Elijah spoke.

VII. The church of Christ was invisible during the time of Arianism.

Answer. It is not to be doubted that the church may sometimes be full of schisms and disturbed by heresies, even though true religion ultimately prevails. “ The church,” says Augustine, “ is sometimes obscured, and, as it were, clouded by the

deret ; quia non credit omnino, nec metuit ; si autem crederet et caveret ; si caveret evaderet.”—De Unit. p. 260.

¹ “ Domini voce atque Apostolorum contestatione prædictum est, deficiente jam mundo, atque appropinquante Antichristo, bona quæque deficere, mala vero et adversa proficere. Non sic tamen, quamvis

novissimis temporibus, in Ecclesia Dei aut evangelicus vigor cecidit, aut Christianæ virtutis, aut fidei robur elanguit, ut non supersit portio sacerdotum, quæ minimè ad has rerum ruinas et fidei naufragia succumbat,” &c.—Cyprian. Epist. lxxviii. ad Clerum et Plebes in Hispania, p. 167.

multitude of scandals, when sinners bend their bows, that they may privily shoot at them that are true of heart; but even then it is conspicuous in its firmest members; . . . Perhaps it was not said in vain, 'as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea-shore;' that by the stars of heaven might be understood the fewer, firmer, more renowned; and by the sand on the sea-shore, that great multitude of the carnal and weak which sometimes, in peaceable times, appears free and quiet, but sometimes is covered and disturbed by the waves of tribulation and temptation^m." Still, even at such times, there are always witnesses to the truthⁿ.

VIII. The church of Christ was invisible during the papal domination.

Answer. I deny that it was so: part of the church was indeed subdued by the pontiffs, but the church at large existed and was visible, as I shall hereafter prove.

IX. If the church of Christ is always visible, the Protestant and Reformed church could not have been the church of Christ, for it was not visible before the Reformation.

Answer. (1.) I shall hereafter prove, that although the Lutheran and Reformed communities were not churches of Christ, in the full sense of the term, yet that they were not cut off from the universal church, but were so far a portion of it, as to be capable of salvation. (2.) The British churches have always been visible.

X. If the church of Christ is always visible, the Reformation was unjustifiable; for the nineteenth article of the Church of England, and the Lutheran, and other Confessions, affirm that the visible church is a society in which "the pure word of God

^m "Ipsa est quæ aliquando obsecratur, et tamquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, quando peccatores intendunt arcum, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde. Sed etiam tunc in suis firmissimis eminent . . . ut fortasse non frustra dictum sit, 'sicut stellæ cæli, et sicut arena quæ est ad oram maris: ' ut in stellis cæli pauciores, firmiores, clarioresque intelligantur; in arena autem maritimi littoris magna multitudo infirmorum atque carnalium, quæ aliquando tranquillitate temporis quieta et libera apparet, aliquando autem tribulationum et

tentationum fluctibus operitur atque turbatur."—August. Epist. xciii. al. xlviii. tom. ii. p. 243, ed. Bened. In this sense Ambrose says: "Obumbrari potest (Ecclesia), deficere non potest."—Lib. iv. Hexaëm. c. 2. Vincentius also says, "Quid si novella aliqua contagio non jam portunculam aliquam Ecclesiæ, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur?"—Vincent. Lirin. Commonitor. c. iv.

ⁿ For the state of the church in the time of Arianism, see part iv. c. x. s. 2.

is preached," and "the sacraments duly administered" in "all things necessary." Therefore there was no need of reformation; and those who opposed the doctrine of the visible Roman church were enemies of Christ.

Answer. The pure word of God means the doctrine certainly revealed by Jesus Christ, neither mutilated nor corrupted by heresies. The whole church never formally taught any other. But erroneous opinions, not directly contrary to faith, and superstitious practices, were inculcated by authority; and many individuals taught heresy and idolatry without censure or reproof; and hence it became necessary to correct and reform the church. The Reformation was not directed against any doctrines defined by the whole Catholic Church, as will be seen in the course of this work.

XI. Several Protestant divines have considered the church as sometimes invisible.

Answer. (1.) With Dr. Field, I deny that the Protestants have generally said so; I have proved the contrary. (2.) The authority of a few recent theologians is to be entirely disregarded when opposed to Scripture and the sentiments of the church generally, which it is in this instance.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN RESPECT OF COMMUNION.

THE church of Christ is in many respects ONE ^a.

I. It is one in origin, having been founded by Christ and his apostles.

II. It possesses one ministry derived from the apostles, with which the faithful hold communion.

III. It is actually or virtually one in communion, its true members being always in communion with all their brethren, either in act or in intention and desire.

^a See Pearson on the Creed, art. s. 34; Barrow's Discourse on the ix.; Gerhard. Loci Theolog. l. 23, Unity of the Church.

IV. It is one in faith, none of its true members obstinately doubting or rejecting any articles of the faith.

Of these various sorts of unity, the first has been considered under the question of the perpetuity of the church, and will also be treated of in chapter vi. ; the second will be considered under the question of the "Apostolicity of the Church" (chap. viii.); the third and fourth shall now be examined, under the two general heads of Unity in *Communion*, and Unity in *Faith*. The former of these is to be the subject of our present consideration.

I design to prove,

First, That external, visible communion between all Christians, in matters of religion, is, when possible, a Christian duty.

Secondly, That separation from this communion, by a voluntary act, excludes from the church or kingdom of Christ.

Thirdly, That the same effect is produced by lawful excommunication.

Fourthly, That external communion may, consistently with the promises of God, and has been, in fact, interrupted in the Catholic Church.

Fifthly, I shall inquire in what cases separation of communion is justifiable ; and,

Sixthly, Examine in what respects unity in communion is a sign or note of the true church.

SECTION I.

ON THE OBLIGATION OF EXTERNAL COMMUNION.

The general duty of religious communion among Christians is to be inferred from their mutual relations, from the duty of charity enjoined by Christ and the apostles, from the practice of the church instituted by them, and, finally, from universal tradition and the general consent of professing Christians.

I. All Christians "are the *children of God* by faith in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 26), who is "the first-born among many *brethren*" (Rom. viii. 29). As brethren they are bound to all the duties of the fraternal relation in religion ; and this necessarily infers a visible communion and amicable intercourse in religious matters. Christ is described in Scripture as "the head of the body, the church" (Col. i. 18) ; and Christians are "one body in Christ, and every one members one of

Scriptural
proofs.

another" (Rom. xii. 5). This implies the very closest ties and strongest mutual interest between all Christians; and therefore, as a necessary consequence, their external communion.

2. The duty of charity, so often urged by the Saviour himself, involves, necessarily, the same thing: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye *love* one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another" (John xiii. 34). Obedience to this precept would necessarily lead to that perfect unity for which he so earnestly supplicated in these words: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in me through their word, that they all may be *one*: as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be *one* in us . . . that they may be *one, even as we are*: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made *perfect in one*: and that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved me" (John xvii. 20—23). This perfect unity, for which our blessed Saviour so earnestly prayed, was to be the result of Christian charity; and it obviously includes the notion of external communion in all religious matters; for how could those who should refuse to hold any religious intercourse with their brethren, be accounted in any way obedient to the dictates of divine charity?

3. Accordingly the apostles not only urged unceasingly the necessity of possessing this holy virtue, "the bond of perfectness," but of fulfilling all the duties of external intercourse which flowed from it. Their admonitions were: "That ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving *together* for the faith of the gospel;" "Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing" (Phil. i. 27; iii. 16); "Not forsaking the *assembling of ourselves together*, as the manner of some is" (Heb. x. 25); "Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren," &c. (1 Pet. iii. 8); "With long suffering forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv. 2, 3); "Fulfil ye my joy . . . being of one mind . . . Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory" (Phil. ii. 2); and, finally, what is strongest of all: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be *no divisions* among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren . . .

that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ," &c. (1 Cor. i. 10—12). Nothing can prove more plainly the religious communion of the Christian brethren, and the holy zeal of the apostle to preserve it perfect and unimpaired by the least division.

4. We observe the effects of such exhortations and instructions in the state of the church then. In every place the brethren assembled together to partake of the "one bread" which united them by such sacred ties, and to hear the exhortations of the same "rulers" who were established in the church by God, to "give account for their souls." And farther, the Christians of the church in each particular locality, communicated with their brethren in all other places, as they had opportunity. The churches of Macedonia, of Corinth, and Galatia, made contributions for those of Judea. The church of Antioch sent relief to the brethren in Judea, and transmitted it to the elders of that church by the hands of Barnabas and Saul; and they again evinced their communion by sending messengers to consult the apostles who presided there. The church of Ephesus wrote to the disciples in Achaia, exhorting them to receive Apollos (Acts xviii. 27). Paul was accompanied to Troas by members of the churches of Berea, Thessalonica, Derbe, and Asia; and all were present when the church at Troas met to "break bread" (Acts xx. 4. 7). St. Paul commanded the Romans to receive Phœbe, a deaconess of Cenchreæ, "in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 1). "The churches of Christ" saluted the faithful of Rome (xvi. 16). The "churches" of Asia "saluted" that of Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 19). Letters of commendation were given to the faithful who went from one church to another in travelling, or for some lawful cause (2 Cor. iii. 1). The Colossians were enjoined to salute the brethren of Laodicea, and to cause their epistle to be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and likewise to read the epistle from Laodicea (Col. iv. 15, 16).

It is clear, then, that the churches of Christ all held communion in various ways; aiding each other, exchanging salutations, admitting those who brought letters of commendation, to the assemblies and rites of the church, seeking for mutual advice. This was all instituted by the Apostles in accordance with the will of God.

Practice
of the
Church.

The same external communion and intercourse continued in the church. Thus the Roman church had a custom, accounted ancient in the second century, of sending pecuniary aid to that of Corinth, and many others^b. The same church, under its bishop, St. Clement, wrote to the Corinthians, exhorting them to unity. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, wrote to many churches; Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, followed his example^c; the venerable Polycarp came to Rome to consult on the time of keeping Easter; and Anicetus, the bishop, to testify his communion, permitted him to consecrate the eucharist in his presence^d. Finally, the use of commendatory letters was universal^e; and the bishops and presbyters assembled in numerous councils, and sent their judgments and circular epistles to all churches throughout the world^f.

5. The doctrine of all Christians, from the earliest ages, was in perfect accordance with this apostolical practice. They esteemed it a most grievous and inexcusable sin, to separate from the communion of the church; and regarded all who did so, as cut off from Christ. The very same doctrine has been confessed by professing Christians of all "denominations" in later ages, but I reserve for the succeeding section the proof of this general consent.

SECTION II.

ON VOLUNTARY SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH.

Particular churches were instituted by the apostles, in obedience to the divine will, not to *divide*, but to *organize* the church universal. Their establishment was necessary, to provide for the ordinary exercise of divine worship in common, and for the preservation of religion; because, from the universality of the Christian society, it was impossible that the same teachers should ordinarily instruct all nations; but this arrangement, which was rendered essential by the constitution

^b Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, states this in an epistle to Soter of Rome.—Euseb. Hist. iv. 23. Dionysius of Alexandria, also.—Euseb. vii. 4.

^c Euseb. Hist. iv. 23.

^d Irenæus, cited by Eusebius, v. 24.

^e Bingham, Origines Eccles. v. 1. s. 3.

^f This subject is more fully discussed by Barrow, in his Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church, Works, vol. i. p. 762, &c. ed. Tilotson.

of human nature, could never impair the sacred relations of fraternity and fellow-membership, which resulted from their mutual communion with God, nor the duty of external communion with all Christians, which followed from those relations ^a. Hence the communion of the church is two-fold, and there may be offences against it in two ways: either in dividing the communion of a particular church, or in dividing that of the universal church. The one arises, when professing Christians divide, or refuse to communicate with the particular church of which they are members: the other, where particular churches refuse to communicate with the universal church; that is, with the great body of Christians. The offence against communion is called *schism*; and schism, in its extremest degree, is *separation*, or *dissent* ^b. Division or schism is *partial*, when no rival worship is established, or when the communion of the great body of the church is not rejected, nor withdrawn by a legitimate judgment: but when one or more professing Christians separate themselves from the communion of a particular church, and from that of the great body of Christians, or are cut off from it by a regular and legitimate judgment, they are *totally* separated from the church of God.

I shall first speak of voluntary separation from the church, and afterwards of separation by excommunication.

1. Schism, even in the smallest degree possible, was forbidden by the apostles: "I beseech you, brethren, *by the name* ^{Scriptural proofs.} of Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be *no divisions* among you, but that ye be *perfectly joined together*," &c. (1 Cor. i. 10); and the offence of raising such divisions was so serious, that they who were guilty of it were not to be treated as Christians,—they were to be separated from communion: "Now I beseech you, brethren, *mark* them which cause *divisions* and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and *avoid them*, for they that are such, *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ*" (Rom. xvi. 17, 18). They are thus classed with "fornicators, covetous, idolaters, railers, drunkards, extortioners," with whom, also, Christians

^a "Though the Church in the world be one, yet every city has its own Church, and it is one in all, for though there are many, it is one in many."—Hilarius Pictav. Commen-

tar. in Ps. xiv. p. 62. ed. Ben.

^b Schism was sometimes entitled *heresy*, in primitive times; but custom has appropriated the latter term to offences against faith.

are "not to keep company" (1 Cor. v. 11). If it be supposed, as it has been by some, that by "them which caused divisions," was here meant only such as excited *disturbance* in some particular church; how much more grievous was the offence of actually separating totally from the communion of Christians, establishing a rival worship, and a rival church, and endeavouring to seduce and tempt the brethren to forsake the society of the faithful, and of those pastors whom God had commanded them to "obey" (Heb. xiii. 17). The Apostle, whose spirit was all charity and affection, in speaking of such men, reveals the awful truth, that they had *never* been known to Christ: "They *went out from us*, but they were *not of us*, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us;" their separation was by an act of divine judgment, manifesting their estrangement from Christ: "They went out, that they might *be made manifest*, that they were not all of us." "But ye," he proceeds, addressing those that remained, "have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things" (1 John ii. 19, 20).

The character of separation is again drawn by Jude the apostle: "These be they who *separate* themselves, sensual, *not having the Spirit*" (Jude 19); and hence it was, that the Fathers taught that no good men can possibly be among those who voluntarily forsake the church. "Let no one imagine," says Cyprian, "that good men *can* depart from the church: the wind scattereth not the wheat, nor doth the storm overthrow the tree supported by a solid root. Empty straws are tossed by the tempest; weak trees are prostrated by the violence of the whirlwind. Such as these are execrated and smote by John the apostle, saying: 'They went out from us, but they were not of us,' &c.^c" Augustine adds his testimony to the same doctrine: "Let us hold it as a thing unshaken and firm, that no good men *can* divide themselves from the church^d." It is not, indeed, to be supposed or believed for a moment, that divine grace would permit the really holy

^c "Nemo existimet bonos de ecclesia posse discedere. Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solida radice fundatam procella subvertit. Inanes paleæ tempestate jactantur, invalidæ arbores turbini incursione evertuntur. Hos execratur et per-

cutit Joannes apostolus dicens," &c. —Cypr. de Unitate, p. 256, ed. Pamel.

^d "Inconcussum firmumque tenemus, nullos bonos ab ea (ecclesia) se posse dividere."—Adv. Pamenian. lib. iii. c. 5.

and justified members of Christ to fall from the way of life. He would only permit the unsanctified, the enemies of Christ, to sever themselves from that fountain, where his Spirit is given freely. "In the church," says Irenæus, "did God place the apostles, prophets, teachers, and every operation of the Spirit, whereof they are not partakers, who do not run unto the church, but defraud themselves of life by their evil opinions and most wicked deeds; for where the church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there also the church and every grace exist^e."

We may therefore conclude, that voluntary separation from the church of Christ is a sin against our brethren, against ourselves, against God; a sin which, unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul. The heinous nature of this offence is incapable of exaggeration, because no human imagination, and no human tongue can adequately describe its enormity.

2. It is certain that the primitive Christians regarded com-^{Fathers.} munion between Christians as a thing absolutely necessary, and viewed those who separated from it, as sinners. "Remain inseparably united to Jesus Christ and your bishop, and the ordinances of the apostles," said the martyr Ignatius: "He who is within the altar is clean; but he who is without, that is, without the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, is not clean^f." "As children of light and truth, avoid the division of unity, and the evil doctrines of heretics^g." Irenæus says: "The spiritual man will also judge those who work divisions; vain men, devoid of the love of God, seeking their own advantage more than the unity of the church; who for trifling, nay for any causes, rend and divide the great and glorious body of Christ, and, as far as in them lies, slay it; who speak peace, and work warfare; who truly strain at the gnat and swallow the camel; for no improvement can be made by them so great, as is the evil of schism^h." Cyprian con-

^e "In ecclesia enim, inquit, posuit Deus apostolos, prophetas, doctores, et universam reliquam operationem Spiritus, cujus non sunt participes omnes qui non currunt ad ecclesiam, sed semet-ipsos fraudant a vita per sententiam malam et operationem pessimam. Ubi enim

ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia."—Adv. Hæres. iii. 24. p. 223.

^f Epist. ad Trall.

^g Epist. ad Philadelph.

^h "Nulla enim ab eis tanta potest fieri correctio, quanta est schis-

tinues the chain of tradition: "Whosoever, divorced from the church, is united to an adulteress, is separated from the church's promises; nor shall that man attain the rewards of Christ, who relinquishes his church. He is a stranger, he is profane, he is an enemy . . . He who assembles, except with the church, scatters the church of Christ¹." "An enemy of the altar, a rebel against Christ's sacrifice; as to faith, false; as to religion, sacrilegious; a disobedient servant, an impious son, a hostile brother; contemns the bishops and forsakes the priests of God, dares to constitute another altar, to offer another prayer with unlawful words, to profane the truth of the Lord's oblation by false sacrifices; nor deigns to know, that he who contends against the divine ordinance, is punished for his audacious rashness by the divine judgment¹." Dionysius of Alexandria writes thus to Novatus, who had formed a schism from the church of the Romans: "If, as you say, you were compelled unwillingly (to be ordained head of the new sect) you will prove it by your voluntary *return*. It were, indeed, better to have suffered *any evil*, than to have divided the church of God; nor would martyrdom, for the sake of not dividing, have been less glorious; yea, in my opinion, more so: for, in one case, martyrdom is for the sake of one's own soul; in the other, for the whole church. If even now you will persuade or oblige the brethren to return to concord, your merit will be greater than your offence. The one will not be imputed, the other will be praised. But if they should be disobedient, and you cannot accomplish it, *save your own soul*^k." It would fill volumes to transcribe the various arguments of the Fathers against separation from the church. The holy Cyprian wrote a treatise against it¹, and Optatus, Augustine, and many others, have written copiously against the various sects of the Novatians, Donatists, Manichæans, &c., who had separated themselves from the communion of the church.

maticis pernicious."—Adv. Hæres. iv. c. 33. al. 62. p. 272.

¹ Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur. Nec perveniet ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est: profanus est: hostis est . . . Qui alibi præter ecclesiam colligit, Christi

ecclesiam spargit."—De Unit. p. 254.

¹ Ibid. p. 258.

^k Ἐδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν παθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . εἰ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντων ἀδυνατοίης, σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.—Euseb. Hist. vi. 45.

¹ De Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

Augustine declares, that “there is nothing more grievous than the sacrilege of schism^m.”

3. Nor were these merely the sentiments of the early ages, Reformers. they were always received by the whole body of Christians up to the period of the Reformation, and by the infinite majority of professing Christians for a long time after. All agreed that Christians ought to hold external communion with their brethren every where, and that separation from the church was a grievous sin. Calvin affirms, that “*a departure from the visible church is a denial of God and Christ; wherefore we must beware of so wicked a dissent, because when we are attempting, so far as in us lies, the ruin of God’s truth, we deserve to be crushed beneath the thunders of his extremest wrath. Nor can any more atrocious crime be imagined, than the violation, by sacrilegious perfidy, of that marriage which the only-begotten Son of God has deigned to contract with usⁿ.*” The non-conformist Baxter says: “He that is out of the church, is without the teaching, the holy worship, the prayers, and the discipline of the church; and is out of the way where the Spirit doth come, and out of the society which Christ is especially related to: for he is the Saviour of the body, and if we once *leave* his hospital, we cannot expect the presence and help of the physician. Nor will he be a pilot to them who *forsake* his ship, nor a captain to those who *separate* from his army. Out of this ark there is nothing but a deluge, and no place of rest or safety for a soul^o.” Owen the Independent observes of the communion of churches, that “the church that confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, cuts itself off from the external communion of the church catholic; nor will it be *safe for any man* to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church^p;” and again: “That particular church which extends not its duty beyond its own assemblies and members, is fallen off from the *principal end* of its institution

Dissenters.

^m Cont. Parmenian. ii. 2.

ⁿ “Unde sequitur, discessionem ab ecclesia, Dei et Christi negationem esse: quo magis a tam scelerato dissidio cavendum est: quia dum veritatis Dei ruinam, quantum in nobis est, molimur, digni sumus ad quos conterendos toto iræ suæ impetu fulminet. Nec ullum atrocius

fingi crimen potest, quam sacrilega perfidia violare conjugium, quod nobiscum unigenitus Dei Filius contrahere dignatus est.”—Calvin Institut. iv. c. i. s. 10.

^o Baxter’s “Cure of Church Division.”

^p True Nature of the Gospel Church, p. 413.

And every principle, opinion, or persuasion, that inclines any church to confine its care and duty unto its own edification only, yea, or of those only which agree with it in some peculiar practice, making it neglective of all due means of the edification of the church catholic, is schismatical^q." Owen accordingly admits the propriety, and even necessity, of synods, and other modes of mutual aid and communication. Even now societies of various "denominations," hold it their duty to communicate with all of their own party. The Independents and Baptists unite in "Unions," and send messages to their brethren in America, and elsewhere. The Presbyterians meet in synods, the Methodists in conference. Lutherans, Calvinists, Romanists, &c., all feel it their bounden duty to communicate with those whom they regard as constituting the church of Christ; and *generally*, the separation of a new sect from any of their communions is regarded as wrong, though some societies are prevented by their principles from opposing what they confess to be a grievous evil.

British
Churches.

4. It is needless to spend much time in detailing the doctrine of English theologians, and of our churches, on this subject. The canons of the synod of London, A. D. 1603, excommunicate any who shall separate from the church, or who shall affirm that any meetings, assemblies, or congregations within this land, which are separated from the established churches, may rightly assume the name of true churches^r. Nowell's Catechism says of those "who cause strife and dissent in the church, and disturb it with factions, that such men are cut off from all hope of salvation through the remission of sins,

^q Ibid. 414, 415. Even in the present day the Independents, as they say, "believe that Jesus Christ directed *his followers to live together in Christian fellowship*, and to maintain the communion of saints; and that, for this purpose, they are *jointly* to observe all divine ordinances, and maintain that church order and discipline, which is either expressly enjoined by inspired institution, or sanctioned by the undoubted example of the apostles, and of apostolic churches."—Declaration of Faith of the Congregational or Indep. Dissenters, A. D.

1833, (No. 20.) The dissenting "Library of Eccl. Knowledge" says, that among the "*duties and enjoyments*" of churches, is, "*communion with other churches, in letters recommendatory or dismissory, when members remove from one place to another. These, and all other expressions of Christian regard to sister churches are a part of the communion of saints, which constitutes one of the greatest blessings of the true catholic church,*" &c.—On Ch. Discipline, Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p 417.

^r Canons. ix. x. and xi.

until they agree and are reconciled with the church ^s.” Archbishop Ussher speaks of communion in the universal church as follows: “Thus must we conceive of the catholic church, as of one entire body made up of the collection and aggregation of all the faithful unto the unity thereof; from which union there ariseth unto every one of them such a relation to, and a dependence upon, the church catholic, as parts used to have in respect of their whole. Whereupon it followeth, that neither particular persons, nor particular churches, are to work as several divided bodies by themselves, which is the ground of all schism; but are to teach, and to be taught, and to do all other Christian duties, as parts conjoined unto the whole, and members of the same commonwealth or corporation ^t.” Bishop Pearson says: “It is necessary to believe the church of Christ, which is but one, that being in it, we may take care never to cast ourselves or be ejected out of it A man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may, by an act of his own, cast out or reject himself; not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy; or by an active *separation*, deserting all which are in communion with the catholic church, and falling into an irrecoverable schism. . . . There is a necessity of believing the catholic church, because, except a man be of that he can be of none ^u.” Finally, I shall cite the words of Archbishop Potter: “Whoever is separated from any sound part of the church by schism or just excommunication, is by that means separated from the whole church. Just as we find in natural bodies, that in one body there are many members, and whatever is united to any one of them is thereby united to the whole body; as, on the contrary, whatever is cut off from any member, does by that separation lose its union with the whole body. . . . Whence appears the *necessity* which every Christian lies under, of maintaining communion with the particular church wherein he lives, in order to his communion with the church catholic, and with *Christ* the head of it ^v.”

5. We may infer from the preceding part of this section, that *separation from the church is incapable of justification.* No Separation from the Church inexcusable.

^s P. 108. Oxford ed. by Jacobson.

^u On the Creed, art. Holy Catho-

^t Sermon before the King, on lic Church.

Eph. iv. 13.

^v Church Government, p. 459.

excuse can be admitted in the case of positive and deadly sin, except the plea of *ignorance*; and this does not render the act less heinous, though he who commits it may be "beaten with few stripes." To separate openly from the universal church, or, which is the same thing, to separate from a particular church, on grounds and principles which equally involve separation from the universal church, is, as I have said, inexcusable; and St. Augustine affirms it thus: "We are certain that no one can justly have separated himself from the communion of all nations ^w;" and long afterwards Calvin acknowledged the same: "Let both these truths remain fixed; that he who voluntarily deserts the external communion of a church where the word of God is preached and his sacraments administered, is *without excuse*; and that the vices of few or of many are *no obstacle* to prevent us from professing our faith *there*, by means of the ceremonies instituted by God ^x."

The excuses which may be offered are of various sorts. Personal edification and spiritual improvement, correction of deficiencies in discipline, rites, &c., and other advantages, may be alleged to justify separation. These are all overthrown immediately by the apostle: "As we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, 'Let us *do evil that good may come*, whose *damnation is just*.' Irenæus replied to a similar argument adduced by the heretics of his time: "No correction can be made by them so great as is the mischief of schism ^z."

It may be said that it is necessary to forsake the church because its external communion includes evil men unsanctified by the Spirit of God. But the church is compared by our Saviour himself to a net, in which are all manner of fishes, both good and bad; to a field in which tares grow to the harvest: and the churches founded by the apostles contained unsanctified members; for instance, those of Corinth, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, &c. The true church can never be free from evil members, until after the day of judgment, and he who pretends to render it otherwise sets himself above Christ. This was the heresy of the Donatists, against whom St. Augus-

^w "Nos autem certi sumus, neminem se a communione omnium gentium juste separare potuisse."—Epist. 93, al. 48, c. 9, p. 242. Tom. ii. ed. Bened.

^x Instit. iv. c. 1. s. 19.

^y Rom. iii. 8.

^z Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. xxxiii. al. lxii. p. 272.

tine often and convincingly argued. "The good," said he, "are not to be deserted on account of the evil, but the evil to be tolerated on account of the good, as the prophets tolerated those against whom they spoke such great things; nor did they relinquish communion in sacraments with that people; as our Lord himself tolerated the wicked Judas unto his deserved end, and permitted him to communicate at the holy supper with the innocent; as the apostles tolerated those who preached Christ through envy; as Cyprian tolerated the covetousness of his colleagues, which, according to the apostle, he called idolatry^a." The truth is, that every church and society of professing Christians, without exception, contains bad men and hypocrites; and were this a sufficient reason to separate from the church, there could be no such thing in the world as church communion. Calvin's doctrine on this subject I have cited already; he devotes a large space to the refutation of the notion that the existence of evil members in the church justifies separation from it. The Germans, too, in the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg, say: "Christ admonished us, in his discourses on the church, not to excite schisms through our offence at the private vices of priests or people, as the Donatists wickedly did. And as for those who have raised schisms because they denied the lawfulness of the clergy's holding possessions or property, we judge them plainly seditious," &c.^b

The mere existence of some doctrinal errors, or some corruptions in rites and sacraments, in any church, afford no excuse whatever for separating from its communion. The abuses of the Corinthians, the errors of the Galatians, did not justify any separation from those churches; on the contrary, the duty of union was strongly inculcated on them by the apostle. Calvin affirms, that while a pure ministry of the word and sacraments exists, "a church is never to be rejected as long as it persists in them, although otherwise it abounds in faults. Moreover, somewhat of corruption might creep into

^a August. Epist. 93, al. 48. c. 4. tom. ii. p. 237, ed. Bened.

^b "Monuit nos Christus in collationibus de ecclesia, ne offensi privati vitii sive sacerdotum sive populi, schismata excitemus; sicut scelerate fecerunt Donatistæ. Illos

vero, qui ideo excitaverunt schismata, quia negabant sacerdotibus licere tenere possessiones aut proprium, plane seditiosos judicamus." —Apologia Confessionis, art. iv. de ecclesia.

the administration of the sacraments themselves, which ought not to alienate us from its communion^c." If the doctrines or practice of his particular church, or even those most commonly prevalent around him, appear to any Christian imperfect or corrupt, it is an office of charity to endeavour to promote, as far as he can, a purer system, provided it be done with humility and wisdom; but he should not forsake the body of Christ because in some part it may be ailing. I speak here only of faults and defects which do not amount to a rejection of what God has plainly revealed, or to a manifest contradiction and disobedience to his commandment; because if any church of Christ should be guilty of such a rejection and contradiction, and obstinately persist in them, it would be *apostate*, and cease *ipso facto* to be a church of Christ; and therefore he who should forsake its communion would not forsake the communion of the church, but of a synagogue of Satan; and in this case the precept of Christ would oblige his disciples to separate utterly from the apostate community; and remain united with the true church. Separation from such a society is as much a duty as separation from heathenism and idolatry; and therefore it is a case which affords no justification to him that forsakes the *church of Christ*. Those who, either at the Reformation or at other times, pretended to justify their voluntary separation from any society of professing Christians, always did so on the plea that it was an *apostate* society, and therefore not a church of Christ; and wherever this plea was well founded they were perfectly justified.

Separation
when ne-
cessary.

We may infer from what has been said, that since unity of communion is the law of God, both in the universal church and in all the particular churches in which it is arranged, it is impossible that in the same place there can be several different churches equally authorized by God and united to Christ. It is true that persons may be, *in fact*, separated from the communion of the church in a particular place, who are not truly separated from the universal church: this may arise from an excommunication founded in an error of fact, not yet made manifest. It is also true that the communion of a church may be divided by a *lawful separation*, according to the principles to be laid down in the fifth section. But what I contend for

^c Institut. iv. c. i. s. 12.

is, that in one locality there can be but one society whose communion Christians are bound to seek in preference to all others. The supposition, indeed, that Christians in each locality could be bound to entertain fraternal intercourse in religion with several communities mutually separated, would carry an absurdity and contradiction on the very face of it, because the obligation of each individual to communicate with *all*, would render it impossible that there should be *different* communions. This conclusion is maintained by Cyprian in several places: "The Lord himself admonishes and teaches us in his gospel, saying, 'And there shall be one flock and one shepherd.' And does any one imagine that there can be, in *one place*, many shepherds or many flocks? The apostle Paul, recommending the same unity to us, beseeches and exhorts, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but be agreed in the same mind and the same judgment ^d.'" Hence we are bound to reject the notions of those who would wish to hold communion with various sects or denominations of professing Christians separated from each other in the same locality.

Latitudinarian notions of communion rejected.

It must always be unlawful for members of the church to hold religious communion with those who have separated themselves from it. I mean that it must be unlawful to unite in their worship, or generally to perform any purely religious acts with them; though it is commendable in those brethren who are especially fitted for that office, to confer with the separated, in order, if possible, to convert them from the error of their ways. This follows from the admission that separation is a *sin* of the deepest die; for acts of religion performed apart from the church, and in rivalry to it, are precisely those things which constitute some of the very worst parts of separation itself. It is in these rival religious acts alone that the schism is completed. There is nothing more requisite to show the unlawfulness of communicating in any such acts; because the rule of the Scriptures forbids Christians absolutely to unite

^d "Monet ipse (Christus) in evangelio suo et docet, dicens: Et erit unus grex et unus pastor. Et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimat aut multos pastores aut plures greges? Apostolus item Paulus hanc

eandem nobis insinuans unitatem, obsecrat et hortatur dicens: Obsecro, inquit, vos fratres per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi," &c.—De Unitate, p. 255, ed. Pamelii.

in, or in any degree countenance, what is in itself evil: "Come out from among them and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing;" "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed;" "Ye cannot be partakers of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils." These passages prove that Christians are, as the apostle says, to have "no fellowship with the works of darkness," among which all acts of separate worship may be included, for they are performed beyond the kingdom of Christ. It was in accordance with this principle that the canons of the universal church decreed, that it was unlawful for Christians to communicate or pray with those who were excommunicated, or who deserted the prayers of the church, and met in private houses; that no one should receive gifts from heretics, or pray in their cemeteries, or contract marriages with them, &c.^e

OBJECTIONS.

I. If it be unlawful under any circumstances to separate from a church of Christ, the Reformation must have been unlawful.

Answer. The Reformation was not a voluntary separation from the church of Christ, as I shall prove hereafter: if there was such a separation in any case it is not to be defended. Besides, those who consider the church of Christ altogether to have failed in the West before the Reformation, cannot, consistently with their own principle, maintain that there was any separation from the church then.

II. It is *intolerant* to maintain that separation from any church is a sin.

Answer. It cannot be intolerant in any evil sense if it be the doctrine of Scripture and of Christians generally, as I have proved it to be. Christ has a perfect right to bestow his favour in the church only if he pleases it. Salvation is the free gift of God, and is not *due* to man.

* Apostol. can. xi. 1; Concil. Laodicen. can. 32. 34; Antioch. 2; Laodicen. 9. 31. See also Gangra, c. 6; Nicen. 5; Antioch. 6; African. 9. I take this opportunity of saying, that Mr. Perceval's book on "The Roman Schism" contains many of the most important ancient

canons. It is almost needless to mention Dr. Routh's "Opuscula," Justel, Bingham, Beveridge, Johnson's "Vade Mecum," Fleury's "Institution au Droit Ecclés.," and Van Espen, as the best authorities on the sacred canons.

III. We are commanded in Scripture to “come out of Babylon^f.” “Depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her^g.” “I have written to you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous^h,” &c.

Answer. The former texts refer to some community which is not the church of Christ, but has either apostatized from him or never owned him. The latter only enjoins us to avoid the society and procure the excision of scandalous offenders, which we may do without forsaking the communion of the whole church.

IV. The presence of God is promised to all Christian meetings: “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them” (Matt. xviii. 20).

The martyr Cyprian replies, “How can two or three be gathered together in the name of Christ who have plainly separated from Christ and from his gospel? For we have not departed from them, but they from us; and since schisms and heresies are born afterwards, they left the fountain-head and origin of truth when they constituted different conventicles for themselvesⁱ.”

SECTION III.

ON SEPARATION BY EXCOMMUNICATION.

A case might occur, in which individuals should violate the duty of charity towards some of the brethren, or towards the particular church of which they were members, and yet should by no means wish to separate from the rest of the brethren throughout the world, but rather desire to retain all the advantages resulting from their communion. In a case like this the Christian society may be purified from such false brethren by its own act. The Apostolic admonition: “Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned: and *avoid them*^j,” recognizes the right and the duty of Christians to separate themselves from those that offend extremely against charity; and our blessed Saviour authorizes those against whom any brother has trespassed,

^f Rev. xviii. 4.

^g Is. lii. 11.

^h 1 Cor. v. 11.

ⁱ De Unit 256.

^j Rom. xvi. 17.

and who, after repeated endeavours, cannot induce him to repent of his fault, to “tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you,” he adds, “Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven^k.” This empowers the church to take cognizance of all offences against charity. The decree of the church, however, is to be supposed necessarily to have two conditions; first, that it be founded on an *examination of the facts of the case*, without which extreme injustice might occur¹; and injustice could never be accordant with the design of the righteous and merciful Judge of all the earth; and secondly, that the judgment of the church be *unanimous*, or nearly so. The judgment of the church greatly divided, or the judgment of a portion of the church, the remainder delivering no opinion, could not be invested with that authority and unity which are to be inferred from the terms used by our Saviour; “If he shall not hear *the church*,” &c.

If then individuals should be condemned by a particular

^k Matt. xviii. 15—18.

¹ That Christ has only promised his assistance and authority to the church on such conditions, even in deciding questions of *faith*, is asserted by Melchior Canus, Tournely, Delahogue, and the Romish theologians generally. The first says: “Commune est, crede mihi, omnibus ecclesiæ judicibus, ut si decreta ediderint temeritate quadam, sine iudicio, repentino quasi vento incitati, nihil omnino conficiant, quod solidum, quod grave, quod certum habeatur.” (Loci Communes, v. de Conciliis, p. 147. ed. Patav. 1762.) The second says, that Christ only promised his presence to the church assembled in councils, when “servata suffragiorum libertate, et adhibita humana industria et diligentia, veritatem sedulo inquirerent.” (Prælect. de Eccl. Christi, t. i. quæst. iii. art. 3. p. 384.) See also *Delahogue*, de Eccl. cap. iv. quæst. 3. objectiones. *Bailly*, de Eccl. cap. xv. in fine c. xvi. sect. vi. *Bowyer*, de vera Eccl. pars ii. c. ii. art. v. s. 2. *Collet*, Institut.

Theolog. Scholast. tom. i. p. 30. If judgments in questions of faith and discipline are null where the ordinary rules of judgment have been manifestly transgressed, they must be also in all questions affecting the *unity* of the church, because the latter is not less important than faith itself. In fact, *Van Espen* (Tractatus de Censuris, c. 5. s. i.) observes, that no one doubts that in cases of excommunication, the laws of judicial proceedings should be observed; and *Suarez*, cited by him, affirms, that a censure, in which there has been “a substantial defect in the *lawful order*” of proceeding, is entirely *invalid*. And what greater *defect* can there be, than in *not examining* the facts of the case, or determining them in blind obedience to a power erroneously supposed to be irresistible? That an unjust excommunication does not separate its subjects from the catholic church is proved by Gerhard, Loci Theologici, l. 23, s. 61.

church, but that sentence should be disallowed by the great body of the church universal, they are not cut off from the church of Christ. If a particular church should be condemned on some account by a *portion* of the universal church, but not by another considerable portion, it is not to be held as heathen and separated, because the whole, or nearly the whole body of the faithful, has not united in the judgment^m. If individuals or churches have been condemned by a large portion of the church universal, and it can be clearly *proved* that the facts of the case have not been investigated, such a sentence is to be held invalid and unratified in heavenⁿ. If however the condemnation of the universal church is unanimous, and there is no proof of any marked injustice in the proceedings, those who are condemned for offences against charity, ought to be held of all the brethren as "heathen men and publicans." We see examples of this in the case of Novatian and the Donatists. Novatian and his adherents, having separated from the communion of the church of the Romans, and established a rival worship, were declared to be separated from the church by a council of sixty bishops at Rome, and by all the bishops in Africa and other western provinces^o; and in the East by the bishops assembled at Antioch^p: and this judgment being universally received, and the facts of the case being undeniable and notorious, the Novatians were always accounted schismatics, cut off entirely from the church of Christ. In the same manner, the Donatists having separated from the communion of the church of Carthage, and prevailed on the bishops of Numidia to support their schism and create a rival bishop; and a division having arisen throughout Africa on this account, their cause was successively heard by a council of Italian and Gallican bishops at Rome; by the council of Arles convened from all the West; by the Emperor Constantine at Milan; and it was universally condemned after a full examination. The Donatists were thenceforward regarded by all Christians as separated entirely from the church of Christ, as much as the Marcionites, Mon-

^m *E. g.* the churches of Asia condemned by pope Victor.

ⁿ *E. g.* The adherents of the Reformation were condemned by the churches of the Roman communion, without examination, after the

Council of Trent. See Part iv. c. xi.

^o Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 43.

^p Ibid. c. 46. See also Fleury, lib. vii. c. 5.

tanists, Sabellians, Arians, or any other sect which denied the first principles of the Christian religion. And they on their part declared the church apostate, and rejected its communion.

SECTION IV.

THE EXTERNAL COMMUNION OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH MAY BE AND HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED.

It has been shown, that Christ enjoined perfect unity in his church, and therefore that whatever society of Christians shall either voluntarily separate itself from, or be regularly excommunicated by the great body of Christians, is cut off from the church. This was the case with the Novatians, Donatists, Arians, Pelagians, Luciferians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Monothelites, &c.

But it is now to be inquired, whether it is possible that the *catholic church itself* can be at any time divided in respect of external communion. The great majority of Romish theologians absolutely deny the possibility of any such case. Their popular argument in proof that their community constitutes the catholic church of Christ, is indeed altogether based on this principle. They contrast the external characteristics of their own community with those of all others, and endeavour to prove that it possesses superior claims to those of any other society. This is the beaten course pursued by all their writers, since the time of Bellarmine at least; and it is entirely based in the assumption, that the catholic church can never exist, except as perfectly *one* in external communion.

This position, always assumed by their writers, and sometimes admitted insensibly by their opponents, was expressly maintained by Nicole^q (followed by Tournely, and all subsequent Romish theologians), against M. Jurieu, a minister of the French Protestants, who affirmed that the universal church consists of *all* societies agreeing in fundamental doctrines, even though mutually excommunicated and anathematized; that the only true unity of communion consists in spiritual union with Christ, and therefore that the formation of new sects is in no degree blamable^r. Such principles were indeed

^q Unité de l'Eglise.

^r *Vrai Système de l'Eglise*, and Defence of the same.

absurd, and totally subversive of the catholic doctrine of unity; and Jurieu himself confessed, that from the time of Cyprian at least, all the fathers maintained a system entirely opposed to his^s. But while the doctrine of Jurieu merits censure, as novel and erroneous, his opponents have not succeeded in their attempts to prove, that the external communion of the whole catholic church can never be interrupted.

If this external communion must always exist uninterruptedly, it must be from a very remarkable exercise of divine power, because we know from Scripture, that the church was to comprise evil men as well as good; and no one pretends that its members were to be exempt from frailties, passions, errors, ignorance. These circumstances would be very liable, occasionally, to cause divisions in the church; and it is credible that in some case the fault and the justification might be so equally divided between two parties, that it might be impossible to affirm, that either was involved in the guilt of formal schism. There is therefore no impossibility of division in the church itself, if we regard the persons of whom it is constituted; and the only way in which this impossibility can be proved, is by evidence of some *divine promise* to that effect.

I shall discuss this subject from Scripture, tradition, history, and the principles and admissions of Romanists.

First. Scripture contains no direct plain assertion, either that the external communion of the church will always be perfectly *one*, or that it will be divided. Romanists allege the words of our Saviour in reference to the Gentiles: "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be *one fold*, and one shepherd^t." This promise was doubtless fulfilled by the admission of the Gentiles to the same privileges as the believing Jews; so that our Saviour meant, that they should be *one* in *spiritual privileges*; and this unity might well subsist, even if external communion were sometimes interrupted through misunderstandings or infirmities. They also adduce those words of Christ: "A kingdom divided against itself cannot but fall^u." This passage does not prove, that the church can never be divided in point of external communion, because our Lord was here alluding to the case of kingdoms

No promises of unity in communion.

^s Unité de l'Eglise.

^t John iii. 16.

^u Matt. xii.

which had no promise of perpetuity, and did not refer to the church, which *has* such a promise, and therefore can never fall even by her divisions. But supposing that we applied these words to the church, still they would not prove what our opponents desire, because our Lord could only have meant, that an *irreconcilable* division, an intestine and destructive *war*, would lead to the inevitable overthrow of any kingdom; but he did not mean, that a kingdom may not *for a time* be divided by jealousies, without being destroyed.

If the essential unity of the church is to be inferred from its being spoken of in the *singular* number, as the “kingdom,” “household,” “body,” and “spouse” of Christ; it is probably to be understood of a spiritual unity of *relations to Christ*, which might exist, even if external visible unity were interrupted. The “field,” the “draw-net,” and “the threshing floor,” prefigure the church as *one*, that is, as the common and only way of *trial* and *salvation*. The same may be said of the types of the terrestrial paradise, the ark of Noah, the temple of Jerusalem, &c., which are said to prefigure the church’s unity. They all relate to *salvation* in the church only; but they do not enable us to determine whether that church was always to be perfectly united in external communion. The argument for the unity of the church, from Christ’s “coat without seam,” which St. Cyprian and others have regarded as a type of unity, was probably so used by them rather in the way of theological argument, than from any apostolical tradition; nor does it appear safe or satisfactory to rest on an interpretation so symbolical, in a question of so much importance, as that which is here under consideration †.

If it be supposed, however, that the images and types above-mentioned, relate to the unity of the church in general, they may only be representative of its *perfect* state according to the will of God, or its glorified state. The sacred writers speak of the

† No one pretends that the particular *arguments* of theologians, even in the earlier ages, are always to be received without examination. Even the arguments of general councils themselves are not binding, as the Romanist Delahogue argues from Vasquez, and Veron, the latter of whom says, “Id solum esse de fide quod definitur; seu, ut loquuntur

juristæ, solum *dispositivum arresti*, seu contenti in capite aut canone, est de fide: *motivum vero arresti*, seu ejus *probationis*, non sunt de fide?”—(Delahogue, De Eccl. cap. v. prop. 2. Annot. circa decreta Concil.) If this is the case even in the decrees of general councils, how much more so in the case of individual fathers and theologians.

church comprising imperfect men, when viewed in this respect, as “without spot and without blemish.” The church is in this sense perfectly one, that is, according to the divine will, and in the essential respects which are known to God; but we cannot infer that it will never at any time in this world be blemished in reality by serious faults. On the contrary, Christ himself intimates, that when he cometh, he will find but little true faith in the earth.

The apostle Paul urges the *duty* of peace and order in the church, because we being many, are *one body* in Christ, and every one members one of another” (Rom. xii. 5). From this expression “*one body*,” our opponents argue, that the church must always be one in external communion. But why may not the church constitute “*one body in Christ*,” spiritually united to him as their head, animated by one spirit of faith and charity, and continuing to be the one way of salvation, though for a time, through mutual misunderstandings, there should be an estrangement between some portions of the church? And if the same apostle urges Christians to “keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,” because there is “*one body* and one spirit,” &c.; does he also affirm it impossible that some portions of this “*one spiritual body*” should, through misunderstandings, be estranged for a time from external intercourse? Our Lord himself prayed for all believers: “that they may all be *one*, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.” We may justly infer from this, that perfect unity is the will of Christ, and that he has provided *means* for preserving or recovering this unity; but we cannot infer, that it would never be actually impaired in the church at any time.

Our Saviour’s earnest and repeated prayer for the unity of his disciples, is not equivalent to a *promise* that they should never be divided. We may rather infer from the earnestness of that prayer, that the church was in imminent danger of disunion, and that so great an evil would, most probably, at some time arrive. When Christ had prayed earnestly that the cup might pass from him, did it actually pass away? So it is in this case. Perhaps no duty is more frequently, more earn-

* Eph. iv. 4, 5.

* John xvii. 21.

estly inculcated in the New Testament, than that of *perfect* unity with the brethren. It was the new and special commandment of the Saviour himself, and when the first symptoms of division manifested themselves in the Christian family, he took occasion to eradicate the very principle from which they came. "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," &c. Ambition, was, as our Saviour knew, the source of divisions, and therefore he warned his disciples against all desire of earthly dominion and aggrandisement, under any pretence whatever. Nor did he mean that they should merely assume the *title* of "servants of the servants of God," while they endeavoured to bring all the world beneath their domination.

The commandments, the prayers of Jesus Christ for the unity of the brethren, and the corresponding exhortations of all the apostles, afford no *promise*, however, that the church should never be divided in point of external communion. On the contrary, they rather afford a presumption that it would be so at some time. When Moses, before his departure, delivered to the Israelites those awful warnings of the evils which would overtake them, if they declined to idolatry, it may be reasonably inferred, that there was danger, and probability that they would actually commit that sin. So when Christ and the apostles, before their departure, with equal earnestness, press on us the duty of perfect unity, we may infer that there was danger and probability of division in the church.

There is, as I have said, no prophecy of the division of the church at any time; but neither is there any promise of its perpetual and perfect external union. This is what the Romanists ought to produce before they affirm the *impossibility* of any division in the church, or the certainty that the catholic church can only exist in some one communion.

Secondly, I proceed to consider the doctrine of catholic tradition; and here also, as we might have anticipated, the position of our opponents is entirely unsupported. That the fathers and councils of the church do not affirm, that the

church can never be divided in point of external communion, we may conclude from the very quotations adduced by the Romish theologians, Nicole, Tournely, Bailly, &c., in proof of their assumption; for they are silent on the very point in debate. It is in vain to adduce passages from the fathers, where they speak of the catholic church as *one* communion, from which all heretics and schismatics are cut off. Who disputes that heretics and schismatics are not of the church, and that the church was generally one communion in *fact*? The only question is, whether it could ever be troubled by divisions. The innumerable exhortations and arguments of the fathers in favour of unity; their denunciations of those who separated from the whole church, or whom the church condemned: these are entirely received and approved by us; but they do not touch the question in debate, namely, whether the *catholic church itself* may not, at some time, be divided in point of external communion.

There are but two writers, of all those adduced, whose words appear to bear on the question. St. Cyprian, in speaking of the unity of the church says: "*Unity cannot be severed; nor the one body by laceration be divided*."^z One or two more similar passages occur in the same treatise. We know that Cyprian, in these places, was speaking with reference to the Novatians, who had separated themselves from the communion of the particular church of Rome, and established a rival community, and who were condemned by the universal church. His meaning is, that the unity of the church cannot be so divided by *laceration*, that in *one place* there shall be several true churches, as he observes in the same treatise^a; but he does not touch on the question of estrangement between the churches of different parts of the world. St. Augustine, in his treatise against Petilian, says, with reference to the Donatists: "He that does not communicate with this church (universal) *thus diffused*, communicates not with Him whose words have been recited" (Christ)^b. This passage decides nothing as to the question: it merely assumes that the universal church was, *in fact*, one in communion; and that those who *rejected* the communion of the whole catholic church, and

^z De Unitate, near the end, p. 260, ed. Pamel.

^b Contra Literas Petiliani, lib. 2.

^c 55. tom. ix.

^a Ibid. p. 255.

pronounced it *apostate*, as the Donatists did, or who were separated by the regular condemnation of the whole church, were cut off from Christ^c. He affirms nothing as to the *possible* state of the church. Innocentius of Rome, with whom St. Augustine communicated, was himself not in communion with the eastern churches.

It is very certain, then, that the fathers esteemed separation from the church a most grievous sin, but they did not affirm that the *church itself* could never be divided for a time by jealousies and misunderstandings.

Communion has been interrupted.

Thirdly, it is undeniable from history, that external communion between all churches has at various times been interrupted. I need not dwell on the excommunication of the Asiatic churches by Victor and the Roman church: nor on that of Cyprian and the Africans by Stephen, who, when some African bishops came to Rome, forbade the people to communicate with them, or even to receive them into their houses; nor on the excommunication of Hilary of Arles by Leo^d. In all these cases, different parts of one and the same catholic church were separated from external communion. But we may observe instances in which this division was carried to a greater extent, and involved the whole church. Fleury (himself of the Roman communion) says, with reference to the death of Chrysostom: "His death did not terminate the *division* of the churches of the East and West; and while the orientals refused to re-establish his memory, the Roman church, *followed by all the West*, held firm to the resolution she had taken, *not to communicate* with the oriental bishops, especially with Theophilus of Alexandria, until an œcumenical council should be held to remedy the evils of the church^e." This division continued for several years.

The division between the East and West was again renewed in the time of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, whom Felix of Rome deposed and excommunicated for having held communion with heretics, and for other causes, and to whose communion all the eastern bishops adhered. We learn from the letters of the orthodox oriental bishops, that after this time they were not actually in communion with the West^f.

^c I have considered this subject more fully in "The Apostolical Jurisdiction, &c. of the Episcopacy in the British Churches," s. xvi.

^d Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xxvii. s. 5.

^e Hist. Eccl. l. xxii. 13.

^f Ibid. l. xxxi. 16.

The Roman bishops informed them of the mode in which they might recover their communion ^g, and, in fine, when the reunion had been accomplished between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, after an interval of thirty-five years, Pope Hormisdas writes to the bishops of Spain, to inform them “on what conditions they should admit the orientals to their *communion* ^h.” This shows that the Eastern and Western churches had again been altogether separated in point of external communion.

I shall not multiply instances of division, but it is impossible not to mention the great schism in the western church, which continued from 1379 to 1414. During this interval the whole of that church was divided into two, and at last three, “obediencies,” subject to so many rival popes, and in a great degree estranged from mutual communion. Each “obedience” adhered to its head as the true vicar of Christ, and treated those of the other obedience as schismatics. I do not say that this separation of communion was universal, but it existed to a great extent both between different national churches and in particular churches, as we may see in the ecclesiastical history of that time ⁱ.

The best reply made to such facts by Roman theologians is, that although in these cases some portions of the church were separated from mutual communion, they still communicated with some third party, some portion of the church which did not engage in the schism. Such a *third* party does not appear in the schism between the eastern and western churches in the time of Theophilus of Alexandria, and Acacius, as Nicole himself admitted; but, at all events, the communion of two parties with a third, does not in any degree prove that the external unity of the church universal is uninterrupted. It is manifest that this sort of communion only preserves at most an *internal* unity between separated portions of the church; the external union is evidently interrupted. Romanists are sensible that they cannot sustain the perpetual external unity of the church on so imperfect a communion, and therefore they endeavour to

Romanists
obliged to
admit our
position.

^g Fleury, l. xxxi. s. 16. See also s. 26.

^h Ibid. s. 43.

ⁱ The Obedience of the popes of Avignon, before the council of Constance, consisted only of France and

Spain, which were not in communion with the rest of Christendom; yet this Obedience is considered to have been a part of the church by Romanists. See *Episcopacy Vindicated against Wiseman*, p. 190.

make up the deficiency by referring to the motives, sentiments, and conduct of those who have been actually separated from external communion. For example, the oriental bishops who adhered to Acacius are said not to have been schismatics, because “they *thought* the bishop of Constantinople could not be condemned except in a general council; but they did not *deny* the primacy of the Roman pontiff, nor the authority of the universal church.” “They *sought* communion with the apostolical see.” In the western schism, “all with good faith adhered to him whom they *held* to be the legitimate pontiff.” “All with due reverence *expected* the judgment of the universal church.” “There were *probable reasons* on both sides.” “If there were any error, it was in *mere fact*, not in the doctrine itself^l,” &c. Now, if different parties, though actually separated from external communion, may yet all form parts of the one catholic church, and be free from schism, in consequence of their *motives and principles*, and their communion with some *third* party, might not the *same* principles and motives, and communion with the *universal church* before their division, be equally consistent with the unity of the church? I see not why this communion should not preserve the unity of the church just as well as communion with some third part of the existing church, which may perhaps be exceedingly *small*, for no Romanist has pretended to determine the dimensions necessary to this party. Suppose, then, that it should consist of a few insignificant particular churches, how would the *visible* unity of the church be preserved in such a case?

Interrup-
tion of com-
munion
consistent
with doc-
trines of
Romanists.

Fourthly. I ask whether the church universal may not, consistently with the principles of Romanists themselves, be divided into two parts which hold no direct external communion? It is their doctrine, that the external unity of the church consists, not only in the communion of all its members with each other, but with their visible head, the Roman pontiff. Now, Delahogue and others admit that their communion with the head may be interrupted^k; therefore, *a pari*, it may be

^l Tournely, Prælect. Theol. de Ecclesia, quæst. iv. art. iv. objectiones. Delahogue, de Eccl. cap. i. pars ii. propos. ii. objectiones. Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. tom. i. c. vi. object.

^k “Cæterum notandum est, cen-

trum unitatis, licet ecclesiæ necessarium, interrumpi posse, sub quo respectu ejus ope eodem visibili communionis vinculo connectuntur omnes catholici; namque per quadraginta annos magni schismatis occidentis, varii competitores in pontifi-

interrupted between the members also; for the one species of external unity, in their opinion, is as divinely instituted as the other. If they contend that external communion cannot in *both* its branches be interrupted at the same time, yet still, if it may be deduced from their principles that a time may come when the Roman pontiff shall be the only link of external communion between two parties in the church, it seems that external visible unity is not more secure on their principles than on ours.

It is the doctrine of Delahogue and Romish theologians, that *schism* consists in "a separation from the communion of the *universal church*, which happens either when the church excludes any one from its body, or when any one leaves its communion¹." How can they prove that no case can occur in which a party neither separates itself from the communion of the *universal church*, nor is cut off from communion by the *universal church*, and yet is not actually in external communion with the majority of the church? If we suppose the church *equally* divided in some question, and each portion simply to withdraw its communion from the other without anathema, in obedience to an authority erroneously supposed to be irresistible, or from mutual misunderstandings; in such a case both sides would be free from schism according to this definition, and therefore both would remain portions of the one catholic church, though separated from mutual external communion.

Tournely^m and other Romish theologians distinguish three species of excommunication: one "by which bishops are deprived of the charity and ecclesiastical communion of other bishops;" which consisted chiefly in mutual visits, celebration of offices together, exchange of letters, and sitting together in councils. Another "by which a person was totally cut off from the body of the church, and held as a heathen man and a publican." And another, "most customary among the ancients," which "consisted in bare subtraction or denial of communion, by which bishops or churches separated themselves

catu suas habebant *obedientias*, et singuli eas quæ illis non adhærebant excommunicatione feriebant. Quomodo autem nulla ex illis fuerit schismatica probavimus," &c.—De

Ecclesia, c. viii. quæst. 3, prop. 2, p. 393.

¹ Delahogue, c. i. p. 1, propos. 2, object. Tournely, *ubi supra*.

^m De Ecclesia, *ibid*.

from mutual communion, and thus one, *as it were*, excommunicated the other, though not subject to it." This excommunication, according to Tournely, "was not excommunication *properly so called*," though it separated churches from mutual intercourse. Therefore, if the church universal should be divided into two portions by *such an excommunication*, neither party would be truly cut off from the church, and therefore the church would exist in different communions.

Nicole himself, in arguing for the unity of the church in external communion, makes the following admission: "We do not pretend that the actual unity which consists in the *effective union of all the church* is *essential* to the church, because this union may be troubled by divisions and contests which God permits." He even lays down two conditions which exempt from schism the parties so divided. The first is, that "all those who are divided in good faith by some controversy which is not ruled or decided, *tend sincerely to unity*;" and the second, that they must "acknowledge a common judge, to which they refer their differences, which is a general councilⁿ." Therefore, according to the principle here laid down by Nicole, whose book has been copied by all succeeding Romish theologians, and is styled by the bishop of Mans "exquisitum opus;" there may be external divisions of such a kind, that ecclesiastical unity is not truly subverted by them.

It may be concluded, then, that Scripture, tradition, history, and theological reasons, combine to establish the possibility of a division of communion in the catholic church.

SECTION V.

SEPARATION FROM COMMUNION, IN WHAT SENSE NECESSARY.

The unlawfulness of voluntary separation from the communion of the whole body of the visible church, or of that particular church of which we are members, has been maintained above; but there are certain cases in which separation, not indeed from the church of Christ, but from its unsound members, is a most sacred duty. The language of St. Paul distinctly informs us of this: "Now have I written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother" (*i. e.* a Christian) "be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a

ⁿ Cited by Jurieu, *Unité de l'Eglise*, p. 360, 361.

railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). And again: "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us" (2 Thes. iii. 6). And in another place: "Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them" (Rom. xvi. 17).

It may be collected from these passages, that when any professing Christian is guilty of heresy, idolatry, or other crimes, it is the duty of believers to separate themselves from him at once, even before the cause has been brought to the ordinary tribunals of the church; and this appears to be a general rule, applicable even in cases where bishops or other ecclesiastical superiors are guilty of crime.

Of this rule of catholic communion we find innumerable examples in the history of the church. Thus St. Cyprian, in many places, condemns bishops and other members of the church, who received to communion without any canonical penance, those who had fallen away in the time of persecution, and had performed acts of idolatry^o; assuming throughout, that such offenders had been at once, by their own acts, and without any sentence, separated from communion; these lapsed, according to him, had ceased to be members of the church. "A number of lapsed," he says, "cannot be called a church, since it is written, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living P.'" He commends the clergy of Carthage for refusing communion to Gaius and another, who "*by communicating with the lapsed*, and offering their oblations, were discovered to be in their wicked errors^q." When a bishop who had committed idolatrous actions attempted to resume his ministry in the church, Cyprian declared that "those who have committed grievous sins, that is, who have offered sacrilegious sacrifice in sacrificing to idols, cannot assume to themselves to

^o Cyprian, Epist. x. xxvii. lxiv. &c. ed. Pamelii.

^p "Absit enim, nec Domini misericordia, et potestas ejus invicta patitur, ut Ecclesia esse dicatur lapsorum numerus; cum scriptum sit, Deus non est mortuorum, sed vivorum."—Epist. xxvii. p. 55, ed. Pamelii.

^q "Integrè et cum disciplinâ fecistis . . . quod consilio collegarum meorum qui præsentés erant, Gaius Diddensi presbytero et diacono ejus censuistis non communicandum: qui communicando cum lapsis, et offerendo oblationes eorum in pravis erroribus suis frequenter deprehensi," &c.—Epist. xxviii. p. 56.

be priests of God, nor make any prayer before Him for the brethren ;” and that “no oblation can be sanctified where the Holy Spirit is not, nor can any blessing from the Lord come through the prayers and supplications of one who hath injured the Lord ^r.” The synod of African bishops, with Cyprian, in an epistle to the clergy and people of Leon and Merida, in Spain, whose bishops had committed idolatry, declared, that under such circumstances, “the people should not flatter themselves that they could be free from the contagion of guilt *when in communion with a wicked bishop*, and consenting to his unrighteous and unlawful rule ^s.” “A people obedient to the Lord’s commands, and fearing God, *ought to separate* itself from a bishop that is a sinner, and not partake in the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest ^t.” The synod afterwards exhorts them “not to be united *in sacrilegious communion* with profane and defiled bishops ^u.”

This rule applied even in the case of the bishops of the principal sees. Thus Antonianus, a bishop of Numidia, would not hold communion with Cornelius, bishop of Rome, who had been accused of communicating with the lapsed, and restoring a lapsed bishop to his office, until St. Cyprian showed him the injustice of those accusations ^v. St. Jerome refers with approbation to the acts of the monks and many of the brethren who separated from the communion of John, bishop of Jerusalem, because he would not clear himself from the errors of Origen, with which he was strongly charged ^w. The monks of Cappadocia separated themselves from the communion of the elder Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum, because he had subscribed the creed of Ariminum, and was suspected of Arianism ^x. From all these cases it is plain, that in the primitive

^r Epist. lxiv. Ad Epictetum et plebem Assuritanorum.

^s “Nec sibi plebs blandiatur ; quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, et ad injustum atque illicitum præpositi sui episcopatum consensum suum commodans.”—Epist. lxxviii. p. 165.

^t “Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, à peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi

sacerdotis sacrificia miscere.”—*Ibid.* p. 166.

^u “Quantum possumus adhortamur litteris nostris, ne vos cum profanis et maculatis sacerdotibus communicatione sacrilega misceatis.”—*Ibid.* p. 166.

^v Cypr. Epist. lii. ad Antonianum.

^w Hieron. Epist. xxxviii. col. 308. Oper. tom. iv. ed. Benedict.

^x Vita Gregorii Naz. a Gregorio presbytero, tom. i. Oper. Naz.; Orat. xii. De Pace, p. 191, &c.

ages it was considered right to separate from the communion even of bishops, however eminent in station and dignity, when they were guilty of heresy or idolatry.

According to Sozoman, when St. Basil was obliged to escape from the enmity of Eusebius, archbishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, “the people of Cæsarea intended to desert Eusebius entirely, as suspected of heresy, and to hold their assemblies apart^y.” After the condemnation of Chrysostom, many of the people of Constantinople refused to communicate with Arsacius, who was ordained bishop of Constantinople in his stead; or with Theophilus of Alexandria, and Porphyrius of Antioch, who had been aiding or abetting in the deposition of Chrysostom; and their conduct was highly approved by the see of Rome and by all the west^z. The people of Constantinople, on hearing the errors advanced by their bishop, Nestorius, immediately left the church, and held no further communion with Nestorius; for which they were applauded by St. Cyril, of Alexandria, and by Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome^a.

The clergy of Edessa, when petitioning the synod of Berytus in favour of their bishop, Ibas, who was accused of preaching the Nestorian heresy in his church, protested, that “if they had held communion with him, or ministered with him, preaching such errors, they would have deserved eternal punishment^b.” Many of the clergy and people of Rome separated themselves from the communion of Pope Anastasius II. because he had held communion with a deacon who communicated with the Monophysites, and because he wished to restore Acacius to the see of Constantinople, who had received the Monophysites to communion^c. When Pelagius I. was made bishop of Rome, great numbers of the most eminent members of the Roman church separated themselves from his communion, alleging that he had been concerned in the death of Pope Vigilius, his predecessor^d. In the same manner, many separated themselves from Popes Symmachus, Adrian II., and Victor III., as being charged with various crimes.

^y Sozom. l. vi. c. 15.

^z Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xxii. s. 9.

^a Cyril. Alexandrinus Epist. ad Cœlestin. Papan, tom. iii. Conc. ed. Labbæi, col. 342; Epist. Cœlest. ad Cyril. col. 346, 347; Ad Cler. et Popul. Const. col. 363, &c.; Ad

Joan. Antioch. col. 375.

^b Apud Concil. Chalced. act. x. p. 668, tom. iv. Concil. ed. Labb.

^c Liber Pontificalis, Vita Anastasii, Labb. Conc. tom. iv. col. 1276.

^d Liber Pontificalis, Labb. tom. v. col. 787.

Pelagius II. and Gregory the Great forbade their ambassadors at Rome to assist at the communion with John and Cyriacus, bishops of Constantinople, in consequence of their having assumed the title of "Œcumenical Patriarch^e." Gregory VII. forbade any of the faithful to hear service performed by, or to communicate with, any priest who was notoriously simoniacal, or lived in the state of marriage; and he commended the clergy and people of Constance for withdrawing themselves from the communion of their bishop, who had obtained his see simoniacally, and who squandered the property of the church^f.

It may be inferred from these facts, that in the judgment of the church, it is lawful to withdraw from the communion of any of the brethren, and even from the communion of bishops, when they are *notoriously* guilty of heresy, idolatry^g, or other grievous crimes, or when they communicate with heretics and idolaters, and thus encourage them in their sins; and that if bishops or others are vehemently suspected and accused of heresy, idolatry, or other crimes, and will not or cannot clear themselves from such imputations, it is also right to withdraw from their communion, until the cause has been decided by a lawful synod.

It is plain, however, that this principle, though deeply-rooted in the nature of Christianity, is, like most other salutary principles, capable of being most erroneously applied; and if it be not acted on with great caution and charity, it may lead to schisms and to incalculable evils. In some of the instances cited above, it was, to a certain extent, misapplied; and ecclesiastical history furnishes many instances of schisms, like those of the Donatists and Luciferians, which originated in such misapplications, combined with an imperfect appreciation of the perpetuity and catholicity of the church, and the absolute duty of adhering to her communion. Such acts of separation are schismatical where the heresies or idolatries of those from whom the separation is made are not *notorious* or *certain*; or when separation takes place without giving the accused an

^e Gregorii Epist. ad Joan. Const. Labb. Conc. tom. v. col. 1191.

^f See Christianus Lupus, in Conc. General. pars ii. p. 1297, 1301.

^g See Archbp. Potter on Church Government (chap. iv. p. 121, ed.

Crosthwaite), where the Synod of Ephesus, act. vii. can. iii, and the (so-called) eighth œcumenical synod, can. xv. are quoted in proof of this principle.

opportunity of *self-vindication and explanation*; or when the separation is made on principles involving separation from *the whole universal church*; or when it is made by the act of union with those who are notoriously guilty of crimes still greater than those which have induced separation from others. In the first case separation is causeless; in the second it is unjust; in the third it is based on unsound doctrine; in the fourth it does not arise from the love of the truth, or from zeal for God.

SECTION VI.

UNITY OF COMMUNION, HOW FAR A NOTE OF THE CHURCH.

We are now to consider how far the doctrine of unity in communion furnishes us with notes of the true church, or means by which we may discriminate it, without much difficulty, from rival communities.

1. Since, then, it has been proved, in Section I., that God has commanded unity in his church, it follows necessarily that he must have provided *means* for sustaining this unity; and therefore, that any society which does not possess means for upholding unity of communion, and which is obliged by its fundamental principles to tolerate and even encourage separation and division without limit, cannot be a church of God. This, then, is a note which enables us easily to discriminate sects from the church.

2. From the principles laid down in Section II., it follows that any society which originally separated itself from the whole church, or from a particular church, on grounds which equally implied separation from the whole, is no part of the church of Christ. This is another test which may be easily applied.

3. It also follows, from Section II., that any society which originally separated itself from the bishops and other disciples of its own locality, is involved in schism, except in the case contemplated in Section V., when those bishops or disciples were notoriously guilty of idolatry or heresy, or refused to clear themselves of those crimes when justly suspected. There may be some difficulty in applying this test to particular communities, involving, as it does, the discussion of particular doctrines,

and of the extent to which they are held or approved by certain societies; still it may be possible to establish so undeniable a case, and in so brief a compass, that a society may be easily cleared from schism or convicted of it.

4. It is not difficult to show that some existing societies have been excommunicated by the universal church for their errors (Section III.), and that others have not been so. This, then, may be employed as one of our tests.

5. It is plain from Section IV., that actual unity of external communion is not a necessary characteristic of the church; but all parts of the church must necessarily desire such an unity, and tend towards it, and must possess principles and means calculated to produce unity in each particular church, and in the universal church.

6. If, in fine, it can be shown that any society of professing Christians was originally founded by the apostles, or the churches they instituted; that this society has been always visible; that it never voluntarily separated itself from the great body of the church; that it was never excommunicated from the rest of the church by any regular or valid judgment; and that it maintains the necessity of unity, and provides effectual means for preserving it; then it follows that such a society must be a portion of the church of Christ, as far as it can be proved such from the unity of communion, even though it may not be actually in communion with the larger part of the church. In this case it can never have ceased to be what it originally was, namely, a church of Christ; for a church can only cease to be united to Christ by its own voluntary separation, or by the lawful judgment of others.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN RESPECT OF FAITH.

THAT our Lord Jesus Christ did, in the time of his sojourn on earth, and afterwards by his apostles, make a revelation of truths salutary and necessary to be believed, is the general confession of all who call themselves Christians. Such truths ought doubtless to be believed by all his disciples, that is, by the church; and therefore the church ought to have unity of faith. But many questions have been raised as to the invariable unity of the church in faith, and the possibility of salvation under certain circumstances, even when revealed truth is not perfectly received. In treating of this subject, I shall prove,

First, that THE TRUTH revealed by Christ must be believed by all Christians, in order to salvation.

Secondly, that heresy, or the pertinacious denial or perversion of the truth, excludes from salvation.

Thirdly, that all errors, even in matters of faith, are not heretical; and that some errors and corruptions may exist in the church.

Fourthly, I shall examine in what respects unity in faith is an attribute and sign of the church of Christ.

SECTION I.

THE TRUTH REVEALED BY CHRIST IS TO BE BELIEVED BY ALL CHRISTIANS.

The whole system and body of the Christian religion is necessarily free from the least mixture of error or falsehood, because it proceeds from the infinitely wise and only-begotten Son of God, who declared himself to be emphatically “the way, the truth, and the life.” The very object of his mission was to declare the truth. “To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth” (John xviii. 37); and the reason was, “God hath

Revealed
truth obli-
gatory.

from the beginning chosen you to *salvation* through sanctification of the Spirit and *belief of the truth*" (2 Thess. ii. 13). His promise to his disciples was; "Ye shall know the truth, and *the truth* shall make you *free*" (John viii. 32): and again, "The Spirit of truth will guide you into all truth" (xvi. 13). It is to be observed, that *salvation*, and freedom from the dominion of evil, are here connected with the belief of the truth: the holy Spirit even is given for its maintenance: and hence Christians are bound by their hopes of salvation, and by the obligation of submitting their own wills to the will of God, to believe *the truth* alone, as revealed by Jesus Christ. This truth he commanded his disciples to "teach all nations;" and since truth is but *one*, the apostle declares that there is but "one faith" (Eph. iv. 5), for which "faith once delivered to the saints," a faith incapable of improvement, of addition, or correction, all Christians are commanded "earnestly to contend" (Jude 3). In this faith they are to remain "*stablished* as they have been taught" (Coloss. ii. 7). They are exhorted to "stand fast, and hold the traditions they have been taught" (1 Thess. ii. 15); "not carried about with divers and strange doctrines" (Heb. xiii. 9); nor "like children tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine" (Eph. iv. 14). Their pastors are commanded, when needful, to "rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith" (Tit. i. 13). Nothing is more evident than the will and commandment of Christ, that his whole church should firmly believe and sustain the one truth which he came to reveal by himself and his apostles. Even in his last hours he thus addressed the Father: "Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth" (John xvii. 17); and their common belief in this truth was doubtless included in the petition which he immediately added: "that they may all be *one*." In fine, St. Paul describes the Christian church as established for the maintenance of the truth. "The church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. iii. 5).

Hence we may conclude that there is an obligation on all Christians to receive the whole truth revealed by Christ, and to deny no part of it^h. Every portion of this truth comes from God himself, and rests on his authority; and we cannot

^h See Rogers's Discourse of the mon II. before the University of Church, chap. iii. Hook, Ser- Oxford.

without temerity divide the doctrines which he has revealed, into those which may be *denied*, and those which may be believed. Independently of the rashness and folly of such a distinction made without any authority of revelation, its impiety is manifest, as it in effect constitutes man the judge of God himself. It is necessary therefore to avoid with the greatest care any approximation to this evil doctrine. The obligation of believing all that Christ has actually revealed, must however be admitted by professing Christians of "all denominations." Even the Unitarian cannot allow that it is lawful to deny that pardon is given on condition of repentance, or that future *rewards* are eternal; or if he does so, he must be prepared to maintain the absurd paradox, that one who denies every doctrine which Christ taught, may yet be a disciple of Christ, and in the way of salvation which Christ came to point out. But I proceed to confirm what has been asserted in this section, by showing the sin of disbelieving any of the truth revealed by Christ.

SECTION II.

HERESY EXCLUDES FROM SALVATION.

Heresy is the *pertinacious* denial of some truth *certainly* revealed. I say "pertinacious," because it is agreed generally that pertinacity or obstinacy is required to constitute formal heresy. Field defines heretics as "they that *obstinately* persist in error contrary to the church's faith¹." Hooker says, that "heresy is heretically maintained by such as *obstinately* hold it after wholesome admonition¹." On the other hand, Melchior Canus teaches that "heresy is the *pertinacious* error of one who professes the faith, manifestly contrary to that truth which is *certainly* catholic," and that "he alone is to be accounted a heretic who resists the doctrine of the church, and is therefore *pertinacious*^k." I add "*certainly* revealed," because if there be a *legitimate doubt* in a controversy, which of the two contrary doctrines was actually revealed, either may be held without heresy. It is obvious also, that mere

Heresy defined.

¹ Field, Of the Church, book i. ch. 14.

¹ Hooker's Works by Keble, vol. iii. p. 620.

^k Melchior Canus, De Locis The-

ologicis, lib. xii. c. vii. resp. ad 5. The same doctrine is maintained by Bossuet, Defens. declar. cler. Galliani, tom. iii. p. 286.

ignorance, or a temporary error in ignorance, is altogether different from heresy.

Heresy a sin, according to Scripture.

1. Heresy is in fact a species of infidelity; it denies a portion of what God has revealed; and the words of Christ to his apostles, "Go ye and teach all nations . . . to observe *all things* that I have commanded you . . . he that believeth not shall be damned" (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 16), consigning to destruction those who do not believe the apostolic preaching, prove the infinite danger of disputing or denying it in any point. As it has been shown above that the Scriptures connect salvation with a belief of the truth, so also is condemnation united with the belief of false doctrines: "For this cause shall God send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth" (2 Thess. ii. 11, 12). Heresy is here represented as a judgment of God on the wicked, by which he permits Satan to gain dominion over them, and precipitate them into destruction. St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, with reference to the Judaizing teachers, who maintained the necessity of obedience to the old Law without denying the mission of Christ, says: "There be some that trouble you, and would *pervert*" (not *deny*) "the Gospel of Christ. But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel (*i. e.* by perverting the Gospel) unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema" (Gal. i. 7—9).

St. Peter said: "There shall be false teachers among you, who shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them" (2 Pet. ii. 1). These words probably refer directly and immediately to those who are described by another apostle as "deceivers" and "antichrists," who "confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (2 John 7). St. John continues: "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, he hath not God: he that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house; neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds" (9—11). It appears that St. John alluded in this

passage to the Gnostics, who denied that Christ's body was real, and consequently subverted the doctrine of his real incarnation, passion, death, atonement, &c.; and no words can more plainly show the guilt of separating from the unity of the true faith. Evil doctrine is elsewhere described as hateful to God. "So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I HATE" (Rev. ii. 15). Those who teach and maintain false doctrines are, according to the apostolic command, to be rejected and cut off from the society of Christians. "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: *from such withdraw thyself*" (1 Tim. vi. 3—5). "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, *reject*" (Tit. iii. 10).

These passages are so clear, that it is needless to adduce further proof from Scripture to the same effect. It may be concluded, therefore, that a pertinacious denial of any truth certainly revealed by Christ our Lord, whether it be doctrinal or moral, relating to the nature and attributes of God, or the duty and hopes of man, is offensive to God, and destructive of salvation.

2. The whole church of Christ, from the beginning, acknowledged this principle. Ignatius writes thus to the church in Ephesus: "Do not err, my brethren. They who corrupt the house, shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and if such as do these things according to the flesh have perished, how much more if any one should corrupt the faith of God by evil doctrine, for which faith Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a one, being defiled, shall depart into fire unquenchable. Likewise he who heareth him¹." To the Trallians he writes: "Therefore I exhort you, and yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, to use only Christian food, and to abstain from strange pasture, which is heresy. For the heretics, to appear worthy of

Fathers.

¹ Μη πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου. Οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. Εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πρᾶσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐὰν πίστιν Θεοῦ κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθείρῃ, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη; ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὄνυχαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει ὁμοίως ἐξ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ.—Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. c. xvi.

belief, involve Jesus Christ in their doctrine, like those who administer a deadly potion mingled with sweet wine, which the ignorant receiveth with pleasure; and therein is death^m." Justin Martyr teaches the same doctrine. Having cited the words of Christ: "Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise and deceive many of the faithful;" he continues: "There are therefore, and were many, who going forth in the name of Christ, taught impious and blasphemous doctrines and practices; and we call them by the name of those men from whom each doctrine or opinion arose . . . with none of whom do we communicate, knowing them to be irreligious, impious, unrighteous, iniquitous, who instead of venerating Jesus Christ, only profess him in nameⁿ." "The Lord," says Irenæus, "shall judge all those who are without the truth; that is, without the church^o." "If they are heretics they cannot be Christians," according to Tertullian^p; who also judged, that "heresies had not inflicted less injury on the Christians by their perverse doctrines, than Antichrist by his horrible persecutions^q." Clement of Alexandria affirms, that "he who revolts against the ecclesiastical doctrine, and falls into the opinions of human heresies, ceases to be a man of God, and faithful to the Lord^r." Origen continues the same doctrine: "As those shall not possess the kingdom of God, who have been defiled by fornication, and uncleanness, and impurities, and idolatry; so neither shall heretics^s." "If any one, reading the gospel, applies to it his own interpretation, not understanding it as the Lord spake it, truly he is a false prophet, uttering words from his own mind. These words may fairly be understood of heretics^t." "Nor can that man be accounted

^m Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγὼ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μόνῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλοτριᾶς δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθαι, ἧτις ἐστὶν αἵρεσις, κ. τ. λ.—Ad Trall. c. vi.

ⁿ Πολλοὶ οἱ ἄθεα καὶ βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐδίδαξαν . . . ὧν οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνόμους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντας.—Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 208. ed. Thirl.

^o "Dominus iudicaturus est eos omnes qui sunt extra veritatem, id est qui sunt extra ecclesiam."—Adv. Hæres. l. 4. c. 33. al. 62.

^p "Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt."—De Præscript. c. 37. p. 215. ed. Rigalt. 1664.

^q Præscript. c. 4.

^r Stromat. vii. 88. "Ἀνθρωπος εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πιστὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ διαμένειν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὁ ἀναλακτίσας τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ ἀποσκιρτήσας εἰς δόξας αἵρεσιῶν ἀνθρωπίνων.—Stromat. lib. vii. p. 890. ed. Potter.

^s Origen. ap. Pamphil. Apol. tom: v. p. 225. Oper. Hieron. Paris. 1706.

^t Hom. ii. in Ezech. tom. iii. p. 362.

a Christian," says Cyprian, "who doth not remain in the truth of his gospel and faith ^u."

The practice of the church was in accordance with these principles. Heretics were always regarded as cut off from the church, and to be avoided by all Christians. Irenæus relates, from the tradition of Polycarp, a disciple of St. John, that when the apostle went to the bath at Ephesus, and beheld Cerinthus there, he departed, saying, "Let us fly, lest it should fall upon us, for Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is there ^v." Polycarp himself, when asked by the heretic Marcion, "Whether he knew him," answered, "I know thee, the first-born of Satan." "So great care," says Irenæus, "had the apostles and their disciples not to communicate, even by words, with those who adulterated the truth; as Paul also said: 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition reject, knowing that such a one is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned by himself ^w.'" Heretics were only received into the church on confessing their fault, as Irenæus intimates in the case of Cerdo ^x. Those who taught false doctrines were condemned and anathematized. Thus Victor and the Roman church expelled Theodotus, Artemon, and their followers, who held that Christ was a mere man ^y. Noetus was condemned at Ephesus ^z, and Paulus of Samosata at Antioch, by seventy oriental bishops, who in their epistle to all churches speak thus: "We also wrote and exhorted many bishops afar off, to procure a remedy of this *deadly* doctrine ^a," . . . and having alluded to the scandalous life of Paulus, they observe, that had he been orthodox, they would have examined into this; "but we have not judged it fit to take account of these things, in the case of one who hath betrayed the mystery, and boasted himself in the accursed heresy of Artemon; for why should we not declare his parent? . . . Having, therefore, expelled him as an enemy of God, and remaining

Practice of the church.

^u "Nec Christianus videri potest qui non permanet in Evangelii ejus, et fidei veritate."—De Unit. Eccl.

^v Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. iii.—*Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῆς, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κηρίνθου, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπὼν φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον σιμπίσις, ἐνδόν ὄντος Κηρίνθου, τοῦ τῆς*

ἀληθείας ἰχθοῦ.

^w Ibid.

^x Adv. Hæres. iii. c. 4.

^y Euseb. v. 28. Fleury, iv. 33.

^z Fleury, liv. v. c. 52.

^a Ἐπεστέλλομεν δὲ ἅμα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν μακρὰν ἐπισκόπων, ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς θανατηφόρου διδασκαλίας. — Euseb. vii. c. 30.

obstinate, we are compelled to ordain another bishop^b," &c. On the same principle the holy œcumenical synod of three hundred and eighteen bishops at Nice, declared all who should deny the divinity of Christ to be anathema^c. It is needless to go further in accumulating proof that the church, in all ages, from the beginning, regarded heresy as a crime destructive of salvation. Even the sects which separated from the church, bore testimony, by their very act of separation, to their belief, that those who taught doctrines contrary to the truth, were not to be held Christians, or communicated with.

Reformers. 3. And the same doctrine has been continually received amongst professing Christians of all appellations to the present day. At the reformation all parties received the definition of faith called the Creed of Athanasius, in which it is declared, that "whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith, which faith except every one do keep *whole and undefiled*, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Nothing can be more decisive than this of the doctrine of the reformation; for all its adherents vied with each other in their adoption of the Athanasian Creed^d. Nor was this merely a speculative doctrine with them. Luther and his adherents held Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and their followers, as heretics in the question of the eucharist, and accordingly refused to hold any communion with them^e. Both parties denounced the Socinians and Anabaptists as most grievous heretics, and separated them from all communion. Calvin styles Servetus (one of the Socinian and Anabaptist

^b Τὸν δὲ ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντα τῇ μιαιφῶν ἀίρεσει τῇ ἀρετῆ (τί γὰρ οὐ χρὴ μὲν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δηλοῦσαι) οὐδὲν δεῖν ἠγοῦμεθα τούτων τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπατεῖν . . . ἠναγκάσθημεν οὖν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ μὴ εἰκοντα ἐκκηρύξαντες, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid.

^c Socrat. Hist. Eccl. i. c. 8. Theodoret. ii. c. 12.

^d See the Articles of Smalcald, Formula Concordiæ, Confess. Helvet. i. c. xi.; Confess. Gallic. art. v.; Belgica, art. ix.; Bohemica, art. iii. &c.

The Swiss said in their Confession: "We abominate the impious doctrine of Arius and the

Arians against the Son of God, especially the blasphemies of Michael Servetus and his sect, which Satan drew as from hell, by their means, against the Son of God, and most audaciously and impiously scattered through the world." "We execrate the madness of Eutyches and the Monothelites," &c—Confess. Helvet. i. c. xi. All the Confessions of the foreign Reformation are full of condemnations of various heresies in the strongest terms.—See chap. xii.

^e Bishop Cosin, in his History of Transubstantiation, has shown that the differences on this question were not so great as has been imagined.

sect) “a monster^f,” and was instrumental in his being burned alive for heresy^g. The reformed of Holland expelled the Arminians as heretics, not only from their communion, but from their country. I merely adduce these specific acts to prove the universal consent of the foreign reformation, that heresy is a most grievous sin, and that they who are guilty of it, are not to be treated as Christian brethren. The principle of temporal persecution for religion, is perfectly distinct from the original principle of the church with regard to heresy. It arose several centuries after the foundation of Christianity.

4. The sense of the Church of England admits of no doubt. The Athanasian Creed, which she declares “ought *thoroughly* to be believed and received,” as it “may be proved by most certain warrant of holy Scripture^h,” is decisive on the question; and in the collect for Good-Friday we pray for “heretics,” that they may be “fetched home to God’s flock,” and “saved;” evidently implying that they are, as heretics, out of the way of salvation. Our most noted theologians hold the same doctrine. Bishop Jewel says: “Heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a rejection of God’s grace, a departure from the body of Christⁱ,” &c. Bishop Pearson says: “A man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may by an act of his own, cast himself out and eject himself” (out of the church), “not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of faith, falling into some *damnable* heresy^j.” Dr. Barrow says: “In regard to this union in faith peculiarly, the body of Christians adhering to it was called the catholic church, from which all those were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated, who *in any point* deserted that faith; ‘such a one,’ (saith St. Paul) ἐξέστραπται, ‘is turned aside,’ or hath left the Christian way of life. He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned.” Having proved this to be the doctrine of the Christian church

English church.

^f “Nostro quoque sæculo emerit non minus exitiale *monstrum* Michael Servetus.”—Inst. ii. 14, 5. “Manichæorum *delirio* occurrere necesse est, quod rursus hac ætate invhere tentavit Servetus . . . hic *diabolicus* error quam crassas et fædas absurditates secum trahat,” &c.

—Inst. i. 16, 5. “Cavendum tamen est a *diabolica* imaginatione Serveti.”—ii. 9, 3.

^g Mosheim, cent. xvi. sect. iii. part. ii. c. 4 s. 4.

^h Art. viii.

ⁱ Apologia, p. 18.

^j On the Creed, art. ix.

in early times, he adds: "Hence, in common practice, whosoever did appear to differ from the common faith, was rejected as an apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of Christians ^k."

Dissenters.

5. Even dissenters have admitted the same doctrine. The divines of Westminster (Presbyterians), in their "Humble Advice," declared that "the catholic visible church consists of all those throughout the world that profess the *true religion*," &c. Owen, a leader of the Independents, admits that the church of Christ must have "belief of the same doctrine of truth which is according to godliness, the same articles of faith, and the public profession thereof:" that "although any society of men should profess the Scripture to be the word of God, and avow an assent unto the revelation made therein; yet by the conception of their minds, and misunderstanding of the sense of the Holy Spirit therein, they may embrace and adhere unto such errors as may cut them off from all communion with the catholic church in faith." And "in case, through the subtilty, &c. of those by whom *damnable doctrines* are broached, the church itself, whereunto they do belong, is not able to rebuke and suppress them," &c., in such a case synods may be resorted to ^l. The admissions of some of the modern dissenters on this point are also clear and decisive. "Can any person, then, who professes to be a believer in Christianity, doubt whether there are not some doctrines essential to religion." Such doctrines "a faithful church must *hold fast*, and *even make them conditions of communion* ^m." Nothing can be more reasonable, and at the same time more calculated to justify the invariable practice of the church in proposing certain creeds as the conditions of her communion, and excommunicating those who teach false doctrines.

Church may excommunicate heretics.

6. Having thus proved that according to Scripture and universal consent, heresy is a most deadly sin, I shall only add here that the church must certainly have the power of expelling those who are guilty of it, from her communion. If Christians may separate even those who are guilty of offences against fraternal charity, as I have elsewhere observed ⁿ; how

^k On the Unity of the Church. Works, vol. ii. p. 762.

^l The True Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 404, 405. 417.

^m Library of Eccles. Knowledge,

Essays on Church Polity, vol. ii. p. 401. See also Tract on Const. of Prim. Christ. vol. i. p. 39.

ⁿ In the preceding chapter, sect. iii.

much more must they be bound to remove from their communion those, who dare to corrupt and destroy the holy truth revealed by God himself for the salvation of mankind. Not only is this crime more directly offensive to God, but it is more dangerous to us; for heresy commonly appears in the character of goodness and piety. "And no marvel," says the apostle, "for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works" (2 Cor. xi. 14, 15). We know, accordingly, from ecclesiastical history, that the founders of almost all heresies, as Arius, Pelagius, Nestorius, &c. have been famed for external piety and sanctity; and when such men earnestly assert their doctrines as true and orthodox, then even the faithful may be in danger of forsaking their steadfastness. But as the apostle says: "There *must* be also heresies among you, that they which *are approved* may be made *manifest* among you" (1 Cor. xi. 19). That is, God provides that the very heresies which he permits to fall as a judgment on proud and carnal spirits, shall only purify and glorify that church which they are apparently destined to destroy.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that the church should be able to separate heretics from its communion; and the Scripture gives such a power: "A heretic after the first and second admonition *reject* °." . . . "From such *withdraw* thyself" . . . and finally: "If he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven^a." The church's power of judgment in cases of heresy is reasonably to be inferred from this last passage, because, though our Saviour had originally only supposed a case of sin against the law of charity, he concludes by expanding ecclesiastical judgments to all matters of religion. "*Whatsoever* ye shall bind," &c. Nor can any reason be assigned why the church should not take cognizance of heresy amongst her members, as well as of any other sin. It is evident, also, from what has been said in this Section,

° Tit. iii. 10.

p 1 Tim. vi. 5.

a Matt. xviii. 17, 18.

that Christians have in all ages, from the beginning, regarded the Christian society as invested with such a right, and perpetually acted upon it; and that those whose doctrines were pronounced false by the voice of the Christian world, and who remained pertinacious in their errors, were universally rejected, and no longer regarded as Christians.

On this subject I shall speak more fully elsewhere (Part IV. chap. XVI. sect. II); but here it may be observed, that as in the case of all offences against charity, so in the case of offences against faith, there are certain *conditions* requisite to a valid ecclesiastical judgment, which, if *plainly violated*, render it null and devoid of all spiritual effect. It is very improbable, however, that the universal church should not perform these conditions, and it might be even argued that it is impossible; but at least the improbability is so great, that unless it can be *clearly proved* by facts, that in some case the church did not examine whether those accused of heresy were really guilty of it, but judged from mere impulse or passion; it is only reasonable to conclude, that those who are condemned were rightly condemned.

SECTION III.

ALL ERRORS, EVEN IN MATTERS OF FAITH, ARE NOT HERETICAL, AND SOME ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS MAY EXIST IN THE CHURCH.

It has been proved that Christians are bound by their hopes of salvation to believe and stedfastly maintain the truth revealed by Jesus Christ, and that they cannot, without committing deadly sin, forsake or corrupt any portion of that truth. But in order to free this doctrine from all unjust consequences which might be deduced from it, we must consider the cases in which heresy is not to be imputed to those who are in error^r, or in other words, how far error in belief is consistent with salvation.

I. In the first place, with reference to those who are not members of the church, it may be observed, that there is a

Errors in
faith not
always
heretical.

^r This question is also treated of in Part iv. ch. vi.

great difference between those who actually apostatize from the evident truth, and those who have been born and educated out of the pale of the church's teaching, and have indeed imbibed from their parents or instructors doctrines contrary to the truth in some points, but who maintain them without obstinacy, and with a willingness to embrace the truth revealed by Christ, whatever it may be. It would be inconsistent with that charity which "hopeth all things," to maintain absolutely that such persons are separated from Christ. St. Augustine teaches this doctrine: "the apostle Paul indeed said, 'A heretic after the first and second admonition reject,' &c.; they however who defend their opinion, though false and perverse, with no pertinacious vehemence, especially if they have not themselves invented it with presumptuous audacity, but received it from parents who had been seduced and fallen into error; and if they are seeking after the truth with cautious solicitude, and ready to be corrected when they have discerned it, such men are by no means to be accounted among heretics^s." This is also the doctrine of Archbishop Laud, who says that such persons, "however misled, are neither heretics nor schismatics in the sight of God, and are therefore in a state of salvation^t."

This last statement should be received with some caution, and be understood rather to imply a pious and charitable *hope* and opinion, than any absolute certainty. It is true that the defect of knowledge diminishes or removes the guilt of sin. "If I had not come and spoken unto them they had not had sin" (John xv. 22). Again: "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes" (Luke xii. 47, 48). Hence we may infer that those who maintain heretical doctrines in ignorance, are in a very different condition from those who forsake the light of the truth; but still, if a society has separated itself, or been legitimately separated by the whole church of Christ for heresy,

^s "Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia præsumptionis suæ pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cauta solli-

citudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi."—Aug. Ep. 43. al. 162. Oper. t. 2. p. 88.

^t Laud, Controversy with Fisher, s. 36. p. 315.

its members are not in the way of salvation pointed out by Jesus Christ. With regard to those who merely through ignorance maintain heretical doctrines *within the communion of the church*, we cannot reckon such persons amongst heretics; St. Augustine maintains that they are not heretics, unless they reject the truth after it has been sufficiently manifested to them ^u.

Articles of
faith.

Opinions.

II. We are now to consider the case of the church herself, and to inquire how far errors and corruptions may exist in her communion. It must be observed in the first place, that a distinction should be drawn between Christian doctrines. Some doctrines have been certainly revealed, and are known to be so by the clear words of Scripture, and the voice of universal tradition. These are *matters of faith*, and cannot be *pertinaciously* denied without heresy. Other doctrines are deduced from passages of Scripture which admit of a different interpretation, or from doctrines of faith whence it is not certain that they follow, and are not supported by the voice of universal tradition, but have been opposed by several members of the church at all times without any condemnation of their doctrine by the church generally. Such doctrines are *matters of opinion*, and they may be received, or not received, according to the judgment of individuals or particular churches, without heresy; because there is no certainty that they were revealed by Christ. As St. Augustine says; “Some points there are, in which even the most learned and best defenders of the catholic rule disagree, yet the union of faith is preserved ^v.” This distinction is admitted by all parties. Calvin observes, that “there are some things which may be controverted amongst churches, yet do not destroy the unity of faith. For what churches ought to separate merely for this cause, if one should suppose without any contentiousness or positive assertion, that souls departing from the body ascend to heaven, and

^u “Constituamus ergo duos aliquos isto modo, unum eorum, verbi gratiâ, sentire de Christo quod Photinus opinatus est, et in ejus hæresi baptizari extra Ecclesiæ Catholicæ communionem; alium vero hoc idem sentire, sed in Catholicâ baptizari, existimantem ipsam esse Catholicam fidem. Istum nondum hæreticum dico, nisi manifestatâ sibi doctrinâ

Catholicæ fidei resistere maluerit, et illud quod tenebat elegerit.”—August. De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. iv. c. xvi. col. 135. t. ix.

^v “Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage non consonant.”—Contr. Jul. i. 22. p. 510. tom. x.

the other should not dare to determine the place, yet hold that they are alive to God^w?" In the same manner the Romish divines distinguish between theological opinions and doctrines *de fide*. Amongst the former some include the points disputed between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Ultramontane and the Cisalpine parties, the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, &c. From what has been said, we may infer,

1. That *mistaken opinions*, not contrary to the faith, may be held by many individuals in the universal church; nay, even by the majority of its members; because this does not imply heresy, or separation from Christ.

2. Many persons may believe such doctrines to be articles of faith, without being guilty of heresy. Bossuet says, that the majority of writers in any age may pronounce a doctrine heretical, and yet be themselves mistaken^x.

3. Particular churches may hold and teach such doctrines without being heretical. Thus the Gallican church maintained its own doctrines, which many Romanists consider erroneous; and yet is excused from heresy by Romanists^y.

4. I do not suppose however, that the *whole universal church* could formally teach by a united judgment, any such doctrine; or impose it as an article of faith; because the promises of Christ (Matt. xxviii. 20, and John xiv. 16, 17), give the church so much authority, that in the case supposed, an error would be universally received without any remedy.

We have been hitherto considering how far mistaken opinions may exist in the church, without being formally defined by the authority of the whole church. Let us now examine whether in all cases, the refusal to receive doctrines so defined, necessarily implies heresy. I maintain that even when a doctrine has been declared *de fide* by the legitimate judgment of the universal church, still if *through an error of fact* it be sup-

^w Calvin, Institut. lib. iv. c. i. s. 12.—The Lutherans admitted the same in their Apology, where, in reference to the universal church, it is said, "Hæc ecclesia proprie est columna veritatis. Retinet enim purum evangelium, et ut Paulus inquit, fundamentum, hoc est, veram Christi cognitionem et fidem, etsi sunt in his etiam multi imbecilles,

qui supra fundamentum ædificant stipulas perituras, hoc est, quasdam inutiles opiniones, quæ tamen, quia non evertunt fundamentum, tunc condonantur illis, tum etiam emendantur."—Apol. Conf. August. iv.

^x Bossuet, Defens. Decl. Cler. Gallicani, Append. l. ii. c. 14. See Part iv. ch. vi.

^y See Part iv. ch. xiv, sect. ii.

posed by some churches not to have been so declared, they do not incur heresy in retaining a different doctrine. This is admitted even by Romanists, and it is a principle of considerable importance. They excuse from heresy those churches which did not receive the condemnation of the "three chapters" by the fifth œcumenical synod, on the ground that these churches were uncertain whether it was œcumenical^z. For the same reason they excuse the Western bishops who rejected the Synod of Nice (called the Seventh Synod)^a. The Gallicans excuse for the same reason the Ultramontanes, for not receiving the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basil, concerning the superiority of a general synod to the Pope^b. In like manner the cardinal of Lorraine and the Gallicans generally, did not receive the Synod of Florence as œcumenical, nor its decree on the papal supremacy, and yet are admitted to have been free from heresy^c. It appears, therefore, that those who on strong grounds deny that the church has actually judged in a particular controversy, are free from heresy, even though they hold a doctrine which has been condemned; and the reason of this is, that there is still *a legitimate doubt* whether the contrary doctrine was revealed by Christ. So that those who believe the Council of Trent to be œcumenical, have no reason to impute heresy to those Eastern and Western churches, which have on reasonable and strong grounds denied it to be œcumenical.

From the preceding principle it follows, that a church which *through an error of fact*, but on probable reasons, believes a doctrine to have been defined by the universal church as a matter of faith, which was in reality not so defined, and which is erroneous even in faith, may not be guilty of heresy in holding that doctrine. Thus the African and some other western churches opposed themselves to the judgment of the fifth (œcumenical Synod against the "three chapters," because they

^z Tournely, tom. i. p. 401.

^a Bailly, Tractatus de Eccl. Christi, tom. i. p. 423. Delahogue, de Ecclesia, p. 177. Bossuet, Defens. Decl. Cleri Gallic. t. ii. p. 527, &c. Tournely, de Ecclesia, t. i. p. 402.

^b Bailly, tom. i. p. 425. Bossuet, Defens. declarat. Cleri Gallicani.

^c Fleury, liv. 164. s. 74. Launoi Epistolæ, part ii. Ep. 6. ed. Cantabr.

1689. It is acknowledged by Tournely, Hooke, and other Romish theologians, that the œcumenicity of the Synod of Florence is doubted by some.—See part iv. chap. xi. sect. v. According to Andradius (de Script. et Trad. Auctor. lib. ii. fol. 251). France never acknowledged the Synod of Florence as general.

believed, through mistake, that the fourth Œcumenical Synod had approved them. And in this, and all similar cases, those who are in error are free from heresy when they judge, on probable grounds, their opinion supported by a greater scriptural and ecclesiastical authority than that of their opponents.

III. We are now to examine how far heresy and idolatry may exist in the Christian church.

Heresy and idolatry may exist in the church.

Of course, it is not to be supposed that either one or the other could be formally defined by the whole catholic church, because this is inconsistent with the notion of the church's perpetuity; but that heresy and idolatry may exist in the communion of the catholic church, may be proved in the following manner^d :—

1. The promises of Christ to be with his church, and to guide her into all truth, were as applicable in the apostolic age as at any subsequent time; nevertheless, we find that serious errors were even then very generally received by professing Christians.

In the church of Antioch, "certain men which came down from Judea, taught the brethren and said, 'Except ye be circumcised, after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved'" (Acts xv. 1). And "there rose up certain of the sect of Pharisees which believed," (at Jerusalem,) "saying, that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses" (verse 5). And yet, notwithstanding the decree of the apostles in the synod at Jerusalem (Acts xx. 29), we find that this erroneous doctrine was taught and promulgated in every part of the church. The Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and Hebrews are directed almost entirely against it; it also forms the subject of his Epistle to the Galatians, and is mentioned in that addressed to the Colossians, and elsewhere. St. Paul says of this doctrine, that it is "*another gospel*" (Gal. i. 6); and he pronounces *anathema* against those who hold it (verse 8, 9). He styles them "*false brethren*" (Gal. ii. 4), and declares "that they walked not uprightly according to the *truth of the gospel*" (ii. 14). He asserts, that if this doctrine be true, then *Christ is dead in vain*" (ii. 21). It is evident, therefore, that this doctrine was most dangerous, and even heretical,

^d See Gerhard. Loc. Theol. c. i. c. ii.; Field, Of the Church, book xxiii. s. 104—124; Melancthon, De iii. c. 9, 10. Ecclesia; Chamier, Panstratia, tom.

and yet that it was widely prevalent in the church. Therefore the promises of Christ to his church do not prevent the existence of grievous errors in her communion.

The Christians at Corinth appear to have partaken of sacrifices offered to idols, and thus to have held communion with idolaters (1 Cor. x. 7. 14. 19—22). Some amongst them said, “that there is *no resurrection from the dead*” (xv. 12).

To “the *Church of Pergamos*” it was written, “*Thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate. Repent, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth*” (Rev. ii. 14—16).

To the “*Church of Thyatira*” it was written, “*Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which callest herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols*” (Rev. ii. 20).

From these various passages, it is evident that false doctrines and idolatrous practices may exist within the bosom of the church; that they do not necessarily destroy the church. The Galatians were addressed by the apostle as “the churches of Galatia” (Gal. i. 2), though they had for the most part adopted grievous errors on the question of justification. The “church of God at Corinth” contained some who denied any future resurrection. The “churches” of Pergamos and Thyatira, as we have seen, comprised heretics, and suffered their members to practise and inculcate idolatrous rites. Therefore, since the existence or even *prevalence* of errors and idolatries does not, in all cases, absolutely annul the character of particular churches, it does not annul that of the universal church. If the Galatians were still “the churches of Galatia,” notwithstanding the grievous errors prevalent amongst them, the eastern or western churches in later times might still be churches of Christ, notwithstanding the prevalence of errors within their communions; and from this it follows necessarily, that errors and idolatrous practices may exist within the communion of the universal church, and be widely prevalent in it, because they may prevail in the particular churches of which it is composed. And therefore the promises

of Christ to be with his church "always even unto the end of the world," and to lead her "into all truth," do not necessarily infer her perfect freedom at all times from the prevalence of errors and corruptions amongst many of her nominal or real members.

To assert this is not to assert that *the universal church can teach, or fall away into heresy or idolatry*, and can thus come to an end; it is merely to maintain what is in some sense admitted by all, that she was to include within her communion many men of carnal and unsanctified minds, many ignorant and indiscreet brethren, many of those things which are described as "tares" (Matt. xiii.), "wood, hay, and stubble" (1 Corin. iii. 13). And it is also to maintain, that as in the case of the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira, God may "have a few things against her" (Rev. ii. 14. 20), because she permits errors and idolatries; and yet may judge her laudable in other respects (Rev. ii. 13. 19).

Our Lord himself intimates this when he compares "the kingdom of heaven," that is, his church, to "a man which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed *tares* among the wheat" (Matt. xiii. 24, 25); and these tares *remain* in the field "until the harvest" (verse 30). From which we learn, that the church will not be freed from "*things that offend* and them that do iniquity" (verse 41), until "the end of the world" (verse 40); that is, during the whole period during which the assistance of our Lord is promised (Matt. xxviii. 20). To *what extent* such evils may exist in the universal church, is not defined in Scripture; if they may prevail widely, there is no difficulty in supposing that they may sometimes prevail almost universally.

The same line of argument might be pursued in reference to the parables of the draw-net, of the ten virgins, and of the unfaithful servant (Luke xii. 45).

2. We may also infer that the Christian church may include idolatries and heresies within her communion, from the condition of the church of God under the Mosaic dispensation. Even putting out of view the ten tribes whom Jeroboam made to sin, the chosen people of God most undeniably were polluted by idolatry and other grievous sins. God addresses his "people" (Is. i. 3) as they that "have *forsaken the Lord*" (verse 4). "According to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah"

(Jer. ii. 28). The idolatries of Judah are even represented as more offensive to God than those of Israel (Jer. iii. 6—11); yet still Judah, and even Israel, are continually spoken of as the people of God, and exhorted to return to him. Consequently, the church may sometimes be full of abuses and idolatries, without ceasing to be the chosen people of God, or without collectively or universally apostatizing from the faith.

3. That the church is liable at all times to the existence of such evils within her own communion was maintained by the fathers. Thus St. Jerome observes on the parable of the tares: "By the men who 'slept' are understood the rulers of the churches; the 'servants of the householder' you should interpret to be the angels, who daily behold the face of the Father; the devil is called 'the enemy.' . . . Wherefore let not the ruler of a church slumber, lest through his negligence the enemy should sow 'tares,' that is, '*the doctrines of heretics.*' What is said, 'Lest while ye gather up the tares ye root up also the wheat with them,' gives an opportunity for repentance, and we are warned not to cut off a brother hastily; because it may be, that he who is now corrupted by erroneous doctrine, may presently repent and defend the truth^e." Thus, according to St. Jerome, the church was to include unsound believers in her communion.

This is also the doctrine maintained so frequently by St. Augustine against the Donatists, who conceived it impossible that the true church could comprise heretics or idolaters. "The apostle Paul," he says, "speaks of some 'who concerning the truth had erred,' and 'who subverted the faith of many,' and 'whose word did eat as doth a canker' (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18). Although he said that they were to be 'shunned,' he yet signified that they were '*in a great house,*' but as vessels to dishonour' (verse 20). I believe that they had not yet *gone out*^f" [from the communion of the church].

^e "Quamobrem non dormiat qui Ecclesiæ præpositus est: ne per illius negligentiam inimicus homo superseminet zizania, hoc est hæreticorum dogmata. Quod autem dicitur: Ne fortè colligentes zizania, eradicetis simul et frumentum, datur locus penitentiæ, et monemur ne citò amputemus fratrem: quia fieri potest, ut ille qui hodie noxio deprava-

vatus est dogmate, cras respiscat et defendere incipiat veritatem." — Hieron. in Matt. lib. ii. c. xiv. tom. iv. p. 58, 59, ed. Benedict.

^f "Dicit et Apostolus Paulus de quibusdam qui circa fidem aberraverant, et fidem quorundam subvertébant, quorum sermo ut cancer serpebat, quos cum evitandos esse diceret, in unâ tamèn dono magnâ

St. Augustine maintains that the church includes within her communion some who are *adherents of Satan*, and who are not internally united to her. The church, then, “mourns amidst strangers, both those who *within* are laying snares for her, and those who are assailing her from without. Yet such, may, *even within* [the church] receive, have, and administer baptism^g.” In another place he replies thus to the Donatists, who were labouring to prove that heretics could not be in the church: “What, then, does not Paul show that those who said ‘Let us eat and drink,^f for to-morrow we die’ (1 Cor. xv. 32), were corrupters of good manners by evil discourses? for he immediately adds, ‘Evil communications corrupt good manners’ (verse 33); and yet he signified that they were *WITHIN* [the church], for he says, ‘How say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead.’ . . . Although I should prefer to understand that those of whom the apostle said ‘their word eateth as a canker,’ are *without*, Cyprian himself does not allow me.” He then quotes St. Cyprian^h, and continues: “Which, if it be so, the ‘vessels unto dishonour’ (2 Tim. ii. 20), whose ‘word eateth as a canker,’ were *in the church herself*, that is, in the ‘great house’ⁱ.”

Thus, then, it is evident that St. Augustine held that false doctrines might exist amongst the members of the church; but he goes beyond this, and holds, that the great majority of the members of the visible church may be such “vessels made

eos fuisse significat, sed tanquam vasa in contumeliam. Credo quòd nondum foras exierant.”—August. De Bapt. cont. Donatist. lib. iv. c. xix. col. 119. t. ix.

^g “Nunc ergo quæritur quomodo poterant homines ex parte diaboli, pertinere ad Ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi (Eph. v. 27), de qua etiam dicta est, una est Columba mea (Cant. vi. 8). Quod si non possunt, manifestum est eam inter alienos gemere, et intrinsecus insidiantes, et extrinsecus oblatrantes. Tales tamen *etiam intus*, et accipiunt baptismum, et habent, et tradunt.”—August. cont. Donat. l. iv. c. viii. col. 130. t. ix.

^h Epist. iv. ad Antonianum.

ⁱ “Quid enim et illos qui dicebant, Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur, nonne corruptores morum bonorum per mala colloquia Paulus esse manifestat, continuo subjungens, Corrumunt bonos mores colloquia mala? et tamen eos *intus* fuisse significavit, cum ait, Quomodo dicunt quidam in vobis quia resurrectio mortuorum non est. . . Quamquam et istos de quibus ait apostolus, Sermo eorum sicut cancer serpit, vellem intelligere foris fuisse, sed Cyprianus me non sinit. . . Quod si ita est, *in ipsa Ecclesia*, id est, in ipsa domo magnâ, erant vasa in contumeliam, quorum sermo ut cancer serpebat.”—August. De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. iv. c. xii. col. 131, 132. t. ix.

to dishonour.” “I think I may say without temerity, that *some* persons are so in the house of God, that they themselves *constitute* the same house of God which is said to be ‘built on a rock,’ which is called the ‘one dove,’ the fair spouse ‘without spot or wrinkle,’ the ‘enclosed garden,’ the ‘sealed fountain,’ the ‘well of living water,’ the ‘paradise’ with fruit of apples; which house also received the ‘keys,’ and the power of ‘binding and loosing,’ &c. . . . To this house, it is said, ‘the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.’ For this exists in the good believers and the holy servants of God. . . . And that *others* are so said to be in the house, that they do not belong to its building, nor partake of that righteousness which bringeth forth fruit and is peaceable, but as chaff is said to be amongst the wheat; for that they are *in the house* we cannot deny, since the apostle says, ‘*In a great house,*’ &c. (2 Tim. ii. 20). *Of this innumerable number there is not only a crowd which within [the church] oppresses the hearts of the righteous, who are but few in comparison of so great a multitude, but also heresies and schisms, breaking the nets, exist amongst those who now are rather to be said to be out of the house than in the house*.”

St. John Chrysostom interprets the parable of the tares like Jerome and Augustine. It relates, according to him, to the introduction of heretical doctrines within the communion of the church. He remarks on the passage “While men slept his enemy came and sowed tares,” &c., that this was fulfilled when “many of the bishops, by introducing evil men, who were secretly heresiarchs, *into the churches*, afforded great facility for such an hostile design; for the devil hath no further

‡ “Quibus consideratis omnibus, puto me non temere dicere, alios ita esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi sint eadem domus Dei, quæ dicebatur ædificari super petram, quæ unica columba appellatur, quæ sponsa pulchra sine macula et ruga, et hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquæ vivæ, paradus cum fructu pomorum: quæ domus etiam claves accepit, ac potestatem solvendi et ligandi. . . . Huic domui dicitur . . . Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos. Hæc quippe in bonis fidelibus est, et sanctis Dei servis. . . . Alios autem ita dici esse in domo, ut non

pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferæ pacificæque justitiæ; sed sicut esse palea dicitur in frumentis: nam et istos esse in domo, negare non possumus, dicente apostolo, In magnâ autem domo non solum aurea, &c. Ex hoc numero innumerabili, non solum turba intus premens cor paucorum in tantæ multitudinis comparatione sanctorum, sed etiam disruptis retibus hæreses et schismata existunt in eis, qui jam magis ex domo quam in domo esse dicendi sunt.”—Aug. cont. Donat. l. vii. c. li. col. 200, 201. t. ix.

need to labour when he hath planted them in the midst" [of the church]^k. The same view is taken by Theophylact^l.

4. It is certain, in fact, that various heresies and errors have existed within the communion of the church. The error of Origen, who denied the eternity of future punishments, was received by many of the fathers, and continued for many ages to exist in the church, till it was condemned by the fifth oecumenical synod^m. Arianism, under various modifications, continued to exist for half a century at least within the church herselfⁿ. More recently, the Roman church was disturbed for at least a century and a half, by the existence of Jansenism within her own bosom^o. At the present day she includes within her communion many persons who are considered by other Romanists to be most highly unsound and heterodox, such as the adherents of the Hermesian doctrines lately condemned by the see of Rome, the opponents of clerical celibacy, and other reformers of the church.

5. In fine, the existence and purity of the church, and her union with Christ, is not more affected by the prevalence of heresies and idolatries within her communion, than by that of other gross and deadly sins. This is, in substance, the argument with which Cyprian and Augustine frequently pressed the Novatians and Donatists, who separated from the church on pretence that she admitted to her communion those who had been guilty of idolatry, while they themselves did not refuse to communicate with those who had committed other sins equally great. The fathers argued then, that since many

^k Πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν προεστῶτων πονηροῦς εἰσάγοντες ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αἰρεσιάρχας κρυπτομένους, πολλὴν εὐκολίαν τῇ τοιαύτῃ παρέσχον ἐπιβουλῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πόνηον δεῖ τῷ διαβόλῳ λοιπὸν, ὅταν ἐκείνους εἰς μέσον φτεύσῃ.—Chrysost. Hom. xlv. al. xlvii in Matt. t. vii. p. 480.

^l Theophylact. Comment. in IV. Evang. p. 74, 75, ed. Paris. 1631; On the Interpretation of the Parable of the Tares, see Greswell's Exposition of the Parables, vol. ii. p. 101—109.

^m See Natalis Alexander, Dissert. xvi. in Hist. Eccl. iii. Sæculi; Hist. Eccl. Sæc. vi. c. iii. s. 3.

ⁿ Arianism prevailed at one time so extensively in the Eastern church,

that St. Hilary of Poitiers said, "Tantum Ecclesiarum Orientalium periculum est, ut rarum sit hujus fidei . . . aut sacerdotes aut populum inveniri. . . Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex majori parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, intra quas consisto, verè Deum nesciunt."—Hilar. Pict. Lib. de Synodis, n. lxiii. p. 1186. The remainder of the East was not much better circumstanced. Vincentius Lirinensis, Commonitor. c. vi., and Augustine, Epist. 93, al. 84, c. 46, t. 2, p. 243—246, also testify the fearful and general prevalence of this heresy.

^o See chapter xi. appendix i.

other crimes, *as great* as idolatry and heresy, may exist in the Christian community, there could not be any excuse for separating from the church merely because she comprised idolaters or heretics^p. The sanctity of the church is as much the subject of type, prophecy, and promise, as her purity and unity of faith; yet it is certain that multitudes of her external members are unholy: therefore they may be also impure in faith and idolatrous in practice.

6. Nevertheless, because when we speak of the church we include *all her members*, as well the "wheat" as the "chaff," the "vessels made to honour" as those "made to dishonour;" it does not seem to have been the practice, either of the sacred writers or of Christians in early times, to speak of the church of Christ as corrupt, or idolatrous, or unholy, or heretical; on the contrary, they always asserted that the church, *including* its vital members, could never perish or fall away into heresy or idolatry^q. And this doctrine we ought to maintain, while, at the same time, we are at liberty to hold that great corruptions of doctrine and practice may exist in the communion of the church^r; that God may "have a few things against her," even though he praises her for other things, and recognizes her as his own. And, in fine, it must be remembered, that as I have shown at the commencement of this section, many living members of the church may hold errors in ignorance, or through some excusable mistake, and therefore such errors may be widely prevalent in the church, without destroying her sanctity or vital unity.

^p "Nec sibi in hoc novi hæretici blandiantur, quod se dicant idololatriis non communicare; quando sint apud illos et adulteri et fraudatores, qui teneantur idololatriæ crimine, secundum apostolum (Eph. 5. Coll. 3). . . . Nam cum corpora nostra membra sint Christi, et singuli simus templum Dei, quisquis adulterio templum Dei violat, Deum violat; et qui in peccatis committendis voluntatem diaboli facit, dæmoni et idolis servit."—Cyprian. Epist. lii. ad Antonian. p. 101. ed. Pamel. See

also St. Augustin. Lib. de Unit. Eccl. c. xxii.; De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. iv. c. iv.

^q See above, chap. i. sec. ii.

^r In the conference at Carthage the catholic bishops maintained against the Donatists, "Ecclesiam Christi nullorum malorum, usque in finem sibimet permixtorum, non solum ignotorum, verum etiam cognitorum, quasi corruptione pestiferâ, posse inquinari atque deleri."—Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis, Optati Opera, p. 256, ed. Du Pin.

SECTION IV.

UNITY IN FAITH CONSIDERED AS AN ATTRIBUTE AND SIGN
OF THE CHURCH.

I proceed now to apply the principles established in the last Section, to the question of unity of faith, considered, first, as an *attribute*, and, secondly, as a *sign*, of the church of Christ.

It has been shown that there may be doctrinal differences in the catholic church generally, or between particular churches; that doctrines of faith actually revealed may sometimes be controverted in the catholic church; and that erroneous doctrines may sometimes be received as matters of faith; in either case without heresy or separation from the unity of faith.

We may conclude from this, that although it is absolutely the duty of all Christians to receive the whole truth revealed, and though they are bound unceasingly to watch over the precious deposit of the faith, and to desire most earnestly a perfect union and concord amongst the brethren in all matters of religion; still there is no promise that the catholic church shall at all times be, *in fact*, perfectly agreed in all the articles of Revelation. It is, however, to be inferred most certainly, from the positions laid down at the beginning of this chapter, that Christ has provided the whole church with some method for preserving or recovering within itself, perfect unity in this respect. So strong an obligation to believe the truth and to avoid all false doctrine, infers the *possibility* of obedience, and the institution, by God himself, of some ordinary means for the purpose. While these means are resorted to, on all hands, with good faith, and while there is an implicit belief in all that Christ has revealed, and all that the church has received from him; there may be differences for a time in particular doctrines, arising from different but probable applications of the same rule; and yet without heresy on either side. It is possible that through ignorance or prejudice particular churches, or a part of the universal church, may be for a time misled in some point: I do not here speak of the universal church, or affirm that it can err when judging collectively^a.

Actual
unity in
doctrine
not pro-
mised.

^a See Part iv. chap. iv.

Actual unity in doctrine, not a note of the church.

It may be concluded from this, that *actual* unity in all matters of faith, cannot be a note by which we can easily discriminate the church from sects; for, first, an apparent difference in *doctrine*, does not furnish alone any proof that there is a real difference in *faith*. Before we can prove this, we must know the rule by which we are to distinguish between matters of faith and matters of opinion: we must apply this rule equitably and patiently to the question in controversy, to determine whether or not the existing difference is permissible. We must also consider, whether the apparent differences in faith are, or are not, more verbal than real; whether or no they arise from mutual misunderstandings; whether they are held as matters of probability and with a mind undetermined, or as matters of certainty; whether they are the doctrines of individuals within churches, or of those churches themselves. All this must be examined into before it can be positively affirmed that in a particular case there is an essential difference in faith. The fact is, that *absolute and perfect apparent unity in doctrine* cannot be pretended to by any society of professing Christians. It is not merely the Lutherans and Calvinists who differ. There are disputes in the Eastern churches; and in the Roman Obedience (not to mention the differences about Jansenism and other matters^b), the controversies of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinians, of Scotists and Thomists, of Ultramontanes and Cisalpines, are well known. These latter differences *may not* relate to matters of faith or questions decided by the universal church, as the Romish controversialists pretend; but still they are *apparent* differences in doctrine, and in order to determine that they really do not concern faith, it is necessary to proceed through the lengthened process above alluded to; for surely Romanists would not have us believe the mere assertion of some controversialists; especially when several other theologians of their own affirm, that these disputes *do* concern faith, and that one or other party amongst them are heretics^c.

^b See Chapter xi. Appendix i. ii. and iii.

^c Dr. Milner admits that "they have also disputes in their schools," but "these disputes are *not* about articles of faith."—End of Controv. lett. xvi. Dr. Baines also as-

serts: "The doctrines of the catholic religion are every where the same. Not a difference will be found in any single *article of faith* amongst all its countless millions," &c.—Sermon at Bradford, 1825. In reply to these assertions, it may be

Secondly, the whole catholic church has been frequently disturbed for a long time by differences concerning faith amongst her members. Arianism was not expelled from her communion for half a century. The disputes concerning Origen's doctrines continued for three centuries. The Eutychian doctrines continued to disturb her for more than two centuries. The controversies on Images continued for the same time nearly. Therefore the mere existence of important controversies in the whole church, or in any part of it, is perfectly consistent with the continuance of the church.

Thirdly. The apparent existence of unity in faith, is not a proof of such unity as Christ requires in his church, because there may be a *unity of error*. There is no impossibility in the supposition, that a heretical body may possess as much apparent unity as the church in doctrine. For example, the Nestorians or Eutychians are not less apparently united in their faith than the Eastern or the Roman churches. This unity may, therefore, be a unity in error, and in order to determine whether it be so or not, we must enter on a long course of investigation.

We may, however, deduce from the obligation of unity in faith, certain conclusions which will aid us to discriminate the true church.

We may infer, then, that Christ having enjoined unity in the belief of the truth on all Christians, there must necessarily be in his church some *means* for preserving or restoring this unity, as well in particular churches as in the church universal; and, therefore, all those societies which are prevented by their

sufficient to direct the reader to Bossuet's *Defens. declar. Cleri Gall.* (Appendix, lib. ii. c. 13.) where he says, that Bellarmine, Stapleton, &c. hold the Gallican doctrine of the superiority of a general council to the Pope, to be *heretical*, and that Christianus Lupus, Nicholas Dubois, the Bishop of Strigonium, &c., regard the question as one *de fide*. Nicholas Cevoli even maintained that "the propositions of the Gallican clergy are every one taken out of Calvin's Institutes, and are plainly *heretical*: that the bishops who confirmed them are, as schismatics and heretics, cut off from the church,

and *ipso facto* deprived of all episcopal jurisdiction; that their communion should be avoided, and even that they ought to be *burned!*" On the other side, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Richerius, with a large number of others, held that the Ultramontane doctrine, as condemned by the Councils of Constance and Basil, was *heretical*, (see Bossuet, t. i. p. 58.—Lannoi's *Epistolæ*, pars ii. Epist. 6. Ed. Cantab. 1689.) Even Bossuet says, in his "Defensio," that the question is one *de fide*, though he does not condemn the Ultramontanes as heretics.

fundamental principles from sustaining unity in the truth, cannot be churches of Christ. On the other hand, societies which by their principles tend to unity of faith, and provide means for accomplishing it, are probably parts of the church.

We may also conclude, that any society which either separated itself from, or was cut off by the great body of the church of Christ in any one question of faith, after due examination and without any manifest irregularity of proceeding, is not to be accounted a portion of Christ's church.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Though the apostles were enabled to determine what was damnable doctrine, yet Christians in succeeding ages, and now, cannot determine whether any particular doctrine is damnable. Their decision is fallible and uncertain, and therefore they cannot maintain any doctrine to be false and heretical.

Answer. This objection assumes as its basis, that there are now no *certain* means of ascertaining what is true and what is false in religion. Were this the case, the regulations and declarations of Scripture with regard to heresy, would certainly be obsolete and nugatory. But this cannot be true, because several of them relate to the very latter times of the church, and warn us that even in those ages when the apostles shall have long slept, false teachers, heretics, antichrists, false prophets, are to be avoided: that a belief in the truth is still to be the way of salvation, and damnation to be the portion of those that believe a lie, and believe not the truth.

To doubt, then, that in the very latter days of the church there shall still be some means of ascertaining the truth, and so ascertaining it as not to be misled by false teachers, is to doubt what inevitably results from Scripture itself. But the truth is, that the argument, when stripped of its disguise, is essentially subversive of Christianity. If there have not always been sufficient means of ascertaining some truths to have been taught by Jesus Christ, the revelation of Christ was only designed for temporary purposes. It was not designed to illuminate future ages. It does not concern us. Consequently, this principle is not Christian^a.

^a See Hook, sermon ii. before the University of Oxford, p. 39.

II. The essential principle of the Reformation is, the right of private judgment, that is, the liberty of individuals to maintain whatever their own judgment deduces from Scripture; but it is impossible that there should not be infinite differences of opinion between individuals; therefore (according to the principle of the Reformation) no degree of uniformity of faith can be requisite to salvation.

Answer. (1.) If the essential principle of the Reformation had justified individuals in maintaining what was contrary to the truth revealed by Christ, the Reformation would be indefensible; but I deny that the Reformers held this principle. Their conduct proves the reverse; for, as I have before shown, and shall hereafter prove more fully, they refused to hold communion with those whom they judged heretics, and by their reception of the Athanasian Creed, maintained the necessity of believing the truth revealed by Jesus Christ^b. (2.) If the conclusion of the objection be defended as a *truth*, independently of its supposed connexion with the Reformation, then it follows that Christianity is only a name; for if no truth revealed by Christ can now be certainly ascertained, or if it is lawful to deny it, the gospel must either be obsolete or false.

III. It is impossible to defend the Reformation, except by maintaining the right of private judgment as above.

Answer. (1.) This objection cannot proceed from the friends of the reformed, because it would at once, without proceeding another step, prove the Reformation unjustifiable. Accordingly, it is advanced by Romanists, and by those who maintain that the societies of the Reformation have acted tyrannically and inconsistently in requiring belief in any creeds. (2.) I deny the fact, and shall hereafter justify the Reformation on different grounds altogether.

IV. If the belief of particular doctrines be held necessary to salvation, the infidel may reasonably object that Christianity cannot be true; for, had it been designed for the salvation of men, it could not have failed in its object, and been the subject of perpetual dispute among its adherents.

Answer. (1.) I deny the consequence; for it sufficiently vindicates the merciful design of God, if the means of salvation be *offered* to men, without any compulsion on them to

^b See Section ii.; chap. xii. sect. iii.; and part ii. chap. vi.

avail themselves of those means. It was not the design of God to force men to believe and be saved, but to draw them by the persuasive power of divine grace. Therefore, if Christianity be rejected or perverted by some men, while it is received by others, it does not fail of its design. (2.) Many disputes amongst Christians are consistent with uniform belief in the truth certainly revealed by Jesus Christ.

V. Christian truth has no existence external to the mind of each individual. It is not the letter, but the sense of the Bible, and that sense only exists in our own minds. Therefore, it is impossible to affirm that any individual does not maintain the truth, because the persuasion of his own mind is the truth.

Answer. (1.) If the sense of each individual mind is truth, then those who hold Christ a mere man, believe the *truth*; and those who hold the *contrary*, believe the truth also: that is, contradictory propositions are both true; which is absurd, and destroys the very nature of truth. (2.) Every proposition relating to Christianity is either true or false, antecedently to its being presented to the mind of man. Therefore the judgment of the mind does not affect the truth or falsehood of Christian doctrines.

VI. It is cruel and inhuman to deny salvation to those who merely hold erroneous doctrines.

Answer. (1.) It is not unreasonable that Christ should require belief in the truth revealed by him, because he had a right to offer salvation to man on whatever terms he pleased. Now belief in the truth revealed by him is not an impossible condition, because though it might be impossible for any man to constrain his own judgment to be different from what it actually is, and though it would be cruel in any other man to attempt to force him to change it, yet the difficulty is at an end when *the authority of God* decides what is true; because, however inclined our judgment may have been to the contrary, there is now a reason which is irresistibly convincing; namely, the infallibility of God himself. Consequently, it is not impossible to believe the truth certainly revealed by Christ, and it cannot be cruel or unreasonable in him to require belief in it. (2.) It has been before observed^c, that every difference in

matters of religion does not infer heresy, and the distinctions there made exempt many from the operation of this principle.

VII. Heretics are not more offensive to God than those who are guilty of offences against the moral law; but the latter do not necessarily cease to be members of the church, therefore the former may also be members of the church.

Answer. The wicked not excommunicated are only externally, and therefore imperfectly, members of the church, and will not receive salvation except they repent. Heretics who are not excommunicated openly, by their own act, or by the act of the church, are in the same state. But if separated from the communion of the church, they are not even externally members of it, like those who are justly excommunicated for their sins.

VIII. We are forbidden to judge other men's doctrines to be heretical or false by the following passage: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv. 4, 5).

Answer. These differences of opinion related to matters in which difference was *justifiable*, not to matters of faith clearly revealed by Christ. In such matters of opinion, we grant that it is unlawful to condemn our neighbours; but "If any man preach any other gospel than that has been preached, let him be anathema" (Gal. i. 9); and "If any come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house" (2 John 10). Therefore we are bound to reject heretics, and consequently must have some means and some right to determine what is heresy.

IX. "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour," &c. (2 Tim. ii. 20.) The apostle here includes heretics and false teachers in the church, having just before spoken of Hymenæus and Philetus (v. 17).

Answer. Admitting that the apostle here speaks of heretics as "vessels of wood and earth" made to "dishonour," he only refers to those who, having not yet been openly separated, or excommunicated, are *imperfectly* in the church; and, even of

these, he declares that they are to “dishonour,” that is, to destruction. *A fortiori*, then, all those who are openly separated from the church.

X. Sincerity, or a full persuasion that our interpretation of God’s law is *right*, is always sufficient to justify us in God’s sight, even if we are in error. (This is the principle of Hoadly and his disciples.)

Answer. I reply with Rogers^d, that if this alone be in all cases sufficient, then no one is strictly bound to obey any laws of Christ in the meaning he intended in them : no plainness is sufficient to oblige us to understand them, and there can be no such thing as a culpable mistake. Even he who rejects *Christianity*, because he is persuaded it is false, must be as acceptable to God, as he who accepts it because he believes it true. Yet our Saviour denounced heavy woes against those who rejected him (Matt. xi. 21 ; Mark xvi. 16). I maintain, on the contrary, as a self-evident position, that Christians are bound to obey the laws and believe the doctrine of Christ, and that nothing but natural incapacity, or blameless ignorance, can be pleaded in excuse for their not doing so.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. V.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF FUNDAMENTALS.

DR. WATERLAND, in his Discourse on Fundamentals, observes, that since the beginning of the seventeenth century this subject has passed through many learned and judicious hands, “most of them complaining of the *perplexities* appearing in it, but all bearing testimony to the great weight and importance of it^a.” According to certain theologians of Holland, Germany, and Geneva, quoted by him, the questions of toleration, heresy, secession, schism, union of churches, excommunication, &c., all depend on distinguishing fundamentals in religion. It appears, I think, on examining various controversies which

^d Visible and Invisible Church,
part i. c. 6.

^a Waterland’s Works by Van
Mildert, vol. viii. p. 87.

have almost entirely turned on this point, that the perplexity so much and so justly complained of, has arisen, and must continue to prevail, from the use of the *term* "Fundamental." This term is capable of so many meanings, as applied to Christian doctrine, and it actually is, has been, and must continue to be, used in so great a diversity of senses, that it is morally impossible to avoid perplexity while it is employed in controversy.

1. The term "fundamental" may rightly and properly be applied to very different notions in religion. It may mean what is at the basis of all religion; that is, belief in the existence and attributes of God, or it may express what is the first step in the Christian religion—belief in Christ as the Messiah, or as a messenger sent from God. It may signify those articles of Christianity from which others seem to be derived. It may with equal propriety mean articles of faith clearly revealed by Christ, as distinguished from opinions or doctrines deduced by human reasoning. It may mean those doctrines which are necessary to be explicitly believed or known by all men in order to salvation, or those doctrines which must be believed by every one to whom they are sufficiently proposed, or which must be believed either explicitly, or else implicitly, in order to salvation. The term "fundamental" may be employed without any impropriety in any one of these senses, and even in *others*, which it is needless to specify in this place.

Various meanings of Fundamentals.

2. The term fundamental is actually used in the greatest variety of meanings by different writers of eminence, and even by the same writers. Chillingworth in one part of his "Religion of Protestants," says: "That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things considered) which (all things considered) to another is not sufficiently declared; and consequently *that may be fundamental and necessary to one, which to another is not so*^b." In a few pages afterwards he says: "Fundamental points are those only which are revealed by God, and commanded to be *preached to all and believed by all*^c." In the first quotation fundamentals are regarded as doctrines which must be believed by those only to whom they are sufficiently declared; in the second, they are regarded as doctrines necessary to be believed by all men. Laud in one place understands by them, doctrines

Different meanings in the same writers.

^b Religion of Protestants, chap. iii. s. 13.

^c Ibid. s. 20.

which must be believed expressly and *explicitly* by all men without exception, and which no man can be ignorant of without loss of salvation^d. In another place he says, that certain points “are not *formally fundamental for all men*, but for such as are able to make or understand them.” &c.^e Accordingly, he teaches in one place that the Apostles’ Creed contains all fundamentals^f; in another, that not only the creed itself but certain *deductions* from it are fundamental^g. Waterland regards fundamentals in religion or Christianity as matters “so necessary to its *being*, or at least its *well-being*, that it could not *subsist*, or not maintain itself *tolerably* without it^h.” Here are two very different notions in the same definition of fundamentals; one which connects these with the very *existence* of religion, another which connects them only with its *perfection*.

Various
rules as to
Funda-
mentals.

3. Waterland observes, with perfect truth, that there are “almost as many different *rules* for determining fundamentals, as there are different sects or partiesⁱ,” and thus, “that which might otherwise serve (if all men were reasonable^j) to end all differences, has itself been too often made one principal bone of contention.” Accordingly, having himself first laid down the Christian *covenant* and its parts, as the rule for determining fundamentals, he proceeds to detail the different rules of other writers as follows. Some regard the *definition of the church* as the rule of fundamentals. (This is the doctrine generally maintained by Romanists, as we may see in Knott the Jesuit^k, Tournely, Bailly^l, and other of their divines.) Some regard whatever is asserted in sacred Scripture as fundamental. Others hold every thing that is *expressly* taught in Scripture to be fundamental, and nothing which is not so taught. Another rule is, that what Scripture has *expressly declared necessary* is alone fundamental. Several eminent writers, as Petit, Usher, Davenant, Calixtus, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Whitby, &c. have referred to the Apostles’ Creed as the rule and sample of fundamentals. Others,

^d Conference with Fisher, s. 10.

^e Ibid. p. 334.

^f § 11.

^g P. 28. 334.

^h Waterl. Works, viii. p. 88.

ⁱ Ibid. viii. p. 90.

^j Or rather, *united* in their sense of the term, and their rule for apply-

ing it. It does not seem that there is any thing *unreasonable* in employing the term in a sense different from what *we* judge best. It is merely a difference of language and usage.

^k Controversy with Chillingworth.

^l Tractatus de Ecclesiâ.

with the Arian Clarke, teach that the fundamentals of religion are defined by Hebrews vi. 1, 2, and that we may differ about every thing else. Locke and others regard the profession of faith made by converts to Christianity in the apostolic age, viz. "that Jesus is the Messiah," as the only fundamental. Universality of agreement among Christians so called, is the rule of fundamentals with some. Herbert and other infidels regarded the universal agreement of the whole race of mankind as the true measure of fundamentals. Some "throw off all concern for a right faith as insignificant, and comprise all fundamentals in the single article of *a good life*, as they call it; to which some are pleased to add *faith* in the divine promises^m." Some consider professed love to the Lord Jesus Christ as the only fundamental. In fine, Chillingworth declares that the variety of the circumstances of different men "makes it *impossible* to set down an exact catalogue of fundamentalsⁿ," and he is obliged to propose, as the only security against fundamental error, the belief that Scripture is true, and that it contains all things necessary to salvation; and the endeavour to find and believe the true sense of it^o. Now if it be impossible to determine practically what are fundamentals in Christianity, the distinction is surely not available for practical purposes.

4. It does not seem that individuals have any power to limit the term to any one meaning. We cannot command human language, and therefore it would seem advisable to abstain from the controversial use of a term which is so highly ambiguous. I do not deny that every one may form a notion of fundamentals in his own mind, and employ it in speculation to discriminate some parts of religion from others; but it does not seem expedient to employ the distinction in general controversy. It is very true, indeed, and very important to be remembered, that a *distinction* is to be made between doctrines, *i. e.* that all doctrines are not matters of faith. This distinction I have already alluded to^p. But it is rendered at once perplexed and unavailable, when the ambiguous term "fundamental," is connected with it.

5. There is a notion floating in some minds, that some doctrines of revelation are more important than others, and that,

^m Waterland, Works, viii. p. 105
—123.

^o Relig. of Prot. ch. iii. s. 13.

^p Sect. iii.

ⁿ Relig. of Prot. ch. iii. s. 13.

provided men believe aright in the more important matters, it is not of much consequence if they err in lesser doctrines. Waterland himself seems to have been led inadvertently to countenance this notion in some degree. He says, that in cases "where the truth of the doctrine is at least *morally certain*, and the *importance of it* only *doubtful*, in such cases communion ought not to be divided or broken⁹." Taking his words in connexion with the mode in which he determines fundamental doctrines by reasoning from the nature of a covenant, it would seem that some doctrines actually revealed by Christ, are less important than others, and that we may tolerate error in the one case, but not in the other. This view is certainly entertained by some without sufficient consideration. But it seems that such an opinion is unsafe, because if Christ did indeed reveal a particular doctrine, it must surely be of the utmost importance to man, though it may be less important in itself than other doctrines. I do not deny that we may, by a sort of intuitive light of faith, distinguish some doctrines of revelation as greater and more sublime than others; but it seems exceedingly dangerous to attempt by human reasoning to weigh the *importance* of truths certainly revealed by Christ, relatively to each other. It constitutes man as it were the judge of his Creator, and it must be impossible to the infinite majority of men, because there is a much more practical and important question first to be determined: What are *all* the doctrines actually revealed by Christ? Few men, perhaps, have completely mastered this question; and yet it is a necessary preliminary to any examination of the relative *importance* of doctrines, because Christian doctrines are so concatenated, that without a perfect view of all, it would be impossible even to attempt their comparison. Whatever foundation there may be for the notion, that some doctrines are more important in themselves than others, it cannot be supposed that any doctrine certainly revealed by Christ is unimportant to *us*, or that it may be safely disbelieved, or that we may recognize as Christians those who *obstinately* disbelieve such a doctrine.

⁹ P. 102.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE SANCTITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE sanctity of the church may be considered in several different points of view. First, the sanctity of its Head, and of those who founded it; secondly, the holiness of its doctrine; thirdly, the means of holiness which it has in the Sacraments; fourthly, the actual holiness of its members; and fifthly, the divine attestations of holiness in miracles ^a.

1. The Divine Head and Founder of the church is the essential origin and source of all its holiness. “He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works ^b.” The glorious efficacy of his sacrifice procured the mission of the Eternal Comforter, the author of every good gift, and the source of all heavenly grace in the word and sacraments of Christianity. The apostles of our Lord were commissioned by him, with the authority which he had received from the Father, to found the Christian church; and all churches must therefore derive their origin from the apostles, either by proving that they were originally founded by the apostolic preaching, and have perpetually existed as societies from that moment to the present; or else they must be prepared to show that, at their origin, they were derived peaceably and with Christian charity from the apostolical churches, or that they were subsequently received into Christian communion by such churches. These are the only conceivable ways in which any church can pretend to prove that it was founded by the apostles immediately or mediately. If any society was not founded actually by the apostles, nor yet founded by the successors of the apostles and the apostolical churches, but in the moment of its birth separated itself from the communion and religion of all such churches; if it was never received afterwards, and

Church
holy in its
origin.

^a See Gerhard. *Loci Theologici*, Art. ix.
l. xxiii. s. 34; Pearson on the Creed, ^b Tit. ii. 14.

engrafted into the communion of churches, apostolical in their origin or derivation; it is impossible that such a society can in any way show that it was holy in its origin, as being founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. This is a point which may be easily determined in any particular case by the facts of history.

Sanctity of doctrine.

2. It is undeniable that the end of Christ's mission on earth was the sanctification of his people. He "called us with a holy calling^c." His will is "our sanctification^d." Therefore, if it could be clearly shown that any society professing to be Christian, denied the obligation of good works, and taught its members that they might freely indulge in wickedness, such a society would be evidently anathema from Jesus Christ. Nothing further could be required to prove it.

Means of sanctity.

3. The *means* of sanctity in the sacraments cannot with propriety be reckoned among the *signs* of the church, for before we determine whether a society is in possession of all these means, we must enter on the whole subject of the sacraments, which would lead to a discussion much too lengthened, and beyond the capacity of the majority of men. Romanists argue that the true and valid administration of the sacraments is not a note of the church^e, therefore they cannot consistently enter on the discussion of those sacraments as a means of holiness.

Sanctity of church members.

4. I now come to the question of the actual holiness of the *members* of the church. It is asserted by some that a society which includes a number of unholy men cannot be a church of Christ, that a true church comprises only saints or perfect Christians, and that sinners cannot be members of it. The Novatians and Donatists considered all who were guilty of great sins as forming no part of the church. The Pelagians held the church to consist only of perfect men free from sin. The Wickliffites taught that the church includes only the predestinate. The Anabaptists and the English dissenters asserted, that it consists only of those who are visibly holy in their lives; and the latter founded their separation from the church on the principle that she comprised sinners in her

^c 2 Tim. i. 9.

^d 1 Thess. iv. 3.

^e Tournely, de Ecclesia, tom. i. p. 63, &c. Bailly, Tractatus de Eccl.

Christ. tom. i. p. 62. Bouvier, de vera Ecclesia, p. 79. Collet, Inst. Theolog. Scholast. tom. ii. p. 450.

communion. Therefore they departed from her, to form a pure society of saints in which no sinner was to find any place. Their whole system was founded, and continues to be maintained on the fiction, that all the members of their communities are holy, pure, perfect saints, incapable of passion, strife, tyranny, &c.^f Against these principles, which have unhappily been refuted long ago by *experience*, I maintain the following position.

THOSE WHO ARE SINNERS, AND DEVOID OF LIVELY FAITH, ARE
SOMETIMES EXTERNALLY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH^g.

This is proved from Scripture. Christ compares the church, or kingdom of heaven, to “a field” in which tares and wheat, that is, evil men and good, grow till the harvest, *i. e.* the end of the world (Matt. xiii. 24—30. 37—43); to “a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind,” that is, both “the wicked” and “the just” (xiii. 47—50). The church is elsewhere spoken of under the figure of “a wedding feast,” whereto the servants “gathered together all, as many as they found, both bad and good” (Matt. xxii. 10); and to “a great house,” in which “there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour” (2 Tim. ii. 20). These texts prove sufficiently, that while the church of God exists on this earth, it will comprise evil men as well as good in its communion; and accordingly, as we learn from St. Augustine in his account of the conference at Carthage, the Donatists were entirely overcome by them^h. It is almost superfluous to add, that the primitive church fully concurred with the above principle, as might be easily shown from Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Gregory, &c.ⁱ As soon as the Donatist and Pelagian errors on this subject were advanced, they were refuted by St. Jerome in his book “*Contra Pelagianos*,” and by St. Augustine in his books against the epistles of the Donatists Parmenianus and Petilianus, and in other treatises. The Lutherans and Calvin-

^f See Chap. XIII.

^g See Field, *Of the church*, b. i. c. 16—18.

^h August. *Breviarium Collationis*, et *Liber post Collationem*.

ⁱ Cypr. *Ep. ad Antonianum*; Hier. *dial. adv. Lucifer. ultra medium*;

Fulgentius *de Remiss. Peccat.* c. 18; Gregor. *lib. 2*, in *Ezek. hom. iv. n. 16*. See Pearson on the Creed, art. ix.; Field, *Of the Church*, b. i. c. 16, 17, 18; Gerhard, *Loci Theolog. l. xxiii. s. 48, 49*.

ists also maintained sound views on this subject. The former say, "We admit that hypocrites and evil men in this life are joined with the church, and are *members of the church* as far as relates to external participation in its signs, that is the word, the profession, and the sacraments, especially if they be not excommunicated^j." Calvin argues at great length, and with his usual energy, against the doctrine of the Anabaptists and modern dissenters^k. He says, "In the church are many hypocrites mixed, who have nothing of Christ except the name and appearance: many ambitious, covetous, envious, slandering men; some of impure life, who are tolerated for a time, either because they cannot be convicted by a lawful judgment, or because due severity of discipline is not always in force^l."

But the Donatists discovered a distinction which has been adopted by the more modern sects. They admitted that sinners might indeed exist in communion with the church, but they denied that open and manifest sinners could in any respect be of the church. In reply to this distinction I proceed to show, that,

MANIFEST SINNERS ARE SOMETIMES EXTERNALLY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH, AND EXERCISE THE PRIVILEGES OF ITS MEMBERS.

St. Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians, styles them "the church of God which is at Corinth" (1 Cor. i. 2), yet *in this church* of God "were envying, and strife, and divisions" (iii. 3); "Going to law against each other," and that "before the heathen" (vi. 1. 6, 7); and even "fornication, such as is not so much as named among the Gentiles" (v. i.). This clearly proves that manifest sinners are sometimes found in the

^j Apologia Confessionis August. iv. de Ecclesia. See also the Confession of Augsburg, art. viii. The Formula Concordiæ, another Lutheran Confession, "rejects and condemns" amongst the "Errores Anabaptistarum" this; "Non esse eam veram et Christianam Ecclesiam, in qua peccatores reperiantur." (Form. Conc. pars ii. ad fin.) The Sax. Conf. (art. xii.) says, "Improbamus et colluviem Anabaptisticam, quæ finxit ecclesiam visibilem, in qua

omnes sint sancti."

^k Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. i. s. 13—29.

^l Ibid. sect. 7. The same doctrine is taught by the Tetrapolitan Confession, in which it is said, that "many will be mixed in the church even to the end of the world, who do not really believe in Christ, but pretend to do so." (cap. xv.) It is also taught by the Helvetic Confession (cap. xvii), the Gallican (xxvii), the Bohemian. (art. viii.)

church, for the person last alluded to was not separated from the church of Corinth *until* the apostle had rebuked them, and commanded him to be delivered to Satan (v. 5); yet the Corinthian church is not considered by the apostle to have been apostate because this sinner was in their communion. The same is proved by the words to "the *church* in Thyatira:" "I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols" (Rev. ii. 18. 20). And to the "*church* in Sardis," it is said, "thou hast a *few* names, *even* in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments" (Rev. iii. 1. 4). In both of these churches it is manifest that there were great and glaring offences. It is further proved, by the parable of the evil servant whom his lord made ruler, and who "shall begin to smite his fellow-servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken" (Matt. xxiv. 45—51); for this parable refers to evil pastors in Christ's church, who are represented in possession of authority over the church, and in its external communion, while they are guilty of gross sins; it is thus interpreted by Hilary, Jerome, and Chrysostom, in their commentaries. The mere fact, then, that there are known sinners in any church, does not annihilate its character, render it apostate, or deprive it of the rights which belong to it by divine institution. Nor does an improper *delay* in expelling the offenders, as appears by the case of the churches of Corinth, Thyatira, and Sardis. Such faults and defects of discipline are found in every society of Christians alike. Thus the dissenters, in describing their system, say, "A much greater evil, however, is to be found in the retaining of persons as *church-members* when their character plainly unfits them for such a station. Instances have not been wanting in which persons of NOTORIOUS IMMORALITY, such as habitual drunkards and others, have remained in undisturbed possession of their *membership* ^m."

Notwithstanding this, it is clear that such defects of discipline in their own communities are tolerated with great charity by the dissenters. They hold communion and intercourse with societies in which discipline is thus relaxed, and acknowledge

^m Essays on Church Polity, vol. ii. p. 185. See also p. 188.

their Christian character ; nor does it appear that any inquiry is ever instituted as to the state of particular societies, to ascertain their conduct in this respect ; or that any of them are ever rejected by the rest, in consequence of a defective discipline. By no means ; they can make allowance for the difficulties of the case, and are unwilling to condemn the good with the evil. We have only to regret, for their sakes, that the same rule of charity has never been extended to the church, by the dissenters and their predecessors ; and that a laxity, which is excused in the case of those who profess to be *all saints*, is viewed as an abomination in the case of those who admit that there must always be sinners among them.

That the ungodly, whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the church, considered as to its *invisible character*,—namely, as consisting of its essential and permanent members, the elect, predestinate, and sanctified, who are known to God only,—I admitⁿ. It is also certain, that “if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner,” with such a one we are “not to keep company, or even to eat” (1 Cor. v. 11) ; his society is to be abstained from by the faithful, and he ought to be separated from the church. But I deny that such men cease to belong externally to the church, *until* they are excommunicated, (for otherwise excommunication would be a mere nullity,) or until they withdraw themselves from the church by some formal act of separation.

It is further contended by dissenters, that none but those who are visibly holy in their lives can lawfully be admitted into the church. In opposition to this principle, I affirm that

VISIBLE SANCTITY OF LIFE IS NOT REQUISITE FOR ADMISSION
TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

First, the gospel was preached to publicans, harlots, sinners of all kinds, who were invited to repent and be baptized, and wash away their sins. After St. Peter had spoken, three thousand souls were at once baptized, and added to the church (Acts ii. 41. 47). Philip baptized the eunuch on his simply professing his faith (Acts viii. 37, 38). Therefore a profession of faith in Christ, of willingness to obey his laws and believe

ⁿ See Field, Of the Church, book i. chap. xi.

his words, is a sufficient condition of baptism, unless there be some evident proof, at the same time, that the profession is hypocritical.

Secondly, the Scriptures and the universal church appoint only one mode in which Christians are to be made members of the church. It is baptism which renders us, by divine right, members of the church, and entitles us to all the privileges of the faithful: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ" . . . "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 27, 28). If baptism, therefore, makes men members of Christ, or clothes them with Christ, it follows necessarily that they must have, at once, a right to all the privileges of that part of the church in which they abide. It is admitted by those dissenters who allow the validity of infant baptism, that "it giveth them all the external rights and privileges which belong unto them that are regenerate, *until* they come to such seasons, wherein the personal performance of those duties whereon the continuation of the estate of visible regeneration doth depend, is required of them^o." Since baptism, therefore, gives infants the external rights of the regenerate, those rights must still remain; (for it is absurd to suppose that the development of reason alone should *deprive* them of them :) and consequently, at the age of reason, every baptized Christian has a *right* to all the external and general privileges of the church instituted by Christ Jesus. Therefore it is contrary to sound doctrine to institute any rite or ceremony by which it is *then* pretended to make him a *member of the church*, as dissenters do^p. If he be found guilty of scandalous offences, it is proper and right to suspend him from church communion; but otherwise, as a baptized Christian, he has a

^o Owen's Gospel Church, p. 28.

^p Dissenters are obliged to confess that *their* mode of admitting people into the church is not mentioned in the Bible. "The manner," they say, "of *admitting members* to this church is not indeed precisely stated in the sacred records."—Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 383. If this be so, the Scriptures cannot afford that exclusive guidance in matters of *discipline* which the dissenters contend for. Surely "the

admission of members" to the church is one of the most practically important matters affecting it; if this be not exactly detailed in Scripture, it cannot be expected that all the forms of government, rites, &c., should: and in that case, what becomes of the accusations against the church, as guilty of adding to Scripture; and what becomes of the duty of separating from her on this account?

divine right to every external privilege of the church. (See Chapter XIII.)

MIRACLES.

We are now to consider the question of *miracles* as divine attestations of sanctity. Romanists contend that the performance of miracles is a sign of the true church, as it evinces the sanctity and orthodoxy of those who work them. The stupendous physical and moral miracles on which the truth of Christianity is based, are indeed amply sufficient to demonstrate the divine mission of those who performed them. But the Revelation which is based on these miracles, tells us, that there should afterwards arise workers of miracles, “of great signs and wonders¹,” who, far from being orthodox or holy men, should be the agents of the Evil One. They tell us, that at the day of judgment, some of those who have “done many wonderful works” in Christ’s name shall be condemned²; that though we should speak with tongues, cast out devils, raise the dead, and yet be destitute of charity, it shall profit us nothing³. It is clear, then, that signs and wonders are not, since the Christian revelation, necessarily proofs of sanctity; and moreover, it is obviously the duty of Christians to look with jealousy on all pretended miracles.

No sufficient proof of sanctity.

Even amongst Romanists it does not seem that signs and wonders alone are universally judged a sufficient proof of perfect sanctity. Christianus Lupus says, that “not every sort of sanctity is sufficient for canonization, even though it be distinguished by *miracles*; but it should also be eminent, and free from any *ill fame*.” As an instance, he adduces the case of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, who had opposed the Roman pontiff, Innocentius; for which cause, says Knighton, “though Robert was resplendent with manifest miracles, he was not permitted to be canonized;” and Matthew Paris adds, that Sewallus, archbishop of York, who was excommunicated by Alexander IV., “performed miracles on his death-bed⁴.” Baillet observes, that “men who are shining with miracles and sanctity,” are sometimes not placed in the catalogue of Roman saints, because

¹ Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22.

² Matt. vii. 22.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.

⁴ Tom. iii.; Schol. in Can. p.

571, quoted by Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, pars i. tit. xxii. c. vii. sect. 7.

they have troubled the Roman court, or in some manner given scandal^u.

It is acknowledged by the Jesuit Maldonatus that miracles may be done by false prophets^v. Espencæus, another Roman theologian, says, that “miracles are common to God and to the devil, to Christ and to antichrist^w.” It is admitted by the fathers, Irenæus, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine^x, that heretics may have wrought signs and wonders; and this is not denied even by Romanists^y; they have been wrought in profusion by the Jansenists^z; and they are pretended to, not only by the Roman churches, but by the Oriental churches^a, by the Nestorians and Eutychians, the Hugonot prophets, the Irvingites, and sundry other sects. It is in vain for Romanists to pretend that *their* miracles alone are authentic, or that they alone merit examination; this is a mere assumption, which is by no means founded in truth.

But further: the performance of miracles is not *essential* to real sanctity. It will not surely be pretended, even by Romanists, that all those who are honoured by the church as saints must have wrought miracles; such a condition would be most highly inconvenient. It would be difficult to prove that Anacletus, and the other early bishops of Rome, who are accounted saints, wrought any miracles; and the same may be said of St. Dionysius of Corinth, Clement of Alexandria, the two Dionysii of Alexandria and Rome, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Alexander of Constantinople, Damasus, Amphilochius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, Isidore of Nitria, Meletius, Optatus, &c. &c. Tillemont and Fleury, who mention the miracles of the saints wherever there is any evidence for them,

^u Baillet, præfat. ad Vitas Sanctorum, n. 90. cited by Van Espen, *ibid*.

^v “Chrysostomus, Hieronymus, Euthymius, Theophylactus, probant exemplis, etiam per alios quam catholicos vera miracula fieri, et hoc ipso loco multi dicent in illo die, &c. facile colligitur, falsos illos prophetas de quibus Christus loquitur vera miracula fecisse.”—Maldonat. Comment. in Matt. vii.

^w Espencæus in 2 ad Tim. p. 83.

^x Irenæus, adv. Hæres. l. i. c. viii. ix.; Cyprianus, De Unitate; Hieron. Com. in Galat. lib. iii.; Au-

gust. Tract. xiii. in Joan. De Unit. Eccl. c. xix. See “A brief Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church,” p. 261—264. ed. London, 1688; Gerhard. Loc. Theol. l. xxiii. s. 273.

^y Tournely, De Ecclesia, tom. i. p. 153.

^z See chapter xi. section iii.

^a See Nectarii Hierosol. Confutatio Imperii Papæ, p. 306. 337. 321—332 (ed. Lond. 1702), where a multitude of signs and wonders are claimed for the Oriental church. See also Leo Allatius, De Perpetua Consens. Eccl.

appear to be silent as to any wrought by these holy men. I can only allude in general to the multitude of martyrs and confessors who constitute almost the whole mass of the ancient saints, and scarcely any of whom appear to have wrought miracles. History records the miracles of some individuals; but the great majority of the saints were only remarkable for holiness of life, zeal for the faith, confession, or martyrdom.

Tillemont observes, in his notice of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, that "there are *very few* saints in whom God has united the external talents of eloquence and knowledge, with the grace of prophecy and miracles;" and in his life of St. Basil he says, that "God, not willing that man should judge of the virtue of the saints by miracles, which he seems to have reserved for the defence of his truth and of his church, rather than for the glory of his servants, did *not* grant this gift to those saints whose virtue was without dispute the *most eminent and the most solid*. We observe this in St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and in the other great saints of the principal ages of the church, in whom we find but rarely, or *not at all*, extraordinary and miraculous actions. Their life alone was a greater miracle than any that they could have performed ^b."

It is also to be observed, that God has not made any promise of miracles to his church at all times. True, miracles were promised to the disciples, but they were not promised "for ever," like the Spirit of Truth. Accordingly, M. Bouvier, now bishop of Mans, says, after Cardinal De la Luzerne, "Whether God will exhibit such divine signs of sanctity in his church perpetually, we dare not define; nor, therefore, do we affirm that sanctity, thus understood, is essentially a positive note of the true church ^c." This is most reasonable; and, at all events, no one can pretend that miracles were promised always to *particular* churches. The fathers argue that miracles were only essential at the commencement of the church. St. Chrysostom says, "there are some in our age who inquire,

^b Tillemont, Hist. Eccl. tom. ix. p. 284.

^c "An vero Deus divina hujusmodi signa sanctitatis in ecclesia sua perpetuo exhibere teneatur, definiri non audemus, nec idcirco adfirmamus sanctitatem, ita intellectam, es-

sentialiter esse notam veræ ecclesiæ positivam. Sic ferme 'De la Luzerne, Dissertation sur les Eglises Catholiques et Protestantes, t. 2.'" —Bouvier, Tractatus de vera Ecclesia, p. 103.

why miracles are not now performed. If thou believest as thou oughtst, if thou lovest Christ as he should be loved, thou requirest no signs, for signs are given to unbelievers^d." Gregory the Great says: "Because ye do not work miracles, do ye not believe, my brethren? But these were requisite at the beginning of the church. The multitude needed to be fed with miracles, that they might grow unto faith; for we, when we plant vineyards, water them until we see that they have grown strong in the ground; and when once they have taken root, the watering ceases^e."

In conclusion, then, it may be said, that the question of miracles cannot with propriety enter into the notes of the true church. It involves too extensive enquiries into the pretensions of various communities; and after all, if the performance of signs and wonders were proved, they would not necessarily establish the *sanctity* of those who wrought them, while sanctity may exist without any such signs. God may surely employ sinners to perform great works (as in the case of Balaam), or permit the devil to deceive evil men through their means. Far be it from me to affirm that real miracles have not been wrought since the time of the apostles, for the confirmation of Christians, and especially for the conversion of the heathen. There is every probability, nay, certainty, that such signs have been wrought; but we ought not, I contend, to examine them with a view to discover the true church; more especially as it does not appear that any of those miracles which have the slightest pretension to credibility, were wrought to determine controversies of faith or discipline between the existing communities of professing Christians.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church can only comprise perfectly holy men; for Christ gave himself for the church, "that he might present it

^d Καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ ζητοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες, διατί μὴ καὶ νῦν σημεῖα γίνεται; εἰ γὰρ πιστὸς εἴ ὡς εἶναι χορῆ, καὶ φιλεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς φιλεῖν εἶ, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις σημείων ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀπίστοις εἶδοται.—Chrysost. Hom. xxiv. al. xxiii. in Joann. t. viii. p. 138.

^e "Numquidnam, fratres mei, quia ista signa non facitis, minime credi-

tis? Sed hæc necessaria in exordio ecclesiæ fuerunt. Ut enim fides cresceret, miraculis fuerat nutrienda; quia et nos cum arbusta plantamus, tamdiu eis aquam infundimus, quousque ea in terra jam convaluisse videamus, et si semel radicem fixerint, in rigando cessamus."—Greg. Hom. xix. in Evang.

to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v. 27).

Answer. The church is here spoken of as consisting of those who alone are its essential and permanent members, and who are known to God only; but this does not infer that there may not also be men who are only imperfectly members, but who are, together with the righteous, in the external communion of the church.

II. According to Christ's will, none but saints and the regenerate ought to be admitted into the church; therefore those who are not saints cease to be members of it.

Answer. (1.) I deny that none but visible saints are to be admitted into the church, as I have before proved. (2.) Assuming that visible saints only are to be admitted, yet their sanctity alone does not make them members of the church. They must be admitted by the ministry of others; and so, in like manner, their departure from visible sanctity does not, *ipso facto*, deprive them of external church-membership, but they must be separated by others, or by a formal act of their own.

III. The reformers held the church to consist only of the elect and holy; for instance, the Confession of Augsburgh. (Art. vii.)

Answer. They only meant the church considered in its permanent, internal, perfect character; for they admitted, in the Apology of the Confession, that the church comprises both righteous and sinners in her external communion.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHURCH.

UNIVERSALITY, of course, could not have been a characteristic of the church at its commencement, when it only existed at Jerusalem; but the testimony of Scripture, and history, and general opinion, oblige us to believe that it was afterwards to become

universal, and to remain so always^a. It is not necessary for us to suppose a physical and absolute universality, including *all men*; this would be inconsistent with the predictions of the existence of antichristian powers. All that is here contended is, that the church was to possess *moral* universality, to obtain adherents in all the nations of the world then known, and to extend its limits in proportion as new nations and countries were discovered; and that it was never to be reduced again to a small portion of the world, though always subject to persecutions, fluctuations, corruptions, and losses.

I argue from Scripture, that the church was to be morally Scripture. universal, or to be propagated in all nations. The prophecies relating to the kingdom of Christ all express this character: "In thy seed shall *all the nations* of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14); "In the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and *all nations* shall flow unto it" (Is. ii. 2); "Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the *face of the world* with fruit" (Is. xxvii. 6); "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the *end of the earth*" (xlix. 6); "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8); "All the *ends of the world* shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee" (Ps. xxii. 27); "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth" (Ps. lxxii. 8); "His name shall endure for ever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun, and men shall be blessed in him: *all nations* shall call him blessed" (verse 17).

Our blessed Saviour himself referred to these prophecies, in his discourse with the disciples after his resurrection, saying: "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer . . . and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among *all nations*, beginning at Jerusalem" (Luke xxiv. 47); he also declared that his disciples should be witnesses to him "unto the *uttermost part of the earth*" (Acts i. 8), and commanded them to "go teach *all nations*," pro-

^a On this subject see Archbishop Potter on Ch. Government, chap. i.; Bishop Pearson on the Creed, art. ix.; Gerhard Loci Theol. l. xxiii. s. 34. 149—152; Jurieu, Vray Système de l'Eglise, c. x.

mising his presence with them “always, even unto the end of the world” (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20)^b. We find, accordingly, that the apostles “went forth and preached *every where*” (Mark xvi. 20). As St. Paul says, “their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world” (Rom. x. 18); therefore, even in the lifetime of the apostles, the church was universal, and the prophecies of its diffusiveness were already fulfilled.

Now, since all these predictions were delivered, without any exception or limitation as to time, we have reason to infer, that they are intended to describe the *permanent* condition of the Christian church. The character of Christianity, as described by the prophets, is *universality*. They never contemplate any failure or overthrow: they never announce the virtual extinction of the church at any future time, or its reduction within narrow and insignificant limits.

That the church was not thus to fail is naturally inferred from the promise of Christ himself: “On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it” (Matt. xvi. 18).

Fathers.

The primitive church always understood the prophecies relating to the universality of Christianity, as descriptive of its permanent condition; for we find the fathers not merely asserting the fact, that the church of Christ was really diffused throughout the whole world; but arguing, that the church of which they were members must be the true church, because it was so diffused, and that the societies of heretics which claimed to be *the only true church*, could not be so, from their deficiency in this essential characteristic.

Thus St. Athanasius and the bishops of the Alexandrian patriarchate, writing to the Emperor Jovian, argue for their own profession of the true faith and the true church, from the universality of their communion, and the insignificant numbers of the Arian party^c. Jerome, arguing against the Luciferians, says: “If Christ has not a church, or has one only in Sardinia, he has become greatly impoverished. And if Satan possesses Britain, Gaul, the East, India, the barbarous nations, the whole world, how were the trophies of the cross given to a

^b The parable of the grain of salinity of the church. mustard-seed (Mark iv. 31, 32.) ^c Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. sufficiently indicates the univer- c. 3.

mere corner of the world^d." Optatus argues thus: "Thou hast said, brother Parmenianus, that the church is *only amongst you*. . . . Where, then, is the propriety of the name of catholic, since the church is called catholic, because it is reasonable, and diffused every where^e?" Augustine says: "We hold the inheritance of Christ; they (the heretics) do not hold it: they do not communicate with the whole world, they do not (*i. e.* refuse to) communicate with the whole community redeemed by the blood of the Lord^f." Augustine cites almost all the passages of Scripture adduced above, in his book "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," against the Donatists^g, to prove that the church is essentially universal. In fine, the ancient church considered universality as one essential characteristic of the church, for the creed approved by the General Council of Nice, as the confession of faith of the whole world, professes belief in a "catholic" (or *universal*) "apostolic church^h."

In fact, the universality of the church is generally admitted. The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds are received by the Eastern church, and by the Roman churches, as well as by all the Reformation, and they both contain a profession of belief in the "holy catholic" (or *universal*) "church." Hence all these societies continually profess their belief in the universality of the church. The hymn "Te Deum," which is also generally used by them, recognizes the same—"The holy church *throughout all the world* doth acknowledge thee."

Its universality is also expressly admitted by the Confession of Augsburgⁱ, and the Apology of the Confession^j. The Hel- Reformers.

^d "Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Orientem, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel mundum possidet Sathanas: quomodo ad angulum universæ terræ crucis trophæa collata sunt?"—Hieron. adv. Luciferianos, tom. iv. pars ii. p. 298. ed. Ben.

^e "Eam tu frater Parmeniane apud vos solos esse dixisti Ergo ut in particula Africæ, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit: apud nos in alia parte Africæ non erit. In Hispaniis, in Italia, in Gallia, ubi vos non estis, non erit, &c. . . . Et per tot innumerabiles insulas et cæteras

provincias, quæ numerari vix possunt ubi vos non estis, non erit. Ubi ergo proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa?"—Optatus, liber ii. de schismate Donatist. p. 28. ed. Du Pin.

^f "Tenemus hæreditatem Domini: illi eam non tenent: non communicant orbi terrarum, non communicant universitati redemptæ sanguine Domini."—Tract. iii. in Epist. Johan. p. 846. t. iii. oper. ed. Bened.

^g Tom. ix. p. 337, &c. ed. Bened.

^h Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. viii.

ⁱ "Cum ecclesiæ apud nos de nullo articulo fidei dissentiant ab ecclesia catholica."—Pars ii. Prologus.

^j "Catholicam ecclesiam dicit, ne

vetic Confession acknowledges, that “there is only one church, which we therefore call catholic, because it is universal, and diffused through all parts of the world, and extends to all times, being included within no particular localities or ages. Therefore we condemn the Donatists, who restricted the church to some corners of Africa; nor do we approve the Roman clergy, who vaunt of the Roman church alone as the catholic^k.” Calvin says, that “the universal church is a multitude gathered out of all nations, which though divided and dispersed by distance of place, yet agreeth to the one true and divine doctrine, and is united by the bond of a common religion^l. The same doctrine of the universality of the church is inculcated by the Geneva Catechism^m, the Bohemian Confessionⁿ, the Catechism of Heidelburgh^o, the Declaration of Thorn^p, &c.

Dissenters. Even various denominations of dissenters admit the same truth: thus the Presbyterians, in 1647, admitted that “the visible church” is “catholic” or “universal^q.” The Quaker Barclay acknowledges the church to be catholic^r. Dr. Owen

intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam *certarum* gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per *totum orbem*, qui de evangelio consentiunt, et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum sanctum, et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem traditiones humanas, sive dissimiles.”—Apolog. Confess. iv. de Ecclesia.

^k “Consequitur unam duntaxat esse ecclesiam: quam propterea catholicam nuncupamus, quod sit universalis, et diffundatur per omnes mundi partes, et ad omnia se tempora extendat, nullis vel locis inclusa vel temporibus. Damnamus ergo Donatistas, qui ecclesiam in nescio quos Africæ coarctabant angulos. Nec Romanensem approbamus clerum, qui solam prope Romanam ecclesiam venditant pro Catholica.”—Conf. Helvetica, cap. xvii.

^l “Ecclesiam universalem esse collectam ex quibuscumque gentibus multitudinem, quæ intervallis locorum dissita et dispersa, in unam tamen divinæ doctrinæ veritatem consentit, et ejusdem religionis vin-

culo colligata est. Sub hac ita comprehendendi singulas ecclesias, quæ oppidatim et vicitim pro necessitatis humanæ ratione dispositæ sunt, ut unaquæque nomen et auctoritatem ecclesiæ, jure obtineat,” &c.—Calvin. Institut. iv. 1. s. 9.

^m Catechismus Genevensis, de fide.

ⁿ Conf. Bohemica, art. viii.

^o Catechesis Heidelberg. quæst. liv.

^p Declarat. Thoruniensis, vii. de Ecclesia.

^q Westminster Confession, chap. xxv. “The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel, not confined to one nation, as before under the law,” &c.

^r He acknowledges that there is “one catholic church,” “out of which church we freely acknowledge there can be no salvation,” and that it is so because there is a “universal or catholic spirit, by which many are called from the *four corners of the earth*, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”—Apology for the Quakers,

admits the same for the Independents, thus: "The end of all particular churches is the edification of the church *catholic* unto the glory of God in Christ ^a." Again: "The church that confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, cuts itself off from the external communion of the church *catholic*; nor will it be safe for any man to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church ^t." And the modern dissenters, in their "Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge," also confess, that there is a catholic or universal church ^u.

The doctrine of the Anglo-catholic churches, on this point, does not admit of any question. The creeds always used in these churches, from the earliest ages, profess a belief in the church as "catholic;" and not to speak of the hymn "Te Deum," the Litany, which was revised and corrected at the period of the Reformation, contains the following passage: "That it may please thee to rule and govern thy *holy church universal* in the right way:" and in the Prayer for the Church Militant, in the office of the Holy Communion, we pray God "to inspire continually the *universal church* with a spirit of truth, unity, and concord." In another prayer we desire "the good estate of the *catholic church*." In the bidding of prayer, before sermons, we are exhorted to pray "for Christ's holy catholic church." Nothing, therefore, can be more evident, than that these churches have always recognized the catholicity or universality of the church; and surely nothing could have induced them to do so, but the belief that this was an essential characteristic of the church, and that it had been generally received on the express warrant of Scripture itself. Amongst our theologians who in modern times have taught this truth, Archbishop Usher says: "The catholic church is not to be sought for in any one angle or quarter of the world, but among 'all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours' (1 Cor. i. 2). Therefore to their Lord and ours it was said, 'Ask of me, and

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prop. x. p. 273. It is needless to detail the strange meaning in which he takes these propositions.

^a Nature of the Gospel Church, p. 414.

^t Ibid. p. 413.

^u "Communion with other churches, in letters recommendatory or

dismissory . . . and all other expressions of regard to sister churches . . . are a part of the communion of saints, which constitutes one of the greatest blessings of the true *catholic church*."—Essays on Ch. Polity (on Church Discipline), vol. ii. p. 417.

I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,' &c. (Ps. ii. 8); and to this mystical body, the catholic church, accordingly, 'I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather them from the West; I will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth^v' (Isa. xliii. 5—7). Dr. Field says, that Bellarmine "labours in vain in proving that there is, and always hath been, a visible church, and that not consisting of some few scattered Christians, without order of ministry or use of sacraments; for all this we do most willingly yield unto;" though *some few*, as he says, may have held a different opinion^w. Dr. Rogers speaks well of the visible catholic church^x. Bishop Pearson observes that, "The most obvious and most general notion of this catholicism consisteth in the *diffusiveness* of the church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, 'Go, teach all nations.' . . . This reason did the ancient fathers render why the church was called catholic; and the nature of the church is so described in the Scriptures." He afterwards says, in explanation of the Creed, "I look upon this church, not like that of the Jews, limited to one people, confined to one nation, but by the *appointment* and *command* of Christ, and by the *efficacy of his assisting power*, to be disseminated *through all nations*, to be extended to *all places*, to be propagated to *all ages*^y."

Universal-
ity of com-
munion,
how far a
note of the
church.

We are now to examine how far *universality of communion* is an attribute and a note of the church of Christ.

It has been already shown, that the church of Christ may sometimes be divided and exist in separate communions^z; consequently, the universality of the church does not imply that each particular church will, at all times, be in communion with all nations, or with churches in all parts of the world. We find that many catholics, and catholic churches, have been at times without such an universal communion.

Thus, the adherents of Paulinus at Antioch, in the fourth century, did not communicate with any of the churches of

^v Sermon before the King on Eph. iv. 13.

^w Field, Of the Church, book i. c. i.

^x Rogers, Discourse of the Visi-

ble and Invisible Church, part ii. c. i.

^y Bishop Pearson on the Creed, art. ix.

^z Chap. iv. s. 4.

Egypt, Lybia, Pentapolis, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, India, Armenia, Colchis, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Thrace, Scythia, &c.^a The church of Italy in the time of Innocent I.^b, Felix II., Gelasius, Symmachus, and Hormisdas^c, and during the Monothelite controversy, was equally separated from the East, and only communicated with Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and some part of Illyricum. In the time of Photius, she only communicated with Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany. During the great Western schism before the Council of Constance, each of the "obediencies" subject to the rival popes, communicated only with a part of Europe. For a portion of that time, the churches of France and Spain held communion with each other only, and did not communicate with any other churches in Europe, Asia, or Africa.

In all these instances, portions of the universal church were without *universal communion*; for it would be impossible to maintain, that where the church had for many ages existed in Europe, Asia, and Africa; Europe, or a part of Europe, could separate from communion with Asia and Africa, and yet pretend that its *communion* was universal.

Hence we may conclude, that the *mere absence of communion with all nations*, or of moral universality of communion; is, of itself, no note of schism or heresy. If, however, a national church should pretend to be the catholic church, *to the exclusion of all others*, as the Donatists and Luciferians did; it may reasonably be concluded to be in schism or heresy, because while it pretends to be the only true church, it is limited to a corner of the world, and therefore cannot be the only true church. On these grounds, the Novatians, Donatists, and Luciferians were justly charged with schism by Cyprian, Optatus, Augustine, and Jerome.

It may be enquired on the other hand, whether *the mere existence of one community of professing Christians, including many nations and churches in all parts of the world*, is a sufficient note of the catholic church, so as to exclude all other societies.

I admit that it is a note of the church, when *every other*

^a Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xvii. s. 29; about Chrysostom. See above, p. l. xxix. s. 27. 60.

^b *i. e.* during the controversy ^c See above, p. 60, 61.

Christian society is not universal, and yet claims to be the *only* true church ; because in this case the question is simply, whether the universal or the limited society is the universal church ; and therefore the arguments of St. Augustine and Optatus against sects and heresies were valid. But the case is different, when any other Christian society professes only to be a *portion* of the universal church, and does not deny that the greater communion forms another portion of the same church ; because in this case, as it is possible that a *mere interruption of communion* may have taken place^d, the question is not, “*which* of two separate communions is the true church ;” but “*whether both do not belong to the same church.*” And, consequently, mere *universality of communion, on one part*, furnishes no certain proof of its constituting exclusively the catholic church.

That actual universality of communion does furnish some presumption in favour of the exclusive claims made by members of a society which possesses it ; I do not deny. This presumption or probability, however, would be at once subverted, if it could be shown, that the communion of that society was *formerly not universal* ; and that other societies which were in existence at that time, still continue to exist in separation ; for in this case it follows necessarily, that the society actually possessing universal communion is still only a part of the catholic church.

ON THE NAME OF CATHOLIC.

The church of Christ, being “*catholic*” (*i. e.* universal) in diffusion, has from a very long period assumed and borne the name of “*catholic*,” a term which was applied to the whole church, to every particular church, and to every individual Christian.

Thus St. Ignatius says, “*Where Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic church*”^e. The church of Smyrna addressed its Encyclical Epistle, containing an account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, “*to all the dioceses of the holy and catholic church in all places*”^f. The same epistle speaks of Polycarp

^d See above, ch. iv. s. 4.

^e “*Οπου ἀν’ ἧ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.* Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. c. viii.

τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίας. Eccl. Smyrnensis Epist. Inscript. Patres Apost. t. ii. edit. Jacobson.

^f *Πᾶσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον*

as bishop of “*the catholic church in Smyrna*.” This term was afterwards adopted in the Western churches, as well as in the Eastern^h; and from the third century all those who retained the apostolic faith, and were members of the true church, called themselves “*catholics* ;” and the creed of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, gives the church the name of “*catholic*.” In fine, this title has been assumed by many heretics and schismatics. The Donatists maintained that they alone were catholic. The Arians, Pelagians, and other sects denied the title of catholic to the church, and claimed it as appropriate to themselvesⁱ.

Hence it is plain by the admission of all parties, that the true church is rightfully and justly called “*catholic*,” and that this term ought not to be applied to those who are in schism or heresy.

It now remains to be considered, how far this appellation is a note or sign of the church.

That it is no essential sign of the church, may be inferred from the silence of Revelation on the subject. For while the Scriptures teach us that the church of Christ will always be catholic or universal in diffusion; they do not either entitle the church “*catholic*,” or declare that it ought always to bear that appellation, or that it shall in fact always bear it, and that true believers shall always be entitled “*catholics*.” Nor do the fathers ever affirm, that true believers will, at all times, be entitled “*catholics*.” On the other hand, there is no promise, that particular cases shall not occur, in which the title of “*catholic*” may be improperly given to persons who do not deserve it. The *appellation* of catholic is therefore no essential or infallible sign of the true church.

If, however, it be uniformly conferred on a certain community by others, who at the same time deny it to be any part of the church, and assert that they constitute themselves the only true church; the natural inference certainly is, that the com-

Name of catholic how far a note of the church.

^g Ἐπίσκοπος τε τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ibid. c. xvi.

^h See Bingham, b. i. c. i.; b. x. c. iv; Pearson, on the Creed, art. ix.; King on the Apostles' Creed; Gerhard Loci Theol. l. xxiii. s. 149, &c.; Vossius, Dissertation de Tribus Symbolis; Suicer. Thesaurus, voce κα-

θολικός.

ⁱ Gerhard. ubi supra, s. 154.

^j Pacianus contends for the propriety of this appellation, and says to Novatian, “Nec tamen æstues frater, Christianus mihi nomen est; Catholicus verò cognomen.”—Epist. i. ad Sympronian. Bibl. Patrum.

munity thus acknowledged to be catholic by all parties, is really the church of Christ, and that those who deny it to be so, are schismatics. St. Augustine presses this argument with great effect. "We must," he says, "hold the Christian religion, and the communion of that church which is catholic, and which is *called* catholic not only by its own members, but by all its enemies. For whether they will or not, heretics and schismatics when they converse with others, and not with their own people, call the catholic church *nothing else but catholic*. For they are not understood, unless they distinguish her by that name, by which she is called by the whole world ^k." He elsewhere remarks, that amongst other things which retain him in the catholic church is, "the very name of catholic, which, not without reason, the church alone has so obtained amidst so many heresies, that while all the heretics desire to be called catholics, yet if a stranger enquires where is the catholic church, none of the heretics dares to point out his own church or house ^l."

This exclusive possession of the name of catholic by a widely-extended community, furnishes a probability that it alone is the catholic church, when all other communities deny that it forms any part of the church. But then, *it must not assume or be known by any other appellation which contradicts its exclusive claim*. The whole catholic community in the time of St. Augustine, was not known by the world as "the church of Africa," or the "African catholic" church; nor would the faithful *as a body* have assumed as their appropriate designation, the title of "Greek-catholics," or "Roman-catholics," or any similar designation. It is true that we often find such designations applied to particular churches in antiquity; but they always signified that those churches were *only a part of*

^k "Tenenda est nobis Christiana religio, et ejus Ecclesiæ communicatio quæ Catholica est, et Catholica nominatur, non solum a suis, verum etiam ab omnibus inimicis. Velint enim ipsi quoque Hæretici et schismatum alumni, quando non cum suis sed cum extraneis loquuntur, Catholicam nihil aliud, quàm Catholicam vocant. Non enim possunt intelligi, nisi hoc eam nomine discernant, quo ab universo orbe nuncupatur."—August. lib. de Verâ

Relig. c. vii. t. i. Oper.

^l "Tenet postremò ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses sic ista ecclesiæ sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se Catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum vel Basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere."—August. Lib. Cont. Epist. Fundamenti, c. iv. t. viii. oper.

the catholic church. Thus we read of the "catholic church of Rome," the "catholic church of Alexandria," the "Egyptian catholics," &c. Such designations always imply absolutely that those who assume or receive them are only a part of the catholic church.

In conclusion, it may be enquired, whether the designation of a community by *any other name but that of catholic*, necessarily infers that it is schismatical or heretical. I answer, that it was certainly customary from the earliest times to call sects and heresies by the names of their founders^m; and St. Jerome says, "wherever you hear those who are said to be Christians, called, not after our Lord Jesus Christ, but after some one else, as the Marcionites, Valentinians, Montenses or Campites, know that it is not a church of Christ, but a synagogue of Antichristⁿ." Yet St. Jerome does not affirm that the same rule would be applicable in all future times: he only lays it down as a rule at that time, and undoubtedly it was then a safe rule in general. Still, however, even then it was not without exceptions. The catholics at Antioch were called "Meletians" and "Eustathians^o." The orthodox adherents of Chrysostom were called "Joannites^p." And even now, the Roman-catholic church comprises within its communion "Maronites^q," "Melchites^r," "Armenians^s," "Italo-Greeks^t,"

^m Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphone; Irenæus, lib. i. c. 23, al. 20; Pacianus, Epist. i. ad Sympronianum.

ⁿ Hieron. Dial. adv. Luciferianos, t. iv. pars ii. p. 306.

^o "L'église d'Antioche étoit donc divisée en trois : car outre les Ariens, qui reconnoissoient Euzoïus pour leur évêque, il y avoit deux partis catholiques divisés par un schisme, sans aucune diversité de créance : savoir les *Eustathiens* et les *Méléciens*, &c."—Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xiv. s. 33.

^p "Les catholiques, tenant toujours S. Jean Chrysostome pour leur véritable pasteur, ne vouloient point communiquer avec Arsace . . . On les nomma *Joannites*."—Fleury, l. xxi. s. 39.

^q "All the *Maronites* about Mount Libanus, with their bishops, priests,

and monks, are catholics"—Milner, end of Controversy, lett xxvi.—"In Synodo *Maronitarum*, habita tempore Gregorii XIII. eodem Pontifice jubente, Synodi præses," &c.—Benedict. XIV. De Synodo Diœcesana, l. vii. c. ix. s. 5.

^r "Cyrillum Patriarcham Antiochenum Græcorum *Melchitarum* . . . pari honore (pallii) decoravimus."—Ibid. l. xiii. c. 15, s. 18.

^s "Patriarchæ *Armenorum* in Cilia pallium detulimus in Consistorio habito die 22 Julii, 1754."—Ibid.

^t "Neminem latet, quosdam Græciritus homines . . . Catholicos esse, qui in Latinorum episcoporum diœcesibus vivunt, quique *Italo-Græci* vocantur."—Ibid. l. ii. c. 12.—"Clemens VIII. voluit in urbe Roma semper adesse Episcopum Græcum, a quo *Italo-Græci* . . . ordines suscipere deberent."—Ibid.

“United Greeks,” “Chaldæans,” &c. In fine, the same church was for ages in communion with the “church of England^u,” as it still is with “the Gallican church,” and other churches with similar designations. Consequently the use of other appellations besides that of “catholic,” does not afford any proof that a society which bears or employs any of them, is heretical or schismatical.

OBJECTIONS.

I. If the true church must always be universal, the adherents of Luther could not have been the church of Christ, for they were never universal, and when Luther began to preach, he stood alone.

Answer. They never pretended that they constituted the whole catholic church, nor did they schismatically separate from the church, as I shall hereafter prove (chap. xii). It was therefore needless for them to show that their communion was universal.

II. The universality of the church is only to be understood as a *successive* universality; that is, all nations were to receive the gospel successively, and not at once; so that the church of Christ might at any given time be contained within a single province.

Answer. This explanation is inconsistent with the obvious and direct meaning of those glorious prophecies, which speak of Christ’s having dominion over all nations, from one end of the world to the other. In this case Christianity might never have been more extended than Judaism, and the miraculous incarnation and death of Jesus Christ, and all the miracles of his disciples, would have produced no material improvement in the condition of the world generally. But, in fact, we know from Scripture and history that Christianity was, at least *once*, morally speaking, universal; therefore we reasonably infer that *this* was the universality designed by the prophecies. I therefore cannot admit the principle of *successive* universality; though it is granted by Bellarmine, Driedo, and Melchior Canus, among the Romanists, by the schoolmen Occam, Cameracensis, and Turrecremata^v, and supported by some of our own theo-

^u “Quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit”—Magna Carta Regis Joannis, Henry’s Britain, vol. iii. Append. Field, Of the Church, book i. c. 10.

logians, who too readily admitted a notion, which seemed useful for the defence of the truth against their opponents.

III. The church was not universal in the time of Arius, or of the Council of Ariminum, for Arianism generally prevailed then.

Answer. This will be noticed in part iv. chapter x. where it will be proved that the catholic church never failed in the time of Arianism.

IV. The church was not universal at the first, when it was confined within the city of Jerusalem; therefore universality is not an essential characteristic of the true church.

Answer. Christ predicted that the church should be as a grain of mustard seed at the beginning, and should afterwards greatly increase; therefore the smallness of the church at first, is no objection to its subsequent universality.

V. The church is called catholic in the creed, because it teaches all Christian doctrines and duties, and contains all graces. Several of the fathers explain it thus.

Answer. They all assert that it is also catholic, in the ordinary sense, here maintained. These are, therefore, moral and mystical interpretations of the term, which are not intended to interfere with its more direct meaning.

VI. Universality belongs to Mahomedanism, therefore it is not a peculiar characteristic of the church of Christ.

Answer. (1.) Mahomedanism does not profess to be the church of Christ, therefore if it were universal, it could not be mistaken for the church. (2.) It is inferior to Christianity in diffusion, as the latter exists wherever Mahomedanism exists, and in many other countries where it does not.

VII. If the church be admitted to be visible and universal, then it must be also admitted, with the Papists, that there is one universal visible *head* of the church.

Answer. (1.) A community may be governed by a plurality of rulers. It is not necessarily a *monarchy*. (2.) The mere apparent *expediency* of a spiritual monarchy is no proof of its actual institution by God, because we must infer on the same grounds, that He ought to have continued the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, or the infallibility of individuals.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE church of Christ is, by the admission of all parties, apostolical, or derived in some manner from the apostles. I have already, in a preceding chapter (chap. vi. sect. i.) observed on those rules by which it may be determined, whether a society, professing to be Christian, is really derived, as a society, from the apostles. It was there shown, that any society which is in fact derived from them, must be so, by spiritual propagation, or derivation, or union ^a, not by separation from the apostles or the churches actually derived from their preaching, under the pretence of establishing a new system of supposed apostolic perfection. Derivation from the apostles, is in the former case an evident *reality*, just as much as the descent of an illustrious family from its original founder. In the latter case it is merely an assumption, in which the most essential links of the genealogy are wanting.

But there is another point of view in which the church is apostolical. The ministry of the true church originated with the apostles, and must always therefore be derived from them in some way ^b. I shall proceed to the discussion of this question, and lead it on gradually to those conclusions, which will enable us to apply “the apostolicity of the ministry,” as a test of the true church.

(I.) THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHURCH,
AND MUST ALWAYS EXIST.

It is a principle of reason, no less than of Scripture, that men cannot “hear without a preacher ^c.” Therefore Christ

^a “Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt (apostoli), a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde ecclesiæ mutuata sunt, et quotidie mutantur, ut ecclesiæ fiant: ac per hoc et ipsæ Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum eccle-

siarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est.”—Tertullian, de Præscript. adv. Hær. c. 20.

^b See Archbishop Potter, on Church Government, ch. iv. Rose, on the Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy.

^c Rom. x. 14.

himself became a preacher; and at the last sent his apostles to “go and teach all nations ^d.” We find the Apostles not only fulfilling this office, but constituting “presbyters in every church ^e,” and making the most ample provision, that the gospel, which had been communicated to them, should be taught to others also. And since Christ had promised to be always with his apostles, and had sent them forth with the same high commission which he had received of the Father, their works were his works, their institutions his institutions. Hence Scripture tells us, that when “he ascended up on high” he “gave some apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ ^f.” This passage intimates, that the Christian ministry was instituted by Christ, for the most permanent and essential objects. And in fine, the pastors of Ephesus were by the “Holy Ghost made overseers to feed the church of God ^g,” and “teachers” are declared to be set in the church by God, no less than apostles and prophets ^h. Hence it is clear, that a true and lawful ministry is essential to the church, and that any society in which there is no such ministry is not a church; and it is equally clear, that such a ministry must exist at all times, because it has been proved that the church was always to exist. If it be admitted that the ministry of Christ has at any time ceased to exist, there can be no certainty that it now exists, for the only absolute proof of its present existence is derived from the Scripture, which represents it as essential to the church, and which affords the promise of perpetual divine aid to the apostles, and their successors in the Christian ministry. And if there has ever been a period when this ministry was extinguished, it cannot be *necessary* to the church.

The opinions of Christians in all ages, and of all sects, has always been, that the Christian ministry is essential to the church. St. Ignatius declares, that “without these there is no church ⁱ.” St. Jerome says, that a society “which has no clergy is not a church ^j.” But without further dwelling on the

^d Matt. xxviii. 20.

^e Acts xiv. 23.

^f Eph. iv. 8—15.

^g Acts xx. 28.

^h 1 Cor. xii. 28.

ⁱ Χωρίς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.
—Ad Trall. c. 3.

^j “Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes.”—Hier. adv. Lucifer.

well known sentiments of the primitive church, let us come to more modern times. The Confession of Augsburg declares, that, "in order that we might obtain this (justifying) faith, the ministry of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted;" and adds, that "they condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that men receive the Holy Spirit without the external word^k." In the Apology of the Confession it is said: "If order be understood of the ministry of the word, we should without difficulty have termed order a sacrament; for the ministry of the word hath the commandment of God, and hath mighty promises^l," &c. The "Helvetic Confession" observes, that "The original institution and office of ministers is most ancient, and from God himself; not a new or human appointment^m." The apostles, "ordained pastors and teachers throughout all the churches in the world, by the command of Christ; by whose successors, even to the present time, he taught and ruled the churchⁿ." The Gallican Confession says: "We believe the true church ought to be governed with that polity or discipline which our Lord Jesus Christ sanctioned; that is, there should be in it pastors^o," &c. The Belgic Confession employs the same language, and styles the ministry "an ordinance of God^p." The Bohemian Confession^q, and the Tetrapolitan^r, acknowledge its divine institution; and the Geneva Catechism affirms, that "he who despises or refuses to hear the ministers, despises Christ^s." Calvin argues at length in proof of the necessity of the ministry

^k "Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et opera."—Conf. August. pars i. art. v.

^l "Si autem ordo de ministerio verbi intelligatur, non gravatim vocaverimus ordinem sacramentum. Nam ministerium verbi habet mandatum Dei, et habet magnificas promissiones." (Referring to Rom. i. 16, and Isaiah lv. 11.)—Apologia Confess. August. vii. de nu. et usu Sacrament.

^m "Ergo ministrorum origo, institutio, et functio vetustissima et ipsius Dei, non nova aut hominum

est ordinatio."—Confess. Helvet. caput xviii.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Conf. Gallicana, xxix.

^p Conf. Belgica, xxx. xxxi.

^q Conf. Bohemica, art. ix.

^r Conf. Tetrapolitana, cap. xiii. The Saxon Confession, art. xii. also teaches, that without the ministry the church would perish utterly.

^s "Estne igitur necesse, præesse Ecclesiis pastores? Quin etiam necesse est audire eos, et quam proponunt Christi doctrinam, ex eorum ore cum timore et reverentia excipere. Itaque qui ipsos contemnit, audireve detrectat, Christum contemnit, ac discessionem facit a societate fidelium."—Catechis. Genev. (De Verbo Dei.)

in the church^t; saying, that “the church is not otherwise edified than by external preaching^u :” he affirms, that “Christ so ordained the office of the ministry in the church, that, were it taken away, the church would perish^v.”

The dissenters of various “denominations” also allow the divine institution of the ministry. The Presbyterians, in 1647, taught that to the “Catholic visible church, Christ hath given the *ministry*, oracles, and ordinances of God^w,” where the ministry is considered to be as much the work of God, as the Bible or the sacraments. The dissenting “Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge” admits, that “the eternal happiness of mankind is mainly suspended on means; and, amongst means, chiefly on a *preached* gospel: ‘It hath pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe^x.’” The Christian ministry is here directly referred to; and it follows that this means of grace is, by the divine institution, to be *permanent* in the church. This is exactly what I contend for, that the Christian ministry is essential to the church; and as the church can never have failed, so the ministry can never have failed. There must always have been, there must now be, a Christian ministry, such as God and Christ originally instituted.

(2.) A DIVINE VOCATION IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY^y.

In the Old Testament we read of the awful punishment of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for usurping the priests’ office^z; and King Uzziah was smitten with leprosy for daring to imitate their example^a. Those who undertook the prophetic office without divine mission, were most severely rebuked^b. In the New Testament we observe the same principle of the necessity

^t Calvin. Institut. iv. c. i. sect. 5, 6.

^u “Nobis vero quod ex Paulo citavimus tenendum est, ecclesiam non aliter ædificari quam externa prædicatione.” (Sect. v.)

^v “Incumbit (Satan) ad labefactandum ministerium: quod tamen sic in Ecclesia Christus ordinavit, ut illo sublato, hujus ædificatio pereat.”—iv. c. i. sect. 11.

^w Westminster Conf. chap. xxv.

art. iii.

^x Essays on Church Polity (the Church the Conservator of a Christian Ministry), vol. ii. p. 349.

^y The Anabaptists and Socinians held that any one might assume the ministerial office, without vocation. See Gerhard, Loc. Theol. l. 24, s. 64.

^z Numbers xvi.

^a 2 Chron. xxvi.

^b Jeremiah xxiii. 21, 32.

of a commission from God to minister in sacred things. Our Lord himself, though he had come into the world, from his eternal glory, to preach the Gospel, did not assume the office of the ministry, until he was anointed with the Spirit, and miraculously commissioned by the Father: "Christ also glorified not himself to be made an high-priest" (Heb. v. 5); but, as Isaiah says: "the Spirit of the Lord was upon him, because the Lord had anointed him to preach good tidings" (Is. lxi. 1.) The old priesthood had been unapproachable by merely human power: "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron" (Heb. v. 4). The ministry of the Gospel was far superior in dignity to that of the law: "For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory" (2 Cor. ii. 9). Hence it is to be concluded, that the more glorious office was not to be assumed by men, when the less glorious had been always conferred by God. Accordingly it is the principle of the New Testament, that the ministry of the gospel is not to be assumed by men without the authority of God: "How shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x. 15.) It was GOD who sent the apostles^c; HE also "gave pastors and teachers^d," and the HOLY SPIRIT made them overseers of the church of God^e: therefore they ran, only because they were commanded and authorized by God to run; they were HIS ministers, bearing his commission, either directly and miraculously appointed to offices in his church, or indirectly by means of those who were authorized to send labourers into the vineyard.

The sublime and awful responsibilities of a minister of Jesus Christ would, indeed, have prevented the most faithful of his disciples from undertaking this office, from apprehension lest they should be led into temptation. They would have felt, with the apostle: "Who is sufficient for these things?" (2 Cor. ii. 16.) unless the special aid and presence of the Holy Ghost had been promised to them; and still more, unless they had known themselves to be truly and rightly *called by the will of God* to so mighty an office, they would never have undertaken it.

The notion that men may undertake to be ministers of God,

^c John xx. 21.

^d Eph. iv. 11.

^e Acts xx. 28.

without being *authorized* by God, carries its own refutation along with it, at the very first view. Were all men entitled to assume this office at pleasure, the apostle would have asked in vain, “Are all apostles, are all prophets, are *all teachers?*” (1 Cor. xii. 29.) He could not have added: “God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints” (1 Cor. xiv. 33); for if all men were entitled, on their own opinion of their fitness, to assume the office of the ministry, there could be nothing but endless confusion and disorder. The Scriptures, however, leave no doubt on the matter: such intruders are characterized by our Lord, as men “that came in their *own name*” (John v. 43); he declares, that they are “thieves and robbers” (John x. 8).

This has been the general sentiment of all professing Christians: I shall reserve the testimony of the fathers for the latter part of this chapter. The Reformation, in general, condemned those who pretended to be ministers of God, without any commission. The Helvetic Confession says: “We condemn all who run of their own accord, who are not chosen, sent, nor ordained ^f.” The same doctrine is taught by the French Confession ^g, and by that of the Belgians, who say, that “every one ought to take care not to intrude himself by unlawful methods, but to wait the season in which he shall be called of God, in order that he may have a testimony of his vocation, and be sure that it is of God ^h.” The Bohemian Confession ⁱ and the Polish Declaration ^j concur in the same principles. According to Calvin it was expressly provided, “that no one should assume a public office in the church without vocation (Heb. v. 4. and Jer. xvii. 16), lest restless and turbulent men should rashly intrude themselves into the teaching or government of the church. Therefore, in order that any one be deemed a true minister of the church, he must first be rightly called ^k.” Owen, the Independent, says: “None can or may take this office upon him, or discharge the duties of it, which are peculiarly its own, with authority, but he who is called and set apart thereunto, according to the

^f “Damnamus hic omnes, qui sua sponte currunt, cum non sint electi, missi, vel ordinati.”—Conf. Helveticæ, c. xviii.

^g Conf. Gallicana, xxxi.

^h Conf. Belgica, xxxi.

ⁱ Conf. Boh. art. ix.

^j Declaratio Thoruniensis, De Ordine.

^k Calvin. Institut. iv. c. iii. sect. 10.

mind of Jesus Christ." . . . "The general force of the rule, Heb. v. 4. includes a prohibition of undertaking any office without a divine call¹."

(3.) AN INTERNAL VOCATION IS INSUFFICIENT ALONE TO CONSTITUTE A MINISTER OF CHRIST^m.

There is not an instance in the sacred Scripture of any man being sent forth as a minister of Christ, merely by an internal impulse of the Spirit, unattested either by miracles, or by an external commission from the ministers of God. The apostles were all manifestly sent by our Saviour: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I youⁿ." They were hallowed by fiery tongues on the day of Pentecost, and invariably performed miracles. The other disciples, who acted as ministers, received an external call from the apostles or their deputies, or were enabled to show miraculous proofs of their mission. In truth, this external calling or manifestation, must be absolutely essential to the Christian ministry, because a minister of Jesus Christ must be able to prove his mission to *others*, as well as to himself. Now an inward call is no proof to others: it may be counterfeited; it may be imaginary; it may be enthusiastic. Scripture teaches us, that there shall be many false prophets, and pretenders to inspiration; and, that they "shall deceive many^o." It is obvious that the bold and persevering assertion of an inward call, especially if accompanied by that hypocritical pretension to sanctity, which such impostors too often assume, is precisely the mode in which we might expect that people would be deceived. Nor is it to be said in reply, that miracles are only necessary in the case of a new Revelation, but not when an old Revelation is to be preached more purely than it has been. For teachers who do not profess to teach any new Revelation, may pervert, corrupt, and mutilate that which has been made; and thus may, in effect, preach "another gospel," which the holy apostle pronounces "anathema" (Gal. i. 8, 9). I do not, in any degree, doubt that the true ministers of Jesus Christ are internally "moved by the Holy

¹ Gospel Church, chapter iv. (The Officers of the Church), where he strongly condemns those that intrude on the sacred office.

c. 3.

ⁿ John xx. 21.

^o Matt. xxiv. 11. See also 1 John iv. 1. Acts xx. 30. 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2. Jude.

^m See Gerhard. Loci Theol. 1. 24.

Ghost" to undertake their holy office ; but it is also the will of God that they should be externally called and sent.

(4.) POPULAR ELECTION ALONE IS INSUFFICIENT TO CONSTITUTE A MINISTER OF CHRIST.

The Scripture affords no example of a popular election of ministers independently of the apostles' sanction: the seven deacons named by the people were afterwards ordained by *them*^p. In fact, we find the apostles "ordaining elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23), and appointing pastors to the churches of Ephesus and Crete, who were commissioned to "ordain presbyters in every city." It is perfectly uncertain whether the people had any share in these appointments. But the grand and unanswerable proof that popular election alone cannot constitute a Christian minister, is the fact confessed by the most ardent advocates for such elections, that "*No case occurs in the inspired history where it is mentioned that a church elected its pastor*^q." This fact is undeniable, and it is conclusive. Popular election alone, therefore, cannot constitute a minister of Christ, and besides this, it cannot even be requisite to his mission; for it is not to be supposed that Scripture would omit all notice of the very *essentials* of the Christian ministry. There is, however, one more passage in Holy Scripture which demonstrates, beyond all possibility of a reply, that popular elections alone cannot constitute ministers of Christ. "The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from *the truth*, and shall be turned unto fables" (2 Tim. iv. 3, 4). This text shakes to its very foundation the claims of those who pretend to derive their mission only from popular election, because it proves that such elections may be entirely unauthorized, and contrary to the will of God. I do not deny that frequently, in the primitive church, the people had a part in the election of their pastors, but this custom was not universal^r, and the ministers of Jesus Christ always confirmed and ordained the pastors so elected.

^p Acts vi. 6.

^r See Thomassinus, *Vet. et Nov.*

^q James, *Church Member's Guide*, *Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, pars ii. liber ii. p. 12, 2d ed.

(5.) AN APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION OF ORDINATION IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

It has been already proved, that a divine commission is of the essence of the Christian ministry, and that no man can by his own mere assumption become a minister of Christ. It has been further shown, that a merely internal vocation does not constitute a Christian minister, and that popular election affords no proof of his vocation according to the will of God. There is, then, only one remaining mode in which men can receive a divine commission for the sacred office, namely, by means of ministers authorized to convey it to others.

It is evident, that if God authorized the apostles and their successors to ordain ministers, and transmit to them a divine commission, there would be a clear and intelligible mode in which this commission could be perpetuated in the church. Accordingly, Christ did so: he gave to the apostles his own mission; "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you^s;" empowering them by these words to give to *others* the mission which by the very act of conferring it on the apostles, he showed to be transmissible. Those who received from the apostles the mission of Jesus Christ, received a similar power to transmit it to others; and thus alone the ministers of Christ were constituted. In fact, we know that those whom the apostles ordained were constituted by "the Holy Ghost^t;" they were "pastors and teachers" set "by God" in his church^u. Therefore they were evidently empowered by God to give their own divine mission to Christian ministers; and the succession of such ministers was never to fail: "Lo, I am with you (and therefore with your successors), *always, even to the end of the world*^v."

The ministers of Christ are, according to Scriptural example, to be sent forth by other ministers by the imposition of hands and prayer. The apostles ordained the seven deacons by prayer and laying on of hands^w. St. Paul ordained Timothy in like manner^x, and he commanded him to "lay hands suddenly on no man^y." Accordingly, the universal church always consi-

^s John xx. 21.^t 1 Cor. xii. 28.^u Acts xx. 28.^v Matt. xxviii. 20.^w Acts vi. 6.^x 2 Tim. i. 6.^y 1 Tim. v. 22.

dered the imposition of hands by the ministers of Christ essential to ordination. The Œcumenical Council of Nice^z, and the various synods of Antioch^a, Ancyra^b, Carthage^c, &c., all recognize this rite, which is also acknowledged as apostolical and essential, in the Helvetic^d, the Bohemian^e, the Polish^f, and other confessions. And the universal practice, not only of the church, but of all sects, evinces the persuasion of all professing Christians, that this mode of ordination is essential. Those very sects, some of whose members would argue that the imposition of hands by ministers of Christ is unnecessary, testify to the contrary by their conduct and rule; and the Wesleyans, whose ministers were formerly instituted by a verbal commission, have lately felt it necessary to adopt the imposition of hands. Such is the force and clearness of the apostolical tradition.

I shall now conclude this argument. It is certain from what has been said, that the Christian ministry must always exist, and can never have failed. It is certain that the essence of this ministry consisted mainly in a divine commission; and that the ministry of the church must have always possessed it. It is equally certain that the mode by which this commission was conveyed must always be essentially the *same*. Now, the apostolic mode of ordination, by which the apostles and their successors, the bishops of the universal church, sent forth the ministers of Jesus Christ, by imposition of hands and prayer—this mode *alone* has *always* existed in the church. For many ages popular elections were unheard of. The apostolic mode of ordination *alone* prevails in all ages, and among all nations. It is therefore evidently the external vocation instituted by God himself. If it be not so, if it be a mode of human invention, it could never have constituted ministers of Christ, and therefore the whole church would for many ages have been without true ministers; it would have been deficient in what is *essential* to the church of Christ, and therefore the catholic church must have *entirely failed*: a position which is directly and formally heretical.

^z Canon ix.^a Canon xvii.^b Canon ix.^c IV. Conc. Carthag. (398), cap. Ordine.)^d Confessio Helvetica, cap. xviii.^e Confess. Bohemica, art. ix.^f Declaratio Thoruniensis. (De

Apostolical
Succession
of the mi-
nistry, a
note of the
church.

The great external sign of such a continuance of ordinations in any church, is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors from the apostles; for it is morally certain, that wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned. This succession from the apostles is a certain note of a church of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy. I shall briefly notice the doctrines of the fathers on these points.

St. Irenæus says, “ We can enumerate those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and their successors, even to us ” . . . “ By the same ordination and succession, the doctrine of the apostles in the church, and the proclamation of the truth, have come even unto us ^g.” “ Wherefore it is necessary to obey those presbyters who are in the church, those who have succession from the apostles, as we have shown, and who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth according to the will of the Father; but as for those who depart from the principal succession, and meet in any place, they are to be suspected, either as heretics and men of false doctrine, or as schismatics, puffed up and pleasing themselves; or as hypocrites, impelled to such actions by avarice and vain glory ^h.”

Tertullian: “ If any heresies dare to connect themselves with the apostolic age, pretending to be derived from the apostles because they existed in their time, we may say: Let them declare the origin of their churches; let them unfold the catalogue of their bishops, so descending by succession from the beginning, that the first bishop had as his ordainer and predecessor some one of the apostles, or of the apostolic men who remained united to the apostles ⁱ.”

^g “ Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos.”—Iren. adv. Hæres. iii. c. iii. “ Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesia traditio, et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos.”—Ibid.

^h “ Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma

veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt,” &c.—Adv. Hær. iv. c. 26

ⁱ “ Cæterum si quæ audent interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere: Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui

Cyprian: "Novatian is not in the church, nōr can he be deemed a bishop who, despising the evangelical and apostolical tradition, and succeeding to no one, is sprung from himself. One not ordained in the church has no church^l." "These" (heretics) "are they who, of their own accord, without the divine will, appoint themselves to preside over some random conventicle; who without any lawful ordination, constitute themselves pastors; who without receiving it from any of the bishops, assume to themselves the title of bishop^k."

Optatus: "You who pretend to claim for your own the holy church, declare the origin of your episcopal see^l!"

Ephrem Syrus: "They are to be urged again each of them to show his age, which is the more ancient. Manes may claim the right of primogeniture, but Bardesanes was before him, &c. . . . Let them again be distinctly asked, from whom they received the imposition of hands? And if they received it from us, and afterwards rejected it, the truth seeks nothing more. But if they took the priest's office themselves, there is enough to refute them and cover them with shame; for then any one may be a priest if he pleases to lay hands on his own head^m."

It has been shown above, that the apostolical succession of the ministry is a note of the true church, and of all the particular churches of which it is composed; so that no community which is without this succession can be a church of Christ. It remains now to be inquired, whether the mere fact of the absence of such a ministry excludes any community from the Christian church.

That it does not do so in all cases is evident, for it is certain that persons may be separated from their bishops by *an unjust excommunication*, and yet remain living members of the catholic church. Catholics may also be resident in countries where

Want of
Apostolical
Succession,
where ex-
cusable.

tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem."—Tertull. de Præscript. c. 32.

^l "Novatianus in ecclesia non est, nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelica et apostolica traditione contempta, nemini succedens, a se ipso ortus est: habere namque aut tenere ecclesiam nullo modo potest, qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est."—Epist. ad Magnum (ep. lxxvi.).

^k "Hi sunt qui se ultro apud

temerarios convenas, sine divina dispositione, præficiunt; qui se præpositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt; qui nemine episcoporum dante, episcopi sibi nomen assumunt."—Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.

^l "Vos vestræ cathedræ originem reddite, qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare."—Lib. ii. cont. Parmen.

^m Serm. xxii. adv. Hær. tom. ii. p. 487, 488. Oper. Ephr. Syri Syriace et Lat. ed. Assemani.

they are *unable*, from some cause, to procure bishops or priests. The absence of an apostolical ministry does not, under such circumstances, exclude from the church, though it prevents the regular organization of a particular church in those districts. If, then, it can be proved that a community is deprived of the apostolic ministry without fault of its own, or by difficulties which it cannot overcome, but that it is *desirous of obtaining such a ministry, and is in communion with the successors of the apostles in other churches*, the actual want of this ministry does not exclude such a community from the church of Christ.

It may be further enquired, whether, if the churches of one or more nations, or of a comparatively small portion of the world, be separated from the communion of *the successors of the apostles in other churches throughout the world*, such a separation is a note of schism.

I reply, that since it has been already shown that the communion of the universal church may be interrupted (page 54, &c.), and that particular churches may not be in communion with churches in all parts of the world (page 124), it follows necessarily, that the successors of the apostles may be divided, and that a national church is not bound to prove that she is in actual communion with the whole episcopate.

OBJECTIONS.

I. All Christians may celebrate the praise of God, offer to him spiritual sacrifices, and mutually comfort and exhort each other (Eph. v. 19 ; Col. iii. 16 ; 1 Thess. iv. 18) ; therefore there is no need of any formal vocation.

Answer. These are not properly the work of the ministry, but religious and charitable exercises, which are performed without authority, and cannot interfere with the office of those whom “the Holy Ghost hath made overseers over the flock to feed the church of God” (Acts xx. 28) ; of whom it is said, “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account” (Heb. xiii. 17).

II. Those who were dispersed after the death of Stephen (Acts viii. 4) went every where preaching the word.

Answer. (1.) They did not preach where the church already existed ; therefore their preaching affords no pretext for as-

suming the office of the ministry in the church. (2.) It is not said that every one preached, but only in general terms, that those who were dispersed abroad did so; and we may reasonably suppose that such persons were either ministers of the church (as Philip, Acts viii. 5), or were endowed with gifts of the Spirit to prove their mission.

III. The "house of Stephanas addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints" (1 Cor. xvi. 15).

Answer. They did so with the sanction and approbation of St. Paul, and not merely from their own impulse.

IV. "It is written in the prophets, And they shall all be taught of God" (John vi. 45). "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things" (1 John ii. 20). "The Spirit shall lead you into all truth" (John xvi. 13).

Answer. (1.) These passages cannot prove the Christian ministry needless, because its divine institution is recorded in Scripture. (2.) They speak of the high spiritual privileges of Christians; but these privileges are only conferred on him who obeys God's commandments, "for he it is that loveth me;" and one of those commandments is: "Obey them that have the rule over you," &c.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

SECTION I.

THE Oriental or Greek^a Church prevails more or less in Russia, Siberia, North America, Poland, European Turkey, Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, the Archipelago, Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt. The vast and numerous churches of the East are all ruled by bishops and archbishops, of whom the chief are the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Russian church

^a De Maistre contends, that these churches cannot be called *Oriental* or Greek, because they include the Russian Church and others, which cannot properly come under

those designations. (Du Pape, l. iv. c. 5.) Nevertheless, he himself entitles the various churches subject to Rome, the "*Roman Church*."

was subject to a fifth patriarch from the latter part of the sixteenth century; but since the reign of Peter the Great the appointment to this high office has been suspended by the emperor, who deemed its power too great, and calculated to rival that of the throne itself. In its place Peter the Great instituted the "Holy Legislative Synod," which is directed by the emperor^b. I maintain that these various churches form a portion of the catholic church of Christ.

Unity.

1. It is certain that the Oriental churches *maintain principles which lead to unity of communion*. No one disputes that they maintain the obligation of obedience on the part of the faithful to their respective pastors; and that if any one should voluntarily separate himself from the church on any pretext, he would be viewed as a schismatic by them. It is admitted by every one, that they regard the bishops as successors of the apostles^c, and esteem it necessary to communicate with and obey them. And accordingly, it is evident that these churches are in fact generally united in themselves and with each other. Although they are not actually in communion with the churches in the west, many of their members are desirous of being so. Thomassin says, that wherever there is liberty, "all those Greeks who are supposed by some to be schismatics, show that the love of *unity* has taken deep root in their hearts^d." Trevern says, "The Greeks *would reconcile themselves with us* if we could all come to an understanding with them on the authority of the pope. They say so, even those who are the best qualified amongst them to give the tone^e." We shall also presently see proofs of the wishes of some of the eastern bishops for communion with the English church in particular. Thus there is a communion, at least in desire and tendency. Their admission of the authority of the successors of the apostles, furnishes a basis on which the communion of churches may hereafter be reconstructed.

Nor have these churches *ever separated themselves from the*

^b See Mosheim, vol. iv. sect. 3, part i. chap. 2; Consett's Present State of the Church of Russia (1729), which contains the "Spiritual Regulation" for the synod, composed by Theophanes, archbishop of Novogrod, and published by Peter the Great.

^c Orthodoxa Confessio Ecclesiæ

Orientalis, quæst. cix.

^d Thomassin, De l'Unité de l'Eglise, pars i. c. xx. This writer maintains that the eastern churches are still virtually in communion with the western.

^e Trevern, Discussion Amicale, t. i. p. 232.

communion of the great body of the catholic church, because, when divisions took place between them and the western churches, they were not inferior in number or authority to the rest of the church, as we shall see hereafter; and for the same reason, they could never have been *excommunicated by the majority of the catholic church*; therefore they remain in the church. As for their non-communion with the Roman see, the mere fact proves nothing; for if all those who are separated *de facto* from this communion must necessarily be cut off from the true church, the Roman pontiffs must be infallible and impeccable, which even their own adherents do not pretend^f. And besides this, Roman catholics admit that the eastern churches were part of the Christian community in the time of Chrysostom and of Acacius, though they were then separated from the communion of the see of Rome. Meletius, Cyprian, Hilarly of Arles, were not in the communion of Rome, and yet are admitted to have been catholics^g. Therefore we can only determine the question by looking at the *facts* of the original division; and these, as we shall prove in the sequel, exculpate *both* the oriental and the western churches in general from the charge of schism.

2. The oriental churches *maintain principles which lead to unity in faith*. They receive Scripture as the rule of their faith^h, and the apostolical traditions of the church as a guide in its interpretationⁱ. These traditions they follow with the highest reverence. They acknowledge the authority of the church, and receive with perfect devotion the definitions of the œcumenical councils^j, to which they require the assent of the

^f See part vii. chap. v. sect. ii.

^g See above, chap. iv. sect. iv. and part vii. chap. v. sect. ii.

^h Theophanes, archbishop of Novogrod, maintains, against Bellarmine, that "Ita perfecta est sacra scriptura, ut omnia vel quoad verba, vel virtute in se contineat, quæ nobis ad salutem sunt necessaria." — *Orthodoxæ Theologiæ*, t. i. p. 107. ed. Lipsiæ, 1792.

ⁱ Vide *Acta Theol. Witeberg. et Patr. Hieremiæ*, p. 201; also the *Summary of Christian Divinity*, by Platon, archbishop of Moscow, published in Sclavonian, 1765, and translated by Mr. Pinkerton, in his

"Present State of the Greek Church in Russia," 1814. See also the *Answer of Platon to M. Dutens* (*Œuvres Mêlées*, part 2, p. 162, &c.), commended by Methodius, archbishop of Twer, in his "*Liber Historicus de reb. in prim. Eccl. Mosquæ, typis sanctissimi Synodi*, 1805." Smith's book on the Greek Church is brief but useful. King's "*Rites of the Greek Church*" is written in a Latitudinarian spirit.

^j *Nectarii Patr. Hieros. Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Ecclesiam*, p. 205, &c.; *Orthodoxa Confessio*, quæst. lxxxvi.; lxxii.; *Acta Theol. Witeberg. et Hieremiæ*, p. 56. 255;

clergy^k. It is certain that they reject every heresy formally condemned by the catholic church; and if any one presume to teach novelties, he is condemned and excommunicated^l. Consequently they have, both in principle and practice, unity of faith; and it does not appear that they differ in articles of faith from the rest of the church. The Roman churches claim them as agreeing with themselves on almost every point; and if we may judge by their published sentiments, we should conclude that the oriental church, as a body, denies no article of the faith which we ourselves maintain^m. They receive the same three creeds, and the same six synods, which are received by our churches and by those subject to Rome. But without entering on the particulars of their doctrine, it is fairly to be presumed orthodox or excusable on the whole, because they profess a perfect adhesion to the Scripture, the apostolical tradition, and to all the definitions of the catholic church.

Sanctity.

3. These churches *inculcate holiness by their doctrine*ⁿ. No one pretends to accuse them of denying the necessity of sanctification. *They have given birth to many of the most celebrated*

Platon's Summary of Christian Divinity; Methodius, Liber Hist. p. 173. This work of the archbishop of Twer is very creditable to the learning of the Russian clergy, and he speaks in terms of the highest commendation of Beveridge, Bingham, Ussher, Cave, Wotton, Pearson, Bull, &c., which has greatly excited the jealousy of some Roman Catholics.—De Maistre, Du Pape, l. iv. c. i.

^k See King's Rites of the Greek Church (Consecration of Bishops). The second synod of Nice, A. D. 787, which they reckon œcumenical through a mistake of fact, imposes on them practices with regard to the pictures of saints which our churches found, by bitter experience, liable to the most serious abuses. Even Archbishop Platon confesses, that the honour paid to pictures "may be turned into the most abominable idolatry" (p. 230). His doctrine that the obeisance before them "we do not render to the pictures themselves," but "to the persons they represent" (p. 229), is not exactly that of the synod of

Nice, which declares that the images *themselves* are to receive an honour which *passes* to the original. The Oriental Church, however, has never been tainted by the doctrine so generally maintained in the church of Rome, that *Latria* is due to images and relics of our Saviour. See my Eighth Letter to Dr. Wiseman.

^l Platon, *ubi supra*, p. 101. 169.

^m It is true that they do not receive the doctrine of the papal supremacy, which is with Roman Catholics an article of faith; and that some of them hold the doctrine of transubstantiation, and some other points, as matters of faith, which we do not receive; but it has been shown above (chap. v. sect. iii. p. 85—94), that the existence of such errors amongst some of its members, does not necessarily annul the character of a church of Christ.

ⁿ Platon, p. 205, &c. They maintain the doctrine of justification by faith productive of good works. lb. 108. See also *Acta et Scripta Theolog. Witeberg. et Patr. Hieremiæ*, p. 64. 228, &c. Witeberg, 1584.

saints and martyrs, whom the church reverences. Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Clement, Dionysius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssene, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Macarius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, John of Damascus, Methodius, Nicholas, and others innumerable, were all of the oriental churches. From them proceeded, in various ages, most holy missionaries, who converted to the Christian faith many heathen nations; as, for example, the Abyssinians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Goths, Selavonians, Moravians, Transylvanians, Russians, &c. Hence it is evident that the oriental churches have shown, in all ages, many proofs of Christian sanctity; and whatever may be their actual sanctity now, when afflicted and degraded by the long-continued persecution of the infidels, it can scarcely be *inferior* to that of the Roman churches generally. However, admitting merely for the sake of argument that it is so, this would afford no proof that the oriental is not a branch of the catholic church, because particular churches may differ in actual holiness of life.

4. *These churches are catholic.* Since I only maintain that the oriental churches are a part of the catholic church, it is of course impossible, from the very terms of the proposition, to attempt any proof that they are themselves *universal*. These churches themselves only claim to be a part of the catholic church; and they do not deny that the remainder of the church exists in the west. In various documents preserved in the *Perpétuité de la Foi*, the oriental patriarchs and bishops style their churches, “the Holy Catholic Church of the Greeks^o ;” “our Holy Catholic Church of the East^p ;” “our Oriental Church^q ;” “the Greek Church^r ;” “the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East^s ;” “our Church of the East, Catholic and Apostolic^t.” De Maistre remarks, that they “wish to be Catholicity.

^o *Perpétuité de la Foi* touchant l'Eucharistie, tom. iii p. 518.

^p *Ibid.* 521.

^q *Ibid.* 522.

^r *Ibid.* 525.

^s *Ibid.* 532.

^t *Ibid.* 562; The *Orthodoxa Confessio* approved by the four eastern patriarchs, includes the church of Rome in the universal church.—*Quæst.* lxxxiv. Platon, archbishop of Moscow, seems to allow the Latin

to be a part of the church (p. 101), and afterwards rather to deny it (p. 161, 162). Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in his learned and most interesting “*Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Ecclesiam*” (Lond. 1702), reckons the Latin as a *particular* church, a portion of the universal.—See pages 354. 357. 360. Nectarius lived in the seventeenth century. Methodius, archbishop of Twer, seems to regard the eastern and

considered *a portion* of the catholic kingdom ^u." In fine, there have been, at various times, some marks of communion between members of the oriental church and of the British ^v and other western churches ^w, as I shall prove more fully hereafter. The oriental churches are included in the catholic church by all our theologians, though they observe with regret certain abuses, corruptions, and errors amongst their members, which, however, do not deprive them of the character of Christian churches. Bishops Jewel, Bramhall, Laud, Stillingfleet, &c., may be cited to prove this; and our primate has recently acknowledged them to be a part of the catholic church ^x. Even Romanists,

western churches, although divided, as parts of the catholic church.—Liber Hist. p. 79, 80.

^u "Les églises Phottiennes ont précisément la même prétention: elles veulent être *portion* du *royaume catholique* après avoir abdiqué la puissance commune."—Du Pape, l. iv. c. x.

^v Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, dedicated his work on the "Faith and Doctrine of the Eastern Church," to King Charles I., and presented to him the celebrated Alexandrine manuscript. (See Smith on the Greek Church.) He also corresponded with the archbishop of Canterbury. In 1653, Dr. Basire, archdeacon of Northumberland, in the course of his travels in the east, was invited, by the metropolitan of Achaia, to preach twice in the presence of the Greek bishops and clergy; and at Jerusalem he received from Paisius, patriarch of that see, his patriarchal seal (the regular sign of credence among them), to express his desire of communion with the Church of England. (See Basire's Life and Correspondence, by Darnell, p. 116.) He was also permitted to preach frequently in the Greek churches at Constantinople; where, in testimony of his doctrine, he presented to the patriarch of Jerusalem, in the presence of all the priests and people, the Catechism of the Church of England, which was also highly approved by the other oriental patri-

archs. (Ibid. p. 123, 124.) The heads of the English Church have recently received from several of the oriental metropolitans and archbishops, letters expressive of the most friendly and Christian sentiments. However, the communion between the British and Oriental churches, which was interrupted in the middle ages by misunderstandings, has not yet been restored.

^w Leo Allatius, in his work *De Perp. Consens. Eccl. Orient. et Occident.*, shows that communion has frequently existed between the Greek and Latin churches. See also Thomassin, *Traité de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, chap. xx.; *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Disciplina*, pars i. l. i. c. xv.

^x The epistle commendatory from the archbishop of Canterbury in favour of Michael Solomon Alexander, bishop of our Anglo-Catholic communion at Jerusalem (at the end of a "Statement of Proceedings relative to the Establishment of a see at Jerusalem," &c. 1841), is addressed "To the most holy and beloved brethren in Christ, the bishops and prelates of the ancient and apostolical churches in Syria and the countries adjacent:" and says, "We trust that your holinesses will accept this communication as a testimony of our respect and affection, and of our hearty desire to renew that amicable intercourse with the ancient churches of the east which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with

as will be shown at the close of this chapter, are obliged to admit the claims of the eastern church.

5. *These churches are apostolical.* Many of them still subsist after an uninterrupted succession of eighteen hundred years; such as the churches of Smyrna, Philadelphia, Corinth, Athens, Thessalonica, Crete, Cyprus. Many others, founded by the apostles, continued to subsist uninterruptedly till the invasion of the Saracens in the seventh century, and revived again after their oppression had relaxed. Such are the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and others: from these apostolical churches the whole Oriental church derives its origin and succession; for whenever new churches were founded, it was always by authority of the ancient societies previously existing. With these all the more recent churches hold close communion; and thus, by the consanguinity of faith and discipline and charity, are themselves apostolical. They are also *apostolical in their ministry*; for it is undeniable, that they can produce a regular uninterrupted series of bishops, and of lawful ordinations in their churches, from the beginning. No one denies the legitimacy of their ordinations.

Apostolicality.

6. Since the oriental churches have therefore all the external signs of a part of the true church, it only remains to examine the facts of the division between them and the western churches, and from these to determine whether schism or heresy is to be imputed to either party.

SECTION II.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

1. *The events in the time of Cerularius did not render either the East or the West schismatical, so as to be cut off from the catholic church.*—In order to establish this, we must briefly review the events alluded to. Though there had been, at various times, occasional schisms between the particular churches of Rome and Constantinople, especially in the time of Photius, yet in the middle of the eleventh century the Eastern and Western Churches held communion, and acknowledged each

the blessing of God, of putting an end to divisions which have brought the most grievous calamities on the church of Christ" (p. 18, 19).

other as parts of the same holy catholic church. Their intercourse was interrupted in the following manner.

In 1053, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of turbulent spirit, addressed a letter to the Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, to be communicated to the Roman pontiff and the whole western church^v. In this letter he strongly inveighed against several of their rites and customs, and especially that of using unleavened bread in the eucharist, which, he argued, must render that sacrament invalid. At the same time, he closed the churches and monasteries of the Latins at Constantinople.

These proceedings naturally excited indignation in the West. Pope Leo wrote to complain of them; and the Greek emperor and Cerularius having expressed their wish for peace, he sent, in 1054, three legates to Constantinople, of whom the principal was Cardinal Humbert. A worse selection could scarcely have been made with a view to concord and unity. Having presented to the emperor his replies to Cerularius and to Nicetas, a studite monk, who had written against the Latin customs, in which he bitterly retorted the charge of error on the customs of the Greeks, and threatened them with an anathema^z; Humbert and his colleagues proceeded to visit Cerularius, whom they treated with marked rudeness, and arrogantly declared, that they had not come to discuss any of the points in dispute, but to insist on the adoption of their own rites and customs^a. This latter charge, it is true, rests on the testimony of Cerularius, but it is rendered credible by their subsequent conduct. Supported by the emperor, who was desirous of conciliating the favour of the Roman see, and procuring its aid

^v This epistle is found in Canisii Thesaurus Monument. Eccl. tom. iii. 281. It was to be communicated "ad ipsum reverendissimum Papan."

^z His reply to Cerularius terminates thus: "Pro quibus omnibus et aliis quos longum est scripto prosequi erroribus, nisi resipueritis et digne satisfeceritis; irrevocabile anathema hic et in futuro eritis a Deo et ab omnibus Catholicis."—Canisii Thesaurus, iii. 307. His reply to Nicetas was equally violent.—Ibid. p. 324.

^a See the Epistle of Cerularius to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in Cotelieri Eccl. Græc. Monumenta, ii. 138, 139. He complains of their unspeakable insolence, boasting, and temerity in his presence; but what was most offensive of all, they said, *ὅτι οὐ διδάχθησόμενοι ἢ διαλεχθησόμενοι, τὰ ἐνταῦθα κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ διδάξοντες μᾶλλον καὶ πείσοντες κρατεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ δόγματα τούτων καὶ ταῦτα μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀναισχυρτίας ὑπερβαλλούσης.*—P. 145. He repeats the same complaint in his second letter, p. 164.

against the Normans, they compelled Nicetas to abjure his writings, and to anathematize "all who contradicted the faith of the Roman church^b." They also themselves publicly excommunicated "all who contradicted the faith of the holy, Roman, apostolical see^c." And, finally, before they left Constantinople, they placed on the altar of St. Sophia a paper containing an excommunication of Cerularius and his adherents, in which they made a charge of heresy on those who maintained several ancient and established customs of the eastern church^d. Cerularius in his turn denounced anathema against the authors and supporters of the excommunication^e, and the Roman pontiff did not disown the act of his legates, so that the two churches of Rome and Constantinople, and their adherents, became mutually estranged.

From this it appears evident that the fault did not rest exclusively or peculiarly with *either party*. In fact, it would be difficult to determine which were more guilty of harsh and uncharitable conduct; Cerularius, in depriving the Latins of their churches, or the legates, for their arrogance, and their needless and uncharitable denunciation of such customs as the marriage of the clergy, and the use of the Nicene Creed without the addition of "filioque," which had never been received in the East, and which the Roman church itself did not afterwards insist on, in its temporary reunions with the oriental churches.

But blameable as the conduct of both these parties unquestionably was, still it does not follow that either was *absolutely separated from the catholic church*; for *neither act of excommunication* was known and approved by the majority of that church. At most, therefore, they merely separated the particular churches of Rome and Constantinople from friendly

^b Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 60. s. 8.

^c Canisii Thesaurus, iii. 328.

^d This excommunication is found in Canisii Thesaurus, iii. p. 326. It begins thus: "Sancta et Romana prima et apostolica sedes, ad quam tanquam ad caput sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum specialius pertinet," &c.; and having accused Michael and his followers of numerous heresies, on the most frivolous grounds, concludes as follows:—"Michael abusivus patriarcha neophytus atque cum eo Leo

Acridanus episcopus et omnes sequaces eorum in præfatis erroribus et præsumptionibus, sint Anathema Maranatha, cum Simoniacis, Vallesiis, Arianis, Donatistis, Nicholaitis, Severianis, Pneumatomachis, et Manichæis, et Nazarenis, et cum omnibus hæreticis, imo cum Diabolo et angelis ejus, nisi forte resipuerint. Amen. Amen. Amen."

^e Leo Allatius, de Lib. et Rebus Eccl. p. 161. gives this excommunication.

mutual communion. Nor can it be pretended that either the Greeks or the Latins separated themselves from the majority of the church: the Roman pontiffs, and those who accused the Greeks of schism, did so on another ground, "their separation from the chair of Peter."

2. *The church generally did not consider either party excommunicated.*—We find that long after the time of Cerularius, a certain degree of communion still subsisted between the East and West. Leo Allatius^f has produced several proofs that the act of Cerularius did not prevent the union of the churches; and the author of the "Perpétuité de la Foi" says, that "even in the twelfth century the schism was not yet so formed as that all the Greeks were generally rejected by all the Latins, and all the Latins by the Greeks, and there appeared among many of them marks of ecclesiastical communion^g."

This is proved by the following facts, which show that

3. *The Eastern church did not consider the Western as having ceased to be a church.*—In the time of Cerularius, Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in replying to a letter sent to him by a western prelate, Dominic, archbishop of Grado, expressed sentiments of Christian communion^h; and he endeavoured to prevail on Cerularius to urge nothing on the Latins, whom he considered as "brethren," except the removal of the addition which they had made to the Creedⁱ. In 1094, Simon, patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote an epistle to the Christians of the west, soliciting their aid against the Saracens, which Peter the Hermit brought into Europe. In 1155, Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica, in his reply to Hadrian IV. of Rome, denies that the eastern church was guilty of schism, while he fully admits that the western holds the orthodox faith, and forms part of the universal church^j.

^f Leo Allatius, de Consens. p. 624, &c.

^g Perpétuité de la Foi, tom. i. p. 202.

^h "Non adeo præfracte ac scripsisti, sanctissimus patriarcha Constantinopolitanus (Cerularius) vestram existimationem invadit, vosque appellat cacodoxos, abscinditque a sancta catholica ecclesia: sed probe cognoscens orthodoxos esse, idemque nobiscum sentire circa solidam theologiam," &c.—Cotelerii Eccl.

Græc. Monumenta, tom. ii. p. 117. According to him, the use of unleavened bread was the only material point of difference between the churches.—Ibid. and p. 122.

ⁱ Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. Monum. ii. 154. ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν οὗτοι. See also p. 160, where he recommends the question of unleavened bread to be left indifferent, if the Latins will remove their interpolation from the Creed.

^j "Quid igitur ad nos 'errantis

According to Fleury, the Greek Emperor Manuel communicated with Pope Alexander, and "one cannot say that in his time the schism of the Greeks was yet formed^k." In 1199, John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, addressed the Roman pontiff as a Christian prelate, and "his beloved brother," while he wondered at his styling the Roman church "universal^l." In 1203, Demetrius Chomaterus, archbishop of Bulgaria, in accordance with the opinion of many distinguished men of the eastern church, condemned the decision of Theodore Balsamon, a celebrated canonist, that the Latins were to be considered as heretics; since, he says, "they have never been synodically recognized as such, nor have they been publicly cast out as heretics, but they take their meals and perform their worship along with us^m."

4. *The Western Church did not universally reject the Eastern.*

ovis' similitudo sanctissime Papa? Quid imago 'amissæ drachmæ?' Nos enim e sinu tuo excidisse *negamus*, et filiorum appellationem aut pastorem curam non refugimus, ut tale convicium exprobetur. Tuto autem ac firmiter, Dei gratia, stetimus in B. Petri confessione, et quem ille confessus est et prædicavit, confitemur et prædicamus, nihil ex synodalibus S. Patrum innovantes, nec adjicientes evangelicis et apostolicis verbis ad unum apicem. . . . Neque enim aliud novimus fundamentum, quam quod substructum est, eademque tecum prædicamus et docemus, ego iique omnes qui ad magnam apostolicamque sedem Constantinopolitanam pertinemus. Et *unus* qui in utrisque ecclesiis personat *sermo fidei*, idemque sacrificatur agnus inter Occidentales Antistites qui sub tuum principale culmen agunt, et nos qui ab oriente sole, sublimi Constantinopolitana sede, sacerdotii accipimus splendorem."—Baronius, an. 1155.

^k Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 73, s. 32.

^l It begins: "Innocentio sanctissimo Papæ Romano, et in Christo Domino, *dilecto fratri nostro*, Johannes, &c. . . amorem et pacem a Domino nostro J. C." . . . He then praises Innocent for his zeal for the union of the churches, and con-

tinues: "Quod autem mihi in tuæ sanctitatis scripto non modicam superinduxit ambiguitatem, non abscondam. Nam pro miro habeo, quomodo unam et universalem *Romanorum* vocasti ecclesiam, ut quasi jam divisam in species quasdam specialissimas, et hæc, *uno* existente grege, ovium Christi, nobis quodammodo pastoribus sub eo constitutis, pastorum principe communique doctore. Et quomodo erit quod apud vos Romanorum ecclesia *mater* ut dixisti *aliarum ecclesiarum*, et secundum quas aliquas rationes et per quas unquam causas, quæro addiscere dubitans." This title he says properly belongs to the church of Jerusalem, and he then defends the Eastern church from the charge of schism.—Epist. Innocentii III. tom. i. p. 471, edit. Baluzii.

^m Οὐκ ἂν ἐγνωσθησαν ταῦτα συν-οδικῶς, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ὡς αἰρεσιῶται ἀπόβλητοι δημοσίᾳ γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεσθίουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεύχονται.—Demetr. Chomaterus, Respons. ad Constantin. Cabasilam. Leo Allatius, de Consens. lib. ii. c. 9. s. 3. Even Michael Anchialus, patriarch of Constant. though a violent opponent of the Roman pontiff, admitted that the Latins had never been anathematized as heretics.—Leo Allatius, *ibid*.

When the Christians of the West took Antioch from the Saracens in 1098, they restored to his see John, patriarch of Antioch, and *held communion* with him for several years, until he retired to Constantinopleⁿ; and yet this prelate was in full communion with the eastern church. In the middle of the following century, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, in an epistle to St. Bernard, says, that the Greek and Latin churches at that time had not separated from mutual charity, or made any schism^o; and accordingly he wrote to the Greek emperor, John Comnenus, and to Constantine, patriarch of Constantinople, as members of the catholic church; addressing the latter as “a venerable and great priest of God,” with whom he holds communion by the unity of faith and charity, and whose prayers and good offices he solicits for himself and the congregation of Cluny; offering to him in return all the spiritual benefits which they could impart^p. Fleury, in relating that William, archbishop of Tyre, in 1180, praised the Greek emperor Manuel, and “said that his soul was gone to heaven, and that his memory was blessed,” observes, that this proves that the prelate, “Latin as he was, held the emperor to be catholic^q.” It is evident then, that the Western church generally did not reject the Eastern as heretic or schismatic.

5. *The moderate and charitable sentiments manifested by some members of the eastern and western churches, were not universal.* The patriarchs of Constantinople, and many members of the eastern church, were not merely satisfied to remain separated from the communion of the Roman and western churches, which would have been justifiable (as I shall prove), but gradually proceeded so far as to consider them as schismatics, or even heretics. Thus Theodore Balsamon, and some more

ⁿ Guil. Tyrensis, lib. vi. c. 23. Perpétuité de la Foi, tom. i. p. 196.

^o “Nec apud modernos, ipsius sacrificii Christiani inter Græcos et Latinos nota varietas, charitatem lædere vel schisma aliquod unitatis gignere potuerit . . . Cum hoc ita sit, nec antiqui nec moderni, propter tam celebres et famosas usuum dissonantias, a charitate mutua disciverunt.”—Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, lib. v. epist. 16 ad S. Bernardum.

^p Petrus Cluniacensis, lib. iv. epist. 39 ad Johan. Imperat. Constant. also epist. 40. “Venerabili et magno pontifici Dei Constantinop. patriarchæ frater P. . . . Quamvis et terræ remotio et linguarum divisio, nobis invicem et vultus invadeant et verba subducant: tamen unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, una charitas, et divisa conjungere, et affectus unire, et sermones debent aliquando communicare,” &c.

^q Hist. Eccl. l. 73, s. 32.

violent partizans, rejected all the Latins as heretics^r. In so doing they offended against the law of charity, yet it is certain that they were not more culpable in this respect than many of the western churches.

On the other hand, the patriarchs of Rome and their more immediate partizans, generally regarded the church of Constantinople, and all who communicated with it, as schismatical, and separated from the catholic church. St. Bernard was of this opinion^s, but it is evident, that it resulted from the exaggerated notions which he entertained on the authority of the Roman church^t. Adrian IV. of Rome, in his letter to Basil of Thessalonica, speaks of the eastern church as having separated from the unity of the church, and compares it to the lost sheep, and the lost piece of silver in the parables^u. Innocent III.^v and other popes were of the same sentiments, as we see not only by their epistles but by their acts. Thus on the conquest of Syria in 1099, they installed at Jerusalem a Latin

^r Leo Allatius, de Consens. &c. lib. ii. c. 9, s. 3.

^s "Ego addo et de pertinacia Græcorum qui nobiscum sunt et nobiscum non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi; quanquam et in fide ipsa claudicaverint a semitis rectis."—Bernard. de Consid. ad Pap. Eugenium, lib. iii. c. 1.

^t Bernardus, de Consideratione ad Pap. Eugen. lib. ii. c. 8. where he styles the pope of Rome "princeps episcoporum, hæres apostolorum, potestate Petrus, unctioe Christus," &c. "Nec modo ovium sed et pastorum tu unus omnium pastor," &c.

^u "Ex quo per invidiam, hostem antiquam, *Constantinopolitana sedes* a sacrosancta Romana et Apostolica (quod sine lachrymarum inundatione vix famur) *Ecclesia seipsam separavit*, et hominis inimicus proprium malitiæ venenum effudit, et a *matris obedientia liberi secesserunt* . . . laborum multum et studium . . . B. Petri successores adhibuerunt, ut schisma de medio tolleretur, et unitati Ecclesiæ, qui se ab ea separarunt redderentur . . . Ideoque ad introductionem liberorum in locum eccle-

sia et unitatis *inventionemque amissæ drachmæ* properemus . . . illius exemplo edocti qui . . . seipsam exinanivit ut *ovis amissa* suo gregi restitueretur . . . Da operam, ut grex cum Ecclesia uniatur, et qui se ipsos Dominicas oves confitentur, ad gregem B. Petri revertantur, qui Domini jussu eorum curam susceperit."—Baronius, anno 1155.

^v In his reply to John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, Innocent extols the Roman primacy as of divine institution, and says, that he who will not have the successor of Peter for his pastor, is to be considered alienated from the Lord's flock—that the Roman, being by divine appointment the head and mother of all churches, no diversity of rites or doctrines ought to prevent them from obeying the pope devotedly:—that, however, he means to summon a general synod, and if the patriarch will come to it, as a member to its *head*, and return as a daughter to her *mother*, and be ready to pay due reverence and *obedience* to the Roman church, he will receive him as a brother, &c.—Innocent Epist. 209, tom. ii. p. 472, &c.

patriarch, under the obedience of the pope of Rome^w. The same was soon done at Antioch; and the see of Rome regulated all the affairs of the eastern churches, not recognizing any of the legitimate bishops who were in communion with the see of Constantinople. When the Latins seized Constantinople in 1204, they expelled the Greek clergy, whom they violently persecuted, to induce them to obey the Romish church^x; and a Latin patriarch and clergy were immediately installed^y. They pursued the same course throughout all Greece, and everywhere treated the established clergy as schismatics^z. When Cyprus came into possession of the Latins, they expelled and cruelly persecuted, all the bishops and clergy of the eastern church, and crowded the island with Latin clergy^a. The Roman pontiffs approved and urged these proceedings, as the eastern church was, in their opinion, schismatical and rebellious, and separated from the divinely appointed centre of unity. This leads me to the following conclusion.

6. *The eastern Churches were justifiable in remaining separated from the external Communion of the west.*—The claims of the Roman pontiffs were in those ages so extravagant, and their actual powers so vast, that the eastern church was necessarily condemned by them as schismatic, even while it merely sustained its liberties according to immemorial custom confirmed by the decrees of general synods. Within twenty

^w Paschal ii. Epist. 18, 19.

^x See Georgius Acropolita, cited by Allatius, de Consensu, lib. 2. c. 13. Du Pin, Biblioth. tom. x. p. 88.

^y Innocent III. not content with confirming the election of Morosini, the first Latin patriarch, pretended to *elect, confirm, and ordain* him himself; and exacted an oath of fidelity and obedience in return for the pall. He also empowered him to confer the pall on the archbishops subject to him, and exact from these also a promise of *obedience to the pope*, and enjoined his clergy and people to pay him due and devoted obedience, *saving* in all things the authority, reverence, and honour of the Roman see.—Gesta Innocentii, 60, 61. Epist. i. 60, 61. edit. Baluzii.

He had made regulations for the eastern patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem equally subversive of their liberty, requiring every patriarch to take an oath to obey the pope, and that he shall humbly defer to *appeals* to Rome. Thus were the schismatic Latin patriarchs enslaved.

^z An anonymous Greek writer, cited by Leo Allatius, de Consensu, lib. 2. c. 13, complains that the Latins ejected the orthodox prelates wherever they could.

^a The same writer mentioned in the last note says, that when the Greek monks of Cyprus refused submission, the Latins tied them on wild horses to be dashed to pieces, or threw them into the flames. Allatius by no means disapproves of such conduct.

years after the excommunication of Cerularius, the celebrated Hildebrand filled the see of Rome.

That spiritual power which enabled him to create and depose emperors and kings, and exact their homage as tributaries and subjects of the Roman see, was exercised to such a degree in the subversion of all ecclesiastical liberties, that even Romish historians admit that he extended his spiritual sovereignty beyond its just bounds, and almost annihilated the whole power of bishops, and the liberties of the church^b. The Roman church from thenceforward claimed implicit submission from all others^c. All patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops were required to take oaths of obedience to the pontiff, who alone was considered invested with the plenitude of spiritual power, which he imparted in different degrees to all other prelates, who were to be regarded as merely his assistants. An unlimited right of appeal to the Roman see was insisted on. The confirmation, ordination, and even the nomination of bishops, was also claimed, and to a great extent, successfully. The decision of the Roman church in matters of faith was held infallible. The pope was considered invested with an authority supreme, and unlimited by any canons of general councils or by any customs or laws of the church^d. Hence it was assumed as a matter of course, that all who did not receive the *Roman* faith were heretics, and all who did not *obey* the *Roman* see, were schismatics; and accordingly, we find in a series of negotiations between the Greek emperors and the pontiffs, for the reunion of the churches, that the first and most *essential condition* required by the latter was uniformly, “entire submission and obedience to the Roman see.”

Of this there are innumerable proofs. In 1170, the emperor Manuel Comnenus proposed to Alexander III. to acknowledge the primacy of the Roman see, if he would crown him emperor of the east^e. Michael Anchialus, who was at this time patriarch of Constantinople, says, that the papal legates who came to Constantinople on the occasion, required nothing else from

^b Du Pin, History of the Church, vol. iii. century x. ch. 10.

^c “Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.”—Bonifacius VIII. in extra-

vagant. De Majoritate et Obedientia, cap. Unam Sanctam.

^d See Fleury, Discours iv. sur l’Histoire Ecclésiastique.

^e See Du Pin, t. ix. p. 128. 204; Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 71, s. 35.

the Greek church but an acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman see, the *right of appeals*, and honourable mention in the diptychs^f. The emperor Alexis was only restored to his throne by the Franks, on condition of reducing the Greeks under the obedience of the Roman see^g. Innocent III. wrote to the Latin bishops at Constantinople, to urge Baldwin, the Latin emperor, to reduce the Greeks under the *obedience* of the holy see^h. His legate at Constantinople, with the aid of the civil power, persecuted the Greeks to submit to Rome. The unfortunate clergy and monks of the eastern church were left no alternative, but either to *acknowledge the pope as head of all the bishops*, or to suffer *death*ⁱ. Alexander IV. sent the bishop of Orvieto to the emperor Theodore Lascaris, with “the articles of *submission to the holy see*,” granted by the Greek emperor in the time of Innocent III.^j The duke of Muscovy, in 1246, seeking the title of king from the pontiff, promised, on that condition, to submit his subjects to the Roman church^k. In 1277 or 8, the pope sent legates to engage the emperor Michael Paleologus, to cause the acknowledgment of papal primacy, the abjuration of schism, and a promise *to obey the holy see*, to be signed by the patriarch of Constantinople and all the eastern bishops. These legates were directed to state, that the Romans were *surprised* that the patriarch and other bishops had not sought to be *confirmed in their sees by the pontiff*^l. The emperor constrained many of the Greeks to acknowledge the pope; but notwithstanding this, he was excommunicated by Martin IV. “for not obeying the orders of his predecessor^m,” and Père Le Quien confesses that the division in this case was caused by the pontiffⁿ. In 1369, the

^f See the Dialogue of Anchialus with the emperor, dissuading him from the proposed union, when the papal delegates came τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ζητοῦντες τὴν ἔνωσιν, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτερόν τι ἀπὸ τῶν Γραικῶν ἀπαιτοῦντες, ἢ παραχωρῆσαι τῷ πάπῃ τῶν πρωτείων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκληΐου, δοῦναι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνον.—Leo Alatius, De Consens. lib. 2, c. 12.

^g Fleury, lib. 75, s. 52.

^h Baronius, ad an. 1204.

ⁱ Georgius Acropolita, cited by Allatius, De Consensu, lib. 2, c. 13.

^j Du Pin, Biblioth. x. 89.

^k Fleury, Hist. liv. 92, s. 60.

^l Du Pin, Biblioth. x. 91.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ “I must say with pain, that the union begun in the second synod of Lyons, under Michael Palæologus and Pope Gregory X., would perhaps have been permanent, had not certain of the points agreed on been derogated from in the time of Nicolas III., at the instigation of Charles, king of Sicily, and others.” The Greeks were, in short, commanded to add the *filioque* to their creed, contrary to the synod of Lyons,

emperor John Palæologus came to Italy, to solicit succour against the Turks, when he was compelled, as a preliminary, to sign a confession of faith, asserting, among other things, “the primacy of the Roman over the whole catholic church, given with the plenitude of power by Jesus Christ to St. Peter, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor, *to whom recourse should be had in all causes which concern the church, to whom all churches and all bishops owe obedience and submission,*” &c.^m

The Roman pontiffs, therefore, required from the eastern church, as the condition of communion, obedience to the Roman see, as possessed by divine right of the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal church. Had the eastern church assented to this, their liberties would have been extinguished; their patriarchs and bishops would have been bound by oath to obey the papal laws; the discipline of their churches would have been subverted by appeals to Rome; their most established customs, even those supported by the decrees of general councils, would have been annulled at the nod of pontiffs who claimed unlimited and irresistible power. In fine, the eastern church would soon have been enslaved still more than the west, because the emperors were always ready to sacrifice the liberties of their church to *any* extent which was necessary to gain the aid of the Roman pontiff, at that time the most powerful ruler of the west. It would have been any thing but laudable in the eastern church to have accepted the communion of the Roman see under such conditions. They would have inflicted a lasting injury on the church of Christ by doing so; they would have stimulated a spirit of aggression and usurpation still more. They could not conscientiously yield at the demand of the papal authority, which they and the church universal in every age deemed inferior to that of general councils, those rights and liberties which general councils, approved by the universal church, had confirmed to them. In this respect, therefore, they are entirely free from blame; and consequently, even those who maintain communion with the Roman see as essential, generally speaking, should admit that these churches, being excluded from the external signs of that com-

Greeks not
schisma-
tics.

“which so exasperated their minds against the Romans, that no way was left open to reconcile them to us.”—Le Quien *Oriens Christ. tom. i. p. 157.*

^m Du Pin, xi. 95.

munion without their own fault, were not really separated from the church ⁿ.

The eastern churches, then, were perfectly justified in refusing to accept the proffered communion of the Roman see, and of the churches which it swayed in the west, on the conditions proposed. The western churches were under the dominion of the Roman pontiff, partly from an exaggerated reverence for the apostolical see, partly from fear of its power; therefore it was impossible for them to renew their communion with the eastern church; and though not free from blame, yet their condition exempts them from the charge of formal schism.

ⁿ Even the Romanist Milner says, "Nor is the vindication of the rights of an ancient church, at any time, a denial of the pope's general supremacy."—End of Controversy, Prefatory Address, p. xii. The sentiments and mode of argument common in those ages, are exemplified in the conference at Constantinople in 1137, between Anselm, bishop of Havelburg, in Saxony (ambassador from the emperor Lothaire), and Nechites, archbishop of Nicomedia. On the primacy of the Roman church Nechites said, "We do not refuse her the first rank among her sisters the patriarchal churches, and we acknowledge that she presides in a general council; but she separated from us by her pride, when, exceeding her power, she invaded the monarchy, and (the empire being divided) separated the churches of the east and west. When she celebrates a council of Western bishops without us, they ought indeed to receive and observe the decrees made by their own advice and consent; . . . but as for us, though not divided from the Roman church in the same catholic faith, . . . how could we receive its decrees made without our knowledge? For if the pope pretends to send us his orders, fulminating from his lofty throne, to judge and dispose of us and our churches without our advice, at his own discretion, and according to his

good pleasure, what fraternity or what paternity is there in that? . . . We should only be slaves, not children of the church. . . . The Roman church alone would enjoy liberty, and give laws to all others, without being subject to any herself. . . . We do not find in any creed that we are bound to confess the *Roman* church in particular, but one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church. This is what I say of the Roman church, which I *revere* with you; but I do not with you believe it a duty to follow her necessarily in every thing, whose authority you have proposed as being so eminent; that we ought to relinquish our rites, to receive her usage in the sacraments, without examining it by reason or the Scriptures," &c. The Greek prelate altogether argued in a very rational and convincing manner, but the Latin interrupted this discourse, "*not being able to endure*," he said, that the Greek archbishop should speak so disrespectfully of the Roman church. He could offer no reply, however, except to *assure* him that the most perfect reliance might be reposed in the religion, sincerity, equity, goodness, &c. of the Roman church. Vide Anselmi Havelburgensis Dialogorum, l. iii. c. 8, 9; Dacherii Spicilegium, t. iii. p. 196, ed. Paris. 1723; Fleury, *Histoire Ecclés.* liv. 69, sect. 42.

7. *The eastern churches are free from heresy.* It would have been absurd in the western churches to have accused the Greeks of heresy after the division in the time of Cerularius, for they taught no doctrines which they had not taught for ages before, when the east and west were in full communion. They had uniformly objected to the addition made to the Nicene Creed by the western churches, and they had not on this account been deemed heretics; yet this was the only point relating to faith which was in controversy between the east and west, as we learn from St. Anselm^o, from Gregory VII. of Rome^p, and from his successor, Innocent III. The latter speaks twice of the Procession of the Holy Ghost as the only point of difference between the churches^q; but this difference had been *tolerated* for at least two centuries before the time of Cerularius; and the reason of this was, because the difference was rather verbal than real. That it was so is maintained by the Master of the sentences, by Thomas Aquinas, Bandinus, Bonaventure, Scotus, Grosteste, among the scholastics; and in more modern times by Bellarmine, Clichtovæus, Tolletus, Azorius, Fricius, Thomas à Jesu, of the Roman communion, and by Field, Laud, and other Anglo-catholic theologians^r. Therefore both the eastern and the western churches are free from heresy in the question of the Procession.

Greeks not
heretics.

It may be objected, that the Eastern churches are heretical, since they have not received the definitions of faith concerning the papal primacy, purgatory, &c., made in the several synods of Lyons, Florence, &c.; but, as I shall elsewhere prove, synods do not possess sufficient authority in themselves to make absolutely binding decrees in controversies of faith^s; and if the Eastern churches were a part of the catholic church at all, their consent was absolutely necessary to give validity to those synods; for the Western churches were not evidently greater and more numerous than the Eastern, and therefore their acceptance of the above synods was not a sufficient proof of the approbation of the *majority* of the catholic church. This position is of so much importance that it deserves a more particular notice.

^o Perpétuité de la Foi, tom. i. p. 176. 154. See also Raynaldus, an. 1205. n. 10.

^p Ibid. Baronius, ad an. 1074. n. 54. ^r See Field, Of the Church, p. 50, &c.; Laud, Conference, s. 9.

^q Innocentii III. Epist. lib. vii. ^s See part iv. chap. vii.

8. *There is no reason to suppose that the western church was greater than the eastern, at the period of the separation, or that the number of its bishops exceeded those of the eastern church.*—The ancient churches of the countries which were at this time divided between the eastern and western church, were about equally numerous on each side.

Number of
Eastern
sees.

According to the "Notitia," compiled in the time of the patriarch Photius, and the emperor Leo Sapiens, about A.D. 891, compared with other accounts collected by Bingham, the Asiatic bishoprics under the patriarchate of Constantinople, including the province of Isauria, which had been taken from the patriarchate of Antioch, were in number 432; the European bishoprics in Illyricum, Dacia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, &c. were 160; those under the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were 240; under the patriarch of Alexandria, 108; in Cyprus, 15; making a total of 955, besides the dioceses in Armenia, Assyria, Chaldea, and other dominions of the Persians, in which alone twenty-four bishops suffered martyrdom about the same time; and among the Homerites, under the archbishop of Tephra, the Indians, and the Saracens, who had probably a bishop in each tribe. It will not be unreasonable to calculate, that there might be seventy bishops in these different barbarous nations beyond the Roman empire; so that we may state the whole number of the eastern dioceses at upwards of 1020.

Number of
Western
sees.

Let us now turn to the western church. In Africa there were 466 bishoprics, in the time of St. Augustine; in Italy, Sicily, and the adjoining isles, 293; in Spain, 76; in Gaul and Germany, to the Rhine, 122; in Britain and Ireland, perhaps nearly 70; making also a total of upwards of 1020 sees. Such was the ancient state of the eastern and western churches, as nearly as possible equal in numbers. In fact, it is impossible to determine which was the more numerous or great.

But it will be alleged, that many of these ancient eastern bishoprics had been lost before the eleventh century, by the invasions of the Saracens, and by the Nestorian and Euty-chian heresies. It is true that great losses had been sustained from these causes, but it is quite uncertain whether the western church had not suffered equally.

Africa, with its 466 churches, had disappeared from Christianity. Spain, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, were occupied by the

Saracens. In Italy itself, the depopulation was so great, from the inroads of barbarians and infidels, that not nearly one-half of the bishoprics remained in those parts which had been most populous. It is uncertain what losses the eastern church may have sustained by this time, but it is scarcely probable that they were greater than those of the west.

It is certain that Christianity long continued to maintain itself in the east, under the Saracens. Le Quien, in his "*Oriens Christianus*," mentions the names of many bishoprics as occurring occasionally in the history of the times, and doubtless others which he has not noticed may yet be disclosed by further researches, while many may remain hid in obscurity.

But perhaps it may be said, that the new conversions of the barbarous nations of the west must be considered to have given the western churches the superiority in number. The Saxons, Germans, Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, had certainly now been added to the western church, though Christianity was still very imperfectly settled in some of these nations. But if the western church had made converts, the eastern was not less successful. The Greeks had converted, or received into their communion, the Bulgarians, Slavonians, Aretani, Servians, Gazarians, Mœsians, Bohemians, Moravians, Hungarians, Transylvanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, and (what alone was equal to all the conversions of the west) the Russians. There is, therefore, no probability that the eastern church, in the middle of the eleventh century, and even long afterwards, fell short of the western, either in the number of its bishops, the extent of its jurisdiction, or the number and variety of the nations it embraced. It is impossible to determine precisely the number of bishops on each side; but there is neither proof nor presumption, that the *majority* of the church took part with the Roman pontiff against the Greeks; and it is impossible to affirm, with any certainty, that the western churches were greater than the eastern, up to the period of the Reformation.

9. *In fine, the eastern church is still a part of the Christian church, by the admission of those who are not actually in her communion.* I have already (p. 150) mentioned the sentiments of our theologians; but even Roman Catholics are obliged, in opposition to their own principles, to admit the Christianity of the eastern church.

1. They are unable to refuse it those ancient appellations of the "*Greek*," or "*eastern*" church, which prevailed for ages before the division, and which at once attest the catholicity of the church to which they are given, and negative the exclusive claims put forward by Romanists. Some of the most intelligent adherents of the papacy have ineffectually attempted to alter this system. De Maistre, in reference to this subject, remarks, that "it is the *duty* of all Catholic writers never to give any other title in their writings to the churches separated by Photius, but that of '*Photian*,' in order that these churches, continually recalled to their origin, may read their *nullity* in it." "Let them beware," he says, "of giving the *Photian* churches the name of *Greek or oriental church*: nothing is so *false* as these denominations. . . . Since they have expressed an independent existence, they are not *tolerable*, and ought no more to be employed[†]."

But notwithstanding this remonstrance, the whole world still continues to call these churches by their ancient appellations, and were any one to speak of "*Photian*" churches, he would be unintelligible. Roman Catholics themselves form no exception to the rule; while at the same time they are obliged to distinguish their own communion as the "*Latin*," "*Roman*," or "*western church*."

2. Nor is this in all cases a mere *nominal* admission of the catholicity of the eastern churches; we find instances in which all that we contend for is conceded in the amplest manner.

Goar, in the Preface to his edition of the Greek Ritual says:

[†] De Maistre, Du Pape, lib. iv. c. iv.

[‡] "The *Greek* churches in general, no less than the *Latin* church, retain the original pure Greek tongue in their Liturgy."—Milner, End of Controv. Letter 47. "Sacramentum confirmationis ab *Ecclesia Græca* nunc penitus exulare, multis nominibus absurdissimum, recte ostendit Goarius."—Benedict. XIV. De Synod. Diœces. l. vii. c. ix. art. 2. "Hanc tamen disciplinæ mutationem, justis de causis in ecclesiam *Latinam* invectam, non est amplexa *Ecclesia Orientalis*; ea quippe retinet etiam nunc veterem

morem Diversam *utriusque Ecclesiæ* hac in re considerans Pater Drovot," &c.—Ibid. c. x. art. iv. "*Orientalis Ecclesiæ a Romana* separatæ."—Delabogue, De Ecclesia, p. 45. The work of Leo Allatius, "*De perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Occidentalis et Orientalis*," and of Arcadius, "*De Concordia Ecclesiæ Occidentalis et Orientalis*," are additional proofs of the same custom. See also chapter xi. sect. iii., where it will be shown, that Roman Catholics are obliged to assume denominations which recognize the existence of the church beyond their communion.

“ I represent to you in the Enchologium, the Greek church. I undertake only to set before you *no inconsiderable part of the whole church*,—not a different church, but one which, though it appears separated from ours in customs and usages (and would that it were not also in affections), nevertheless formerly came forth from the pierced side of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . The *Latin church shares the world with the Greek.*” It is plain from the above, that Goar was speaking of the Oriental church, properly so called, which is estranged from the Roman communion, and that he acknowledges it to be a part of the universal church^v.

According to Leo Allatius, “ the eastern and western church are one, like their faith, though called by different names, and it would be wrong to say that *one has separated from the other*, unless it could be demonstrated that one has separated from the faith defended by the other^w.” The object of his work is to show, that the Greek and Latin churches have been always united, and he finds in the former, saints, miracles, and martyrs.

Thomassin, feeling himself pressed by the argument derived from the absence of communion with the eastern apostolic churches, which had been so much dwelt on by Optatus and Augustin, endeavours to show that the eastern churches are virtually or actually in communion with Rome, and are thus a part of the catholic church.

“ The Greek church,” he says, “ manifested its *union* with the Roman in the council of Lateran, and afterwards in that of Florence. Nothing has since occurred to prove the contrary. . . . Whenever there is liberty, public or private, all those Greeks, whom *some think to be all schismatics*, show that the love of unity, and veneration of the Roman church, have taken deep root in their hearts. . . . Most of these churches have frequently reunited themselves to the Roman church lately. . . . If the separation of *states* divides and separates them from our *communion*, the present disposition of their hearts reunites them.” So that, in fine, “ the *Oriental, West-*

^v Goar, Enchologium Græc. Paris, 1648. Præfat. p. 1, 2. A saving clause is inserted, referring the above to the Greeks in communion with Rome, but the whole context shows

that he was speaking of the Oriental church in general.

^w Leo Allatius, De Consens. Eccl. Orient. et Occident. l. i. c. 1. See also l. iii. c. xii.

ern, Northern, and Southern churches, compose, at present, the *Catholic church* ^x.”

Nothing more can be needed than these confessions of the adversaries of the Greek churches, to establish their catholicity, and to subvert, at the same time, the extravagant claims of the adherents of the papacy.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The eastern church has not unity of doctrine, because (1.) Methodius, archbishop of Twer, in a Latin work, edited by authority of the holy synod^y, testifies that many of the Russian *clergy* incline to the Calvinistic discipline; and calls Calvin “a great man^z.” (2.) The Greek church has also changed her doctrines in many points; thus, formerly, she admitted the primacy of the pontiff, and believed the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son, but now rejects these doctrines ^a.

Answer. (1.) Admitting that Methodius alludes to members of that church (he says nothing of the “clergy”), I ask whether there are not *clergy* in the Roman churches who are inclined to Jansenism, which Romanists affirm to be the same as Calvinism? Methodius, indeed, calls Calvin a great man, and no reasonable person can deny that he was so; but he blames him for “daring to administer sacred things” without ordination ^b. (2.) The eastern church has not varied on the primacy; for she does not deny that the pontiff might fairly be considered the first of the bishops, subject to the customs and laws of the church; but she has never admitted that this primacy is *divino jure*. The eastern church does not substantially differ from the west on the procession, as we have seen.

II. The eastern church has not unity of ministry; for the four patriarchs are independent of each other, and the Russian church of all; therefore they do not constitute one fold, under one shepherd ^c.

Answer. There is but one Head of the catholic church

^x Thomassin, *Traité de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, part i. chap. xx.

^y *Method. Archiep. Twer, Liber Histor. de Rebus in Primitiva Eccl.* p. 108. Mosquæ, 1805.

^z De Maistre, *Du Pape*, l. iv. c. 1.

^a Bouvier, *Tract. de Vera Ecclesia*, p. 141.

^b *Ubi supra*.

^c Bouvier, p. 141.

according to the divine appointment, who is invisible, but who administers the affairs of His church by means of all the pastors who succeed the apostles. It will elsewhere be proved that there is no visible head of the whole church, of divine or human appointment^d.

III. They have not unity of jurisdiction, for they have no supreme and infallible authority, the patriarchs being independent; and a general council cannot be convened or enforced^e.

Answer. They are guided by the ancient decisions, laws, canons, and customs of the church, which each bishop administers; and each patriarch takes cognizance of all causes in his patriarchate. The primitive church directed all causes to be terminated in provincial synods; and it could scarcely ever be necessary to convene general synods, or seek the judgment of the whole church, in questions of discipline^f.

IV. The Greeks probably have not sanctity, because this sanctity is chiefly to be proved by miracles; but the Greeks cannot prove such, or at least not more numerous than in the Latin church^g.

Answer. (1.) The Greeks claim miracles with as much apparent reason as the Romanists^h. (2.) If they had none they might still be a part of the catholic church, because no particular portion of the church is promised miracles, or bound to show them.

V. Its founders were not holy, that is, Photius and Cerularius; for their immoderate ambition in assuming the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, led to the separationⁱ.

Answer. (1.) Photius and Cerularius did not found the eastern church. (2.) Bingham proves that the title of Œcumenical Patriarch was given to the patriarch of Constantinople by Justinian, more than three hundred years before the time of Photius, and five hundred before that of Cerularius^j. (3.)

^d Part vii.

^e Bouvier, p. 142.

^f The notion that any perpetual tribunal is requisite in the church, will be refuted in part iv. chap. v.

^g Bouvier, p. 143.

^h See Nectarii Hierosol. Confutatio Imperii Papæ (p. 306, 307, 321—332), where a multitude of miracles are claimed for the oriental churches. See also Leo Allatus, De Perpet.

Consens. Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occidentalis.

ⁱ Bouvier, p. 143.

^j Le Quien, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 67, shows that the patriarchs of Constantinople were styled Œcumenical Patriarchs in the reign of Justin, 518, and in 536, as well as by Justinian. See also Thomassin, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. t. i. l. i. c. xi.

The separation is attributable as much to the Roman patriarch's ambition as to that of the patriarch of Constantinople.

VI. The eastern church has not produced such eminent saints as the western church^k.

Answer. All the greatest saints of antiquity were of the eastern church, as Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssene, Cyril, and others too numerous to mention. The missionaries of the eastern church converted to the faith many heathen nations, as the Russians, Bohemians, Poles, Moravians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, &c. They have recently converted many thousands of the heathen in the north-eastern part of the Russian empire. And according to modern historians, many examples of virtue and piety are to be found among them. Their monastic institute is more strict than that of the Latins, and has not degenerated into the luxury and immorality which are found in many of the Latin convents^l.

VII. It is not universal, having no societies in Africa or America.

Answer. There are churches in communion with the eastern churches in North America and Egypt; but I do not pretend that the eastern churches *alone* are churches of Christ, therefore they do not require universality.

VIII. The Greek church is not apostolical, for she bears manifest indications of change; *e. g.* she was formerly, for many ages, united and subject to the Roman church, but afterwards separated from her; then the union of the churches having been twice completed, in the synods of Lyons and Florence, the Greeks twice departed from that union^m.

Answer. (1.) It is denied that the Greek church was subject to the Roman jurisdiction at any time. (2.) The separation was as much the fault of the Roman as of the Greek church. (3.) The separation of the Greeks after the synod of Lyons, was caused, as Père Le Quien saysⁿ, by the unreasonable conduct of the Roman pontiff, in requiring conditions which the synod of Lyons had not required. (4.) The eastern churches judged the terms of reconciliation, conceded by some

^k Bouvier, p. 143.

^m Bouvier, p. 143.

^l See Smith's Account of the Greek church, p. 93—106.

ⁿ Oriens Christ. tom. i. p. 157.

of their bishops who attended the synod of Florence, to be unreasonable and improper; and they were not bound by the decrees of that synod in any respect °.

IX. It is inconsistent in any member of the Church of England to admit the Greeks to be orthodox, or to be a part of the catholic church, for they practise the invocation of saints P.

Answer. Though we found long ago, by experience, that this custom leads to the grossest superstition and idolatry, yet the practice of invoking the saints to *pray* for us *to God*, is rather superfluous and *tending* to idolatry, than actually idolatrous (*strictly speaking*); and we, therefore, cannot exclude the eastern churches from the catholic community. The abolition of this practice in our own churches, does not imply that we reject from the pale of Christianity all who may act differently from ourselves.

XI. They pay a relative honour or worship to pictures, which is idolatrous in the judgment of the Church of England.

Answer. I grant that, in some instances, it must become idolatrous, because the ignorant cannot distinguish between the *latria* due only to the Divine nature, and the inferior degree of honour, which the second synod of Nice attributes to images, and which is supposed to pass to the original. But still, as they maintain that divine worship is only due to God, and an inferior honour to the cross and to images^q, they cannot be charged with formal idolatry, in principle or universally; and therefore, while with the whole western church, from the time of Charlemagne, and with the synod of Frankfort^r, we reject all worship of images whatsoever, as tending to idolatry, there is no reason why we should not also, as they did, admit the eastern church to be a part of the catholic community. We must also consider, that the Orientals imagine, through a mistake in the question of fact, that the universal church enjoined the veneration of pictures in the second synod of Nice, which I shall prove hereafter not to have been truly œcumenical, nor of any binding authority. But their mistake is founded on arguments of no inconsiderable weight.

XII. They maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist.

° See part iv. chap. xi. s. 5.

^q See the Orthodoxa Confessio,

^P Orthodoxa Confessio, pars iii. quæst. 52.

pars iii. qu. 56.

quæst. 52.

^r See part iv. chap. x.

Answer. (1.) Admitting that they use the term transubstantiation, and that many of them receive the doctrine in the Romish sense³, it is not certain that all do. Archbishop Plato says: "Ecclesia Catholica Orientalis, et Græco-Russica, admittit quidem vocem Transubstantiatio, Græce μετουσίωσις; non physicam illam transubstantiationem et carnalem, sed sacramentalem et mysticam; eodemque sensu hanc vocem Transubstantiatio accipit, quam quo antiquissimi Ecclesie Græcæ patres has voces μεταλλαγή, μετάθεσις, μεταστοιχείωσις accipiebant⁴." It would seem as if the term transubstantiation was employed by him merely to signify a real change, and a real presence, not to define its mode. Methodius, archbishop of Twer, uses language, with reference to the eucharist, inconsistent with the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, which denies the eucharist to be bread. He says the disciples "comederant panem et biberant vinum, Christo utrumque consecrante et præbente; idque ea lege, ut primum, hunc cibum et potum sumentes, se sumere corpus et sanguinem Domini crederent, deinde ut hoc in commemorationem sive gratam memoriam Domini facerent⁵." (2.) The Romish doctrine of tran-

³ The language used on this and several other points by a synod held at Bethlehem in 1672, and in two or three other documents sanctioned by the principal authorities in the Greek church about the same time, is certainly what we cannot approve; but as these points were not defined by any œcumenical synod, they cannot have any binding authority. And De Maistre says, that the assertion "that the Russians and Reformed agree in many articles of faith, while they differ from the Roman church," is not true, "si l'on s'en tient aux professions de foi écrites;" but that *it is true*, "si l'on en vient à la pratique et à la croyance intérieure. . . . Chaque jour la foi dite Grecque s'éloigne de Rome, et s'approche de Wittemberg."—Du Pape, l. iv. c. i. He even maintains, "que l'église dont il s'agit est Protestante."—Ibid. Thomassin says, "que tous ces évêques Grecs et leurs peuples . . . ignorent présentement quel a été le sujet des différends entre les deux églises; et

quand on le leur explique, ils n'y comprennent presque rien."—Unité de l'Eglise, p. i. c. xx. See also Smith on the Greek Church, page 152.

⁴ See the answer of Platon, archbishop of Moscow, to M. Dutens, on the doctrines of the oriental church.—Dutens, Œuvres Mêlées, part ii. p. 171, ed. 1797. This answer is referred to as of high authority, by Methodius, archbishop of Twer, in the preface to his "Liber Historicus de Rebus in Primitiva Ecclesia."

⁵ Methodii Liber Histor. p. 207. The Count De Maistre observes, that Methodius "attaque ouvertement la doctrine des sacremens," *i. e.* the Romish view.—Du Pape, liv. iv. c. i. The language of Theophanes, archbishop of Novogorod, is still stronger. He says, "Hic vero Romanenses maxime in censum venunt. . . . Quidam eorum gloriantur se esse creatores Creatoris, et vi consecrationis suæ corpus Christi de cœlo in panem devocare se fin-

substantiation is an error ; but it is not an error of such a sort as, in the judgment of our theologians, ought to prevent communion. Bishop Burnet says : “ We think that neither consubstantiation nor transubstantiation, however ill-grounded soever we take them to be, ought to dissolve the union or communion of churches ^v.” Archbishop Bramhall places the doctrine of transubstantiation among “ the *opinions* of the schools, not among the articles of our faith ^w.” And besides this, our theologians generally acknowledge that the western church, before the Reformation, was a part of the church of Christ, though it is certain that the doctrine of transubstantiation was very commonly held in it.

XIII. The Eastern church admits the doctrine of seven sacraments, which we do not.

I reply, that although they commonly do so, they do not restrict the term, as Romanists do. Theophanes, archbishop of Novogorod says : “ Quamquam septem sacramenta vulgo admittamus, non ita tamen huic septenario numero adhæremus, ut ab eo, ne latum quidem unguem, recedere velimus, et quasi pro aris et focus pro eo dimicandum nobis putemus ^x.”

It may be added, as in the last instance, that our theologians have acknowledged the Latin to be a part of the Christian church, though this doctrine has been commonly received by its ministers. And the reason of this is, that the doctrine in question is not contrary to any article of the faith, but is merely an error.

The same may be said of other points of difference. And,

gunt, calicem laicis eripiunt.” — “ Omnes itaque qui sacris Romanis imbuti sunt, modum præsentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia enucleasse sibi videntur, dum sæpe sæpius vocabulum *transubstantiationis* usque ad nauseam crepant, sed toto, ut dicitur, cælo, errant. Cum enim modum hujus mysterii exponere conantur, næ illum modum, quem in rebus divinis servare tenentur, excedunt.” — Theophanes, *Orthodox. Theol.* l. xii. c. vi. He remarks that the word “ transubstantiation” was first used in the Greek church by Gabriel Severus, archbishop of Philadelphia, at the end of

the sixteenth century ; and that the word was probably surreptitiously introduced into the “ *Orthodoxa Confessio*” by Latinizing Greeks, or by the Romanists.—*Ibid.*

^v Burnet on the xxviiiith article, near the end.

^w Bramhall, *Answer to Militiere*, p. 1.

^x Theophanes, *Orthod. Theol.* lib. xii. c. 3. The same writer remarks, that Jeremias, patriarch of Constantinople, calls baptism and the eucharist, “ præcipua et primaria sacramenta ; posteriora quinque *ex ecclesiæ institutione* deducit, et pricribus postponit.” — *Ibid.*

in fine, it must be remembered that the Oriental churches, with us, reject the papal supremacy, purgatory^x, communion in one kind^y, the celibacy of the clergy^z; which are considered either as articles of faith, or as regulations of the highest possible importance by Romanists. Yet, as we have seen, they are acknowledged by various members of the Roman communion to be a portion of the Christian church.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

THE catholic and apostolic churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are strictly united with many flourishing branches of the church of Christ, in the United States of America, in Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and other parts of North America; in the islands of the West Indies, and in South America; on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in Syria, Hindostan, Ceylon, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Southern Africa. I propose to show in this chapter, that the British churches form a portion of the Catholic church of Christ, by applying to them the notes of the true church.

I. *The British churches preserve unity of communion among themselves and in each particular church.*—Every member of these churches is taught that the commandment of God requires him to “submit himself to his governors, teachers, and *spiritual pastors*^a.” Each of these pastors is obliged “reverently to obey his ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over them^b.” Each bishop is bound to “correct and punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within his diocese^c.” Thus it is evident that the church of England requires and provides for unity and order within all her boundaries. Besides this, she does not hesitate to denounce those who separate from her

^x Vide *Orthodox. Confessio*, pars i. qu. 66.

^y *Ibid.* qu. 107; *Acta Theol. Wit.* et *Hieremiæ*, p. 129.

^z *Ibid.* p. 129.

^a *Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer.*

^b *Ordination of priests and deacons.*

^c *Consecration of bishops.*

as guilty of most grievous sin. Her canons pronounce that “whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles’ rules in the church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood,” accounting the church of England unfit to be joined with in Christian profession, shall be excommunicated, and not restored till “after their repentance and public revocation of such their *wicked errors*^d.” Those even who shall maintain such schismatics, and allow them the name of a Christian church, are equally excommunicated by the church of England^e. Schism is condemned in every way. Its authors, maintainers, conventicles, the supporters of its laws, rules, and orders, are all subjected to excommunication, and regarded as “wicked^f.” Can any more convincing proof be afforded that the church of England provides assiduously for the maintenance of entire unity of communion^g? But this is not the whole. The church of England, by her principles, prevents all pretences for disturbance or separation. She declares that whoever “through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly,” &c.^h; and the canons subject them to excommunicationⁱ. She holds that “any particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done to edifying^j.” In fine, she declares that “the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith^k.” Now it is evident that these principles are calculated altogether to prevent disturbance and schism. The dissenter Micaiah Towgood confesses, that “if the church hath really this authority and power, then all objections of the dissenters about sponsors, the cross in baptism, kneeling in the Lord’s Supper, and every other thing, are impertinent and vain: the church having this authority, ought reverently to be obeyed^l.” The church, how-

^d Canon ix. 1603.^e Canon x.^f Canon ix.—xii.^g See also, chap. iv. sect. ii. p.

44, 45; and chap. i. sect. iii. p. 14

—16.

^h Article xxxiv.ⁱ Canon xxvii. 1603.^j Article xxxiv.^k Article xx.^l Towgood on Dissent, p. 2.

ever, unquestionably claims this power, whether well or ill-founded, and therefore her principle is altogether subversive of schism and separation. That she does claim it is shown by Towgood himself, who remarks, that although it is said in the twentieth article, that “the church may not ordain any thing contrary to God’s word, nor so expound one Scripture as to be repugnant to another, yet of this repugnance and contrariety the church alone, you will observe, and not every private person, is allowed to be the proper judge: for otherwise the article is absurd; it actually overthrows itself, and takes away with one hand what it gives with the other,” &c. He admits that “it does claim for the church some real authority,” &c.^m Such are the principles of unity maintained by the British church. They may be accused of severity by those who do not believe as she does, that salvation is offered only in the churchⁿ, and that she herself is decidedly and unquestionably the church of God in these countries.

II. *These churches also continue, or desire to continue, in the unity of communion with the rest of the catholic church.*—It is, and always has been, an article of their belief, that there is a visible and universal church of Christ, out of which there is no salvation: consequently, they believe it in the highest degree sinful to separate from that universal church; and I have already shown this to be the doctrine of our theologians^o. Is it credible, then, that if we had voluntarily *departed* from the universal church, we should continue always to profess our “belief” in that “catholic church,” to pray for its “good estate,” to desire its “unity,” to entreat that it may be “ruled and governed in the right way,” to confess that it acknowledges, “throughout all the world,” the holy and ever-blessed Trinity^p? How improbable is it, that if we had separated ourselves from the universal church, we should make so many confessions condemnatory of ourselves. The church of England, in fact, does not imagine for a moment, that she has ever *separated from the catholic church, or been separated by its authority*. We altogether reject the former notion, as totally unfounded; without the shadow of a proof. It is evident to those who have perused her history, that the church of England

^m Ibid. p. 6, 7.

ⁿ See chap. i. s. iii.

^o See above, p. 14—16, 44—45.

^p See above, p. 123.

never did at any time, by any voluntary act whatever, *separate herself from the communion of the universal church*^a. We defy our adversaries to produce such an act. Let them name any English synod, any article, any authentic document whatever, which proves that the church of England did, either in act or intention, voluntarily separate or cut herself off from the communion of the rest of the universal church. No such act has been, or ever can be, produced.

It is also certain, that the great body of the church never *excommunicated* our churches. It has been already shown, that neither the eastern nor the western churches were excommunicated by any binding decree up to the period of the Reformation^r. Consequently, the British churches were not cut off from the catholic church up to the Reformation, though they were not actually in communion with the eastern churches; but the papal bulls against our sovereigns, and the decrees of the council at Trent^s, which caused the separation of the Roman churches from ours, were not confirmed or received by the eastern churches. No decree of excommunication, then, was passed by the universal church against us at the period of the Reformation; and besides this, we know that the *theological opinion* then prevalent in the Roman churches was, that the Roman see was absolutely and always the centre of unity^t; whence they considered us schismatics merely on this prejudice, without examining the cause, and their judgment was, accordingly, informal, null, and void.

Our adversaries contend, that our churches must necessarily be cut off from the church of Christ, because they are separated from the communion of the *Roman pontiff*. But they cannot *consistently* argue thus, for they admit that the Roman pontiffs are liable to error in doctrine and discipline, and to ambition, anger, pride, injustice, avarice; in a word, to all the passions and infirmities of human nature. The separation between the pontiff and our churches may have arisen from such faults on his part, and therefore we may be altogether blameless. If this be denied, then the pontiff must be impeccable and infallible; and, moreover, must be invested with all power, *temporal* as well as spiritual, which is absurd, and denied

^a See Part II. chap. ii.

churches, is proved, Part iv. c. 12.

^r See last chapter.

^t It has been shown above (p. 85),

^s That the council of Trent was not even a judgment of the Roman

that a *mistaken opinion* may prevail generally for a time.

by all our adversaries. "Who," says the learned Du Pin, doctor of the Sorbonne, "would say that Meletius, Cyril, and the other Orientals, who supported him, were schismatics, because they did not communicate with the Roman church; or who, on the contrary, would not confess that Paulinus and his adherents incurred the peril of schism, though they were in communion with the Roman church? Who would dare to say, that Athanasius and the rest were schismatics, and the Arians in the church, because Liberius admitted the latter to his communion, and rejected the former? No one ever held Atticus of Constantinople, and all the Oriental patriarchs, schismatics and excommunicated, although they were for a time divided from the communion of the Roman church^u." Therefore nothing can be more vain and futile than the pretence that we are necessarily schismatical, because we are not in communion with the Roman see^v. The church of England removed the *jurisdiction* of the pontiff, but did not separate from his *communion*. The act of excommunication was entirely on his part, and if, long afterwards, the civil power prohibited communication with the Roman see, it was a measure of self-defence, caused by the restless intrigues of that see, for the subjugation of our churches, and the control of our state.

It is also alleged, that we became schismatics by removing the *jurisdiction of the see of Rome*, which extends, *by Divine right*, over the universal church. But here we have the support of the whole *eastern church*, which rejects the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy as we do; and it can be easily proved, even from Roman Catholic divines, that the popes have no such supreme jurisdiction by Divine right, and have never enjoyed it^x. The bishop of Rome, therefore, cannot claim any jurisdiction over us, *de jure Divino*; and as for his pretended *patriarchal* rights, it is certain that no œcumenical synod ever gave him such rights over our churches; that his assumption of such a power was contrary to the canons; that the church was bound to remove it when it had been usurped; and that in assenting to its suppression, we acted according to the principles and practice of the catholic church^y.

^u Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, p. 256.

^x See Part VII.

^y See Part vii. chap. v. sect. ii., where this subject is more fully considered.

^v See "The Episcopacy of the British Churches vindicated against Wiseman," sect. i.—xii.

Nor is it any proof whatever that our churches are schismatic, to allege that they are not actually in communion with churches in all nations; because I have before proved, that different portions of the catholic church may for a time be separated from mutual communion^z; that though the eastern churches are not at present in communion with us, or with *any other western churches*, neither party is in schism^a; and that the Roman churches are generally under the influence of an erroneous opinion of the papal authority, which prevents them from communicating with us.

If we are not in communion with the bishops of all churches throughout the world, this is no sign of schism, as I have already shown (p. 144).

In fine, it should be remarked, that we are actually in communion with numerous churches in all parts of the world; that we have been partially in communion with the East; that there is a tendency to re-union^b; and that the real adherents of the Foreign Reformation, who were unjustly excommunicated by the see of Rome, are not separated from our communion. Thus we are either wholly or partially in communion with many nations.

The British churches pray continually for the union of the Catholic church—"That it may be so guided that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in *unity of spirit, in the bond of peace*^c;" and that "the universal church" may be inspired "with the spirit of *truth, unity, and concord*," and "live in *unity and godly love*^d."

III. *The British churches continue in the unity of faith, both as regards themselves and the rest of the catholic church.*—The principle of the church of England with respect to faith is, that "whosoever will be saved, before all things he must believe the catholic faith, which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly^e." She accordingly regards heretics as cut off from the church, and out of the way of salvation. This I have also

^z Chap. iv. sect. iv.

^a Chap. x.

^b See above, p. 150.

^c Prayer for all Conditions of Men.

^d The Holy Communion.

^e Athanasian Creed in the Book

of Common Prayer. The eighth Article says of this and the other creeds, that they "ought *thoroughly* to be received and believed: for they may be proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture."

shown to be the doctrine of our most eminent theologians^d. It does not seem possible that the necessity of an orthodox faith can be more strongly enforced by a church. She also makes provision for preserving the unity of faith by her practice. No one is admitted to her communion by baptism until, either by himself or his sponsors, he *promises* "to believe *all the articles* of the Christian faith^e." Her children are, from the earliest age, diligently instructed in the divine truths of religion, by pastors especially authorized by the church. All her members are obliged to hear and assent to several creeds and formularies of the catholic faith in her various offices^f; and to profess all the Christian doctrines, which are assiduously interwoven in her prayers, anthems, hymns, &c.^g The clergy themselves are required to subscribe their assent, without any reservation whatever, to the body of faith and religious truth contained in the thirty-nine Articles of religion. And further, we do not in any degree separate ourselves from the common faith of the universal church. The injunction of the English church to her preachers is, that they "shall not teach any thing to be religiously held or believed, except what agrees with the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and what the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from the same doctrine^h." This recognizes most fully the guidance of tradition in matters of faith; and in matters of discipline the same is also admitted; for the three orders of the sacred ministry are received by the church of England, because their apostolic antiquity is proved by "ancient authors," as well as "holy Scripture;" and because they "were evermore had in reverend estimation in the churchⁱ." In short, the reverence of the catholics in England for the tradition of the universal church in all matters of doctrine and discipline is so manifest, that Walchius accounts them "excessive in their reverence for the fathers^j;" and they were entitled "the church of the *Traditioners*," by the puritans^k.

Thus the Anglo-catholic church has a fixed rule to guide

^d Chap. v. sect. ii. art. iv.

^e Office of Baptism.

^f *e. g.* the Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian Creeds.

^g Arians and Socinians bitterly complain of this, and urge the alteration of the ritual by force, in order to divest it of those distinctive doc-

trines of Christianity with which it abounds.

^h Canons 1572.

ⁱ Preface to the Ordinal.

^j See Part II. chap. vi. "On the Principles of the English Reformation."

^k Strype's Life of Parker, ii. p. 284.

her in the interpretation of Scripture, and a rule which is acknowledged also by all the rest of the catholic church. And hence it is probable that, in reality, she agrees in matters of faith with other churches: at all events, it is not to be supposed that, acknowledging, as she does, the authority of catholic tradition, she should, *designedly* or *evidently*, contradict it by her doctrines. Were the doctrines of the fathers and councils clearly condemnatory of her doctrines, did they esteem matters of faith what she esteems error or heresy, would it not follow that our theologians must, in process of time, have revolted against antiquity, and represented it as entirely unworthy of credit? We know what the universal conduct of sectarians has been. The Socinians, the Independents, and all other dissenters; in a word, almost all other “denominations” calling themselves Christian, deride, despise, and reject the traditions of the universal church. How widely different is the conduct of our theologians, who are only desirous to follow in the footsteps of antiquity, and ever ready to give an answer to any one that asketh them concerning their adherence to the doctrines of the universal church. Let the works of Jewell, Usher, Taylor, Pearson, Hammond, Field, Stillingfleet, Beveridge, Bull, attest our confidence in the support of the catholic church.

But there is another principle of the Anglo-catholic church which is in the highest degree calculated to preserve her in unity of faith. That principle is contained in our twentieth article: “THE CHURCH HATH . . . AUTHORITY IN CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH.” The Romanist Milner himself is compelled, by the force of truth, to confess that our churches *do* admit authority in the church. “You do very right, sir,” he says to Dr. Sturges, “in classing Protestants with Catholics, when you speak of those who admit *a proper authority in the church . . . with respect both to faith and rites*; as it is easy to show that this is *no less the doctrine of the Church of England than it is of catholics*, from the writings of her most learned divines, from her present established terms of communion (the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, Art. XX. inter 39.), and from her repeated practice in holding synods at home, and in sending representatives to those abroad, particularly to the famous synod of Dort, in the reign of James I., when we all know

that religious questions were decided in as high a tone of authority as they were in the council of Trent¹." Now admitting, as we do, the authority of the church generally, is it credible, is it possible, that we could designedly or knowingly oppose ourselves to the judgments and decisions of the universal church? Surely not. The Church of England could never have established, or at least retained, such a principle, if she was not firmly convinced that the authority of the church is not *against* her. It may be supposed, perhaps, that she is mistaken as to the question of *fact*. Some opinion which she holds may be imagined really to have been condemned by the universal church. But if so, the Church of England does not know it; she is persuaded to the contrary by strongly probable reasons; but the authority of the universal church, when clearly manifested, she *never* rejects. Therefore it is impossible to deny that, in principle at least, we depart not in the slightest degree from the unity of the catholic faith. And if it comes to the question of fact, whether we really do receive all the doctrines, and allow all the definitions made by the authority of the *universal church*, I reply without the least doubt or hesitation, that *we do*. The Church of England, in fact, rejects every doctrine that the universal church has condemned, and believes every thing which that church has declared to be an article of faith; and as a member of the Church of England, and in the strictest conformity with her principles, *I receive every decree, council, doctrine, which the catholic church receives; and anathematize every heresy which she anathematizes*. It is pretended that our doctrines were condemned by the church at the synod of Trent; but it is clear that the universal church made no judgment in that synod; for the eastern churches and our own were neither present there nor ever received its decrees. And it is capable of POSITIVE PROOF, that at that time theological opinions were universally prevalent amongst those who received the decisions of that synod, which rendered it impossible for them to take cognizance of the controversy in a legitimate manner; that is, to *examine* its merits; and therefore their reception of the synod of Trent was a mere registration of the

¹ Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. ii. The last assertion is not strictly correct, as the Church of England did not, in fact, send any deputies to the synod of Dort; they were sent by King James I.; and the act of this monarch alone could not bind the Church of England.

decrees of a certain number of bishops assembled there, and not the approving judgment of the Roman church^m. As to other synods previously held which are alleged against our doctrines, we are prepared to show that they were not confirmed by any binding authority; and moreover, that several of those objected, in no degree differ from our beliefⁿ. This is the position we sustain; but to enter into a particular examination whether it is well or ill-founded, cannot be requisite. Suffice it to say, that we are *prepared* to prove, that the catholic church has never condemned any doctrine which we maintain. This being the case, there can be no presumption of our heresy in any point.

It may be alleged, however, that the Anglo-catholic does *actually* differ in several points of doctrine from the oriental and Roman churches; and therefore, that either one party or the other must be in heresy. But I have proved before, that there may be some differences of doctrine in the universal church^o; and that even, under peculiar circumstances, these differences may extend to matters of faith, without heresy^p. Consequently, the mere fact of differences in religion proves nothing as to the heresy of either party; and the Anglo-catholic and other churches which differ in some points from her, may yet hold one catholic faith, either actually or virtually. Our adversaries themselves, however reluctantly, are obliged to bear witness to the general orthodoxy of our faith. The very points on which we are assailed by some Romanists, are relinquished by others. Are we charged by Bossuet with denying the authority of the church, and rendering it subservient to the civil power? Milner replies to him that the Church of England holds, on these points, the principles of the catholic church^q. Are we accused of denying the real presence? Milner and Hornyhold acknowledge our perfect belief of that doctrine^r. I will not here dwell at length on these things; it is sufficient to add, that the articles of the Church of England have been approved in almost all points, by Davenport^s and Du Pin^t; and that various Romanists of note have held the

^m See part iv. chap. xii.

ⁿ *Ibid.* chap. xi.

^o See above, p. 85.

^p P. 86. 95.

^q Milner's Letter to a Prebendary, Letter II.

^r *Ibid.* Letter VIII. Horny-

hold's Real Principles of Catholics, p. 243.

^s Franc. Davenport, al. à S. Clara, Paraphrastica Exposit. Artic. Confess. Anglicanæ. See also Barnes, Catholicico-Romanus Pacificus.

^t Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. vi.

difference between us to be so small, as to render a re-union of the churches by no means impossible^u. It has also been frequently shown, that in most of the points of difference, our doctrine or practice has been sanctioned or defended by many divines of the Roman communion^v. All this proves, that although Romanists remain separate from our churches, and accuse them of heresy, there can be no certainty of the justice of such an imputation, even among themselves.

There is one other way in which the adversaries of our churches bear testimony, involuntarily, to their orthodoxy. The cause of the church is, in every point of controversy, defended by a number of those who have separated from her. Her doctrines are defended against Romanists by dissenters, against dissenters by Romanists, and by one sect of dissenters against another. It has long been the privilege of the catholic church to derive confirmation to her faith from the dissensions

where the heads of Du Pin's Com-munitorium are stated in the correspondence relative to Archbishop Wake.

^u Especially the late Dr. Doyle, who, in his letter to Robertson, (see Catholic Miscellany, 1824, p. 234, &c.) observed, "This union is not so difficult as appears to many. It is not difficult; for in the discussions which were held, and the correspondence which occurred on this subject early in the last century, as well that in which Archbishop Tillotson (Wake) was engaged, as the others which were carried on between Bossuet and Leibnitz, it appeared that the points of agreement between the churches were numerous; those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently not the most important. The effort which was then made was not attended with success; but its failure was owing more to princes than priests; more to state policy than a *difference of belief*." He states, that the chief points in discussion are, the canon of the sacred Scripture, faith, justification, the mass, the sacraments, the authority of tradition, of councils, of the pope, the celibacy of the clergy, language of the liturgy, invocation of saints, respect for images, prayers for the dead.

"On most of these," he adds, "it appears to me that there is no *essential difference* between the 'Catholics' and 'Protestants.' The existing diversity of opinion arises, in most cases, from certain forms of words, which admit of satisfactory explanation; or from the ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudices and ill-will produce and strengthen, but which could be removed." Such was Dr. Doyle's confession. Dr. Charles O'Connor, by far the most learned writer who has arisen among the papists of these countries in modern times, says, "I am *confident* that above *three parts* of those debates which separate 'Protestants' from 'Catholics' might be laid aside; that they serve only to exasperate and alienate us from each other; and that if our church were heard *canonically*, she would not only reject with horror the false doctrines and notorious abominations so often imputed to her, but she would also smooth many other difficulties which lie in the way of reconciliation and peace." —Columbanus, Letter III. p. 130.

^v See Bishop Morton's *Catholique Appeal*; Birkbeck's *Protestants' Evidence*; Gerhardi *Orthodoxa Confessio*; Field, *Of the Church*, Appendix to book iii.

of those around her. So it was in the days of St. Hilary of Poitiers, and so it still continues to be. "All the heretics advance against the church; but while they all prevail against each other, they prevail not at all; for their victory is but the triumph of the church over all, since each heresy contends against some other, in that point which the church's doctrine condemns (for they believe nothing in common); and meanwhile, by their contradictions, they confirm our faith^w."

IV. *The British churches are holy.* Their doctrine is calculated to promote holiness, and its fruits are abundantly manifested. The necessity of holiness, in order to salvation, is maintained firmly by these churches; it forms a portion of their creed. They profess that "all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall *give account for their own works*. And they that have done *good*, shall go into *life everlasting*; and they that have done *evil*, into *everlasting fire*^x." It is impossible to express more strongly the necessity of sanctification; and this, too, in the very creed of the church, which she proposes to all her members to be "thoroughly received and believed." The Articles indeed declare, that we are justified, or accounted righteous before God, "not for our own works and deservings," but for the merit of Christ, and by means of faith; but it is a *lively faith, which is necessarily productive of good works*, as the same Articles intimate^y. In fact, the church does not admit any new member to her communion without exacting from him a vow or promise "to renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that he will not follow nor be led by them;" and "obediently to keep God's commandments, and walk in the same all the days of his life^z."

She requires him afterwards, at confirmation, to renew, in the presence of God and the church, that solemn vow made at baptism; and to acknowledge himself "bound to believe and do accordingly^a." She forbids sinners to approach the holy table^b; and if their sins are notorious, commands her ministers to repel them from it^c. Her prayers, her hymns, all her

^w Hilarius Pictav. de Trinitate,

l. vii. p. 917, ed. Bened.

^x Athanasian Creed.

^y Articles XI. XII.

^z Office of Baptism.

^a Office of Confirmation.

^b Exhortation in Communion Office.

^c Rubric at the head of the Communion Office.

services, breathe an horror of sin, and an ardent desire for spiritual holiness and perfection.

And as this has always been the doctrine of our churches from the time of the apostles, so they have in every age been the fruitful parents of saints and holy men. The stream of ages carried in its course the names of martyrs, saints, and holy missionaries who derived their Christianity from our catholic churches. In the third century Alban was our proto-martyr. In the following ages, Palladius, Patrick, David, Augustine, Columba, Birinus, Chad, Swithin, Colman, Cuthbert, Columbanus, venerable Bede, king Edward the Confessor, Alphege, Odo, Anselm, Osmund, and others innumerable, carried on the line of sanctity in our church. In later ages, Hugh of Lincoln, Richard of Chichester, Grosteste, Hampole, Ockham, Ridley, Hooker, Andrewes, Usher, Hammond, Ferrar, Leighton, Sanderson, Beveridge, Ken, Wilson, carried on the succession of Christian sanctity. From these churches have proceeded many eminent and holy missionaries in different ages. Columbanus preached in France and Germany. Gallus converted Switzerland. Kilianus went from us to convert the Franks; Willibrod to preach to the Batavians, Frieslanders, and Danes; Winfred, or Boniface, to Germany, where he founded extensive churches. Lebuin we sent to Saxony and Friesland; Guthebold to Norway; and Sigfrid to Sweden. Nor has the missionary spirit of our churches failed to show itself at various later times, in establishing missions for the conversion of the heathen; and many holy and devoted servants of Christ have spent their lives in labouring to enlarge the kingdom of Christ, even to the present day^d. Thus it is evident that our churches have all the marks of sanctity which

^d Romanists sometimes contrast the extent and success of their missions with the limited extent of ours. It should be remembered, that our missions are comparatively recent, for our oldest missionary society has existed for little more than a century, while their missions have existed for three centuries, in full vigour. Our missions, too, emanate from a communion considerably less numerous than theirs, and therefore could not be so extensive. Our missions have not been sup-

ported or aided by the temporal power, whereas their missions in America and elsewhere, were strenuously supported by the Spanish and Portuguese governments; and even in China they were originally sanctioned by the state. In fine, they had the great advantage of addressing themselves to the heathen, without any opposition from other professing Christians; whereas *we*, in the present day, are opposed by many sects.

can be expected in any part of the catholic church ; and without making invidious comparisons, it is pretty clear that the tone of public morality, and zeal for Christianity, is at least not inferior amongst us to that of any other part of the church. In what country do we behold more numerous institutions for those who are in sickness and in poverty ? And where does the cry of famishing or persecuted humanity meet with a more abundant and charitable relief ? Finally, in what portion of the church are holier efforts made by religious men, to provide spiritual instruction and consolation for the scattered sheep of Christ ? It is the Church of England which has fixed the tone of public morality amongst us. It is the wealth, the charity of her children, who constitute the vast majority of our population, and the whole of our higher classes, which has been so beneficently distributed. The reception which the bishops and clergy of the old Gallican church, exiled for their conscientious refusal to submit to the dictation of an infidel Convention ; the liberality, and still more, the generous sympathy which they experienced from the clergy, the universities, the laity of our church, ought to have secured from the taunts and calumnies of Romanists, a religion which could inspire all the sentiments and actions of genuine charity.

V. *The British churches are catholic.* Of course, we do not pretend that our particular churches constitute the *whole* church of Christ. We believe that the catholic church exists in all parts of the world ; and therefore it is absurd to ask us to prove that the Church of England is universal ; it is sufficient if we are able to point out churches in all nations which we acknowledge to be parts of the one catholic church. This we are perfectly willing and able to do. We communicate wholly or partially with many nations, and can account for the interruption of communion with other churches, without proving ourselves or them guilty of formal heresy or schism.

Our churches are catholic, because they acknowledge the catholic church, respect its authority, receive its faith, and have never been cut off from it. Thus they have all the qualities of catholicity which particular churches can have. The Gallican church cannot have more, nor the Greek, nor the Russian, nor the Spanish. None of these churches are in themselves universal ; none of them communicate with all churches ; they are all parts of the catholic church, and so

also are our churches. In fine, we use the name of catholic as appropriate to our churches^d, while we give other titles to the various denominations which have separated from us; as Independents, Quakers, Swedenborgians, Baptists, Romanists or Papists, Huntingdonians, Methodists, Socinians, Unitarians, &c. None of these communities assume this name except Romanists; and their impudent pertinacity induces sometimes the ignorant or the inconsiderate to countenance their claim in some degree; but all who are sufficiently informed do not recognize them under this appellation^e, because they know not any other catholics in these countries, strictly speaking, except the members of our apostolical churches.

VI. *The British churches are apostolical.* These societies were originally derived, if not from the actual preaching of the apostles, at least from the churches founded by the apostles; and they are the parent stem from which all other communities of professing Christians in this country fell, or were cast forth as withered branches.

We read of the existence of the Christian churches in Britain, in the writings of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Hilary^f. Theodoret attributes their foundation to

^d For example, in the order for prayer before sermons in 1535, the preacher was to "pray for the whole catholic church of Christ, &c., and specially for the *catholic* church of this realm," and for King Henry VIII., the supreme head "of this *catholic* church of England."—See Burnet, vol. iii. Records, n. 29. In the Act against appeals to Rome (24 Henry VIII. c. 12.), it is said that the clergy of the realm shall administer all sacraments, &c., "unto all the subjects of the same, as *catholic* and Christian men owe to do." In the Act against Annates (23 Henry VIII. c. 33), it is said that the king and all his subjects, "as well spiritual as temporal, been as obedient, devout, *catholic*, and humble children of God and holy church, as any people be within any realm Christened." The Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, against Peterpenne, declares that the king and people of England "do not intend

to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's church in any things concerning the very articles of the *catholic* faith of Christendom." The English ritual contains prayers for the "catholic" church only.—See Dr. Hook's "Call to Union, on the Principles of the English Reformation."

^e The Acts of Parliament style them "Popish Recusants," "Papists," and "*Roman Catholics*." This last appellation, which is used by themselves, is fatal to their exclusive claims, because it discriminates their particular communion from the whole catholic church.

^f Tertullian contr. Judæos, c. 7. Origen in Ezech. hom. iv. in Luc. c. 1. hom. vi. Athan. Apologia. Hist. Arian. ad monachos. Hilarius Pictav. de Synodis. See also Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, Usserii Brit. Eccl. Antiquitates.

the apostles^g; but however this may be, it is at least certain, that they were, even from the second century, recognized as a portion of the great Christian community, by all churches. In the year 314, the bishops of London, York, and Lincoln, sat as representatives of the British churches in the synod of Arles, convened by the emperor Constantine from all the western churches, to take cognizance of the Donatist controversy^h. In the year 359, the British bishops were present at the synod of Ariminum, where bishops from all parts of the West were assembledⁱ. In the following century, the British churches still continued, and they were aided in their efforts to repress the Pelagian heresy, by Germanus and Lupus, bishops of Gaul, who were sent for that purpose by the Gallican synod, and perhaps with the authority of Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome^k. About the same time the Irish churches were founded by Patrick; and these churches were acknowledged immediately, by all the Christian world, to form part of the catholic church. The British churches were afterwards subject to severe persecution and depression, in consequence of the invasion and subjugation of England by the heathen Saxons. Christianity for a time flourished only in the western parts of Britain; but it still continued in some degree visible even among the heathen invaders^l. In the following century, the venerable Augustine was sent by Gregory the great, bishop of Rome, to convert the Anglo-Saxons, which the British churches had been unable to effect; and, by his exertions, several churches were either founded or revived, before or about the year 600, such as the churches of Canterbury, Rochester, London, &c.^m Many more churches were founded among the Anglo-Saxons by Irish missionaries; such as the churches of Lindisfarn, or Durham, Lichfield, York, &c.ⁿ In fine, Scotland received Christianity,

^g Theodoret. tom. iv. Serm. ix. p. 610.

^h Sirmond. Concilia Gallic. tom. i. p. 9.

ⁱ Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii.

^k Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 17. Prosper. Chronicon, ann. 429. Stillingfleet argues, and apparently with reason, that these bishops were sent by the Gallican synod only. Antiq. p. 192.

and conferred with St. Augustine. —Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 2. Theonus was bishop of London, and Thadiocus of York, among the Saxons, about A. D. 586.—Usserii Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 5. Kentigern, about the same time, ruled the British church in Glasgow and Cumberland.—Ibid. c. 14, 15.

^m See Godwin "de Præsulibus Angliæ."

ⁿ Beda, Historia, lib. iii. c. 3. 5, 6. 21, 22.

^l Seven British bishops assembled

and visible churches were founded there by the Irish and Saxon churches^o. Some disagreements between the ancient British and Saxons having been removed; the church was perfectly united in all parts of Britain and Ireland, and was acknowledged by all the Christian world, as a branch of the catholic church. These societies continued always to exist: history records their acts in every age, the ordination of their bishops, the synods which they held for the correction of abuses, and the enforcement of discipline; the charters of monarchs confirming in many ages their liberties and rights, their convocations, their reformation, the dangers and persecutions which they have suffered, their adversity and their prosperity. All our churches were originally founded by the labours of holy missionaries, who, in obedience to the divine command, having received their commission from the church of Christ, came into these lands, and gathered churches of Christ from amidst their heathen inhabitants. The societies thus formed by peaceful derivation from the Christian body, or by incorporation with it, and in no case by *separation* from any more ancient Christian society in their locality, have in all ages, without interruption, continued visibly to profess Christ, to administer Christian rites and sacraments, to be guided by a ministry professing to be Christian and apostolical, and to add continually new members to themselves by baptism. The church of Canterbury has continued as a Christian society in unbroken succession for more than twelve centuries^q; that of Armagh has existed for fourteen centuries^r; those of Menevia and others in Wales, for at least the same time; and all these churches were derived by spiritual descent, and fraternal association, from still more ancient churches in Britain, Gaul, and Rome.

Thus then it is clear that they are *apostolical in their succession as Christian societies*. And further, *their ministry is also descended from the apostles*. They alone, of all societies around

^o Beda, lib. iii. c. 4.

^p See Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae," where the acts of the British churches are recorded in regular succession, from A. D. 440, to A. D. 1717.

^q See the catalogue of all its archbishops in Godwin "de Præsulibus Angliæ." A hundred and fifty

bishops in regular succession from St. Peter to the present time, have presided over the primitive Roman church, and over that of Canterbury, derived from it in the sixth century.

^r Sir James Ware's history of the Irish bishops, with additions by Harris.

us (with the single exception of the Romanists), *claim* this apostolical succession. All other communities evince their want of such a succession by the derision and scorn with which they treat the notion, and their abuse of all who maintain it. This is a convincing proof that they themselves neither have this succession, nor can by possibility pretend any right to it. We have then only to meet the objections advanced by Romanists. Now in the first place, it is well to lay as a foundation, their admission, that the church of England *claims* an apostolical succession of the ministry. Dr. Miller says, the church of England “teaches that the orders of her ministers have descended from the apostles, and are appointed by God; and that the power given to them in the ceremony of ordination is communicated by the Holy Ghost; moreover, that the form of episcopacy is divine, and essentially necessary to her existence.” This he proves from her formularies, and from various historical facts, which he says, “may be alleged in proof of the church of England’s opinion concerning the *necessity of regular and uninterrupted succession* from Christ and his apostles in the sacred ministry⁸.” The claim then of the church of England is manifest; but the Romanists argue that it is ill-founded. Now there are two arguments which prove that *they themselves do not believe that there is any defect in our succession.*

First, it appears from the history of the controversy, that new objections were continually invented by them, as their former objections were found untenable. Originally it was denied, that our bishops at the Reformation had received any ordination. After forty years, it was pretended that the ordination was only performed by a presbyter. Sixty years after that, it was pretended that the *form* of ordination was invalid. New tales were continually devised as the old ones were proved to be fabrications; and all this leads to the conclusion, that the apostolical succession of our ordinations was denied from a motive of prudence, and in order to obtain benefits to the cause of the Romish party, not from any real doubt or difficulty. Difficulties were got up, invented, sought for: which is a sufficient proof that they all arose from the spirit of party[†].

⁸ Letters to a Prebendary, Lett VIII. p. 220, 221.

[†] See Part VI. Chapter X. “On English Ordinations.”

The second argument is, that some of the most eminent divines of the Roman obedience have acknowledged the validity of our orders. Bossuet himself, the prince of their controversialists, was thoroughly convinced of it; Courayer expressly and ably defended it; and many others have fully concurred in the same opinion^u. Therefore on the whole, the probability is entirely in our favour; for what but the force of truth could have compelled our very adversaries to confessions so favourable to us! When to this we add the inconsistency, and the evident *design* of those who have invented objections; no rational doubt can remain that our ministry is derived from the apostles, as the church of England believes it to be. It is surely not credible that, believing as she does, even by our adversaries' confession, the *necessity* of such a succession, she should have failed to maintain it, or have risked it in any way. It may be very possible, that during the great struggle which took place at the Reformation, some of the usual formalities may have been dispensed with, as a matter of necessity; but this need not have interfered in the least with the apostolical succession of our ordinations, and we are prepared to justify them in all respects, whenever our adversaries please. We, however, can retort on the Romanists their objections much more easily; and prove from the doctrines of their most eminent theologians, that they are themselves without any legitimate ordinations in these countries^x: and while we can trace an unbroken succession of bishops in all the churches; they are unable to show more than two or three sees in which a succession of their pastors has existed from the sixteenth century: and those were merely usurpers and intruders into sees already filled^y.

VII. Since then it is certain that our churches preserve the unity of communion both in themselves, and as respects the catholic church; since they equally preserve the unity of faith; since they have never been in any way separated from the unity of the catholic church; since they have all the characteristics of Christian holiness which necessarily belong

^u See Part VI. Chapter X. See also Episcopacy vindicated against Wiseman, sect. viii.—xii. xiv.

^x See Part VI. Chap. XI.; Episcopacy vindicated, &c. sect. xviii.

^y See their "Ordo" for Ireland, cited in Brit. Magazine for 1836, p. 615, &c. See also Part II. Chapter IX. "On the Reformation and Schism in Ireland."

to a branch of the true church ; since they communicate with many nations either wholly or partially, and have never been cut off from the whole Christian world ; and since their ministry is derived in regular and valid succession from the apostles ; there can be no reasonable doubt that they are indeed churches of Christ. The probability is so great, that it should be sufficient to determine all their members to adhere to them, until they can be distinctly proved guilty of heresy or schism. And this duty becomes more solemn and cogent, when it is remembered that no fact in history is more clear than this ; that every other community or denomination of professing Christians amongst us, originally separated itself, or was cut off from our churches. This is a peculiar character which distinguishes the church, and marks her amongst us as “that city set upon a hill which cannot be hid.” Her antiquity, superior by full FOURTEEN CENTURIES to that of all the communities around her : her orthodoxy, confirmed by the admissions, and still more by the contests and mutual differences of all her rebellious children : her perpetuity amidst the persecutions of sects and of temporal powers ; all prove, that of a truth, the arm of the Lord is with her, and the blessing of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, rests upon her. If there be any church of God amongst us, it can be none other than this : for the marks and characteristics of the true church belong to her alone, amongst all the communities which profess Christianity in these realms. Does any society except ours even pretend to apostolical and perpetual succession in these countries ? The Romanists alone do so, and they are instantly overthrown by the notorious fact, that their societies were gathered out of the churches of England and Ireland, by jesuits and missionary priests in the reign of queen Elizabeth. They existed then for the *first time*, and gained existence only *by separating from an older Christian society*. Nothing could justify this act but *a clear proof* that the church from which they separated was guilty of heresy or schism ; that she opposed herself to the decrees of the universal church ; or had separated voluntarily from the universal church ; or had been excommunicated by the universal church. I have already shown that there is not any presumption against the English church in any of these respects. The Romanists, therefore, could not have had any valid reason for their separa-

tion; and they deserted us for a communion in which many grievous errors, heresies, and idolatries, were widely received. Their pretence then—the necessity of separating from a communion in which *errors* existed, was overthrown by their union with Rome.

If some members of our churches doubted the real presence, was their error greater than that of worshipping images and relics with *latria*—the very worship paid to God? Whatever may have been the mistakes of some members of our churches, they, at least, were not more questionable, or more erroneous, than the doctrine of the papal supremacy, of purgatory, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, the sacrifice of Christ *continued* or *reiterated* in the mass, and many other points which are either erroneous or heretical, and which were widely received in the church of Rome. Romanists, therefore, could never have been justified in forsaking the communion of the catholic and apostolic church in England.

That church, on the other hand, presents such claims to our adherence, that until she be *manifestly and plainly convicted of heresy*; until it is clearly proved *that all her members are bound to profess heretical doctrines*; and until it is equally clearly shown, *that the Roman communion cannot be charged with errors as great and as prevalent as any which are alleged to exist in the communion of the Anglo-catholic church*; until all this has been clearly demonstrated, the claims of our apostolical churches on the adherence, the obedience, and the filial love and devotion, even unto death, of all their members, cannot be rejected or evaded without deep sinfulness, and consequent peril of salvation.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church of England cannot pretend to be spiritually descended from the ancient British and English churches, because she changed her faith at the Reformation.

Answer. It has been before proved ^a, that all differences in doctrine are not differences in faith; and that differences in faith do not always involve heresy ^b. Consequently, the church of England may differ, in some points, from her former self, and yet may always have continued free from heresy. It has

^a Chap. v. p. 84, 85.

^b Ibid. p. 85, 86.

also been shown, that heresies and idolatries may sometimes exist extensively within the communion of the church^c; and under such circumstances, a reformation may seem to be a change of the church's faith, whereas it is, in reality, a correction of old and general abuses. In fine, it is admitted by our opponents that the Latin and the English churches were churches of Christ at the beginning of the sixteenth century, yet it is certain that they had changed in many respects from the doctrine and discipline of primitive times. (See P. II. c. vii. Append.)

II. The British church does not possess unity of doctrine, for several of her theologians, such as Hoadly, Clarke, Blackburne, &c., were infected with Arian or Socinian notions, contrary to her doctrines.

Answer. Every church, without exception, is occasionally troubled by false brethren. Jansenism, Infidelity, and Indifference, exist in the bosom of the Roman churches^d. Hoadly escaped punishment only by his arts, and the interference of the civil power; Clarke was censured by the convocation; the others generally avoided open contradiction to the doctrines of the church. In fine, it is certain, by the confession and the practice of Romanists, that the church is sometimes obliged to tolerate heretics, but she does not regard them as her children^e.

III. There are parties in the British churches (evangelical and orthodox) which differ in doctrine: therefore they have not unity of faith.

Answer. There have been similar divisions in the Roman churches, between the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, the Ultramontanes and the Gallicans, the Jansenists and Jesuits. Our case is not worse than that of the Corinthian church in the time of St. Paul, or of the catholic church during the Arian and Monophysite controversies.

^c Chap. v. p. 87—94.

^d See the Appendices to the next chapter.

^e Bailly, a Roman theologian, in reply to the objection, that the Roman church sometimes tolerates heretics in her bosom; and suffers some, who resist the definitions of the church, to unite with the faithful in sacred offices, says: "Ejusmodi

homines tolerat Ecclesia, id est, nominatim a communione sua non arcet, concedo: eos habet ut filios, nego. Aliquando Ecclesia, prudentiæ causa, ut pejora devitet, atque ut facilius ad meliora reducantur, tolerat nonnullos suis definitionibus adversantes," &c.—Tract. de Eccl. Christi, cap. vi. prop. iv. inter objectiones.

IV. The church of England is admitted, by its own writers, to have separated from the catholic church. Bishop Jewell, in his Apology, says: "We have departed indeed from them, and for that thing we offer thanks to God, and exceedingly congratulate ourselves^f." "Though we have departed from that church which they call catholic, and for that reason they cause hatred towards us among those that cannot judge, yet it is sufficient for us, and ought to be for any prudent and pious man, that we have departed from that church which might err," &c.^g

Answer. Jewell corrects himself elsewhere, and says, that we rather departed from the *errors* of the Roman church, than from the church itself^h; and in another place he says, "We have not so much departed from them, as been ejected by curses and excommunicationsⁱ." Chillingworth observes with truth, that "It is not all one to forsake the errors of the church, or to forsake the church in her error, and simply to forsake the church. The former, then, was done by protestants, the latter was not done. Nay, not only not from the catholic, but not so much as from the Roman, did they separate *per omnia*; but only in those practices which they conceived superstitious or impious^k." Hooker says: "We hope that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the church we were of before. In the church we were, and we are so still^l."

V. The fruits of sanctity are not found in the British churches, for none of the saints were of their communion; they have no monastic institutions, and the practice of fasting is neglected among them.

Answer. (1.) I have already proved that many eminent saints have arisen in these churches; and to assert that none of these saints were of our communion, is to assume the point in debate; for if the church of England be a part of the catholic church, *all* the saints belong to us. (2.) The catholic church had no monastic institutions for the first three centu-

^f Juelli Apologia, p. 141. ed. 1606.

^g Ibid. 56. See Dr. Wordsworth's Christian Institutes, vol. iv. p. 313, for some very excellent observations on this subject. Dr. W. shows that Jewell has not, in this place, done justice to the church of

England; and cites Hooker, Laud, and Sir R. Twysden, in proof that we did not separate from the church.

^h Ibid. p. 98.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 145.

^k Chillingworth, chap. iii. s. 11.

^l Ecclesiastical Polity, Works, vol. i. p. 437. ed. Keble.

ries; and monasteries have been abolished, even in many countries subject to the Roman jurisdiction, as well as amongst us. Besides this: such institutions are commonly very degenerate amongst Romanists; and a truly ascetic spirit may be, and doubtless is, preserved in many churches without them. (3.) As to the practice of fasting, it is true that the design and commands of our churches are not sufficiently attended to in this respect. The Romanist Milner himself proves, that the duty of fasting is established by the church of England^m: but it is certain, that every church is deficient sometimes in some points of discipline; and there is none which has greater deficiencies than the Roman itself. Van Espen, one of their most learned writers, deploras the utter neglect of discipline among them, and the multitude of offences and crimes suffered to pass without rebukeⁿ. In fine, there is no necessity whatever to prove our churches superior, or even equal, *in all respects*, in sanctity to other branches of the catholic church; because churches of Christ may differ in actual sanctity. But we do not fear that comparison with other churches, on the whole, will turn to *our* disadvantage in this respect, and I shall show this in the next chapter.

VI. The reformers of the church of England were not holy. Henry VIII. was a tyrant, and a prey to his passions. Cranmer was in several respects unholy.

Answer. Romanists affirm that the only alteration introduced by Henry VIII. was the suppression of the papal jurisdiction. Therefore they cannot regard him as properly the reformer of the church of England. But, however, admitting that Henry and Somerset, and others who aided in the reformation of abuses in our churches, were not free from serious offences, still it does not follow that the measures which they supported were in themselves unholy. By no means: Bossuet himself admits the reverse. “Who doubts,” he says, “that God has made use of very evil princes to accomplish great works?”

^m Letters to a Prebendary, lett. iii. He proves it from the Homilies, the Book of Common Prayer, the Whole Duty of Man, and the works of Bishops Patrick, Beveridge, and Gunning.

ⁿ “Hoc sat constat . . . Ecclesiæ disciplinam ita esse collapsam,

ut vix vestigium supersit: vitiaque omnia ubique ita invaluisse et abundare, ut pro nihilo reputentur; et populus iniquitatem quasi aquam bibere videatur.” Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, pars i. tit. xx. d. i. s. 11.

^o “M. Burnet prend beaucoup de peine à entasser des exemples de

Therefore the characters of Henry, Somerset, &c., afford no presumption against the church of England: and Cranmer is easily defended from all those accusations of crimes which have been so industriously fastened on him by our opponents^p.

VII. The argument of St. Augustine and of Optatus against the Donatists, urging that they could not be the true church, because their communion was limited to the single region of Africa, is equally applicable to the British churches, which are also of a limited extent.

Answer. I have before proved (p. 54—64), that communion may be interrupted in the universal church, and that particular churches are sometimes not actually in communion with the great body of the church (p. 124, 125). Our position is contrary to that of the Donatists, who pretended that they alone constituted the church of Christ. We do not make any such claim; but we admit that there are churches in all parts of the world, and account for the absence of communion between ourselves and many of them, without imputing heresy, schism, or apostasy to them, or to ourselves. In fine, we are actually or virtually in communion with churches in all parts of the world.

VIII. These churches are not in communion with the great body of bishops throughout the world, and, therefore, must be separated from the catholic church.

Answer. The interruption of communion in the universal church, and the absence of communion between some churches and the majority of the Christian world, infers the same divisions in the episcopate.

IX. These churches are not apostolical, because various writers of their communion, such as Middleton, Casaubon, &c., have admitted that the doctrines and practice of the early church recorded by the fathers, were opposed to the church of England.

Answer. These writers are generally to be regarded as unsound members of our churches, who endeavoured to open a way for the subversion of the catholic faith, which is so strongly confirmed by the doctrine of the early church. Middleton resolved the account of the fall of man into a mere allegory, thereby undermining the whole fabric of Christianity.

princes très-dérégés dont Dieu s'est servi pour de grans ouvrages. *Qui en doute ?*—Variations, liv. vii. s. xlix.
^p See Part II. chap. viii.

X. Where was the religion of the church of England before the reformation; that is, where was there any society of professing Christians, in which the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles were acknowledged and approved?

Answer. The doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles was that of the universal church before the reformation; for all that is of faith in those articles, was of faith in the catholic church; and all that is of opinion, was also matter of opinion in the catholic church.

XI. Romanists do not admit that the members of the British churches can be saved, while the latter allow that Romanists can be saved. Therefore it is plain that there is greater safety in the Romish communion.

Answer. The argument may be reversed thus: Romanists allow that the members of the church can be saved. *They* cannot allow that Romanists are in the way of salvation; therefore the communion of the church is safer than that of the Romish schism.

I prove the first two propositions thus: (1.) Dr. Milner says, "Catholic divines and the holy fathers, at the same time that they strictly insist on the necessity of adhering to the doctrine and communion of the catholic church, make an express exception in favour of what is termed invincible ignorance. . . . Our great controvertist, Bellarmine, asserts that such Christians, in virtue of the disposition of their hearts, belong to the catholic church^a." Accordingly, he elsewhere says, that "all the young children who have been baptized" in the church of England, &c. "and all invincibly ignorant Christians who externally adhere to them, really belong to the Catholic church^b." (2.) On the other hand, the Church of England excommunicates any one who shall dare to affirm that the Romish community in these countries is a true church^c. As we, therefore, cannot allow Romanists to be in the true church; and as we have no right to admit that any persons out of the church are or can be in the way of salvation^d, it is plain that there is much the greatest safety in adhering to our

^a End of Controversy, letter xviii. The same doctrine of the salvability of some of those who are externally separated from the Roman communion, is taught by Dr. Bishop, a

noted Romanist, cited by Archbishop Bramhall, Works, p. 100.

^b Milner, letter xxvi.

^c Canon x.

^d Chapter i. section iii.

communion, in which alone both parties allow that salvation may be obtained.

XI. The Church of England, in acknowledging the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king, renounces the commission given by Christ to his apostles; and her ministers derive all their authority from the crown, which has, at various times, made ordinances with regard to ecclesiastical matters, worship, discipline, &c., and thus usurped the church's office; consequently there is no apostolical ministry in the church of England.

Answer. As this is the grand argument of papists against our churches, I shall endeavour to answer it here in such a manner as shall help to close their mouths on the subject. (1.) I must *insist* upon it, that the *principles of the Church of England* with reference to the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs, cannot be determined in any way by the opinions of lawyers, or the preambles of acts of parliament. We no where subscribe to either one or the other. (2.) The opinion of the temporal power itself as to its own authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and its acts in accordance with such opinions, are perfectly distinct from the principles of the Church of England on these points. We are not bound to adopt such opinions, or approve such acts of temporal rulers, nor even to approve every point of the existing law. (3.) The clergy of England, in acknowledging the supremacy of the king, A.D. 1531, did so, as Burnet proves, with the important proviso, "*quantum per Christi legem licet*;" which *original condition is ever to be supposed* in our acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. Consequently we give no authority to the prince, except what is consistent with the maintenance of all those rights, liberties, jurisdictions, and spiritual powers, which "the law of Christ" confers on his church. (4.) The Church of England believes the jurisdiction and commission of her clergy to come from God, by apostolical succession, as is evident from the Ordination Services, and has been *proved* by the papist Milner himself (Letters to a Prebendary, Letter viii.); and it is decidedly the doctrine of the great majority of her theologians. (5.) The acts of English monarchs have been objected

^u Romanists admit that "the obvious tendency of the claim on the part of the king, was completely neutralized by the qualifying clause." —Dublin Review, May, 1840, p. 341.

in proof of *their* views on the subject. We are not bound to subscribe to those views. If their acts were wrong in any case we never approved them, though we may have been obliged by circumstances to submit to intrusions and usurpations. But since this is a favourite topic with Romanists, let us view the matter a little on another side. I ask, then, whether the parliaments of France did not, for a long series of years, exercise jurisdiction over the *administration of the sacraments*, compelling the Roman bishops and priests of France to give the sacraments to Jansenists, whom they believed to be heretics? Did they not repeatedly judge in questions of *faith*, viz. as to the obligation of the bull “Unigenitus?” Did they not take cognizance of questions of faith and discipline to such a degree, that they were said to resemble “a school of theology?” I ask whether the clergy of France, in their convocations, were not *wholly* under the control of the king, who could prescribe their subjects of debate, prevent them from debating, prorogue, dissolve, &c.? Did they not repeatedly *entreat in vain*, from the kings of France, for a long series of years, to be permitted to hold provincial synods for the suppression of immorality, heresy, and infidelity? Is not this liberty still withheld from them, and from every other Roman church in Europe? I further ask, whether the emperor Joseph II. did not, while in full communion with the church of Rome, *enslave* the churches of Germany and Italy? whether he did not suppress monasteries, *suppress and unite bishoprics*? whether he did not *suspend* the bishops from *conferring orders*, exact from them oaths of obedience to *all his measures*, present and *future*; issue royal decrees for *removing images from churches*, and for the regulation of divine worship, down to the minutest points, even to the number of candles at mass? Whether he did not take on himself to *silence preachers* who had declaimed against persons of unsound faith? Whether he did not issue decrees against the bull “Unigenitus,” thus interfering with the *doctrinal* decisions of the whole Roman church? I ask whether this conduct was not accurately imitated by the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, the duke of Parma? Whether it did not become prevalent in almost every part of the Roman church? and whether its effects do not continue to the present day? I again ask, whether “Organic Articles” were not enacted by Buonaparte in the New Gallican church, which placed *every thing* in ecclesiastical affairs under the govern-

ment? Whether the bishops were not forbidden by law to *confer orders* without the permission of government? Whether the obvious intention was not to place the priests, even in their *spiritual functions*, under the civil powers? And in fine, whether those obnoxious "Organic Articles" are not, up to the present day, in almost every point in force? I again inquire, whether the order of Jesuits was not *suppressed* by the mere civil powers in Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, &c.? Whether convents, monasteries, confraternities, sodalities, associations, friars, canons, monks, and nuns, of every sort and kind, have not been extinguished, suppressed, annihilated, by *royal commissions*, and by the temporal power, in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, &c., and in opposition to the petitions and protests of the pope and the bishops? I again ask, whether the king of Sicily does not, in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy," up to the present day, try *ecclesiastical causes*, censure, excommunicate, absolve? Whether this tribunal did not, in 1712, *give absolution* from episcopal excommunications? and whether it was not restored by Benedict XIII. in 1728? Is there a Roman church on the continent of Europe where the clergy can communicate freely with him whom they regard as their spiritual head; or where all papal bulls, rescripts, briefs, &c. are not subjected to a rigorous *surveillance* on the part of government, and allowed or disallowed at its *pleasure*? In fine, has not Gregory XVI. himself been compelled, in his Encyclical Letter of 1832, to utter the most vehement complaints and lamentations at the degraded condition of the Roman Obedience? Does he not confess that the church is "subjected to *earthly considerations*," "*reduced to a base servitude*," "the rights of its bishops *trampled on*?" These are all certain facts; I appeal in proof of them to the Romish historians, and to many other writers of authority; and they form but a *part* of what might be said on the subject.

† See Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccl. &c. xviii^e Siècle; Mémoires sur les Affaires Ecclésiast. de France; La Mennais, Réflexions sur l'Eglise en France; Essai sur l'Indifférence; Affaires de Rome; Mémoires Historiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat (by Bourgoing); Bouvier, Episc. Cenomanensis, de Vera Ecclesia, Appendix; and the "Report from the Select Committee on

the Regulations of Roman Catholic Subjects in Foreign Countries" (Parliamentary Papers, 1816). This report contains a mass of authentic documents of the highest importance, which it is impossible to find elsewhere. L'Ami de la Religion, a religious periodical published at Paris, and which has existed ever since the restoration of the Bourbons, is also full of valuable details.

Romanists should blush to accuse the church of England for the acts of our civil rulers in ecclesiastical matters; they should remember those words, “Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.”

But it will be objected, all this was contrary, at least, to the principles of the Roman church; while English theologians, on the contrary, exaggerate the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. I admit unequivocally that some of our theologians have spoken unadvisedly on this subject; but can they have gone further than the whole school of Gallican writers, of modern canonists, and reforming theologians in the Roman church, whose object is to overthrow the papal power, and to render the church subservient in all things to the state? Do Romanists imagine that we are ignorant of the principles of Pithou and the Gallican school, of Giannone, Van Espen, Zallwein, De Hontheim, Ricci, Eybel, Stoch, Rechberger, Oberhauser, Riegger, Cavallari, Tamburini, and fifty others, who were tinged with the very principles imputed to us? Do they forget that their *clergy*, in many parts, have petitioned *princes* to remove the *canonical law* of celibacy? In fine, is it not well known that there is a conspiracy among many of their theologians, to subject the discipline of the church to the civil magistrate? It is really too much for Romanists to assail us on the very points where they are themselves most vulnerable, and where they are actually most keenly suffering. Our churches, though subject to some inconveniences, and lately aggrieved by the suppression of bishoprics in Ireland, contrary to the solemn protests of the bishops and clergy, are yet in a far more respectable and independent position than the Roman churches. Those amongst us who maintain the highest principles on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, have reason to feel thankful that we have not yet fallen to the level of the church of Rome.

OBJECTIONS OF DISSENTERS.

XIII. The church of England contradicts Scripture, (Eph. i. 22.) which declares that Christ alone is the head of the church; for she makes the king her head.

Answer. (1.) She does not acknowledge the king as head of the *universal* church, which alone is spoken of in that passage.

(2.) She only attributes to him temporal and external authority, but no jurisdiction purely spiritual, which belongs to the ministers of God by divine institution. (3.) The church of England, as I have already said, is not bound to approve all the opinions or acts of civil governors or of lawyers: they may perhaps exaggerate the authority of temporal rulers in ecclesiastical affairs; but the church of England is not obliged to subscribe to any of their opinions. (4.) Dissenters admit that from the time of Constantine the Great, the civil magistrate exercised various powers over the church. And not merely the unreformed churches of the east and west, but the foreign Reformation generally, and Presbyterians, universally acted on, and adopted the principle of the authority of the civil magistrate in some ecclesiastical affairs. The Puritans of England availed themselves of the aid of the civil power; and the community of Independents alone exclaimed against all authority of the magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. (5.) Dissenters cannot consistently bring this objection against the church of England; for the ministers of *every dissenting denomination, without exception, actually subscribed to the royal supremacy as explained in the Thirty-nine Articles up to the year 1779* *.

XIV. The church of England is merely a human institution, founded and maintained by act of parliament. Therefore it cannot be a part of the church of Christ.

Answer. I positively deny that the church of England was founded by act of parliament, and require the act to be produced which pretended to found it. If it be said that our

* By the Act of Toleration (1 Will. and Mar. c. 18.), confirmed 10 Anne, c. 2, dissenters were exempted from the penalties of the law, only on condition of their subscribing and repeating the declaration against transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, made by parliament, 30 Car. II. c. 1. And their teachers were only qualified by making and subscribing the said declaration, and *declaring their approbation of, and subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles*, except the XXXIVth, XXXVth, and XXXVIth, and except also those words of the XXth Article, "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and

authority in controversies of faith." No objection was allowed to the XXXVIIth Article, concerning the civil magistrate, including the doctrine of the royal supremacy.—See Grey's *Eccl. Law*, p. 170—172. Anabaptist teachers were obliged to perform the same conditions: except that they were excused from subscribing the XXVIIth Article concerning infant baptism. Quakers were obliged to subscribe the above declaration, a declaration of fidelity to the king, and of his *supremacy*; and a profession of their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the inspiration of the Scripture.—*Ibid.*

church was founded in the time of Henry VIII., I reply by adducing the first act of parliament in the controversy between England and the Roman pontiff. The act against appeals acknowledges that “there were in the spirituality, as *there had been at all times*, men of such integrity and sufficiency, that they might determine all doubts within the kingdom,” and that “the king’s most noble *progenitors*, and the antecessors of the nobles of this realm, have sufficiently endowed the said church⁷.” The act for the royal supremacy declared, that the king had been acknowledged supreme head of the church of England⁸, thereby proving that the church was already in existence; and in fine, the act for the deprivation of Campenius and Hierome again declares, that “before this time the church of England, by *the king’s most noble progenitors*, and the nobles of the same, hath been founded, ordained, and established in the estate and degree of prelatie dignities, and other promotions spiritual,” &c.^a Therefore the church of England had been founded before the time of Henry VIII., even by the admissions of parliament itself; and not founded by *parliament*. The perpetual existence of this church is further proved by the Magna Charta of king John, confirmed by every one of the succeeding kings of England, the first article of which guarantees the rights of “*the church of England*.” In fine, it is well known to every one, that the bishops, chapters, and clergy of the present day, are, in the eye of the law, the legitimate successors of those who lived six hundred years ago; and that legal evidence of their rights at *that time*, is in many cases offered and admitted in proof of the rights of the present incumbents. Therefore it is altogether ridiculous to pretend that the church was founded by the civil power in the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Elizabeth.

XV. The imposition of creeds and articles of faith is an invasion of the kingly prerogative of Christ, and is antichristian. Consequently the church of England cannot be a church of Christ.

Answer. If it be antichristian to impose creeds and articles of faith, it must be equally antichristian to *subscribe* them: but all dissenting ministers whatever, up to the year 1779,

⁷ Burnet’s Reformation, vol. i. p. 90—92.

232. (Oxford ed. 1816.)

^a 25 Hen. VIII. act v. See Bur-

⁸ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 205. vol. iii. p. net’s Records, vol. i. part ii. p. 189.

subscribed the Articles and Creed of the church of England^b. Therefore they must, on this principle, have been antichristian; and what are we to think of all the dissenting churches which communicated with them, in which they presided, and which are derived from them? Nor is this all. The very act of 1779 compelled them to declare solemnly their belief in the inspiration of Scripture, to take the oath of *supremacy*, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, &c.^c So that they were still involved in the very same practices which they object to us: and perhaps continue so to the present day. Besides, they themselves exact professions of faith from their ministers before ordination^d.

XVI. The church of England cannot be a Christian church, because she does not maintain apostolical discipline in the censure and expulsion of such members as offend against the laws of Christian sanctity.

Answer. (1.) The church of England does so, at least in principle. No laws can more strictly enjoin discipline than the canons of 1603, and her ministers are directed to refuse the Sacrament to notorious offenders. However, it must always require judgment and caution to apply such severe remedies, and if the conversion of sinners can be accomplished by the milder method of persuasion, it is on all accounts much more desirable. Yet instances do occur occasionally in which this discipline is put in force, though it must be acknowledged that the wishes of the church are not fully attended to in these respects. But however this may be, dissenters cannot consistently deny the church of England to be a true church because discipline is neglected by some of her members; for, (2.) Dissenters are liable to the very same objection themselves. They acknowledge that in their own churches the

^b By the Act of Toleration, 1 Will. and Mary, c. 18. above alluded to.

^c Adam's Religious World, vol. iii. p. 40.

^d "We conceive the conduct of those bodies which require a specific confession of faith from the individual who is proposed as their instructor, while they do not previously prescribe a certain fixed and systematic standard of sentiment as the *sine qua non*—most accordant with Scripture, reason, and the in-

terests of the church of Christ."—Library of Eccl. Knowledge (Religious Creeds, p. 127.) In short, we are apostate, because our clergy are required to confess the faith in the church's words; dissenters are Christians because their ministers are required to make the same confession in their own words. The question of Christianity does not in the least depend on doctrine, but on the far more important consideration of the right of extemporary composition!

same defects of discipline exist: "A much greater evil, however, is to be found in the retaining of persons as *church-members*, when their character plainly unfits them for such a station. Instances have not been wanting in which persons of NOTORIOUS IMMORALITY, such as habitual drunkards and others, have remained in undisturbed possession of their membership^e."

XVII. The ordinations of the British clergy being derived from the popish and antichristian church, cannot be apostolical or Christian. Therefore the British church cannot be a true church, having no true ministry.

Answer. The ordinations of the church of England are derived by regular succession within herself in all ages from the apostles. But I have already denied that this church ever became apostate, though for a time grievous abuses prevailed amongst us.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. X.

ON INDIFFERENCE IN RELIGION.

One of the common objections of Romanists against the church of England is founded on the existence of religious indifference among some of her members, or the persuasion that all sects and doctrines are equally secure, and that no particular belief or communion is necessary to salvation. Bossuet, Milner, and others, have asserted that this system is extensively prevalent amongst us, and have employed it as a proof that our churches are not Christian.

The origin of religious indifference may be traced indirectly to the denial of all church authority, and the assertion of the unlimited right of private judgment, which arose among the Socinians^a, and were sometimes incautiously maintained even by members of the foreign reformed societies; whence the Independents and dissenters also derived them. It is plain however, that although, in the imagined exigencies of contro-

^e Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 185. Essays on Ch. Polity.

^a Mosheim says they "permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge

in general the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions."—Eccl. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. 3. part ii. ch. 4. s. 16.

versy for defence of the truth, some individuals during the time of the Reformation may have let fall expressions, which, in their legitimate consequences, might actually remove the necessity of adhering to particular tenets, those consequences were not known or allowed by them; for all the reformed communities subscribed and imposed confessions of faith, in which the absolute necessity of believing certain doctrines is asserted, and heretics are consigned to perdition. There can be no doubt indeed, that in the sixteenth century, any one who had advanced openly the doctrine of indifference, would have been regarded by the reformed as an infidel, and most probably experienced the fate of Servetus^b. Chillingworth, in practically denying to the church all authority in matters of faith, leaving each man to form his own religion from the Bible only, by his independent inquiries, removed some of the strongest barriers against the intrusion of heresy^c; and his doctrine, that Scripture was so clear in all necessary matters, that he who received it as his rule of faith, could not be a heretic, opened a way for the doctrine of indifference. Still, as he did not draw the conclusions which led to this result, his principles were unsuspectingly adopted by many, who would have shrunk with horror from the conclusions which others afterwards deduced from them. The history of indifference, in England, properly begins with Hoadly; who, in the early part of the eighteenth century, first rendered this system known. The doctrines maintained by him and his disciples, were as follows:—

^b The dissenters observe of the “first reformers,” that “the views they entertained of the constitution of the church were deficient in some important respects. The right of the civil magistrate to control its proceedings, and to visit the delinquencies of its members with temporal inflictions, was *very generally* admitted. The *terms of fellowship* were rendered narrower and more sectarian, than in the primitive church. *Uniformity of opinion*, rather than unity of spirit, was sought; and public *formularies* and systems of faith had an importance attached to them, superior to that with which the word of God, in many cases, appeared to be invested. As the na-

tural result of such views, measures were adopted for the *suppression of what was esteemed heresy*, and the defence and extension of the *truth*, over which piety must ever mourn.”—Library of Eccl. Knowledge. (Correct Views of the Ch. p. 21.) After this, it is strange the dissenters can pretend that they hold the principles of the Reformation.

^c Whether Chillingworth himself was tainted with the Arian heresy or not, is a matter of dispute; but it is certain that he has been the idol of Arians and Socinians, as well as of other dissenters. Micaiah Towgood, an Arian, in his *Defence of Dissent*, extols him most highly.

I. That the true church of Christ being invisible, it is not a matter of necessity to be of any particular visible church.

II. That Christ being the only lawgiver and judge in his church, there is no other authority in the church in matters of faith and practice, affecting salvation. That it is therefore needless to hold any particular creed or interpretation of Scripture, and sinful to require from others the belief of any.

III. That sincerity, or our own persuasion of the correctness of our opinions (whether well or ill-founded), is the only condition of acceptance with God.

IV. That the apostolical succession of the clergy, ministerial benedictions, and generally the sacraments and rites of the church, are trifling, ridiculous, or unnecessary.

V. That Christ's kingdom not being of this world, all temporal support of the church is contrary to the Gospel.

These were really the doctrines of Hoadly, as may be easily seen by any one who reads his "Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ," and his "Preservative against the principles, &c. of Nonjurors;" though he endeavoured to explain away his expressions, when in danger of punishment^d. The fifth position was not generally sustained by his disciples, but was adopted by the dissenters, and forms the *whole basis of their argument against church establishments*. Their arguments in favour of dissent, and against the church of England, are altogether derived from the preceding principles of Hoadly^e. These

^d They were ably refuted by Law, in his "Three Letters to Hoadly," and by a multitude of orthodox theologians.

^e Micaiah Towgood on Dissent, and all the modern dissenters, take no other ground. They prove that the church of England *does* claim authority in matters of religion. They exaggerate the authority of the temporal magistrate, in relation to the church; and thence, on Hoadly's principles, argue that it is unlawful to communicate with us. They also expressly cite Hoadly and his disciples, in proof of dissenting principles. Not only the dissenters, but the Romanists were supported by Hoadly's errors. The acute controversialist Milner, says: "It is an incontestable fact, that Bishop Hoadly

has surrendered a great part of the leading points of controversy, which the 'catholic' authors of the two preceding centuries had loaded the shelves of libraries in endeavouring to prove. Your most learned and able writers have seen and lamented the event."—Letters to a Prebendary, lett. viii. It would be easy to show the correctness of this statement. Hoadly's doctrine on the eucharist was directly Socinian, as Bishop Cleaver remarked in his Sermon on the Sacrament, before the University of Oxford, Nov. 25, 1787. (2nd. ed. p. 7.) However, if we have had a Hoadly, Romanists have had a Soanen, a Ricci, a de Hontheim, a Geddes, and a Voltaire, as we shall see.

principles were deemed so objectionable and dangerous by the convocation of the church of England, that a committee of the lower house was appointed to select propositions from Hoadly's writings, and procure his censure by regular authority; but before his trial could take place, the convocation was prorogued by an arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative, and has not been permitted to deliberate since.

Blackburn, in his anonymous book, "The Confessional," published in 1766, carried out these principles most fully; contending that the imposition of creeds and Articles of Faith was an infringement on Christ's office; that it was *unlawful to submit to it*; that the church of England was inconsistent in requiring assent to any Creeds, Articles, &c.; and that each individual may, if he pleases, separate from all religions and churches on earth! That Blackburn was obliged to conceal his name, is another proof of the general and strong sentiment of the church of England^f; and an additional proof was afforded in 1772, when some clergy having been so far deluded as to petition parliament to be exempted from subscription to the Articles, their request was refused^g. A few writers, in later times, carried these views to a still greater length; affirming, though still with no small degree of caution, that truth in religion is merely the opinion of each individual; that all theological doctrines are human inventions; that revelation contains no doctrines, but is merely a collection of historical facts, or a code of ethics; that all religions are equally safe; and that no religious errors *whatever* ought to be censured or condemned^h. This class of doctrines was again condemned, in the writings of Dr. Hampden, by the University of Oxford, in 1836.

The system of religious indifference has, however, only been avowed by a mere handful of persons; and although they have embraced some of its positions, they have not yet drawn the

^f The judgment of the dissenters, as to his doctrine, was unequivocally manifested. The dissenting congregation in the Old Jewry, on the death of Dr. Chandler, their minister, who was an *Arian*, actually invited Blackburn to be his successor!

^g Lindsey, Disney, Jebb, Wakefield, Evanson, and other Socinians,

in despair of effecting any alteration in the church of England, avowed their heresy, and separated from her communion.

^h It will be curious to contrast these maxims of modern philosophy, with the conduct and principles of the Reformation. (See Chapter XII. sect. iii.)

conclusions, which would at once open the door to infidelity. If all existing doctrines, ordinances, worships, and communions, are matters of indifference, and we may adopt any or none, according to our individual taste or choice, whether well or ill-directed; if all are equally *safe*, the conclusion of course is, that all are equally true and equally false; and, therefore, that Christianity itself must be either obsolete or fabulous. What other conclusion can follow, if it is not necessary to believe any particular, definite doctrine; if all that is said to exist of Christian faith and morality, may be disputed, denied, or maintained at pleasure? Christianity can on these principles be nothing but one philosophy amongst the many, or rather one *name*, under which all imaginable contradictions and falsehoods may find refuge.

But, to meet the objection of our adversaries, as to the existence of such opinions, I would observe, first, that the Romanist Milner himself has fully proved, that Hoadly's tenets were entirely opposed to the religion of the church of Englandⁱ; and it is plain, that his school were so far from being friendly to this church, that they justified all sects who separated from her, and in return were hailed by them as friends and auxiliaries, threw contempt on her ordinances, accused her of inconsistency and actual impiety, in prescribing the belief of scriptural and apostolical doctrines, and engaged in a crusade against her Creeds and Articles. Secondly, the church was only prevented by the interference of the civil powers, from extirpating indifference when it first showed itself; and as it has only occasionally arisen since, so it has, on two several occasions, been checked by the arm of authority. Thirdly, the catholic church was obliged to endure the presence of the Arian heresy during the greater part of the fourth century, during which it struggled to free itself from that infidelity; and it is admitted, by Romanists themselves, that the church is often obliged, by various good motives, to tolerate heretics for a time; but that she does not regard them as her children. Fourthly, the Roman churches themselves are *infected with the very same evil*, for we learn from the encyclical letter of Gregory XVI. A. D. 1832, that *indifference* prevails among them to a great extent^k. Fifthly, those who

ⁱ Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, lett. viii.

^k See the following Chapter.

hold the doctrines of indifference, are as few in number, in proportion to the church generally, as the Arians were at the council of Nice; and their doctrines would have perished long ago, but for the support of the civil magistrate. For, through the merciful protection of God, the clergy and people of our churches have no inclination for sceptical principles even under a disguise, but remain deeply rooted and grounded in the simplicity of faith. We may say, with the holy martyr Cyprian: “Nec vos moveat, fratres dilectissimi, si apud quosdam in novissimis temporibus, aut lubrica fides nutat, aut Dei timor irreligiosus vacillat, aut pacifica concordia non perseverat. Prænunciata sunt hæc futura in sæculi fine . . . Viderit vel prævaricatorum numerus vel proditorum, qui nunc in ecclesia contra ecclesiam surgere, et fidem pariter ac veritatem labefactare cœperunt. Permanet apud *plurimos* sincera mens et religio integra, et non nisi Domino et Deo suo anima devota, nec Christianam fidem aliena perfidia deprimit ad ruinam, sed magis *excitat et exaltat* ad gloriam; secundum quod beatus Apostolus Paulus hortatur et dicit: Quid enim si exciderunt a fide quidam eorum, nunquid infidelitas illorum fidem Dei evacuavit? Absit¹.”

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE CHURCHES OF THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE.

THERE are four questions for consideration with regard to the churches and societies of the Roman Obedience. First; whether they continued to be churches of Christ up to the reformation? Secondly; whether they remained churches of Christ after the reformation? Thirdly; whether they constitute exclusively the catholic church? Fourthly; whether all their societies are free from schism and heresy? Of the churches and societies in communion with Rome, some are of ancient foundation, viz. those of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Ger-

¹ Cyprianus, Epist. ad Clerum et Mart. p. 167. ed. Pamel. Plebes, in Hispania, de Basilide et

many, Hungary, Austria, Poland. Some are of modern foundation, viz. those of South America, Mexico, part of the West Indies, two or three in India, the Philippine Islands, and China. Others, of which I shall hereafter speak, have been formed within the jurisdiction of the catholic churches of the east and of Britain.

SECTION I.

WHETHER THE WESTERN CHURCHES CONTINUED TO BE CHURCHES OF CHRIST TILL THE REFORMATION.

I only speak now, and in the two next sections, of the Roman churches which have not been founded within the jurisdiction of other churches, and of these I maintain, that they continued to be a part of the Christian church up to the period of the reformation.

Every one admits that these churches were, in the earliest ages, a part of the catholic church. They continued in communion with the east till the eleventh century, and afterwards. In fine, no time can be assigned at which they ceased to be churches of Christ. Scarcely any thing can be objected to them during these ages, which would not apply equally to the eastern church. Their mere connexion with the see of Rome could not make them apostate, for the whole catholic church, until the eleventh century, communicated with that see. They possessed every external mark of the Christian church, and were regularly continued from age to age by the ordinations of clergy and the admission of new members by baptism. They maintained the same creeds which the universal church had sanctioned, adhered to the definitions of faith made by the catholic church, continued the use of rites which we believe to descend from the apostles. On what reasonable ground, therefore, can it be pretended that the western churches did not continue always to be churches of Christ? It is confessed that errors, corruptions, and even heresies and idolatries, prevailed widely in them in latter ages; but it has been already observed, that the existence of such evils within a church does not necessarily *annul* its character^a; and, as in the present case, it seems to have arisen partly from want of information

^a See above, chapter v. p. 82—94.

and discussion ; and, besides, no article of the faith^b appears to have been formally or authoritatively denied or corrupted by these churches, there seems no just reason to deny their Christianity.

In fact, this has been admitted by all wise and charitable men. The adherents of Luther acknowledged that the Roman church, even in their time, was a part of the church^c. Luther himself reckons Bernard, Francis, and Bonaventure among the saints, though they lived in times when great corruptions existed^d. The Apology of the Confession of Augsburg reckons Bernard and Francis as saints^e. In the Confession of Augsburg, the character and authority of the catholic, and even the Roman church, are acknowledged^f. Luther himself, in 1534, seventeen years after he had begun his career, acknowledged, unequivocally, the Christianity of the churches in obedience to Rome. "That true church of Christ," he says, "the pillar and ground of the truth, is the holy place wherein the abomination stands. And in this church God miraculously and powerfully preserved baptism ; moreover, in the public pulpits and Lord's day sermons, he preserved the text of the Gospel in the language of every nation ; besides remission of sins and absolution, as well in confession as in public. Again, the sacrament of the altar, which at Easter time, and twice or thrice in the year, they offered to Christians, though deprived of one species. Fifth, vocation and ordination to parishes, and the ministry of the word, the keys to bind and loose, and to console in the agony of death. For among many this custom was observed, that those who were in

^b The Confession of Augsburg says of the reformed doctrine :— "There is nothing in it which differs from the Scriptures or the catholic church, or the *Roman church*, as far as is known from her writers."— Confess. August. pars i. art. 22. And elsewhere : "Since the churches among us differ concerning *no article of faith* (de nullo articulo fidei) from the catholic church, but only omit some *abuses*, which are novel, and received contrary to the canons, by the fault of the times," &c.—Pars ii. prolog. This Confession of Augsburg was received by the Calvinists about 1557, and at

the colloquy of Poissy in 1561. See also Archbishop Bramhall, Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon.— Works, p. 151.

^c This appears by their continual appeals to a general council, and their protests that they did not separate from the Roman church. See the next chapter, sect. i.

^d Lutheri Theses, 1522, Oper. tom. i. p. 377, &c.; De Abrog. Missæ Priv. tom. ii. p. 258, 259; De Votis Mon. ibid. 271, 278.

^e Apolog. Conf. August. De Vot. Mon. 21.

^f Ut supra.

their last agony were shown the image of Christ crucified, and admonished of the death and blood of Christ. Then, by a divine miracle, there remained in the church, the Psalter, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments. Likewise many pious and excellent hymns, as well Latin as German, such as 'Veni Sancte Spiritus,' and 'Emitte lucis tuæ radium,' &c. These hymns were left to posterity by truly spiritual and Christian men, though oppressed by tyranny. Wherever were these truly sacred relics, the relics of holy men, there was and is the true, holy church of Christ, and therein remained the saints of Christ; for all these are ordinances and fruits of Christ, except the forcible removal of one species from Christians. In this church of Christ, therefore, the Spirit of Christ was certainly present, and preserved true knowledge and true faith in his elect. These relics, indeed, were but small, and the true church lay miserably injured and oppressed by the tyranny and infinite deceptions of the false church. . . . The miserable, afflicted, and oppressed church was to *be pardoned* by God, because one species of the sacrament was taken away from her, unwilling and captive, and denied to her. If even the elect and saints lived all their lives in infirmity and error, yet in death He liberated them, as it were, from the furnace of Babylon, such as St. Bernard, Gregory, Bonaventure &c."

But such notions are not limited to Luther; they are those of the church of England, and of all her most eminent divines. The several formularies of doctrine, published by authority in the reign of Henry VIII., acknowledged the churches of the Roman Obedience to be parts of the catholic church^h. The canons of 1603 speak of the other western unreformed churches in such terms as evidently imply a recognition of them as churches, though fallen from their ancient integrity or *perfection*. "It was so far from the purpose of the church of England to forsake and reject the *churches* of Italy, France, Spain,

^g Lutherus, de Missa Privata, tom. vii. p. 236, 237.

^h "The Institution of a Christian Man," approved by twenty-one bishops in 1537, acknowledges the churches of Rome, France, Spain, &c. to be members of the catholic church. (Formularies of Faith, Ox-

ford ed. p. 55.) The Necessary Doctrine," approved by the bishops in 1543, includes in the catholic church the particular churches of England, Spain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and Rome. (Ibid. p. 247.) See also Part II. chap. ii.

Germany, or any other *such like churches*, in all things which they held and practised ; that, as the Apology of the church of England confesseth, it doth *with reverence* retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men ; and only departed from them in those *particular points* wherein they were fallen both from *themselves* in their *ancient integrity*, and from the apostolical churches which were their first founders¹." In strict accordance with these principles, it is maintained by our theologians, that the churches of the west continually remained a portion of the catholic church, up to the period of the reformation. Dr. Field says : " Touching the Latin church likewise, we are of the same opinion, that it continued still a part of the catholic church, notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions which in time crept into it, and the dangerous and damnable false doctrine that *some* taught and defended in the midst of it^k." Bishop Hall teaches the same. " The Latin or western church, subject to the Roman tyranny, was a *true church*, in which a saving profession of the truth of Christ was found^l." Archbishop Ussher, in reply to the question, " where was your church before Luther ?" says : " Our church was even there where now it is. In all places of the world where the ancient foundations were retained, and those common principles of faith, upon the profession whereof men have ever been wont to be admitted by baptism into the church of Christ, there we doubt not but our Lord had his subjects, and we our fellow servants. For we bring in no new faith, nor *no new church*." In reply to the question, " what we may judge of our forefathers who lived in the communion of the church of Rome ?" he says : " I answer, that we have *no reason* to think otherwise, but that they lived and died under the mercy of God. For *we must distinguish the papacy from the church wherein it is*, as the apostle doth antichrist from the temple of God wherein he sitteth^m." He shows elsewhere, that the ordinary instruction appointed to be given in those ages to men on their deathbeds was, that they should " put their whole trust in the death of Christ : " " trust in no other thing, confide themselves entirely to his death, cover themselves with it ; " " place the death of

¹ Canon xxx.

^k Field, Of the Church, book iii. ch. 6.

^l Hall, Of the Old Religion, p. 202.

^m Sermon before the King, on Eph. iv. 13.

the Lord Jesus Christ between themselves and God's judgment;" "offer the merit of his most worthy passion instead of the merit which they had not themselvesⁿ." Among other theologians who maintained the Christianity of the western churches before the reformation, were Hooker, Bramhall, Laud, Chillingworth, Hammond, &c. Dr. Field cites Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Beza, Philip Mornay, as all acknowledging, in a certain sense, that the western churches before the reformation were really churches of Christ, though oppressed by the papacy, and by several superstitions^o. Calvin, however, seems to be inconsistent in his views on this subject^p.

SECTION II.

WHETHER THE CHURCHES OF THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE CONTINUED TO BE PART OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AFTER THE REFORMATION.

There are different opinions as to whether the Roman remained a part of the catholic church after the Reformation; and Jewel, Field, and others deny it, with some degree of probability. We see that many errors, heresies, and idolatries *exist* in the communion of Rome, and exist extensively, and apparently with the sanction of authority; and it seems that those errors are defended with the greatest pertinacity, after abundant discussion and information. Under these circumstances, it cannot be wondered at, that in the opinion of many persons, the churches of the Roman obedience are heretical and apostate; nor can we condemn those who judge from such circumstances. There is not even any intolerable inconvenience in the supposition; because the true church, even on this

ⁿ Usser. de Christian. Eccl. Successione et Statu, c. 7. sect. 21, 22.

^o Of the Church, Appendix, part iii. p. 880.

^p He says (Lib. iv. c. 2. sect. 1, 2.) "Si vera Ecclesia columna est ac firmamentum veritatis, *certum est non esse ecclesiam*, ubi regnum occupavit mendacium et falsitas. In eum modum quum res habeat sub Papismo, intelligere licet *quid ecclesie illic supersit*," &c. But at the

end of the chapter he says: "Antichristum in templo Dei sessurum prædixerunt Daniel et Paulus: *ilius scelerati et abominandi regni ducem et antesignanum apud nos facimus Romanum Pontificem. Quod sedes ejus in templo Dei collocatur, ita innuitur, tale fore ejus regnum quod nec Christi nec ecclesie nomen aboleat. Hinc igitur patet nos minime negare, quin sub ejus quoque tyrannide Ecclesie maneant.*"

supposition, still subsists in the east and west, though in many parts of it, in a shattered and disorganized state.

But to me it appears safer to adopt the opinion of those who consider the Roman churches, though labouring under most serious corruptions, yet still to continue a portion of the Christian church. Hooker reckons among the errors of the Presbyterian or Puritan schismatics in his time, their "suffering indignation at the faults of the church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that which, withal, they should acknowledge, concerning so much nevertheless still due to the same church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible church of Christ ^a." And he elsewhere says, that "touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ;" and that "as there are which make the church of Rome utterly no church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in her doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the church of England itself ^b."

Archbishop Laud, in his controversy with the Jesuit, says, "I granted the Roman church to be a true church; for so much very learned Protestants have acknowledged before me, and the truth cannot deny it." He refers for proofs to Hooker, Junius, Reynold, and even the separatist Fr. Johnson ^c. Dr. Hammond says, "As we exclude no Christian from our communion that will either filially or fraternally embrace it with us, being ready to admit any to our assemblies that acknowledge the foundation laid by Christ and his apostles; so we as earnestly desire to be admitted to the like freedom of external communion with all the members of all other Christian churches and would most willingly, by the use of the ancient method of *literæ communicatoriæ*, maintain this communion with those with whom we cannot corporally assemble, and particularly with those which live in obedience to the church of Rome ^d." Bramhall, Andrewes, Chillingworth, Tilotson, Burnet, &c., might also be cited in acknowledgment that the Roman is still a portion of the catholic church, though it comprise within its communion much error and idolatry.

^a Works, ii. 478, ed. Kelle.

^b Works, i. 438.

^c Conference, s. 20, nu. 3.

^d Of Schism, ch. ix. s. 3.

The objection which was stated at the beginning, and which leads to a contrary conclusion, may be thus answered: That the Romanists were not *obstinately pertinacious* or *heretical* in upholding the errors alluded to, I argue, first, because they were deeply impressed with an *opinion* of long standing in the western church, that the Roman pontiff *was the divinely-appointed centre of unity*, and that every one who did not communicate with him was cut off from the church. This opinion was of such antiquity, and supported by such forgeries, frauds, and usurpations, that it was difficult to perceive its error^e. But from this doctrine it followed, that the western was the whole catholic church of Christ, and that whatever western councils had authorized was obediently to be received by Christians. Now, some doctrines and practices rejected by the Reformation had apparently been so authorized; therefore the Romanists did not, without strong reasons, oppose the truth. Secondly, the doctrines and practices of some of the adherents of the Reformation were apparently innovations in some cases, as being either not commonly received in the church for some time before, or as being in fact and truth innovations on very ancient customs, which had been *abused* and become inexpedient and prejudicial to piety. And many churches were afraid of innovations and changes, and deemed it most prudent to remain as they were. Thirdly, the opponents of Romanism were not exempt from faults and errors themselves, in doctrine as well as discipline; and their divisions naturally excited a prejudice against their system. The language of some leaders

^e So deeply rooted was this prejudice long afterwards, even in the most enlightened part of the Roman church, that the learned Du Pin, doctor of the Sorbonne, was compelled to abstain from publishing to the world his belief that non-communication with the Roman see was no proof of schism. This curious fact was discovered by Jurieu, who, in his work *De l'Unité de l'Eglise*, p. 211, has printed the suppressed passages of Du Pin's treatise *De Antiqua Eccl. Disciplina*, p. 256, where he spoke thus: "When churches or bishops break mutual peace, there may be a doubt which is in schism, and which ought to be held

separated from the communion of the whole church. Some persons believe they can easily reply to this difficulty, by saying that those should be reputed schismatics and excommunicated who were separated from the communion of the Roman church and bishop. As for me, while I doubt not that the authority of the bishop of Rome, who is the primate of the church, and therefore the centre of unity, has always been very great; I am nevertheless obliged to abandon the opinion of those who say, that all those who are separated from the Roman see have always been reputed schismatics, and ought now to be considered such."

of the Reformation was occasionally too violent and harsh in relation to the Roman church, and kept alive feelings of irritation and estrangement; while the principles of unbounded liberty and licence of private opinion which at length appeared amongst the Protestants, raised an additional obstacle to the progress of truth, which it threatened ultimately to subvert. Fourthly, the reformed, in many parts of the church, were in a difficult and unfavourable condition, from being apparently in opposition to the existing bishops and pastors of the church; and it was natural, and not blameable, that the people should prefer to adhere to their pastors, and be apprehensive of being cut off from their communion. Fifthly, the synod of Trent, though not, according to the *true* principles of the catholic church, invested with any authority strictly binding on the conscience, had yet, according to the *opinions universally prevalent amongst Romanists at that time*, a good title to be considered equal in authority to the ancient œcumenical councils; and therefore, though they were mistaken in point of fact^f, it would seem that they cannot fairly be accused of heresy in admitting its decrees.

It appears to me that these considerations should exculpate many members of the Roman church from such *pertinacious opposition to the evident truth*^{*} as would properly constitute heresy. It is true that their church is in error on several points, perhaps even in matters of *faith*; and without doubt very many heresies and idolatries exist and are allowed in their communion; but it seems that they were prevented by so many excusable circumstances from seeing the right way, that we ought not to judge too harshly, and to exclude from the church of Christ so vast a multitude of believers, so many nations, and such a crowd of ancient churches.

That these churches should even still be regarded as part of the church universal, I argue for the following reasons: First, they have been always visible from the most remote antiquity, having existed in perpetual succession in the countries where they are found, and having never separated from any older Christian churches in those countries. Secondly, it is undeniable that these churches preserve unity of communion among themselves, both in principle and practice. They urge its

^f See part iv. chap. xii.

necessity as a matter of religious duty, and inflict punishment on those who offend against unity. There is no evidence that they have ever been excommunicated by the majority of the catholic church, or that they have voluntarily separated from it; and if they have unjustly expelled some from their communion, it can be shown that it was under the influence of pre-conceived opinions, or from ignorance. Thirdly, there cannot be a doubt of their zeal to maintain the unity of Christian truth; they acknowledge the authority of the universal church in faith, receive the apostolical tradition in principle, and endeavour in practice to sustain the catholic faith. Nor is there evidence that any of the doctrines which they are bound to receive, as members of the Roman church, have been formally and clearly condemned by the universal church. Some of their theologians so explain and teach the doctrines in dispute, that the difference, as represented by them, is, in most points, not considerable[§]. It is true that they esteem the synod of Trent œcumenical, and are thus tied, in fact, to certain errors, notwithstanding all their explanations; but I have already observed that they are, in some degree, excusable in this. And it is also true that heresies and idolatries are allowed amongst them; but I have already proved that the existence of such corruptions does not annul the character of a church. Fourthly, they inculcate the duty of holiness, and endeavour, by a certain sort of discipline and by religious exercises, to promote it; and it is certain that many men of zeal and piety have adorned their communion. Fifthly, if they were excluded altogether from the church, Christianity would hardly have that universality which the prophecies intimate. Sixthly, they possess a ministry descended by regular succession from the apostles. I conclude from this, that they are really to be considered part of the universal church, though they are certainly full of corruptions and abuses.

[§] There is scarcely a point in debate between us in which our doctrine might not be proved simply from Romish theologians. See Bp.

Morton's Catholic Appeal; Birckbeck's Protestants' Evidence; and Joannes Gerhard. *Confessio Catholica*.

SECTION III.

WHETHER THESE CHURCHES CONSTITUTE EXCLUSIVELY THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST.

The exclusive claim which Roman Catholics make for their branch of the church, asserting that it constitutes the whole catholic church, has been adduced as affording in itself a presumption of its correctness. But it is forgotten that the Donatists and the Luciferians made the same claim; and no one will pretend that it afforded any presumption in their favour. The proofs by which Romish theologians attempt to sustain this position, are classed under the four heads of "Unity," "Sanctity," "Catholicity," and "Apostolicity." After what has been already said of the oriental and the British churches, it will be seen in a moment that most of these arguments are mere baseless assertions.

UNITY.

It is asserted that the Roman church *alone* has not separated herself from any more ancient church; she *alone* has efficacious principles calculated to preserve unity, for her principles are these—that the faith of all Christians ought always to be the same; that by the force of Christ's promises there ought always to be a tribunal for the decision of controversies in the church; and that the rewards of eternal life are only to be obtained in the church. Accordingly, the Roman church *alone* has always been inflexible in matters of faith, and never connived at schism or heresy. Her children always obey the judgments made by her infallible authority in matters of faith. Among them no disputes exist except on matters of mere opinion, not decided by the church. In fine, she alone possesses a most efficacious principle of unity, in maintaining the Roman pontiff to be by divine appointment head of the church and the centre of unity^a.

Answer. I deny that the Roman church alone has not separated from any more ancient church; or that she alone

^a See Bouvier, Delahogue, Milner, Trevern, Tournely, Bailly, &c.

has the efficacious principles of unity spoken of. These are attributes equally of the oriental and British churches, as I have shown. They do not indeed affirm, that a tribunal for the decision of controversies by irrefragable authority must always be *in a state of organization, and ready to issue its decrees*; because most controversies can be terminated without any such authority^b. But they admit that such a tribunal has been constituted before now, and will be again, whenever the Divine Head of the church shall judge it necessary to the preservation of the true faith. As to the peculiar inflexibility of the Roman church in matters of faith, it would be impossible to prove that in this respect she stands above the rest of the church. It is pretty clear that she connives at heresy and idolatry, and that they exist abundantly in her communion^c. The existence of JANSENISM in all parts of the Roman communion up to the present day, although it was condemned as a heresy two hundred years ago^d; the prevalence of INFIDELITY and INDIFFERENCE, are sufficient proofs that actual unity of *faith* is no essential characteristic of the Roman church^e. The introduction of SCHISMATICS to her communion in the persons of the constitutional bishops, proves that there is no perfect unity of discipline^f; and the very PAPAL AUTHORITY, which is represented as so efficacious a principle of unity, is systematically and violently assailed by members of the Roman church^g. “This our Roman see of the most blessed Peter, in which Christ laid the foundation of his church,” says Gregory XVI. “is most grievously assailed; and the bonds of *unity* are daily more and more weakened and broken.” He accordingly admonishes the bishops thus: “Therefore, in order to repress the audacity of those, who either dare to infringe the rights of this holy see, or to *destroy the union of the churches* with her, a union from which alone they derive support and existence, inculcate an exceeding zeal and veneration for her,” &c.^h This last pretended principle of unity is well known to have *divided*

^b See Part IV. Chap. v. where the notion of a perpetual tribunal is refuted.

^c See Appendix IV.

^d See Appendix I.

^e See Appendix II.

^f See Appendix III.

^g Appendix I. and V. La Mennais

observes that, “ce qui frappe d’abord dans la Rome actuelle, c’est le défaut presque absolu d’action, et sa dépendance humiliante des souverainetés temporelles.”—Affaires de Rome, ch. ii.

^h See Appendix V.

the eastern from the western churches; and it continues to form the grand impediment to their reunion, as it does to the reunion of the British and Roman churches. Therefore it is a principle of division rather than of unionⁱ.

SANCTITY.

Peculiar and exclusive sanctity is claimed for the Roman church on the following grounds. (1.) As she *alone* has not separated from a more ancient church, she is the very same which was founded by the apostles, and therefore *her founders* alone were holy. (2.) She alone invites her children to holiness, and affords efficacious means of sanctification in her sacraments, &c. (3.) All the martyrs of Christ, all the doctors, all the saints of every age, sex, and condition, belong to her only. (4.) From her alone have proceeded all the missionaries and apostles of various nations. (5.) In her alone, even to the latest times, are seen missionaries and saints whose *miracles* are admitted by all. (6.) The monastic institute is found in her only^k.

Answer. I deny the truth of every one of these propositions. (1.) The eastern and British churches never separated from any older churches. (2.) They equally maintain the necessity of holiness, and administer all the means of grace of divine institution. It is certain that there are many doctrines and practices prevalent in the Roman communion, which tend to diminish Christian sanctity and morality, as our theologians have proved in the case of purgatory, indulgences, repentance at the point of death, attrition, auricular confession, expiatory masses, the distinction of mortal and venial sins, the doctrine of probability, opus operatum, equivocation, mental reservation, vain repetitions, *idolatrous* worship of saints and images^l, &c. Doubtless some of their members reject the worst part of these things, but it is held and practised by the majority *without*

ⁱ See Part VII. chap. v. sect. ii.

^k See the works of Tournely, Bailly, Delahogue, Bouvier, Collet, Milner, &c. &c.

^l Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, chapters ii. and iii. ed. Cardwell. The grossly immoral tendency of Dens' Theology, which has been so well exposed of late, is rivalled or surpassed by that of the "Theologia

moralis" of Ligorio, bishop of S. Agatha, who was not long ago canonized as a saint by one of the Roman pontiffs. The details of this work are truly revolting. The writers on moral theology in the Roman churches seem to forget the apostolic words: "Quæ enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est et dicere."—Eph. v.

censure, and the Roman churches never take any effectual steps to correct prevalent abuses. We see but little sanctity in practice. The learned Van Espen, professor of canon law in the university of Louvain, states, that “the discipline of the church is so collapsed, that scarcely a vestige remains: and all sorts of vices have so prevailed everywhere, and are so abundant that they are regarded as *nothing*; and the people drink in iniquity like water^m.” Without disputing that there are many good men among them, it may be asserted as a matter of public notoriety, that the state of morals in all orders of society, in the Roman churches of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, is immeasurably degraded and corruptⁿ; and what is worse, that the very persons whose lives are spent in the most infamous vices, are assiduous in their attendance on all the offices of the church; that they are constant at confession, communicate at Easter, and then revert to their usual habits, without any sense of compunction for the profanations of which they have been guilty. The banditti of the Abruzzi are remarkable for attention to their devotions. The harlots and assassins of Spain confess, communicate, and return to their sins. In Ireland, it has been observed, that murderers have frequently been found assiduous in all the services of their religion. I ask, can that be a sound or wholesome system which teaches men to look with indifference on sin; and must there not be something wrong in a mode of moral instruction which can lead to such detestable profanations? It is a melancholy but a certain truth, that in no part of the world do the crimes of assassination, robbery, murder, adultery, suicide, rebellion, so fearfully abound, as in those countries where the Roman church holds sway. Such is the actual *sanctity* of this church in too many of her members; and it certainly places

^m Van Espen, *ubi supra*, p. 197.

ⁿ La Mennais observing on the external devotions of the Italians, says: “Cette devotion s’allie, dans le plus grand nombre, avec une profonde corruption morale, qui ne choque presque personne, tant elle est commune.”—Affaires de Rome, ch. ii. With reference to the clergy of Spain and Portugal, he remarks that there is “une portion du *clergé*,

qu’un témoignage trop unanime pour être révoqué en doute accuse de participer au *relâchement général* des *mœurs*.” Ibid. ch. iii. “I ly a là, on doit le dire, un déplorable affaiblissement du sens intérieur chrétien, une espèce de retour aux idées paiennes . . Dans les Abruzzes . . le brigandage n’a rien qui choque, et s’exerce même dévotement.”—Ibid

her beneath both the oriental and the British churches. (3.) It is a mere assumption to say that all the saints, martyrs, and doctors, belong only to the Roman church. We claim them absolutely as *ours*, and will not consent to lose one of them. They belong to every part of the catholic church. (4.) I have already shown the pious and successful missionary labours of the eastern and British churches. (5.) The *miracles* of Romish saints are admitted only by Romanists generally. Certain it is, by their own admission, that vast numbers of so-called miracles among them have been either fictitious or not properly miraculous°. Miracles have been pretended to by the Jansenists from the middle of the seventeenth century^p, and about the year 1731 they appealed to about *two hundred* miracles performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris^q. Soanen, Barchman, Quesnel, Rousse, Levier, Desangins, Tournus, and many other Jansenists, performed miracles (as they called them), which their party boast of to the present day^r. I have already

° No authority on this subject can be superior to that of the late Dr. Milner. He said: "I admit that a *vast* number of incredible and false miracles, as well as other fables, have been forged by some, and believed by other catholics in every age of the church, including that of the apostles. I agree with you in rejecting the 'Legenda aurea' of Jacobus de Voragine, the 'Speculum' of Vincentius Belluacensis, the 'Saints' Lives' of the Patrician Metaphrastes, and scores of similar legends, stuffed, as they are, with miracles of every description."—End of Controversy, letter xxiv. The fact is, that Romish miracles are almost proverbially impostures; and their very mention provokes a smile of incredulity. The falsehood of many of these tales was also acknowledged by Vives, Melchior Canus, Lindanus, &c.

^p Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 211. They claimed miracles in their favour in 1656, 1661, and 1664.

^q Mémoires Ecclés. xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 83.

^r Ibid. p. 89. 93. The Jansenists again pretended to miracles in 1761

and 1785, of which the four holy sisters and Bonjour, curé of Fareins, near Trevoux, were the performers. Mémoires Ecclés. xviii. siècle, ii. p. 399. The Père Lambert, a Dominican, in 1806 published "*l'Exposition des prédictions*," &c. in which he speaks of these Jansenistic miracles as "a heavenly sign which God has raised in the church for 66 years," &c.—Ibid. 402. See also Mosheim, vol. v. p. 211. The "venerable" Labre, a French mendicant, who died at Rome 1783, and at whose tomb it is said the most wonderful miracles were wrought, appears to labour under very reasonable suspicions of having been a Jansenist. The bishop of Boulogne sent to Rome one of his letters, in which he recommended to his parents a work of Lejeune, who was a disciple of Quesnel. It is said that in his last hours, being invited to take the sacrament, he had replied that "it was unnecessary." It is easy to see Jansenistic principles in this. His parish-clergyman declared that Labre would never perform his Easter duties, *i. e.* receive the communion, &c. in his parish. His miracles were laughed

observed, however, that miracles are not amongst the essential characteristics and signs of the true church^s. (6.) The monastic institute of the order of St. Basil, in the oriental churches, is preserved with a sanctity, severity, and simplicity which might put to shame the western convents^t. It is well known that religious fraternities have been perpetually degenerating in the west, and scarcely any age has not witnessed *reformed* congregations who have returned to the ancient discipline from the corruption and luxury of monastic life. Many of the monastic orders in France had fallen into scandalous abuses before the revolution. For example, the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Prés presented a petition to the *king*, in 1765, requesting “to be disembarassed of their habit, and freed from the nocturnal office, and the observance of *maigre*.” Their clothing, they said, made them “*ridiculous!*” . . . “For many years a great laxity had been observed in some monasteries. Dissipation, idleness, and love of luxury and of the world, had taken the place of retirement, labour, and the spirit of poverty,” &c. . . . “Finally, this partly *prevailed* in the Benedictine congregation. . . . Disorders broke out in many houses. There they abolished without formality the use of *maigre*; here they retrenched the nocturnal office. Elsewhere repasts, fêtes, concerts, profaned a place destined to penitence and prayer^u.” I doubt not that virtuous and holy men are to be found in some of these communities, but it is certain that too many of them have been rather a disgrace than an honour to their church. In Spain and Portugal especially, the immorality of the monastic orders is notorious and scandalous. If, therefore, the religious of our churches do not unite in peculiar fraternities, religion amongst us is at least free from many of the scandals which it has experienced in the Roman church.

CATHOLICITY.

The Romish theologians argue, from the extent of their communion, that they alone are in possession of that attribute of the true church—catholicity or universality.

at in Spain, and not believed generally in France (Mém. de Pie VI. et son Pontificat, ii. ch. 5.) These Jansenist miracles, however, converted an American dissenter, named Thayer; and are boasted of by

Romanists among us to this day.

^s See above, p. 114—117.

^t Smith’s Account of the Greek church, p. 93, &c.

^u Mémoires Eccl. xviii. siècle, ii. p. 477, 478.

Church of
Rome not
always
universal.

I do not deny that their churches exist *at present* in a great part of Europe, in America, and in a small part of Africa and Asia. They are *now* more numerous than either the Greek or the British communions. But we must here lay down a principle, which is of the utmost importance in determining the claim of any church to catholicity. Catholicity then, is, by the universal consent of *Romanists* ^v, a *permanent attribute* of the church. The catholic church is to be *at all times* universal. It is represented, in its permanent condition, as “a great mountain which filled the whole earth ^w.” Now, it must be remembered that, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, the Roman communion was limited to *Europe*; it numbered no permanent adherents in Africa or Asia; and America was as yet unknown. The *Latin* churches of the east, transplanted by the crusaders, existed but for a short time, and to a very limited extent. It may be pretended that, now and then, reconciliations took place between the Roman church and the Greeks, or the Eutychians; but these reunions were only *momentary*, scarcely sincere, and by no means general. It is plain, therefore, that the Roman communion was not *then* universal; and therefore it could then only have constituted *a part of the true church*; and as the remainder (*viz.* the oriental church) has always continued to exist, it is evident that the churches of the Roman obedience can only be a *part* of the catholic church, notwithstanding their present extent.

That the Roman communion was *only a part* of the universal church, was admitted in those ages even by the popes and western synods, notwithstanding the extravagant claims which were usually made by the see of Rome. The “*schismatical*” Greeks, on these occasions, became “the oriental church,” while the Roman obedience assumed the modest title of “the *western church*,” or “the *Roman church* ;” and its members entitled themselves, not “Catholics,” but “*Latins*.” This language was employed by popes Gregory IX.^x and Eugenius

^v See Delahogue, Tract. de Ecclesia Christi, pars ii. quæst. iii. propositio i.; Bouvier, pars i. c. 2. sect. 3. prop. 3. See also Tournely, Bailly, &c.

^w Daniel ii. 35.

^x Gregorius IX. Epistola ad Michael. Palæolog. Imper. Græcorum. “Hoc est enim quod ab ipso Largi-

tore bonorum omnium profundis suspiriis petimus ut ipse suam sanctam atque catholicam ecclesiam *redintegrando uniat, et uniendo redintegret*; in sinu ejus populis universis, *Latinis et Græcis specialiter adunatis.*”—Labbe. Concilia, t. xi. col. 942.

IV.^y, by the council of Basle^z, and by many writers in the middle ages. If, then, the Roman obedience was only the *western church*, its subsequent increase in heathen countries cannot have transformed it into the *universal church*.

Romanists further argue that their communion constitutes the whole catholic church, because they are so peculiarly in possession of the name of "Catholic," that if any one should enquire which is the "catholic church," he would be directed to them, even by members of other denominations.

Name of
Catholic.

I would observe, first, that this argument, however specious, *cannot* be sound, because it is certain, from what has been said, that the Roman or Latin communion is only a part of the catholic church. In the next place, if Romanists contend that they are exclusively catholics because they are so *called* by their opponents, they are bound equally to admit, that they are *not* exclusively catholics, because they *call themselves* "Latins," and "*Roman catholics*," and thus testify that they are but a part of the catholic church. Their own *admission* is surely more than sufficient to counterbalance their adversaries' *confession*.

Allowing, then, that they have latterly, partly by their own pertinacious assumptions, and partly by the over-courtesy, the ignorance, or carelessness of their opponents, obtained the

^y Eugenii papæ Salvus-Conductus pro Græcis. "Quia, annuente Domino, in Italia fiet universalis et catholica synodus, in qua . . . *Occidentalis* et *Orientalis* ecclesia convenient. . . . Concedimus vobis imperatori et Patriarchæ prædictis (the Greek emperor and the "patriarch of Constantinople") aliisque venerabilibus *fratribus*, Alexandrino, Antiocheno, Hierosolymitano, *patriarchis*, &c. . . . omniaque alia . . . faciendi et exponendi quæ ad *unionem ecclesiarum Christi* illis conferre videbuntur. . . . Item *si hæc unio* (quod Deus avertat) *non sequeretur*, &c. . . . Mandamus itaque omnibus . . . personis, cujuscumque gradus vel præ-eminentiæ existant, quæ *Romanæ et Occidentali* ecclesiæ sint subjectæ," &c.—Labbe, Conc. t. xiii. col. 848, 849.

Deo, in regione nostra *Occidentali, et obedientia ecclesiæ Romanæ* est universalis . . . synodus celebranda in qua . . . tam *Occidentalis* quam *Orientalis* ecclesia conveniat. . . . Hæc sancta synodus Basileensis, nomine et vice totius ecclesiæ *Occidentalis*, dat et concedit serenissimo imperatori Græcorum, reverendissimis *patriarchis*, Constantinopolitano, &c. . . . faciendi et tractandi quæ *pro unione ecclesiarum Christi* eis expedire videbitur . . . omni impedimento reali et personali cessante, penitusque remoto, etiamsi talis *unio* (quod absit) *non sequeretur* . . . Non obstantibus . . . quibuscumque differentiis, discordiis, et dissensionibus *ad præsens vigentibus*, et quæ in futurum oriri et vigere possent inter dictas ecclesias *Occidentalem* et *Orientalem*."—Labbe, Conc. t. xii. col. 568, 569.

^z Concilii Basil. Salvus-Conductus pro Græcis. "Quia, auctore

title of "Catholics;" it is nevertheless certain that they are only a part of the universal church, for previously to the Reformation, as I have just shown, the Roman pontiffs and councils entitled themselves "Latins," and their church "the *Roman* or *Western* church." To suppose that during those ages, they were known in the east by the title of "Catholics," would be altogether absurd. They are still, up to the present day, entitled "Latins" by their own writers. They themselves *assume* the denomination of "*Roman* catholics," thus testifying, whether they will or no, that there are other catholics, who are not of the Roman communion. They call their communion "the *Roman* church," or "the *Roman catholic* church," terms which indicate that it is only a part of the catholic church ^a.

Unlike the catholic community in the time of St. Augustine, which was so exclusively known by the title of catholic, that one who spoke of it by any other appellation would not have been *understood* (see p. 128), they are known to all the world by different denominations. Every one understands the meaning of such terms as "the church of *Rome*," or "the *Roman* church," or "the *Roman catholic* church." The terms "Romanist" and "Papist" are understood in all parts; and the latter has been received with pride and exultation by many members of the Roman communion ^b. In some parts of the

^a "Si quis dixerit . . . sola fide amissam justitiam recuperare sine sacramento penitentiae, prout sancta *Romana et universalis* ecclesia . . . huc usque professus est," &c.—Concil. Trident. Sessio VI. can. 29. "Why do we call the church *Roman*? Because the visible head of the church is the bishop of Rome."—Butler's Catechism. "The church above described . . . is that which is called the *Roman-catholic* church."—Faith of Catholics, p. 80. "The archbishops and bishops of the *Roman-catholic* church in Ireland avail themselves with pleasure," &c.—Declaration signed by thirty Romish bishops, in 1826, appended to Dr. Doyle's Essay on Catholic Claims. "Neither the pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the *Roman-catholic* church," &c.—Declaration of English "vicars apos-

tolitic," subscribed by eighteen Romish bishops at various times. "Sola ecclesia *Romana* est verè catholica."—Delahogue, De Ecclesia, p. 65. "Præter ecclesiam *Romanam seu ecclesiam catholicam* . . . nullæ sectæ ausæ quidem fuerint sibi usurpare nomen ecclesiæ catholicæ."—Perone, Prælect. Theol. vol. i. p. 256. "Hanc utramque catholicitatem habet ecclesia *Romana*."—Bouvier, De Ecclesia, p. 155. "Les rascolics en masse protestent contre l'église Russe, comme celle-ci proteste contre l'église *Romaine*."—De Mais-tre, Du Pape, lib. iv. c. iii.

^b "Cum primis id tibi gloriosum fore puta si *Papista* vocatus fueris."—Cardinalis Hosii Opera, t. i. p. 735. "Sathanistam libere pronunciat (Hieronimus) qui non vult esse *Papista*."—Ibid. p. 736. "A *Papa Papistas* dici nec veremur, nec eru-

world they assume and are exclusively known by this denomination^c; therefore, if the indolence or courtesy of others permit them to assume the title of "Catholics" almost exclusively, their own practice establishes most clearly that they are but a large branch of the universal church.

This want of universality in the Roman communion for five centuries, furnishes also an absolute demonstration that the *see of Rome is not the centre of catholic unity*; for were the supremacy of this see an essential element in the church of Christ, it must always have been received universally; it must have possessed the same universality of diffusion as the church itself; but for five centuries it was, generally speaking, only received in *a part of Europe*; therefore it is not an essential element in the catholic church.

We of course, on principle, do not deny the title of "catholics" to the members of those Roman churches which exist in places where they have not *separated from any older Christian society*. We also regard the title of "catholic" as properly belonging to the members of the British and Oriental churches. But as these churches do not pretend that they alone are catholic, while Romanists assume this title to discriminate themselves from other branches of the church; it follows necessarily, that the ignorant, who observe the title of "catholic" usurped exclusively by the one party, and not denied absolutely by the other, should often give that title, under circumstances where a right discrimination and competent knowledge would dictate a contrary course. For instance, no one

bescimus."—Joh. Lorinus in Comm. Act. x. v. 30, cited by Gerhard, *Orthodoxa Confessio*, lib. ii. art. v. c. iv., where other similar passages in various authors are referred to. One of their popular books is "The *Papist* misrepresented, and represented."

^c The eminent missionary Wolff states, "that the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Abyssinians, Copts, and Chaldeans, call themselves *catholic Christians*; whilst . . . those who have been drawn over to the Romish church protest (especially those Armenians and Greeks turned Romanists, and residing in Anatolia) against the name of *catholic Christians*, but call themselves *Papistian*, i. e. Pa-

pists. When at Kintaya, Attalia, and even frequently at Jerusalem, I asked some of the above-mentioned native Christians, 'Are you CHRISTIANS?' they replied 'No: but we are PAPISTIAN.'—Wolff's Journal, from 1827 to 1838, p. 225. Another curious fact deserves to be noticed: "Our servant Antonio went into the church of the Latin convent. . . The superior came up to him and desired him to go out. He answered, he was not a Turk, he was a Christian. The superior answered, 'A Christian! A Greek! Pooh! get out, we do not want you here.'"—Ibid. p. 224.

of sufficient information could recognize the appellation of "catholics" as assumed by any separatists in Great Britain, Ireland, or America. He knows of no catholics in these countries except those who are members of our catholic and apostolic churches; and he would not profane the holy name of catholic by conferring it on those who have separated from the apostolic church. To do so knowingly would indeed be highly sinful, and would come under the condemnation of them "that call evil good, and good evil^d."

APOSTOLICITY.

The Roman church alone is apostolical, for history proves that she has existed from the time of the apostles. The uninterrupted series of her bishops can be shown, extending from St. Peter to the present pontiff; and unlike other churches, she *alone* has not separated from any more ancient Christian society; therefore she alone is apostolical.

Answer. The particular church of Rome has existed from the time of St. Peter; and many other of the Roman churches, derived originally peaceably from this or other apostolical churches, may also justly be considered as apostolical. But the very same may be said of the eastern and British churches, which constitute the original Christian societies in their respective localities; consequently, the Roman churches are not alone apostolical. It is further contended, that the Roman churches only have an apostolical ministry. But I have already shown that the eastern and British churches are exactly in the same position.

In conclusion, then, it may be affirmed certainly, that the churches of the Roman obedience form only a part of the catholic church of Christ; that their authority, institution, sanctity, &c., are not essentially different from those of other churches; and that, in several respects, they are even inferior to the rest of the catholic church. The picture drawn of their position by Gregory XVI., in his encyclical letter to all the bishops in 1832, is truly deplorable, though it embraces but a part of the evils which afflict that church.

"We speak, venerable brethren, that which ye behold with your own eyes; which, therefore, we deplore with united tears. An unrestrained wickedness, a shameless science, a dissolute

^d Isaiah v. 20.

licentiousness, are triumphant. The sanctity of holy things is despised, and the majesty of divine worship, which possesses such great power, and is of so great necessity, is blamed, profaned, derided by wicked men. Hence *sound doctrine* is perverted, and *errors of all kinds* are daringly disseminated. The laws of sacred things, the institutions, the very holiest discipline, are not safe from the audacity of those who speak unrighteously. This our see of the most blessed Peter, in which Christ laid the foundation of his church, is most grievously assailed; and the *bonds of unity are daily more weakened and broken*^e. The *divine authority of the church is impugned*; and her rights being torn away, she is subjected to *earthly considerations*; and reduced to a *base servitude*^f, she is most unjustly exposed to the hatred of the people. The obedience due to bishops is infringed, and their rights *are trampled on*. The academies and schools resound in a dreadful manner with *new and monstrous opinions*, by which the catholic faith is no longer assailed secretly and by mining, but a horrible and impious war is now openly waged against it. For when, by the instruction and example of the teachers, the minds of youth are corrupted, the destruction of religion is vast, and the vilest *corruption of morals* becomes general.” He afterwards alludes thus to the opinions of the reforming party in the Romish church: “It would be unlawful, and altogether contrary to that respect with which the laws of the church are to be received, to condemn, by an insane love of judging, the discipline sanctioned by her; which includes the administration of sacred things, the rule of morals, and the rights of the church and its ministers; or to represent it as hostile to certain principles of the rights of nature; or to pronounce it defective and imperfect, and *subject to the civil magistrate*^g. As it is certain

^e This probably alludes to the dissemination of anti-papal principles in Italy, Austria, and Germany, where the maxims introduced by De Hontheim, Van Espen, Eybel, and all the school of modern canonists under the influence of Joseph II. Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, Tanucci, &c., still prevail, and are encouraged by the governments of those countries. These principles reduce the papal power to a mere name, and transfer it partly to the

bishops, but chiefly to the civil magistrate. See Appendix I.

^f The servitude to which the German, Austrian, and Italian churches were reduced in the time of Joseph II., has continued ever since. The Gallican church is equally enslaved by the “Organic Articles” which Napoleon annexed, by his own authority, to the Concordate of 1801, by which Christianity was restored in France.—See Appendix III.

^g This is a manifest allusion to

. . . that the church was taught by Jesus Christ, &c. . . it is evidently absurd, and most injurious to her, to put forward a certain *restoration or regeneration*, as necessary to provide for her security and increase; as if she could be supposed liable to defect, or obscurity, or other evils of that kind. By which attempts the innovators have it in view to lay the foundation of a *new human institution*; and that what St. Cyprian detested may occur; namely, that what is divine, *may become a human church*^h. . . . “And here we wish to excite your constancy for religion against a most shameful conspiracy, formed against clerical celibacy, which you know every day to become more vehement, some even of the ecclesiastical order uniting with the most abandoned philosophers of our age; and who, forgetful of their character and office, carried away by the blandishments of pleasure, have proceeded to such a pitch of licence, that in some places they have dared to address public and reiterated petitions to princes, to destroy this holy discipline¹.” Such is the state of the Roman church; full of infidelity, immorality, division, uneasiness, innovations, enslaved by the civil powers, and divided internally by Jansenism, heresy, schism, and indifference. If she alone constituted the catholic church, Christianity would indeed be at a low ebb, and the gates of hell would almost have prevailed against it.

SECTION IV.

SOCIETIES OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION OF THE MODERN FOUNDATION.

Hitherto I have spoken of the ancient churches of the Roman obedience, which were not founded by an act of separation from older Christian societies, but were originally gathered from the heathen world. I am now to speak of modern communities, under the title of churches, established or protected

the principles promulgated by all the new canonists and reforming theologians in the Roman church from the middle of last century.

^h The allusion here is to the Jansenistic principles and practices which will be detailed in Appendix I.

¹ In Baden and other parts of Germany. See an article on the Church in Silesia, *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1827, p. 515, &c. The original of these passages, from the bull of Gregory XVI., will be found in Appendix V.

by the care of the Roman pontiffs, in localities where there were previously existing branches of the catholic and apostolic church; and of other modern Roman societies. In order to judge rightly of these societies, we must discriminate several different cases.

First, if members of the Latin churches should find themselves resident in the regions of the oriental churches, and should be unable, from ignorance of the language or from some other inconvenience, to receive the full benefit of administration in the oriental church, it would not be schismatical in them to call in the aid of the Latin priests, with consent of the ecclesiastical authorities of the east. Accordingly, it is known that Latin convents existed in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other parts of the east, before the division of the eastern and western churches. Latin
in
the
east.

Secondly, if the Latins of the east were separated by the Greeks from their communion afterwards, as appears to have been the case, it could not be schismatical in them to provide priests for themselves, and even bishops, to administer ordination and confirmation. This would be justified by the necessity of the case; and being in its nature only a temporary and provisional arrangement, would not interfere with the essential principles of unity¹. Hence we cannot altogether condemn the Latins for appointing some Latin priests and bishops in Palestine and Syria, in the time of the crusaders, and for retaining some convents and priests there still.

Thirdly, any eastern heretics who chose to unite themselves with the Roman communion, and who were on that account not acknowledged by the oriental churches, were still not in schism. Hence the Maronites of Syria, who renounced the Eutychian errors, and the Indians of St. Thomas, who renounced the Nestorian heresy, and remain to this day united to the Roman see, are not cut off from catholic unity, though they do not communicate with the other oriental churches.

Fourthly, it was wholly unlawful for the Latins to eject the Greek bishops or priests, or to force them by persecution to submit to the Roman see. It was equally unlawful to ordain Latin bishops in their place, and to treat them as heretics or

¹ The same rule justifies the recent appointment of a bishop of the Anglo-catholic communion at Jerusalem, and any similar acts.

schismatics. But this was done in Cyprus, and many of the islands of the Archipelago, and in Greece. Therefore all the Latin societies thus formed had a schismatical origin; and this fault could not be healed by the encouragement which the Roman pontiffs afforded to these proceedings, which was in itself blameable, and proceeded from false and exaggerated notions of their own rights.

English
and Irish
Romanists.

Fifthly, when certain individuals, in obedience to the exhortations of papal emissaries, or to the directions of Roman pontiffs, separated themselves from the communion of the catholic church of their country; when they established rival altars, a rival priesthood, and endeavoured to withdraw the faithful from obedience to their legitimate pastors; then it is plain that such men were guilty of schism. Such was the conduct of the Romish party in England and Ireland, who fell from the catholic church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have not ceased to rage against her ever since. This subject will be enlarged on elsewhere, and the original of these sects will be developed^k.

American
Romanists.

Sixthly, schismatics do not cease to be so by a mere change of country. Therefore the papists who went from this country to establish colonies in the United States of North America, were schismatics when they arrived there; and always remaining separated from that branch of the catholic and apostolical church which was established there, they only perpetuated their schism. In fine, when America received bishops from our churches, the schismatics constituted a rival episcopacy^l, and so remain to this day separated from the true church.

^k See part ii. chapters ii. and x.

^l Dr. Seabury, bishop of Connecticut, was consecrated by the most reverend primus, Dr. Kilgour, and other bishops of Scotland, A. D. 1784. Dr. Provost, Bishop of New York, and Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, were consecrated by Dr. Moore, the most reverend primate of all England, and other English bishops, in 1787; as was Dr. Madison, bishop of Virginia, in 1790. The dioceses of Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts, &c., which had all been previously constituted, received bishops about the same time. The Roman pontiff erected, in 1789, the

rival bishopric of Baltimore; and nominated to it Dr. John Carroll, who was consecrated in England, 1790, and headed the schism in America. In 1808, the pontiff raised the see of Baltimore to be archiepiscopal, and pretended to erect sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Beardstown, in opposition to the previously-existing churches of those localities. There are very serious difficulties affecting the ordination of the above-mentioned Carroll, and all the Romish clergy in the United States derived from him; in consequence of his ordination having been performed by only *one*

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

I. The Homilies of the church of England deny that the Roman is a part of the Christian church. Having defined the true church, and explained its notes or marks, it is said: "If you will compare this with the church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd, you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true church, that nothing can be more ^m."

Answer. This is said in the course of an argument against the position of the popes of Rome, that they "are the chief heads and the principal part of the church, therefore they have the Holy Ghost for ever; and whatsoever things they decree are undoubted verities and oracles of the Holy Ghost." Being intended to guard the people against the papal emissaries, such expressions must be considered in some degree popular and rhetorical, and are not to be taken literally and strictly, as expressing the formal sense of the church.

II. The Homilies elsewhere speak of the "idolatrous church," as "a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot (for she is indeed of ancient years)," &c. ⁿ

Answer. We may most properly understand these expressions to apply to that prevalent *party* in the Roman church, which is involved in idolatry, not to every member of that church. Besides, these expressions are only used *obiter*, and not in the way of formal doctrine or definition, therefore we are by no means bound to them in every point. It is also true, in a certain sense, that the church of Rome is idolatrous; that is, idolatry is very prevalent in her communion, and it is allowed by her authorities.

III. The Homily against Peril of Idolatry says, that "not only the unlearned and simple, but the learned and wise; not the people only, but the bishops; not the sheep, but also the shepherds themselves . . . being blinded by the bewitching of images, as blind guides of the blind, fell both into the pit of

titular bishop, Dr. Walmsley, who appears to have laboured under a similar irregularity or deficiency himself.—See Mémoires Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 142. 145. 485.

See also part vi. ch. xi.

^m Sermon for Whitsunday, pt. ii.

ⁿ Sermon against Peril of Idolatry, part iii.

damnable idolatry. In the which *all the world, as it were*, drowned, continued until our age, by the space of above eight hundred years, unspoken against *in a manner*. . . . So that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children, of whole Christendom (a horrible and most dreadful thing to think), have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most *damnable* to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more °."

Answer. The meaning is, that multitudes in every class were guilty of idolatry, which is very certain; but not that the *whole church*, strictly speaking, fell into damnable idolatry, so that all its members were idolaters.

IV. The errors of the Roman churches, contrary to the doctrine and morality of the Gospel, are destructive of their character as churches of Christ.

Answer. Doubtless those churches are full of corruptions, but not so as to annul their character altogether; for, as Chillingworth says: "Those revelations, the church of Rome not seeing, by reason of the *veil before their eyes*, their church's supposed infallibility; I hope the denial of them shall not be laid to their charge, no otherwise than as building hay and stubble on the foundation, not overthrowing the foundation itself ^p."

V. The Roman pontiff is antichrist, the beast, and the man of sin; therefore all who have the sign of the beast, that is, all of the Roman communion, are cut off from the true church of Christ, which was driven into the wilderness.

Answer. It is disputed by many of our theologians, whether those prophecies really relate to the Roman pontiffs: but supposing that they do, I deny absolutely the conclusion which is attempted to be drawn from them, for all who apply these prophecies to the Roman see affirm, that the reign of Antichrist had begun, at latest, in the eighth century; but the *universal* church held communion with the see of Rome till the eleventh century at least; therefore, according to this objection, the whole church must have failed and become apostate for several centuries, which is a decidedly heretical position, contrary to the Christian faith. Therefore we may assume it

° Sermon against Peril of Idolatry, part iii.

^p Chillingworth, chap. iii. s. 21.

as certain, that mere communion with the Roman see is no sign of apostasy from Christ.

VI. The adoration of the host, practised in the Roman church, is grossly idolatrous, and as every one is compelled to unite in this act, the whole Roman church must be idolatrous and apostate, and cannot be a part of Christ's church.

I answer, First, that although the council of Trent declares that "the worship of latria, due to the true God," ought to be paid "to this sacrament^a;" from which it may be inferred, that the elements of *bread* and *wine* are to be worshipped; the same council elsewhere directs this worship to *Christ himself*^r; and accordingly, Roman theologians maintain, *without any censure*, that the worship "is wholly referred to *Christ himself*, not to the signs and outward appearances, which although they be honoured with the same religious worship, yet are not honoured with that supreme one of latria^s." It is impossible to maintain that there is any idolatry in this.

If Christ be in a special and mysterious manner present in these "holy mysteries^t," as the infinite majority of Christians have at all times firmly and fervently believed, according to the more simple and unrestrained interpretation of Holy Scripture; the truly religious man cannot but be profoundly impressed with sentiments of awe and veneration in the more immediate presence of the Divine Saviour of the world. He will feel with the patriarch: "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." Nor will he need the voice of God to say: "Put off thy shoes from thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground^u."

Since, therefore, the members of the Roman communion are not *obliged* to worship the *bread* and *wine* with divine honours, that church cannot be fairly said to be wholly idolatrous or apostate; and notwithstanding her practical corruptions, may still remain a part of the Christian church.

^a Concil. Trident. Sessio xiii. cap. v.

^r Ibid. can. vi.

^s "Adoratio autem illa tota refertur ad Christum ipsum; non ad symbola et species externas, quæ licet cultu aliquo religioso sint honorandæ, non tamen supremo et Latriæ."—Tournely, de Eucharis-

tia, t. i. p. 307. See also Bellarmin, de Sacr. Euchar. l. iv. c. 30.

^t Exhortation in the Office of the Holy Communion.

^u See Gerhard. Loci Theolog. l. xxii. § 204; Confessio Orthodoxa, lib. ii. part. ii. art. xiv. cap. vii.; Chamier, Panstratiæ Catholicæ, t. iv. l. vii. cap. i.

Secondly, it is not to be denied that the elements themselves are, in many cases, made the object of superstitious and even idolatrous worship; as has been shown by various writers from the works of Gregory de Valentia, Bellarmine, Coster, Vasquez, &c.^v But it does not seem that these corruptions are universal; though they certainly prevailed so much, that it was extremely necessary to remove the elevation and other rites which led to such serious evil in the church.

It would seem that the elevation and its accompanying rites were not always understood as acts of worship to the elements, or to Christ present in the sacrament.

Elevation
of the Host.

The *elevation* is, comparatively speaking, not an ancient rite. The Roman ritualists, Bona^x, Merati^y, Benedict XIV.^z, Le Brun^a, &c. acknowledge that there is no trace of its existence before the eleventh or twelfth century in the west. The *Ordo Romanus*, Amalarius, Walafrid Strabo, and Micrologus, make no mention of the rite, though the last of these ritualists lived at the end of the *eleventh* century. The truth is, that no certain documents refer to it, until the beginning of the *thirteenth* century, but it may possibly have existed in some places in the twelfth. The synodical constitutions of Odo de Sulli, bishop of Paris, about 1200, appoint this elevation^b, and it was probably then first introduced into the diocese of Paris. Innocent III., who wrote on the ceremonies of the mass at the beginning of the thirteenth century, does not speak of it, but in the time of Honorius III. it had come into use, for he mentions it in an epistle to the Latin bishops of the patriarchate of Antioch, A. D. 1219, where he commands that at the elevation the people should reverently *bow*. “*Sacerdos quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, quilibet reverenter inclinet*.” This was inserted in the decretals (*c. sane de celebratione missarum*) by Gregory IX., his successor, and thus became the *law* of the west. It is spoken of by Bonaventure^d, Durand^e,

^v See Stillingfleet’s Discourse of the Idolatry practised in the church of Rome, p. 112, 113; Gerhard. Orthodoxa Confessio, lib. ii. part ii. art. xiv. cap. viii.

^x Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. 13.

^y Gavanti Thesaurus a Merati.

^z Lambertinus, de Missa, p. 115,

&c.

^a Le Brun, Cérémonies de la Messe, tom. i. p. 469, &c.

^b Harduini Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1946.

^c See Raynaldus, ad an. 1219.

^d De Myst. Missæ, oper. vii. 83.

^e Rationale Div. Off. iv. c. 41.

and the council of Lambeth^f in the latter part of the same century; and cardinal Guido is said to have introduced this rite, or some part of it, at Cologne, about 1265.^g

We know then, that in the thirteenth century the host was elevated, and the people bowed or knelt at the same time. But if we are to judge by the authorities referred to by the Roman ritualists themselves, the writers of that, and the following ages, did not always interpret this as designed for the *adoration of the elements*, or even of *Christ in the eucharist*. Bonaventure (A. D. 1270) assigns *eight* reasons for the elevation^h, some of which relate to the duty or dispositions of the people on the occasion; but he does not notice the *adoration of the elements*. William, bishop of Paris, about 1220, ordered a bell to be rung at the elevation, that the people might be excited to *pray*, not to worship the host. “Præcipitur quod in celebratione missarum, quando corpus Christi elevatur, in ipsa elevatione, vel paulo ante, campana pulsetur, sicut alias fuit statutum, ut sic mentes fidelium ad *orationem* excitenturⁱ.” Cardinal Guido (A. D. 1265) ordained, that at the elevation all the people should *pray for pardon*. “Bonam illic consuetudinem instituit, ut ad elevationem hostiæ omnis populus in Ecclesia ad sonitum nolæ *veniam peteret*, sicque usque ad calicis benedictionem prostratus jaceret^k.” The synod of Cologne (A. D. 1536) explained the people’s duty at the elevation to consist, in *remembering the Lord’s death, and returning him thanks with minds raised to heaven*. “Post elevationem consecrati corporis ac sanguinis Domini . . . tum videretur silendum, et ab omni populo mortis Dominicæ commemoratio habenda, prostratis-

^f Lyndwood, Provinciale Angliæ. Const. Peckham, 1281.

^g Raynaldus, ann. 1203. This date, assigned in Raynaldus’ Annals, is obviously an error, as both Fleury and he himself afterwards speak of this very cardinal on the same mission in Germany, A. D. 1265. These are the first authentic notices of the elevation; for the passages adduced by Le Brun from Robertus Paululus, or Hugo S. Victor, and from Hildebert, who lived in the twelfth century, are (as he admits) not sufficiently clear to be of use unless aided by other evidence; and the “customs” of the Carthusians, Premonstraten-

ses, and Camaldulite monks, which he alleges to prove its existence in the twelfth century, were most probably added to in later times. (Le Brun, Cérémonies de la Messe, i. 469.) Honorius (Gemma Animæ, l. i. c. 46) speaks of *some* elevation, but it is doubtful whether he means this, or the lesser elevation at the end of the canon, when there is no adoration.

^h De Myster. Missæ, opera, tom. vii. p. 83.

ⁱ Binii Concilia, t. vii. pars i. p. 536.

^k Raynaldus, ann. 1203.

que humi corporibus, *animis in cœlum erectis*, gratiæ agendæ Christo Redemptori, qui nos sanguine suo lavit mortequè redemit¹.”

On the other hand, Durand^m (1286), Lyndwoodⁿ (1430), the diocesan synod of Augsburg (1548), and cardinal Hosius, one of the papal legates at the synod of Trent, understood the prostration of the people as designed for the adoration of *Christ* as present in the Eucharist. Certainly this has latterly become the common opinion, but from what has been said above, it appears that before the Reformation, and afterwards, many persons at the elevation directed their worship to God and Christ simply, without any exclusive reference to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

VII. It may be further objected that the declaration against transubstantiation, prescribed by act of parliament (30 Car. II. c. 1), affirms the Roman churches to be idolatrous. “I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, &c. . . . that the invocation or *adoration* of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and *idolatrous*,” &c.

Doubtless the adoration of saints actually practised so generally in the church of Rome, is idolatrous; and the invocation of saints amongst them is superstitious. The sacrifice of the mass is also encumbered by superstitious rites and ceremonies. All this is true: but it does not oblige us to maintain that the Roman church compels all her members to be idolaters, and that she is no part of the church of Christ.

VIII. The XIXth Article of the church of England declares that “the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.” Therefore it cannot be a part of the Christian church.

Answer. The article only affirms that the Roman church *has erred* in matters of faith, *e. g.* in the case of Liberius and Honorius; there is no assertion that it *does* now err in faith. The object is clearly to deny the infallibility of the particular church of Rome, which was so generally maintained when that article was composed.

¹ Synodus Colon. pars ii. can. 14. Missarum. c. Altissimus v. Elevatione.

^m Rationale Div. Off. iv. 41.

ⁿ Provinciale, de Celebratione

IX. If the Roman churches be churches of Christ, it must be unlawful for any one to separate himself from them, and become a protestant in France, Germany, &c.

Answer. It is always right to embrace *the truth*; and if, in consequence of maintaining the truth, any one should be unjustly excommunicated, he is not in schism, and may lawfully consort with those who are not themselves involved in schism, and by whom the truth is maintained. But he ought not to forsake the communion of his pastors and his brethren, unless it should appear evidently that they obstinately inculcate idolatry or heresy.

X. If the Romish be true churches, then it is unlawful to send missionaries among them, in order to establish any rival worship, to seek for converts among them, &c.

Answer. The rule of fraternal charity encourages different parts of the church to aid, if possible, in the dissemination of perfect Christianity among all their brethren. Therefore, whatever can be done by writings and conferences, managed without acerbity, and without intrusion on the appointed sphere of others, may be lawfully resorted to. But it seems inconsistent with the true principles of catholic unity for any branch of the church to send missionaries with a view to raise a *rival* worship, and seek for converts in the bosom of another. This has been the conduct of the Roman pontiffs in relation to our churches. It is not schismatical, however, to provide for the worship of our own people who may travel in foreign lands, supposing that through some error or prejudice, they are not received by the churches of those countries; nor should we refuse communion to any who have been unjustly excommunicated, or be unwilling to supply their spiritual wants; or condemn those who have separated from the communion of heretics or idolaters, or of those who are probably such. In fine, it must always be borne in mind, that the schismatical communities raised by the pontiffs in these countries, are to be viewed and treated as sects altogether cut off from the catholic church.

XI. If the Roman be true churches, and if (as you allege) it is not necessary to institute an examination into particular doctrines, but we are to be guided in a great measure by the church; it follows that if an Englishman were resident in France or Spain, he ought to join in communion with the

Roman churches there, and in order to do so, ought to subscribe the creed of Pius IV. in which the invocation of saints, purgatory, the papal supremacy, &c. are included. For according to you, there is no necessity to examine the truth of these doctrines: they should be received on the authority of the church.

Answer. He should earnestly desire that the communion between the church of England and those churches should be restored on such terms as may afford security for the truth; but he could not lawfully, as a member of the Anglo-catholic communion, unite himself to another communion by his individual act, when such a union would amount to a renunciation of the Anglo-catholic church, and to a virtual approbation of all those abuses and errors which exist in the Roman communion. He also cannot lawfully subscribe or profess the creed of Pius IV. (which is a necessary preliminary to any such act of union), for the following reasons. (1.) This creed is proposed to him as a *heretic*. It is designed to exact from him the *condemnation* of that branch of the catholic church in which he has hitherto lived. (2.) The Roman church, in exacting from him the profession of this creed, as the condition of communion with her, evidently expects that the particular doctrines therein contained shall be professed explicitly, *after examination*, for otherwise she would have only exacted a *general* adhesion to all the doctrines of the Roman church. Now it is impossible, consistently with a due regard to Christian truth, to profess explicitly all points of this creed, especially as matters of faith, because several of them are uncertain and erroneous, and disputed in many parts of the catholic church.

APPENDIX I.

ON JANSENISM.

To those who are acquainted with the history of the Roman churches, in connexion with Jansenism, few things can appear more absurd, than the air of triumph with which modern Romish theologians vaunt the *unity* of their church in *faith*, its sole and exclusive possession of authority for the *termination of religious controversies*, and its freedom from all *heresy*. According to Bouvier, bishop of Mans, the Roman church has

perfect unity of doctrine, “for whosoever denies the *very least article of faith*, is *ipso facto* separated from her, and regarded as a heretic: no opportunity is afforded for examination or disputation; learned and unlearned are bound to submit themselves immediately, heart and soul, to the same definition once pronounced, under the penalty of anathema; therefore it is *impossible* that unity of faith should not be preserved among them,” &c.^a “When debates rise among ‘Catholics’ concerning points of faith,” says Milner, “the pastors of the church . . . *fail* not to examine them by the received Rule of Faith, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence upon them. *The dispute is thus quashed, and peace is restored,*” &c.^b “The church never changes her doctrine, nor suffers any persons in her communion to change it, *or to question any part of it,*” &c.^c The dogmatical tone of these assertions is highly imposing; but it is not sustained by facts. The truth is, that no branch of the catholic church has been more divided in points of faith, and more troubled, and exposed to greater perils in consequence, than the Roman, during the last two hundred years.

I. Romanists commonly regard the followers of Jansenius and Quesnel as heretics. Their theologians have clearly shown that the judgment of the whole body of pastors of the Roman obedience has been repeatedly pronounced in condemnation of Jansenism. Without speaking of the censure of Jansenius’ book, entitled *Augustinus*, by Urban VIII. in 1641, the five principal tenets of Jansenism (which approximate to the doctrine of Calvin) were condemned by a bull of Innocent X. in 1653; again by Alexander VII, in 1656, whose subsequent bull of 1665 prescribed a formulary, to be signed by all the clergy, receiving the above bulls and condemning the propositions in the *sense* of Jansenius. This was followed, in 1705, by the bull of Clement XI. confirming the former, and condemning the subterfuges of the Jansenists. In 1713 the bull

^a De Vera Ecclesia, p. 145.

^b End of Controversy, p. 102.

^c Ibid. p. 147. Dr. Baines is equally positive in his assurance of the unity of faith in the Roman communion. “The doctrines of the catholic religion are every where the same. Not a difference will be found on any single *article of faith* (sic)

amongst all its countless millions” “Unity like this is indispensable in any church which claims to teach the uniform and unchangeable doctrines of Christ. Need I add, that you will in vain seek for it in any other communion or sect.”—Sermon at Bradford, 1825.

Unigenitus was fulminated by Clement XI. against the doctrines of Quesnel, a Jansenist; this was confirmed by the bull *Pastoralis Officii*, the papal Synod of Rome 1725, and by other bulls, rescripts, briefs, &c. of succeeding pontiffs. The Romish theologians prove, that these various bulls were addressed to the universal church, that they were received by the infinite majority of the Roman bishops, that in consequence all who held Jansenist doctrines were *heretics*, that Jansenism is in fact a damnable heresy, &c.

II. Notwithstanding all this, it is a matter of absolute certainty, that Jansenism has, in opposition to all these condemnations, and in spite of the persecution of the temporal powers, continued to exist for nearly two hundred years.

The Jansenist party is thus described by the historian of this church in the eighteenth century. "Active, intriguing, obstinate, it produced a crowd of writings which wounded charity and perpetuated dissensions. Condemned by the body of pastors, it took shelter in the arms of the secular power, and found support in some of its branches . . . The continual declamations in which they indulged, against the pope and the bishops, abased the ecclesiastical power. The obstinacy with which they sustained false miracles, led Deists to cast doubts even on those which support Christianity. This party offers to the impartial observer, all the features of a real sect . . . the church was troubled wherever it existed; she was only tranquil where it existed not. During fifty years it rent the church of France, producing a multitude of incidental disputes, fomenting deplorable illusions, exciting a spirit of opposition, of mutiny, and slander against the bishops. From France this spirit passed to other countries; and in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Germany and Italy saw it develope itself in their bosom, under the protection of some deceived princes, or some seduced ministers. To the same influence must be attributed the changes introduced into the schools of those countries, the errors of their canonists, the reforms attempted at Vienna, Florence, and Naples, the instruction of the university of Pavia, so many writings against the holy see, and that secret but active conspiracy to effect universal alteration in the church, and to place it under *the secular arm*^d." Such was the

^d Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, xviii. siècle. Préface, iv—vi. This work is commended by Cardinal Pacca in his Memoirs, tom. ii. p. 113.

boasted unity of the Roman church during the eighteenth century!

III. I proceed to verify these observations by facts, and to show that Jansenism has continued always to exist in the communion of the Roman church.

I shall, in the first instance, remark its condition during the seventeenth century, and afterwards proceed to trace its progress in the various countries of Europe, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present age. The Jansenist party was soon headed, or supported, by many of the most distinguished men in France; as Arnauld, Niçole, Pascal, Launoy, whose writings, even at the present day, are cited by all Romanists, as among the most learned which their church has ever produced. The strength of their party was shown at once, by the letter of *eleven* French bishops to Innocent X. in 1653, imploring him not to condemn the work of Jansenius^e. The divisions were not terminated even by the bull of Alexander VII. in 1665, prescribing the signature of the Formulary condemning Jansenism. M. de Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, subscribed; but his friends said that he had not changed his opinions^f. In short, many of those who subscribed were of opinion, "that they might sign, though they did not believe internally the *fact*" (that Jansenius had taught the condemned propositions); Arnauld says, this "was the opinion of a great number of persons in some learned communities^g." Others signed with various restrictions; and thus the party continued to possess their benefices *in the Gallican church*. Four bishops published mandates, in which they only required a respectful silence as to the questions of fact, thus adopting the Jansenist distinction; and when an attempt was made to punish them by the opposite party, *nineteen* other bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Sens, wrote to Clement IX. in their favour^h. This again shows the strength of the Jansenist party in the church. The result was, that the four Jansenist bishops were allowed to subscribe the formulary in such a manner, "that they and their partizans did not really abandon their sentiments." They profited by the opportunity to strengthen their party, and "Port Royal became the place of assembly of the enemies

^e Ibid. p. cclxv.

^f cclxxix.

^g Ibid.

^h cclxxvii.

of authorityⁱ.” At the same time we learn, that Flanders “was also a prey to the new opinions^j.” The very first bull against the book of Jansenius had encountered opposition in the university of Louvain^k. Afterwards Arnauld, Nicole, Quesnel, and other heads of the Jansenists resided in Belgium, and amongst their partizans are mentioned, P. Honoré de S. Marie, John Opstraët, and “many others^l.” In fine, Dr. Van Espen, professor of canon law in the university of Louvain, and “the most learned canonist of his time,” . . . “gave himself up to this same party of which we have been speaking. . . . In general this writer is little favourable to the Holy See, and prone to exaggerate the power of princes in the church. These dispositions increased with his devotion for the cause he had embraced. He always showed himself at the head of the refractory Flemings, and spent his old age in writing in their favour^m.” It appears from this, that Jansenists were in the communion of the church in Belgium. The same may be observed of Holland. M. de Neercassel, bishop of Castoria and vicar apostolic in Holland, was “connected with some of the Jansenist party,” . . . “having given access to many Jansenists, he permitted them to exercise influence over his clergy, among whom they contrived to make partizans. The evil appeared to increase under M. Codde his successorⁿ.” M. Codde was accused of Jansenism, suspended and deposed by the pope, but the Jansenist party prevented any one from assuming his place^o.

IV. I now proceed to the progress of Jansenism in the eighteenth century, and first, in FRANCE. On the appearance of the bull “*Unigenitus*,” in 1713, six of the French bishops did not publish it, as was required. The bishops of Metz and Sisteron, and the archbishop of Embrun, published explanatory mandates, not receiving it simply. “*Fourteen* bishops formally *opposed* the bull.” Three or four pursued a middle course^p. So strong was the Jansenist party in the Gallican church. Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was now at the head of the Jansenists^q, and continued so for fifteen years. On the

ⁱ ccxciv, v.^j ccxcv.^k cclxiii. cclxvii.^l cxlii.^m cxlvii, cxlviii.ⁿ cl.^o cli, clii, cliii.^p Mémoires, tom. i. p. 97.^q 100.

accession of the regent Orleans (1715), Noailles came into power, and was made president of a council for ecclesiastical affairs. His influence made itself felt, and "the dignities of the church even became the recompence of zeal for the cardinal and his adherents," *i. e.* the Jansenists. "The abbés de Lorraine, Bossuet, d'Entraigues, &c. were nominated to *bishoprics* ^r." These Jansenist prelates after much opposition, actually obtained their bulls, and became bishops of the Gallican church ^s. In 1717, the bishops of Mirepoix, Senez, Montpellier, and Boulogne, signed an appeal from the constitution "Unigenitus" to a general council. To this appeal the faculty of theology at Paris adhered ^t. They were followed by the faculties of arts and law; by rectors, canons, monks, nuns, laymen. Noailles encouraged these proceedings ^u; and soon after, *sixteen* bishops, of whom he was the principal, suspended in their dioceses the effects of the bull. They were supported by the three universities of Paris, Rheims, and Nantes, and by some *thousands* of ecclesiastics, and many laymen ^v; and thus the Jansenist party, called Appellants (as appealing from the bull Unigenitus to a general council), were still within the bosom of the Roman church, and continued to maintain their preferments, in spite of the anathemas launched against them. In 1720, *seven* French bishops wrote to Innocent XIII. against his predecessor and the bull Unigenitus; "a judgment," they said, "so irregular that pagan Rome itself would not have suffered it ^w." In 1726, M. Soanen, bishop of Senez, was an appellant, and published a Jansenist Instruction, which involved him in difficulties. He ordained Jansenists for Holland ^x. In 1728, a number of Gallican bishops wrote to the Roman pontiff to complain of the excesses of the Jansenists. "The spirit of criticism," they said, "becomes the dominant spirit. How many persons erect themselves into judges of what they do not understand! There is a party in open revolt against the church. It gains credit every day; acquires new followers; receives with avidity and scatters with profusion; vaunts to excess the numberless books which are written to authorize it, and neglects nothing to strengthen its errors and

^r Mémoires, tom. i. p. 116.

^s 149.

^t 124.

^u 125.

^v 126.

^w 187.

^x Tom. ii. p. 20.

its disobedience^y." Nevertheless this party was still within the church itself. M. Soanen having been suspended by the provincial synod of Embrun, *twelve* bishops interceded again and again for him. They were, like him, opponents of the bull^z. M. Soanen, however, though a Jansenist, remained still in the Roman church. The diocese of Paris at this time was full of Jansenist priests^a. In 1730, the king issued an ordonnance requiring all the clergy to subscribe their adherence to the bull on pain of losing their benefices; but the parliament of Paris, under the influence of the Jansenist party, frustrated its execution, and maintained them in possession of their benefices^b. The celebrated Jansenist journal, "*Les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*," which was first published in 1729, and continued to subsist for more than sixty years^c, having been condemned by the archbishop of Paris, 1732, twenty-two of his clergy in Paris, who were appellants, refused to publish the condemnation, and many of the people retired from the churches where it was published^d.

The parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Aix, Toulouse, &c., were the steady friends of Jansenism in France. About 1749, some of the clergy having refused to administer the sacrament to Jansenists, the latter appealed to the law. The parliaments punished, with fine, imprisonment, and *perpetual exile*, those clergy who refused to give the sacrament to Jansenists^e. The king in vain opposed these proceedings; the parliaments almost invariably triumphed. In 1754, and the following years, the archbishops of Paris and Aix, the bishops of Orleans, Troyes, S. Pons, and many other bishops, were *exiled*, condemned, their goods seized, &c., by order of the parliaments, in consequence of their opposition to Jansenism^f. The parliament of Paris "*held the faculty of theology under its yoke* for many years^g." The Jansenists inflamed the public mind against the Jesuits in 1760, and under their influence the parliaments *suppressed that order*^h. In 1765, the faculty of law at Paris was still appellant against the bullⁱ; and the parliament con-

^y Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 44.

^z 45.

^a 54.

^b 74.

^c 105.

^d 109.

^e 220. 234. 253. 260. 354. See

also De Barral (Archevêque de Tours), *Défense des Libertés de l'Eglise Gall.* p. 113.

^f *Mém.* tom. ii. 288—293. 329.

^g 329.

^h 387. 389.

ⁱ 474.

tinued long after to punish any of the clergy who refused communion to the Jansenists^j. In 1780, the works of Bossuet were published with Jansenist annotations by Deforis, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Blancs-Manteaux, at Paris, "well known for its attachment to the tenacious party," &c.^k But it is time to consider the state of other parts of their church.

V. GERMANY. The reforming spirit prevalent in Germany from the middle of the eighteenth century, is connected with the influence of Jansenism by the Romish historian of the period. (See above, p. 246.) In 1720, the Jansenists had adherents at Vienna^l. The work of M. de Hontheim, bishop of Myriophitá, and suffragan of Treves, which was entitled, "Justini Febronii de statu præsentis Ecclesiæ, liber," and published 1763, produced an extraordinary effect in Germany. "Already for many years Vienna had been full of reforming theologians, who took the trouble to reconstruct the instruction of the church. M. de Hontheim completed their work; and a sort of revolution took place in the public mind^m." Febronius is said to have been "entirely conformable to the notions of the new canonists, who undertake to dispose of the government of the church, to destroy the legitimate authority of the holy see, and to renew all the maxims of the Protestants against the ecclesiastical powerⁿ." The system of instruction at Vienna is said to have been "more in accordance with the notions of some innovators than with the ancient and common doctrine. Men who had studied Fra Paolo, and Van Espen, and others of this stamp, more than the books and principles authorized in the church, devoted themselves to propagate the lessons of their masters; and pretended, in adopting them, to revive the best days of Christianity. . . . The church, according to them, was in a state of desolation and ruin, its government was vicious, its laws tyrannical, its usages superstitious, its discipline full of abuse, its doctrine even disfigured." They despoiled the Roman see of all its rights. "*They reduced to nothing this principal chair . . . this centre of unity, to which it is necessary to remain attached, to be reputed catholic,*" &c. "De Hontheim, one of the most celebrated partizans of this

^j Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 508.

^k iii. 18.

^l Tom. i. p. 187.

^m ii. 650.

ⁿ 454. See Biographie Universelle, art. Hontheim.

system, saw nothing in the church but a sort of republic, in which the pope could not, without usurpation, have arrogated the powers he enjoyed. Authority he held to belong to the entire body of the church, which committed its exercise to the pastors. He allowed scarcely more privileges to the successor of St. Peter than to other bishops; contested the right of the church to condemn books; and reduced her to be, even in that which properly concerns her, *the slave of the civil power,*" &c.^o Such were the tenets, heretical in the opinion of Romanists generally, which existed in the bosom of their church in Germany; and which, notwithstanding the condemnation of Febronius by Clement XIII. in 1764, gained ground and prevailed, and have continued to be held in that church to the present day. Such is the absolute unity of the Roman church in faith!

But we shall presently see Jansenism appear more openly on the stage. Even during the lifetime of Maria Teresa, the future emperor, Joseph, "gave the signal for innovations. The professors of theology were changed in many places, to substitute others who had contrary ideas. They went so far as to deprive the bishops of the direction of their seminaries, and the choice of theologians to teach there." On the accession of Joseph (1781), a multiplicity of laws on ecclesiastical matters were published. "The religious orders were forbidden to obey foreign superiors; many convents were suppressed; they were prohibited from receiving novices. The Protestants were favoured; the clergy required to give an account of their revenues. It was no longer permitted to have recourse to Rome for dispensations of marriage. The imperial *placet* was prescribed for all bulls, briefs, or rescripts from Rome. *The bishops were forbidden to confer orders for some time.* In fine, there was an uninterrupted series of regulations, which changed all usages and subverted discipline. The attention of the reformer extended to the most minute objects; he suppressed confraternities, abolished processions, retrenched holy days, prescribed *the order of the offices*, regulated *ceremonies*, the number of masses, the manner of saying the *saluts*, even the quantity of wax-lights to be used in the service^p." This reforming emperor was all the time in the communion of the

^o ii. 453—457.

^p iii. 20, 21.

Roman church, which was obliged to submit to all his regulations. So secure are the members of that communion against innovations in doctrine and discipline !

But to proceed : Joseph “left the bishops nothing more to do, seized their revenues, excluded them from the states of their province, and destroyed their sees^a.” The superiors of the seminary of Brunn, lately appointed by his choice, “were accused of following the same principles as the appellants (*Jansenists*), of disseminating their books, and of seeking to introduce into Germany the quarrels and dissensions which had so much agitated other countries” . . . “Many bishops denounced the new professors. Joseph took cognizance of this question” of doctrine ; “declared the three professors absolved ; deprived their accuser of his place of archdeacon of Olmutz ; . . . blamed strongly those ecclesiastics who had dared to sustain the constitution *Unigenitus* ; interdicted the *pulpit for ever*, and in all places, to those preachers who had spoken against the accused ; declared that the bulls *Unigenitus* and *In Cœna Domini*, having never yet been, nor hereafter to be received, should be removed from all the liturgical books where they were found,” &c. In fine, he commanded the seminary of Vienna, for the education of the clergy, to be given to one of the accused^r. In short, Jansenism was triumphant. Presently “a new decree ordered an absolute silence on the constitution *Unigenitus* ;” but nevertheless, the court theologians were permitted to declaim against it, and to spread books in favour of the appeal^s. It was in vain that several prelates, aided by the papal nuncio, remonstrated with the emperor, and represented that the bull “*Unigenitus*” was a judgment of the universal church. It was in vain that Pius VI. himself took the unprecedented step of going to Vienna, to obtain the cessation of these obnoxious proceedings. He obtained only some trifling modifications ; and had the mortification to learn, on his return to Rome, that Joseph had issued an edict assuming the patronage of all the

^a 22. He went so far as to issue a decree “qui obligeoit tous les évêques des États héréditaires à promettre d’obéir à tous les ordres qui étoient déjà émanés de l’empereur, ou qui pourroient en émaner par la suite !” — Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat, tome i. p. 236.
^r Mém. Eccl. *ibid*.

^s *Ib.* 23. This Imperial Constitution, commanding silence concerning the bull *Unigenitus*, was still in force in the Austrian empire in 1809. — See Rechberger, *Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriaci*, cited in “Report of Committee on Roman Catholic subjects in foreign countries” (1816), p. 112.

sees of Lombardy, which had hitherto belonged to the Roman see. Presently he made a new circumscription of all the bishoprics of his states. He even issued a decree "*to remove images from the churches.*" This was, of course, heretical in the judgment of Romanists, and directly contrary to the decrees of the synods of Nice and Trent, which they regard as œcumenical. Nevertheless, this heresy was openly avowed and acted on by Joseph, without any censure, and in the bosom of their church. He next "suppressed some impediments to marriage, established others, and *permitted divorce* in certain cases." This again was contrary to the discipline of the Roman church. The archbishop of Goritz having opposed these innovations, the emperor "*suppressed his see,* commanded him to send in his resignation, and on his refusal, ordered him to set off for Rome †." "*He reserved the dignities of the church for the admirers of his system;* he engaged writers to undertake its defence. He protected at Pavia a society of theologians who, like Ricci at Pistoia, sought to lower the holy see, and to reform the system of instruction; revived the writings of the French appellants (*i. e.* Jansenists); *cried up their doctrine;* and formed a spirit of opposition, complaint, and declamation, the effect of which was to trouble, to weaken, and to enslave the church. Pius VI. complained more than once of the imprudent protection which was given to these ardent and restless theologians. No regard was paid to his complaints †."

Thus we see the Jansenist doctrine, a hundred and thirty years after its condemnation, existing in the bosom of the German and Italian churches, and propagating itself every where openly, under the protection of the state. Such is the freedom of the Roman church from heresy! Such the infallible certainty with which all controversies are immediately terminated among them! And such their independence of the civil power! The new system advanced in Germany. The archbishop elector of Saltzburg, in 1782, had published a Pastoral Instruction "*against the luxury of churches, against images . . . pretended that the worship of saints is not an essential point*

† The memoirs of Pope Pius VI. add the sequel. He was compelled to take an oath of obedience to the emperor's orders; to confess that he had grossly disobeyed those orders; and to throw himself on his

clemency. In fine, he was ordered to go to his diocese, and put the royal edicts in execution.—Mém. de Pie VI. i. 262.

‡ Mém. Eccl. iii. 36, 37.

of religion," &c.^v These doctrines, accounted heretical by Romanists, were thus avowed in their own communion; and, in 1785, the same archbishop and elector, with his brethren of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence, agreed to a model of ecclesiastical reform, drawn up by their vicars at Ems, which was in many respects remarkable. It declared, that the bishops having an unlimited power of binding and loosing, no recourse should be had to Rome, passing over the immediate prelates. The exemptions of the religious orders were annulled; they were no longer to depend on foreign superiors. Every bishop was to dispense, even in cases reserved to the pope, to absolve the religious from their vows. Papal bulls to be of no obligation, unless *received by the bishop, &c.* "*They decided on abolishing the oath of bishops to the pope.*" If the pope "refused to confirm the bishops, they would find in the ancient discipline means to preserve their office, under the protection of the emperor." This plan was objected to by several of the German bishops, but the four archbishops proceeded to put its regulations in force in their dioceses^w. The pope remonstrated in vain. Eybel, professor of canon law at Vienna, having published books *against auricular confession*, and against the papal power, his writings were condemned by Pius VI., in 1784 and 1786, as containing *heresies*; but the emperor ordered the *suppression* of the papal decree, and Eybel, although a heretic, remained in communion with the Roman church^x. The principles laid down at this time have ever since prevailed more and more in Germany. Similar proceedings in favour of Jansenism took place in Belgium under Joseph II., who in 1781 commenced a series of ecclesiastical reforms in this part of his dominions^y. The privileges of the faculty of theology in the university of Louvain were suppressed, in order to introduce into it "sentiments more conformable with the views of the prince." "*The signature to the formulary, and the bull 'Unigenitus,' were abolished^z;*" and thus Jansenism was suffered to intrude. General seminaries for the clergy were established to promote the spread of the new opinions; and directors of the four faculties at Louvain were sent from Vienna, one of whom "had been expelled from

^v Mém. Eccl. iii. 61.^y 75.^w 60—65.^z 76.^x 81—87.

Vienna for his *heterodoxy*." He was made "president of the general seminary" for the clergy^a. The Belgians, however, were so angry at these proceedings, that Jansenism could not gain a firm footing there.

VI. ITALY. Jansenism and reform went hand in hand through Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The 'Exposition of Christian Doctrine' by Mésengui, in which, "under the name of Christian doctrine, the dogmas of a party (Jansenism) were frequently taught, and in which the condemned propositions were renewed," had been censured in 1757 by Benedict XIV. Clement XIII. published a brief against it in 1761. "At this time the disturbers of the church began to make partizans in Italy. They brought into vogue an extraordinary and novel system of instruction. *Hatred of the holy see, and change of all the ecclesiastical discipline, formed its basis.* It was but an emanation from the doctrine of the French appellants, who were from that time closely connected with the innovators of Italy. Both spoke only of abuses, reforms, exclaimed against the despotism of the pope and bishops, and wished to introduce into the church a system more to their taste. The kingdom of Naples especially was full of these reforming theologians. . . . The minister Tanucci was little favourable to the church of Rome. Serrao preached there the doctrine of the appellants." He afterwards wrote in praise of the Exposition of Mésengui^b. Thus we see Jansenism openly taught in the Italian church.

In NAPLES, the minister, Marquis Tanucci, in 1776 suppressed seventy-eight monasteries of Sicily at once, *united some bishoprics*, and gave abbey without the pope's consent^c. Serrao, the Jansenist before mentioned, was named by the king, bishop of Potenza, and, notwithstanding the jealousy of the pope, succeeded by artifices, and the royal support, in actually obtaining that see^d. 'It is needless to enter in detail on the various reforms effected at Naples in imitation of the emperor Joseph. It may be observed, that Cortez, bishop of Motula, who was at the head of a royal commission for hearing an appeal in a cause of marriage, which ought, according to the former system, to have gone before the Roman see, "re-

^a Mém. Eccl. iii. 76, 77.

^b Tom. ii. p. 403, 404.

^c iii. 115.

^d 117.

nounced the ordinary formulary by which bishops are accustomed to begin their ordinances, 'bishop by the grace of the holy apostolic see.' M. Cortez had in fact suppressed this formula in imitation of some old French prelates *favourable to the appeal*^e." Jansenism and reform had partizans, it seems, in the Neapolitan church, as well as elsewhere.

In TUSCANY, Jansenism was equally troublesome. The archduke Leopold "followed blindly the counsels of Scipio Ricci, who was made, in 1780, bishop of Pistoia and Prato." Ricci "resolved to introduce into Italy the opinions to which France owed a century of disputes." By his counsel the prince issued frequent and prolix circulars, sent "catechisms to the bishops, directed the books which they should place in the hands of the faithful, abolished confraternities, diminished processions, *regulated divine worship and ceremonies*," &c. Ricci filled his diocese "with men subservient to his notions, whom he invited from all parts. He caused ecclesiastical academies to be established where the *new theology* was taught. He wrote against devotion to the heart of Jesus, against *indulgences*, which he reduced to be nothing but the relaxation of the canonical penance formerly imposed for sins^f. He changed rites, reformed discipline, overthrew the system of instruction, &c. A faithful imitator of the appellants of France, he proposed them as his models. Under his pen Soanen became 'a holy bishop,' Quesnel 'a learned and pious martyr of the truth,' other Jansenists 'lights of the church.' He caused their writings to be translated into Italian." Pius VI. remonstrated in vain against all this^g.

In 1786, a royal edict was published, "in which *nothing was forgotten* concerning discipline, instruction, *worship, ceremonies*, &c. The smallest articles were entered into with the most minute exactness^h." Ricci soon after held a synod at Pistoia to effect reforms. "He invited from Pavia, that school then fertile in friends of the *new theology*, professor Tamburini,"

^e 120, 121. Instead of this he took the title of "bishop by the grace of the king."

^f This doctrine, which was maintained by Luther, and for which he was condemned, was also maintained by Mr. Charles Butler, an English Romanist in the latter part of the

eighteenth century.—See "Catholic Miscellany," vol. i. for 1822, p. 585. Butler has been charged with Jansenism by Plowden, another Romanist.

^g Mem. Eccl. iii. 1—4.

^h 69.

and others of the same party, viz. "Vecchi, Guarisci, Monti, Bottieri, and Palmieri." In the first session 234 priests were present. They decreed that "in the latter ages a *general obscurity* has overspread the *most important truths of religion*, which are the bases of Christian faith and morality¹." They afterwards adopted the doctrines of Baius and Quesnel, and all the Jansenists^j. They made a decree in which "they rejected the devotion of the heart of Jesus, *images*, and other pious practices^k." The bishops of Colle and Arezzo held their synods after the example of Ricci^l. In 1788, Leopold "abolished all the authority of the papal nuncios, *forbad all appeals to the holy see*, and marked himself the tribunals to which ecclesiastical causes should be carried^m." It was not till 1794 that Pius VI. condemned the synod of Pistoia as *heretical*: but there was still a Jansenist party in the Italian church. "Two bishops of Tuscany showed themselves unfavourable to the bull." Solari, bishop of Noli, in the state of Genoa, "offered a public and formal opposition to the bull, and wrote against itⁿ." Another Italian author is mentioned, who supported this bishop by writings "in which he showed himself a faithful copyist and admirer of the French *appel-lants*," &c.^o We are probably to attribute to the secret influence of Jansenism, the ecclesiastical edicts of the duke of Parma, in 1764-7; which established "regulations conformable to the system which *began to prevail*, to restrain more and more the authority of the holy see, and to enervate the ecclesiastical power," &c.^p Italy has continued ever since under the influence of these reforming principles, and the civil magistrate governs the Italian church with perfect and absolute power^q.

VII. Even PORTUGAL was not exempt from the novel opinions. The ministry of the marquis of Pombal was distinguished in this respect. "He was seen to introduce even

¹ 71.^j 71, 72.^k 73.^l 74.^m 107.ⁿ 269.^o 270.^p Tom. ii. p. 530.^q "Hors des Etats Pontificaux,

l'église a beaucoup à souffrir . . . Nulle part, excepté peut-être en certaines parties de l'Allemagne, les évêques ne sont plus dépendants de l'autorité séculière, et malheureusement il en est peu qui paraissent sentir le poids de cette honteuse dépendence." La Mennais, Affaires de Rome, p. 253.

into the church his reforming views, to change, destroy, enslave the bishops to his will, to declare himself an enemy of the holy see, to protect authors and books which preached novelties, to form in Portugal a system of theological instruction altogether different from that which had been previously followed, and in fine to open a door to systems and illusions of evil doctrines, in a country hitherto peaceable and religious^r." The bishop of Coimbra having issued (1768) a mandate against the perusal of evil books, which were circulated under the protection of some government agents, was imprisoned, and the chapter of Coimbra was obliged by the king to appoint an administrator of the see^s. Among the books circulated were Febronius (which was reprinted in Portugal), and Du Pin's writings, which sufficiently shows that reform and Jansenism had partizans in Portugal also.

VIII. The Jansenists of HOLLAND alone seem to be out of the communion of the Roman church, but they exhibit every wish to be connected with it, and profess themselves some of its best members. In 1723 the Jansenist clergy of Holland having been for some time without any bishop, since the death of M. Codde in 1710, elected Steenoven archbishop of Utrecht. This see, it is true, had long been extinct, but they were encouraged to restore it by the advice of "many doctors of the Sorbonne," and by Van Espen and other doctors of Louvain^t. They were supported by some Gallican bishops^u. Varlet, suffragan bishop of Babylon, having fallen under the suspicion of Jansenism, was obliged to return to Europe, and resided at Amsterdam, where he consecrated Steenoven in 1724, assisted only by two canons; "which is contrary to the discipline observed in the church, and which is not permitted except with dispensations that were not asked^v." Varlet ordained successively four archbishops of Utrecht. Among the successors of Steenoven are mentioned Barchman 1725^w, Vandereroon 1734^x, Meindartz 1739^y, (under whom a Jansenist synod was held at Utrecht in 1763, at which their bishops of Utrecht, Haarlem, and Deventer were pre-

^r Mem. Eccl. ii. 367.^s 545, 546.^t Tom. i. p. 197.^u 198.^v 200.^w Tom. ii. p. 8.^x 137.^y 166.

sent^z.) Van Nieuem-huysen who died in 1797, Van Rhyn elected the same year^a, Van Os consecrated 1814^b. These Jansenist bishops have continued to the present age, assisted by fifty or sixty priests and a few thousand followers. They always pretend to be united with the Roman church, duly informing the pontiff of their elections, &c. in a most fraternal manner, and occasionally addressing epistles to him^c, to all which they receive no other reply than bulls of excommunication, deposition, censure, &c. which they do not seem much to regard.

IX. The Romanists of the BRITISH EMPIRE have been by no means exempt from Jansenism. Without speaking of certain priests in England about 1707, who instructed their converts to speak irreverently of the pope, of the invocation of saints, and of indulgences, and kept in their oratories the portraits of Arnauld and St. Cyran (noted Jansenists); or of the Jansenistical books then translated from the French; or of a priest in Durham who taught his scholars to read “the Provincial Letters, &c.^d ;” without dwelling on these and other facts, which might be adduced to show the existence of Jansenism among the Romanists of these countries, in the earlier part of the last century: it is pretty clear that towards the latter part of that century, and in the present, Jansenism has lurked in the Romish communion. Berrington, Charles Butler (the chief popish writer for a long time), Sir J. Throckmorton, Dr. Charles O’Conor, their most learned author, and many others, have been openly charged with Jansenism by other papists, and with very great probability. Mr. Plowden, a papist of considerable note, cites from Berrington’s *Memoirs of Panzani* (published 1793) passages which evince an evident partiality for Jansenism^e. He also shows the same tendency in Dr. O’Conor, the author of the *Letters of Columbanus*, and in Mr. C. Butler. The latter, it will be remembered, held the same doctrine on indulgences as that of Scipio de Ricci, the Jansenist bishop of Pistoia, for which he was vehemently assailed by the priest Milner. His writings entitled the “Blue Books”

^z 440.

^a iii. 408—9.

^b 629.

^c ii. 506.

^d Plowden’s *Historical Letter*, p. 278. Dublin, 1812.

^e *Ibid.*

gave vast offence to the strict papists, from their depreciation of papal authority; and Sir J. Throckmorton is said by the Romanish historian of the last century to have published a "Letter to the Catholic Clergy on the Nomination of Bishops, 1792," in which "he showed himself little favourable to the holy see, whose prerogatives and rights he *attacked*, and he spoke on this subject like the constitutionalists of France." These sentiments are easily connected with Jansenism: and Mr. Plowden, in 1812, gave a striking account of the continued existence and prevalence of this *condemned heresy* amongst the Romanists of these countries. The genuine feeling which appears in his observations, precludes all possibility of doubt as to the sincerity of his belief in the fact: while his means of information leave nothing to be desired.

"The direct opposition to God's revealed truth, is resistance to the authority he has commissioned to teach it. To this is traceable that prominent feature of Jansenism, *contemptuous hostility to the council of Trent*. Abbé S. Cyran, the founder of that subtle and pernicious sect in France, held it to be only a political convention, and in no shape a true council; a mere assemblage of some school divines by the pope, where there was nothing but intrigue and cabal. *The manifestation of this symptom proves the prevalence of the disorder at this hour^f. Would to God the remedy were as obvious as the disease is evident! No man professes himself a Jansenist. We can discern them only by their fruits . . . I tremble and shudder at the ravages which I see that terrible disorder making amongst some of the catholic flocks within the dominions of his majesty.* But as insensibility of infection and danger is one general symptom of the disorder, I yield to more even than my historical duty in sounding the alarm, in manifesting the progress and mischief of the disease, and in warning every pastor of a catholic flock throughout the British Empire, that there is infinitely less danger of destruction to their flocks from the overt errors of Arians, Socinians, Calvinists, Lutherans, or any avowed separatists, than from the *disguised poison of the Jansenists, who*

^f He cites O'Connor's assertion (Columbanus v. 125), that the council of Trent has never been received either as to doctrine or discipline, in Ireland or France; and the doc-

trine of Walsh, another papist, that the council of Trent "was neither œcumenical, nor occidental, nor free."—Appendix 28, &c.

with unrelenting perseverance lurk among the catholics^g. . . . I openly and loudly profess my wishes and intentions, but lament that I cannot strengthen my feeble efforts to extinguish the fire concealed under the treacherous embers, ere it burst forth into a flame that may reduce the better part of the empire to annihilation. . . . I earnestly invoke every individual who tenders the purity of catholic faith and church government—^h.”

X. I pause here. It is clear that these gentlemen who vaunt so exceedingly the perfect unity, the irrefragable authority, the unalterable orthodoxy of their churches, and who build on these assumptions the conclusion, that they alone constitute the catholic church of Christ; it is clear, I say, that they have been, and are infected with HERESY, condemned and execrated by the authorities of their church; and so much infected, that perhaps no part of the church has been equally troubled. Jansenism still exists in the Romish churches of the continent. It would be easy to cite many works containing its principles and published in the present age. The spirit of reform which accompanies it still troubles their community. In Germany it cries against the celibacy of the clergy, and the withholding of the cup from the laity. It produces prayers in the vernacular tongue there and in Englandⁱ. It removes images from their churches in various places, and in all, continues to enslave the Roman church to the civil magistrate, of which we continually hear bitter complaints. To the influence of the same causes we may doubtless attribute the conduct of such men as Leander Von Ess, Weissenburgh, and other liberal Romish priests, who form connexions with the Bible Society, contrary to the rules of their church, or introduce various reforms and new systems of theology^j. But there are

^g Ibid. Appendix p. 28, 29.

^h p. 37.

ⁱ For abundant and most interesting information on the reforming party in the Roman churches, see an article on the state of the Roman catholic church in Silesia, in the Foreign Quarterly Review for 1827, p. 515, &c. This article was from the pen of my lamented friend, the Rev. Hugh J. Rose.

^j The Dublin Review for August, 1841, p. 63, says that in the university of Freyburg, “until very recently,

the principles of Joseph II. flourished in all their rank luxuriance. By its shallow semi-rationalism, its Febronian maxims of ecclesiastical discipline—this universality spread a destructive miasma not only through Baden and Wurtemberg, but through other states of catholic Germany.” The clergy educated here are said to be “most neglectful of their duties, imbued with doctrines subversive of ecclesiastical discipline, and not unfrequently, scandalously profligate in their conduct.

worse doctrines than those of Jansenism lurking in the Roman church.

APPENDIX II.

ON INFIDELITY AND INDIFFERENCE IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

To trace the existence of infidel principles in the Roman churches is a painful task ; but while I deeply lament their existing condition, facts must be stated in consequence of the vauntings of Romish theologians, who pretend that their churches are united in the true faith, to a degree unparalleled in any other Christian community. We are represented as devoid of settled faith. We alone are supposed to be troubled by the presence of heretics or infidels ; while the Roman church is to bear away the palm of immoveable faith and invariable orthodoxy. It is a certain fact that many of the worst infidels in

It was in Baden and Silesia that the . . . *Anticélebetaires* who agitated the church of Germany ten years ago, and received from his present holiness such an indignant rebuke in the Encyclical Letter of 1832, found their chief support. This party of unworthy ecclesiastics affect an extraordinary patriotism, clamour for a German liturgy, a German patriarch with a mere nominal dependence on the pope, and, last, though not least, German wives."

That the church of Rome is not invested with power enough to secure unity of faith within its communion, is also shown by the recent controversies on the doctrines of Hermes, professor at the university of Bonn. In 1835 the pope formally condemned his writings as "containing many absurd things remote from the doctrine of the catholic church," and as including propositions "conducing to *scepticism* and *indifference*, erroneous, subversive of divine faith, savouring of heresy, and condemned by the church." (*L'Ami de la Religion*, t. 87, p. 130, 131.) The result shall be stated in the words of the *Dublin Review* for 1838 (vol. iv. p. 233) : "Very soon a difference of opinion manifested itself between the clergy of the four dioceses of the

Rhenish provinces, and those of Westphalia where the doctrines of Hermes had been widely spread. . . Whilst the larger part of the clergy submitted to the decision of the papal see, others declared that the brief was not binding on them, as it had not been published according to the forms required by the law of Prussia, namely, with the *approbation of the king*. The catholic professors at the university of Bonn . . . continued to teach it. *Thus was the decision of Rome held in contempt, and heretical opinions continued to form the basis of instruction in catholic theology.*"

In the same *Review* (August, 1841, p. 60) it is stated, that "the *Hermesians*" are "*numerous and active*" in the dioceses of Cologne and Treves ; and (p. 101) that "covert and insidious, but not less dangerous attacks are directed against the church by the *Hermesian* party in the dioceses of Cologne, Treves, and more particularly Breslau." The Roman church therefore finds as much difficulty as other churches in suppressing heresy within her communion. Her chief authorities publish formal censures ; and those censures are despised.

the last century were members of the Roman church, that they received its sacraments, and even officiated as ministers at its altars. Without speaking of the infidel publications of several French clergy, such as the Abbés de la Baume, de Marsy, &c. during the middle part of that century, it is sufficient to remark that VOLTAIRE himself was, during his whole life, a member, and even a COMMUNICANT of the Roman church! Yes:—he, whose unceasing cry against our ever-blessed God and Saviour was, *Ecrasez l'infame!* was, horrible to relate, a communicant of the Roman church. In 1754 he received the eucharist at Colmar^a. He again received it in 1761, “precisely at the time when his correspondence and his writings had the most marked taint of irreligion^b.” He again communicated in 1768, and *preached in the church* on theft^c. At the same time he wrote to d’Alembert with reference to his communion at Easter, “that he had already done it *often*, and, please God, would do it again^d.” In 1769 being ill, he *received the Viaticum* from the curé of Ferney, and delivered him a declaration in which he said that “he owed it to truth, to his honour, and to piety, to declare that he had never ceased to respect and to practise *the catholic religion* professed in the kingdom that he had lived, and wished to die in the observance of all the laws of the kingdom, and in the *catholic religion*,” &c.^e In 1778 he sent for the Abbé Gauthier, and signed a writing, in which he declared that “he had confessed” to this ecclesiastic, “and wished to die in the *catholic religion*,” &c. In fine, he was buried in the *Abbey* of Scellières in Champagne^f. So that Voltaire, amidst all his assaults on religion, and while actually engaged in a war of extermination against Christianity, lived and died in the communion of the Roman church!

His example was not lost on his followers. Amongst the infidel association of the “*Illuminati*” we learn that there were curés, priests, and one who was raised to *high dignities in the German church*^g. Cardinal de Brienne was connected with d’Alembert and the infidel philosophers, and was supposed to share their sentiments^h. And who, I would ask, were those

^a Mémoires pour serv. à l’Hist. Eccl. pendant le xviii^e. siècle, tom. ii. 535.

^b 536.

^c 537.

^d 540.

^e 541.

^f 638.

^g 618, 619.

^h 503.

men, Talleyrand bishop of Autun, De Savines of Viviers, De Jarante of Orleans, the infamous Gobel bishop of Lydda and afterwards of Paris, Miroudet of Babylon, Gay-Vernon, Lindet, Lalande, Seguin, Chabot, Massieu, Marolles, Torné, Pelletier, Thibault, Minée, Heraudin, Huguét, Lefessier, Panisset, and the other constitutional bishops, who renounced their functions, sent to the Revolutionary Convention their letters of orders, mitres, and episcopal ornaments, and declared that there ought to be no worship but that of reason, liberty, and equalityⁱ? Who were these men, I say, but bishops, or at least priests, of the Roman church? They had received in that church their ordinations. They had imbibed in her communion the principles of infidelity, and though they were partizans of an institution which was under papal censure (the constitutional church), they were *not excommunicated* up to the period of their open apostasy^j. A multitude of priests followed the example of these bishops. Infidel and Jacobin priests and bishops were also found in Italy^k. La Mennais says that, after deducting from the Roman church those who have abandoned all belief (“and every one knows how they have multiplied within a century”) and those who are but half-converted from idolatry, “On est effrayé de leur solitude sur cette terre promise tout entière au Christ. . . Chaque jour la religion gémit sur de nouvelles pertes que sont bien loin de compenser les progrès qu'elle fait dans d'autres contrées. A partir d'une époque déjà ancienne, elle a visiblement, et sans interruption, tendu à *décliner*!”

But the irreligion of members of the Roman churches sinks deeper even than direct infidelity. I shall here avail myself of the testimony of the Abbé La Mennais: “What do you perceive *everywhere*, but a profound indifference as to duties and creeds, with an unbridled love of pleasure and of gold, by means of which anything can be obtained? All is bought, for all is sold; conscience, honour, religion, opinions, dignities, power, consideration, respect even: a vast shipwreck of all truths and all virtues.” . . . “Atheism,” said Leibnitz, “will be the last of heresies, and in effect, indifference which marches in its train, is not a doctrine, for genuine Indifferents

ⁱ iii. 242—253.^j 200.^k 368—9.¹ La Mennais, *Affaires de Rome*, p. 240.

deny nothing, affirm nothing ; it is not even doubt, for doubt being suspense between contrary probabilities, supposes a previous examination : it is a systematic ignorance, a voluntary sleep of the soul. . . . Such is the hideous and sterile monster which they call indifference. All philosophic theories, all doctrines of impiety have melted and disappeared in this *devouring system*. . . . From this fatal system, BECOME ALMOST UNIVERSAL, has resulted under the name of tolerance, a new sort of temptation," &c.^m He observes that "the state to which we are approaching, is one of the signs by which will be recognised that last war announced by Jesus Christ : 'Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earthⁿ?' " Nor is this merely the statement of one individual. It is supported by the pastoral letter of the bishop of Troyes, on the occasion of his entry into his diocese, where it is said, with reference to the carelessness and disdain of indifference : "Such is now the great wound of the church, or, to employ the language of the holy Scriptures, her desperate wound ; 'Desperata est plaga ejus.' For what can we oppose to this state of things? We know well the remedy for bodily maladies, but the remedy for this epidemic malady of minds, who shall find it^o?" This evil therefore afflicts the Roman church : it is within her own bosom. Even the Head of that church has been compelled to lay open the condition of his community to our view. Gregory XVI. in 1832 addressed an encyclical letter to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of his Obedience, in which the following remarkable passage occurs. "We come now to another most abundant cause of evils with which we grieve to see *the church afflicted*, that is to say, indifference, or that perverse opinion, which, through the frauds of wicked men, *has become common everywhere*, that eternal salvation can be obtained by any profession of faith, provided the morals be correct and honest. But in a case so clear and evident, you will easily *expel from the people committed to your care* this most destructive error," &c.^p

^m Essai sur l'Indifférence, tom. i. Introduction, p. 21. 24, 25.

ⁿ Ibid. 25.

^o Ibid. 28, 29.

^p See Appendix V.

APPENDIX III.

ON THE SCHISMS OF 1791 AND 1801.

The anti-papal principle of Jansenism lurking in the Roman communion, combined with the revolutionary mania, developed in 1790 the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" in France, under which false appellation the constituent assembly effected extraordinary alterations in *spiritual* matters. M. Bouvier, the present bishop of Mans, remarks that this constitution "abounded with many and most grievous faults." "First," he says, "the national convention, by its own authority, without any recourse to the ecclesiastical power, changes or reforms all the old dioceses, erects new ones, diminishes some, increases others, &c.; (2.) forbids any Gallican church or citizen to acknowledge the authority of any foreign bishop, &c.; (3.) institutes a new mode of administering and ruling cathedral churches, even in spirituals; (4.) subverts the divine authority of bishops, restraining it within certain limits, and imposing on them a certain council, without whose judgment they could do nothing," &c. &c.^a The great body of the Gallican bishops naturally protested against this constitution, which suppressed one hundred and thirty-five bishoprics, and erected eighty-three in their stead, under different titles^b. The convention insisted that they should take the oath of adhesion to the civil constitution in eight days, on pain of being considered as having resigned; and on the refusal of the great majority, the new bishops were elected in their place, and consecrated by Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, assisted by Gobel, bishop of Lydda, and Miroudet, of Babylon^c.

M. Bouvier proves, from the principles of his church, that this constitution was schismatical; that all the bishops, rectors, curates, confessors, instituted by virtue of it, were intruders, schismatics, and even involved in heresy; that the taking of the oath to observe it was a mortal sin; and that it would have been better to have died a hundred times than to have done so.

^a De Vera Ecclesia, p. 411.Eecl. xviii^e. siècle, tom. iii. p. 149.^b Mémoires pour serv. à l'Hist.^c 171.

Nevertheless, these schismatics and heretics were afterwards introduced into the communion of the Roman church itself, in which they propagated their notions. On the signature of the concordate between Buonaparte and Pius VII. in 1801, for the erection of the new Gallican church, the first consul made it a point that *twelve* of these constitutional bishops should be appointed to sees under the new arrangements. He succeeded. "He caused to be named to sees twelve of those same constitutionals who had attached themselves with such *obstinate perseverance*, for ten years, to the *propagation of schism* in France. . . . One of the partizans of the new concordate, who had been charged to receive the recantation of the constitutionals, certified that they had renounced their civil constitution of the clergy. Some of them vaunted, nevertheless, that they had not changed their principles; and one of them publicly declared that they had been offered an absolution of their censures, but that they had thrown it into the fire^d." The government forbade the bishops to exact retractions from the constitutional priests, and commanded them to choose one of their vicars-general from among that party. They were protected and supported by the minister of police, and by Portalis, the minister of worship^e. In 1803, we hear of the "indiscreet and irregular conduct of some new bishops, taken from among the constitutionals, and who brought into their dioceses the same spirit which had hitherto directed them." Afterwards it is said of some of them, that they "professed the most *open resistance* to the holy see, expelled the best men from their dioceses, and perpetuated the spirit of schism^f." In 1804, Pius VII. being at Paris, procured their signature to a declaration, approving generally of the judgments of the holy see on the ecclesiastical affairs of France. But this vague and general formulary, which Bouvier and other Romanists pretend to represent as a recantation, was not so understood by these

^d 421. See also Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. ch. 5 and 7. Lecoz, one of them, is there said to have been "extremely attached to Jansenism." He was named archbishop of Besançon, and was surrounded by all the old constitutional bishops, who formed a sort of *synod*.

—Ibid. p. 101.

^e 422. It appears that the instructions of the government required that *one-third* of the clergy should be taken from the constitutionals.—Mém. Eccl. de France, t. i. p. 65.

^f 433.

bishops^g; and thus the Gallican church continued, and probably still continues, to number *schismatical bishops and priests* in her communion. Such is the boasted and most inviolable unity of the Roman church!

I am now to speak of the concordate of 1801, between Buonaparte, first consul of the French republic, and Pope Pius VII. The first consul designing to restore Christianity in France, engaged the pontiff to exact resignations from all the existing bishops of the French territory, both constitutional and royalist. The bishoprics of old France were 135 in number; those of the conquered districts (Savoy, Germany, &c.) were 24; making a total of 159^h. The constitutional bishops resigned their seesⁱ; those also who still remained in the conquered districts resigned them to Pius VII. Eighty-one of the exiled royalist bishops of France were still alive; of these 45 resigned, but 36 *declined to do so*^j. The pontiff derogated from the consent of these latter prelates, annihilated 159 bishoprics at a blow, created in their place 60 new ones, and arranged the mode of appointment and consecration of the new bishops and clergy, by his bulls *Ecclesia Christi* and *Qui Christi Domini*^k. To this sweeping concordate the French government took care to annex, by the authority of their "corps législatif," certain "Organic Articles," relating to the exercise of worship. According to a Romish historian, they "rendered the church *entirely dependent*, and placed every thing under the hand of government. The bishops, for example, were prohibited from *conferring orders* without its consent; the vicars-general of the bishops were to continue, even after his death, to govern the diocese, without regard to the rights of chapters; a multitude of things which ought to have been left to the decision of the ecclesiastical authority, were minutely regulated," &c. The intention was, "to place the priests, even in the exercise of their *spiritual functions*, in an entire

to justify these unheard-of proceedings, was fear lest the government, disappointed in its arrangements with Rome, should establish the Constitutionals, or even the Lutherans. So great was the evil deemed of losing the *patronage* of the state, that in order to obtain it, *all the canons were broken through*.

^g 453, 454.

^h 404. 419. Bouvier, de Vera Ecclesia, p. 420.

ⁱ Mémoires, 405, 406. Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 3.

^j 410. Bouvier, 420; Mémoires Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 2.

^k Mém. xviii^e. siècle, 418, 419. Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 4. One of the principal reasons adduced

dependence on the government agents¹." The pope remonstrated against these articles—in vain; they continued, were adopted by the Bourbons, and, with some modifications, are in force to this day; and the government of the Gallican church is vested more in the Conseil d'Etat than in the bishops. Buonaparte assumed the language of piety, while he proceeded to exercise the most absolute jurisdiction over the church. "Henceforward nothing embarrasses him in the *government of the church*; he decides every thing as a master; he creates bishoprics, unites them, suppresses them^m." He apparently found a very accommodating episcopacy. A royal commission, including two cardinals, five archbishops and bishops, and some other high ecclesiastics, in 1810 and 1811, justified many of the "Organic Articles" which the pope had objected to; acknowledged that a national council could order that bishops should be *instituted* by the metropolitan or senior bishop instead of the pope, in case of urgent circumstances; and declared the papal bull of excommunication against those who had unjustly deprived him of his states, *null and void*ⁿ.

These proceedings were by no means pleasing to the exiled

¹ 420. The reply of the government to the papal remonstrance was, that "the French sovereigns regarded themselves as *les évêques du dehors*; that they had always exercised a real power in matters of discipline, public worship, and on the conduct of the clergy."—Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. p. 71. It was afterwards said by the government, that "the Conseil d'Etat succeeded the parliaments in ecclesiastical matters."—Ibid. p. 276. Every one knows the powers assumed by the parliaments; they were proverbially excessive. The minister of state, Portalis, directed the bishops as to the administration of the *sacraments*, and forbade the use of tickets of confession.—Ibid. c. 15. In fact, the correspondence between him and the clergy, resembles that of a pope or a metropolitan with his subjects. One of the most degrading obligations of the clergy was to read aloud the "*bulletins* of the grand army of France" in their churches!!!—Ibid. tom. ii. p. 41. Degradation could

not fall lower than this. Buonaparte and his ministers also judged it expedient to publish the catechism of Bossuet, with *numerous* alterations and improvements, even in point of *doctrine*, for the use of the whole Gallican church. It was not submitted to the examination of the *prelates*; and the report was, that it had been drawn up by the emperor and his generals. But it was, in fact, prepared in common by the papal legate and some theologians, under the supreme control and theological dictation of Napoleon himself!—Ibid. tom. ii. c. 17. During all these proceedings, the bishops of France were issuing charges, letters, &c., in which Napoleon was described as "a man sent by God;" and in which all the terms of a most fulsome adulation were lavished on the emperor.

^m 504. Mém. Eccl. de France, ii. p. 317.

ⁿ Mém. 523—530. Mém. Eccl. de France, ii. 327, &c. 350, &c. 399, &c.

French bishops, who had not resigned their sees, and yet beheld them filled in their own lifetime by new prelates. They addressed repeated protests to the Roman pontiff in vain^o. His conduct in derogating from their consent, suppressing so many sees, and appointing new bishops, was certainly unprecedented; it was clearly contrary to all the *canons* of the church universal, as every one admits. The adherents of the ancient bishops refused to communicate with those whom they regarded as intruders. They dwelt on the odious slavery under which they were placed by the “Organic Articles^p ;” and the Abbés Blanchard and Gauchet, and others, wrote strongly against the concordate, as null, illegal, and unjust; affirmed that the new bishops and their adherents were heretics and schismatics, and that Pius VII. was cut off from the catholic church^q. Hence a schism in the Roman churches, which continues to this day, between the adherents of the new Gallican bishops and the old. The latter are styled by their opponents, “*La petite Eglise*.” The truly extraordinary origin of the present Gallican church, sufficiently accounts for the reported prevalence of Ultramontane or high papal doctrines among them, contrary to the old Gallican doctrines, and notwithstanding the incessant efforts of Napoleon^s and the Bourbons to force on them the four articles of the Gallican clergy of 1682. They see, plainly enough, that their church’s origin rests chiefly on the *unlimited* power of the pope.

^o 411. *Mém. Eccl. de France*, i. 310.

^p 423. *Mém. France*, i. 312.

^q *Mém.* 506, &c. *Mém. France*, iii. 220.

^r Bouvier, de Vera Ecclesia, *Compendium Histor.* ii. par. ii. p. 424, &c. *Mém. Eccl. de France*, tom. i. ch. 17. I may here add, that on the return of the Bourbons, the Gallican church, which had formerly boasted of 135 sees, found herself reduced to 50. Louis XVIII. and the pope made a new concordate (1817), by which the latter actually erected 42 new bishoprics; and the king nominated a number of bishops accordingly. But the French cham-

bers proved refractory, and in obedience to their will, the pope cut down the number to *thirty* new sees.

^s The Organic Articles contain an express provision that the four Gallican articles should be acknowledged by all heads of seminaries. The same condition was made in establishing the University of France, 1808.—*Mém. Eccl. de France*, t. ii. p. 268. An edict (25 Feb. 1810) declared these articles the *law of the empire*, and ordered them to be observed by all *archbishops* and *bishops*, universities, directors of seminaries, and schools of theology.—*Ibid.* p. 363.

APPENDIX IV.

IDOLATRIES AND HERESIES IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

In the preceding pages it has been shown that *unity* in doctrine and discipline is no invariable attribute of the Roman communion, and that its members have no reason to boast of their superiority to other churches in this respect; I shall now show that the unity which exists amongst them amounts, in many cases, to a toleration and sanction of idolatry and heresy; and therefore, that the Roman communion is full of corruptions, and that the salvation of its members is endangered.

Veron^t, and many other Romish theologians, argue, that the idolatries and heresies objected to Romanists, cannot be objected to their church, because they have not been formally defined by the council of Trent, or by any other binding authority, and because they may be and are rejected by various members of their communion. This argument, so far as it tends to show that the Roman is still a part of the universal church, may be admitted; but it cannot clear that church from the charge of corruption and guilt in allowing the inculcation of tenets contrary to the Gospel; or prove that the doctrines taught within her communion are not dangerous to the salvation of her members. If idolatry and heresy be widely inculcated in a church, without censure from authority or strong opposition from her sound members, it is impossible that the souls of the people should not be endangered; and while we may not maintain that such a church has absolutely ceased to be Christian, we cannot admit her claim to be a safe guide in religion, or hold that her members are bound to continue in communion with those who are actually guilty of idolatry or heresy.

It is in vain, therefore, that Romanists assert that the errors with which they are charged are not *de fide* amongst them, and that different tenets may be held. This does not clear their church from guilt, or prove that it is safe to enter her communion, and to accept the doctrines inculcated by her ministers.

^t Veronii Regula Fidei.

I shall now mention some of the idolatries and heresies which are held *without censure* in the Roman communion.

I. It is maintained without censure that Latria, or the worship paid to the Divine nature, is also due to—

Images of Christ ;

Images of the Trinity ;

Images of God the Father ;

Relics of the blood, flesh, hair, and nails of Christ ;

Relics of the true cross ;

Relics of the nails, spear, sponge, scourge, reed, pillar, linen cloth, napkin of Veronica, seamless coat, purple robe, inscription on the cross, and other instruments of the passion ;

Images of the cross ;

The Bible ;

The blessed Virgin.

All these creatures ought, according to the doctrines taught commonly and without censure in the Roman communion, to receive the very worship paid to God ^u.

II. *Divine honours* are practically offered to the Virgin and to all the saints and angels. It has been repeatedly and clearly shown that they are addressed in exactly the same terms in which we ought to address God ; that the same sort of confidence is expressed in their power ; that they are acknowledged to be the authors of grace and salvation. These idolatries are generally practised without opposition or censure ^v.

III. The Virgin is blasphemously asserted to be superior to God the Son, and to command him. She is represented as the source of all grace, while believers are taught to look on Jesus with dread. The work of redemption is said to be divided between her and our Lord ^w.

IV. It is maintained that justification leaves the sinner subject to the wrath and vengeance of God.

V. That the temporal afflictions of the righteous are caused by the wrath of an angry God.

^u I have examined this subject in "An Eighth Letter to N. Wiseman, D.D."

^v See the Rev. T. H. Horne's excellent little work entitled, "Mariolatry;" also Mr. Tyler's "Primitive Christian Worship."

^w Usher's Controversy with a Jesuit, chap. ix.; Letters I. and V. to Dr. Wiseman; and the Appendix of Dr. Pusey's Tract "On the Articles treated of in No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times."

VI. That the righteous suffer the tortures of hell-fire after death ^x.

VII. That the sacrifice of Christ on the cross is repeated or continued in the eucharist.

These and other errors contrary to faith are inculcated within the communion of the Roman church, without censure or open opposition; besides which, there are other pernicious tenets more or less commonly received. Thus, the Jesuits teach that it is lawful to practise mental reservations and equivocations, and even to commit crimes for the accomplishment of a good end ^y.

APPENDIX V.

THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF GREGORY XVI.

This letter presents so remarkable a view of the present condition of the Roman church, and it has been so frequently referred to in this chapter, that I subjoin a selection of those passages which are likely to be most interesting. It is entitled, “*Sanctissimi Domini nostri Gregorii, Divina Providentia Papæ XVI., Epistola Encyclica ad omnes Patriarchas, Primates, Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos,*” and after a preface proceeds thus:—

“*Mœrentes quidem, animoque tristitia confecto, venimus ad vos, quos pro vestro in religionem studio, ex tanta, in qua ipsa versatur, temporum acerbitate maxime anxios novimus. Vere enim dixerimus, horam nunc esse potestatis tenebrarum, ad cribrandum, sicut triticum, filios electionis. Vere ‘luxit, et defluxit terra infecta ab habitatoribus suis, quia transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt fœdus sempiternum.’*”

“*Loquimur, venerabiles fratres, quæ vestris ipsi oculis conspicitis, quæ communibus idcirco lacrymis ingemiscimus. Alacris exultat improbitas, scientia impudens, dissoluta licentia. Despicitur sanctitas sacrorum, et quæ magnam vim, magnamque necessitatem possidet, divini cultus majestas ab hominibus nequam improbatur, polluitur, habetur ludibrio. Sana*

^x See Letters II. III. IV. VI. to Wiseman. most instructive book; Taylor’s Dissuasive.

^y Pascal, *Lettres Provinciales*, a

hinc pervertitur doctrina, erroresque omnis generis disseminantur audacter. Non leges sacrorum, non jura, non instituta, non sanctiores quælibet disciplinæ tutæ sunt ab audacia loquentium iniqua. Vexatur acerrime Romana hæc nostra beatissimi Petri sedes, in qua posuit Christus ecclesiæ firmamentum; et vincula unitatis in dies magis labefactantur, abrumpuntur. Divina ecclesiæ auctoritas oppugnatur, ipsiusque juribus conulsis, substernitur ipsa terrenis rationibus, ac per summam injuriam odio populorum subjicitur, in turpem redacta servitutum. Debita episcopis obedientia infringitur, eorumque jura conculcantur. Personant horrendum in modum academiæ ac gymnasia novis opinionum monstris, quibus non occulte amplius et cuniculis petitur catholica fides, sed horrificum ac nefarium ei bellum aperte jam et propalam infertur. Institutis enim exemploque præceptorum, corruptis adolescentium animis, ingenis religionis clades, morumque perversitas teterrima percrebuit.

“Ad eorum itaque retundendam audaciam, qui vel jura sanctæ hujus sedis infringere conantur, vel dirimere ecclesiarum cum ipsa conjunctionem, qua una eadem nituntur et vigent, maximum fidei in eam ac venerationis sinceræ studium inculcate, inclamantes cum S. Cypriano ‘falso confidere se esse in ecclesia, qui cathedram Petri deserat,’ &c.

“Nefas porro esset, atque ab eo venerationis studio prorsus alienum, qua ecclesiæ leges sunt excipiendæ, sancitam ab ipsa disciplinam, qua et sacrorum procuratio, et morum norma, et jurium ecclesiæ ministrorumque ejus ratio continetur, vesana opinandi libidine improbari; vel ut certis juris naturæ principiis infestam notari, vel mancam dici atque imperfectam, civilique auctoritati subjectam. Cum autem, ut Tridentinorum Patrum verbis utamur, constet, ecclesiam ‘eruditam fuisse a Christo Jesu,’ &c. . . . absurdum plane est, ac maxime in eam injuriosum, *restorationem* ac *regenerationem* quamdam obtrudi, quasi necessariam, ut ejus incolumitati et incremento consulatur, perinde ac si censori ipsa possit vel defectui, vel obscurati, vel aliis hujuscemodi incommodis obnoxia; quo quidem molimine eo spectant novatores, ut, *recentis humanæ institutionis janciantur fundamenta*, illudque ipsum eveniat, quod detestatur Cyprianus, ut, quæ divina res est, ‘humana fiat ecclesia.’ Per-

pendant vero, qui consilia id genus machinantur, uni *Romano pontifici*, ex S. Leonis testimonio, canonum dispensationem esse creditam. . . .

“ Hic autem vestram volumus excitatam pro religione constantiam adversus fœdissimam in clericalem cœlibatum conjurationem, quam nostis effervescere in dies latius, connitentibus cum perditissimis ævi philosophis nonnullis etiam ex ipso ecclesiastico ordine, qui personæ obliiti munerisque sui, ac blanditiis abrepti voluptatum, eo licentiæ proruperunt, ut *publicas* etiam atque *iteratas* aliquibus in locis ausi sint adhibere *principibus* postulationes, ad disciplinam illam sanctissimam perfringendam.

“ Alteram nunc persequimur causam malorum uberrimam, quibus afflicti in præsens comploramus ecclesiam, *indifferentismum* scilicet, seu pravam illam opinionem, quæ improborum fraude ex omni parte percrebuit, qualibet fidei professione æternam posse animæ salutem comparari, si mores ad recti honestique normam exigantur. At facili sane negotio in re perspicua, planeque evidenti, errorem exitiosissimam a populis vestræ curæ concreditur propelletis.

“ Neque lætiora et religioni et principatui ominari possemus, ex eorum votis, qui ecclesiam a regno separari, mutuatque imperii cum sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discipiunt. Constat quippe pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit ac salutaris.”

CHAPTER XII.

THE FOREIGN REFORMATION.

THE churches^a of the Lutheran Reformation, which adhere to the confession of Augsburg, and call themselves evangelical or

^a The term “church” is here used in a general signification, not as implying that these communities are possessed of the proper organiza-

protestant, exist in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Courland, Prussia, Hanover, Hesse, Wirtemberg, Saxony, Hungary, Austria, France, the West India Islands, North America. Other churches, which are usually called "reformed," exist in Switzerland, Holland, France, some parts of Germany, Transylvania, Poland, Lithuania, America, and the Asiatic Islands. These various churches or societies are accused of schism and heresy by the Romanists, in separating themselves from the catholic church, denying her authority, rejecting tradition, and allowing private judgment to an unlimited extent. I propose to examine then, in this chapter, whether these communities did voluntarily separate from the church; whether they maintain principles subversive of unity in faith and discipline; and whether they constitute any part of the church.

SECTION I.

WHETHER LUTHER AND HIS ADHERENTS SEPARATED FROM THE CHURCH.

This is a question which can only be determined by reference to the facts of history, and these prove conclusively, that Luther and his adherents did not, either in intention, or by act, separate from the catholic church; that they were always desirous of a reconciliation, and that they were disposed to make great sacrifices for that object.

First then, it does not seem that Luther had the slightest notion of separating from the church, or rejecting its authority. It is well known that he was roused by the abuses of Tetzel in the preaching and sale of indulgences, abuses which are admitted by Romanists themselves. In 1517 he wrote to the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Brandenburgh and Mersburgh, urging *them* to repress the evil conduct of Tetzel ^b. In 1518 he transmitted his theses on indulgences to the bishop of Brandenburgh, his diocesan, protesting at the same time,

Luther did
not sepa-
rate.

tion and advantages of the church. The Epistle of S. Clement is addressed τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, though the Corinthians had deposed their clergy; and we read in Scripture of "the

church" in the house of Nymphas, Col. iv. 15, which could not have been an organized church.

^b Gerdesii Historia Evangelii renovati, tom. i. p. 90.

that he did not mean to determine them dogmatically, but that they were merely for discussion and disputation, as was customary in the schools, and that he submitted himself to the judgment of his bishop^c. In the same year he wrote to pope Leo X. with the greatest humility and respect, stating the excesses of the preachers of indulgences, his having informed the bishops, and his disputation against the dogmata of Tetzels, which he justified by his academic right of doctor of divinity, and by the faculties he held from the pope himself; concluding with an assurance that his theses were merely for academical disputation, and were not intended to go abroad to the world; and finally, that he *submitted himself entirely* to the pontiff^d.

Nothing could be farther from any appearance of schismatical conduct than this. It is obvious that Luther paid the highest respect and submission to the ordinary and existing authorities in the church, and that his principles and conduct contradict the notion that he designed to separate from it. Even writers of the Roman communion are obliged to confess, that for more than three years, that is, until he was excommunicated by Leo X., all his discourses were full of similar protestations^e. Writers of another sort are too often disposed to pass over these circumstances, as if they were in some way discreditable to Luther; but the simple truth is, that he was duly impressed with the obligation of preserving unity, and had no wish to separate from the church.

Leo X. having appointed cardinal Cajetan to be judge in Luther's case, who was now accused of heresy, a conference ensued at Augsburg, in which Cajetan insisted that Luther, without any discussion to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the positions he had advanced, should at once, in obedience to the papal authority (which he exaggerated in the highest degree), retract his errors. Luther, in reply, protested that he would submit to the *judgment* of the church; but declined to retract his positions until their error had been shown, because he had advanced them not dogmatically, but merely in the way of discussion; that he had said nothing in them "contrary to the Scripture, the *councils*, and *fathers*;" and that he was ready to submit to the decision of the *church*. He

^c Gerdesii *Historia Evangelii re-*
novati, tom. i. p. 221.

^d *Ibid.* 221, 222.

^e Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. 125. s. 73.

treated Cajetan with the greatest respect, and even offered to be *silent* on the subject in future, if his adversaries Eckius, Cochläeus, De Prierio, Hochstrat, &c. were also required to be silent^f. In conclusion, finding that cardinal Cajetan had orders to *arrest* him and bring him to Rome, if he did not renounce his doctrines unconditionally, he withdrew from Augsburg, but addressed a letter to Cajetan, offering again to be silent if his adversaries would be so, and expressing his readiness to retract if his errors should be proved^g. At the same time he appealed (as the university and parliament of Paris did almost contemporaneously^h) from the expected sentence against him, to the *pope better informed*ⁱ. In all this, Luther's desire of peace is evident, and it is impossible to blame him for declining to retract as errors or heresies, without any discussion or ecclesiastical judgment, what he had merely advanced in the way of academical discussion.

Cajetan, nevertheless, at once treated Luther as a *heretic*, writing to the elector of Saxony, and urging him to give up Luther to the papal power, or at least to *expel* him from his dominions; but the elector most justly replied, that Luther ought not to be treated merely by the way of authority, and be compelled to retract before his cause was examined and judged, but ought first to be lawfully convicted of error^j. Still Luther, though well aware of the designs for his destruction, did not attempt to revolt against the church, but offered to accept *any German bishop* as his judge^k.

Leo X. presently issued a bull approving of indulgences, and condemning all who disputed the doctrine relating to them which he there laid down^l. This decree obliged Luther to take the farther step of appealing formally from the pope to a general council (a mode of proceeding perfectly legitimate, and practised perpetually in the Roman obedience). But he denied at the same time that he intended "to depart from the sentiments of *the church*," or to "doubt the primacy and authority of the Roman see^m." In farther testimony of his wishes, he again wrote, in March 1519, to Leo X. (though the pontiff

^f Fleury, liv. 125. s. 79—84.

^g § 84.

^h § 54. See also Gerdes, tom. i.

Appendix, p. 60.

ⁱ Fleury, s. 85.

^j *Ib.* s. 86, 87.

^k § 88.

^l § 89.

^m § 90.

had already written to the elector of Saxony against him as a *heretic*, urging his banishmentⁿ), declaring in the most submissive terms that he had never designed to injure the authority of the *Roman church*, that he would not trouble the church for *trifling* matters, and would submit to *all that was required of him* for the sake of peace^o. He also acquiesced in the proposal of Miltitz, the papal nuncio, to be *judged* by the archbishop of Treves. At the beginning of his discussion with Eckius, in the same year, Luther and his friends declared that they did not wish to remove the doctrines of the catholic church, to which they always *desired to be attached*^p. In 1520 he wrote to the archbishop of Mayence and the bishop of Mersburgh, to excuse himself, and to request them not to believe him a heretic without hearing him^q. Nor was this the last testimony afforded by Luther of his desire to remain in communion with the church. He had actually engaged Seckingen to procure him an honourable reconciliation with Rome, as cardinal Pallavicini acknowledges^r, when, in 1520, Leo X. issued a bull against Luther, in which it is declared that unless he shall revoke the errors therein attributed to him within sixty days, he and all his adherents shall be deemed to have incurred all the penalties denounced against heresy, that no Christian shall hold communion with them, and commands that their persons be seized, &c.^s Finally, in January 1521, another bull formally excommunicated Luther and all his adherents, all who should support and protect him, who follow his sect, or grant him their favour. All are to be regarded as heretics whose company the faithful are commanded to avoid. All places where they reside are laid under an interdict, all bishops, &c. commanded to denounce them in their churches as heretics, &c.^t

These certain and unquestionable facts prove beyond dispute that Luther and his adherents did not *separate* from the Roman churches, but that they were excommunicated and forcibly expelled by the Roman pontiff. The German bishops received and acted on the bull, and therefore the Lutherans were in fact separated from the external communion of the

ⁿ Liv. 126. s. 9.

^o Ib. 12.

^p Ib. 25.

^q Ib. 51.

^r Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trid. l.

i. c. 21. Fleury, s. 63.

^s Gerdes, tom. i. Appendix, p. 131, &c.

^t Gerdes, t. ii. App. p. 15, &c.

Luther ex-
communi-
cated.

German church. But this by no means closed their connexion with the church generally, either in their own opinion, or in that of all others.

It has been already said, that Luther appealed from the Roman pontiff to a general council. This was still to acknowledge the authority of the *church*, and to allow that the western was a true church. To this appeal Luther and his friends steadily adhered. They renewed it in the diet of Spire (1529)^u, and in the diet of Augsburgh (1530) they again appealed; they declared that they had not established any new sect, or separated from the church; that they did not differ in *any article of faith* from the Roman church, but merely as to some *abuses* lately introduced; that the bishops ought to continue, &c.^v In 1531 the king of France understood them honestly to call for a general council, and held communications with them. They continued their appeal in the following year^w. In 1535 Francis I. was desirous of inviting several of their theologians to France, in order to make some accommodation about religion; he actually did invite Melancthon, but was induced to desist by the cardinal de Tournon^x. Yet Melancthon writes to cardinal Du Bellay, bishop of Paris, as a Christian prelate, and expresses his wish that the power of

^u Fleury, liv. 132, s. 65, 66.

^v Fleury, liv. 133, s. 24, 26, 27.
30. The Confession of Augsburgh (pars i. art. 22) says, there is nothing in this doctrine "which differs from the Scriptures, or the catholic church, or the Roman church," (pars ii. prolog.) They "differ concerning no article of faith from the catholic church, but only omit some *abuses*," &c. It says of bishops (pars ii. art. vii.): "According to the Gospel, or *jure divino*, bishops, as such, *i. e.* those who have the ministry of the word and sacraments, have no other jurisdiction than to remit sins, to take cognizance of doctrine, and to reject doctrine different from the Gospel, and to exclude sinners of known impiety from the communion of the church without human force. Hence the churches ought necessarily, and *jure divino*, to obey them." &c. . . . "The bishops might easily retain their legitimate obedience, if

they would not urge us to observe traditions which cannot be kept with a good conscience. . . . There is no design to deprive the bishops of their authority, but this only is sought, that the Gospel be permitted to be purely taught, and a few observances be relaxed," &c. The Apology of the Confession says (art. vii.): "Moreover, we here again wish to testify, that we will willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical polity, if the bishops will only cease from persecuting our churches. This our wish will excuse us both in the presence of God, and of all nations to all posterity; so that it may not be imputed to us, that the authority of bishops is overthrown, when men shall read and hear that we, deprecating the unjust cruelty of the bishops, could obtain no relief."

^w Fleury, liv. 134, s. 5, 30.

^x *Ib.* l. 135, s. 73, &c.

bishops should be preserved^y. The king of France approved the appeal of the Lutherans, in 1537, against the assembly of a council at Mantua. In all this there is abundant proof that the Protestants did not consider themselves to be really separated from the church, and that they wished to be united with it. It is evident besides, that they did not generally consider their own position and tenets so *fixed*, as that there might not be an accommodation between them and the church. Thus, in 1535, a correspondence took place between them and Francis I., and they sent twelve articles containing their religious tenets, declaring that they *were ready to retract if in error*, and expressing their readiness to concede much for the sake of peace^z. They acknowledged that there ought to be bishops, and some even went so far as to approve the authority of the Roman see^a. The assembly of Smalcald, in 1537, did not allow the papal authority, but it approved of that of bishops^b. Even in 1540 there were conferences in the diet of Worms, with a view to adjust the matters in controversy, notwithstanding the opposition of Vergerio and Campegio, the papal emissaries; who, however, finally succeeded in putting an end to them^c. Another conference with the protestants was solicited at Haguenau, but objected to by Cochläus, a Romish theologian, because the very act of agreeing with them, in seeking some middle course, was, in his opinion, schismatical^d. Notwithstanding this, the conferences between the two parties were actually renewed at Ratisbon in 1541, when several theologians on each side debated amicably, and agreed on many of the disputed points^e. The bishops of Ger-

^y Gerdes, tom. iv. p. 118, &c. Fleury, l. 135, s. 76. See also l. 136, s. 44, &c. The Articles sent into France by the Lutherans on this occasion, acknowledged that "ecclesiastical government is holy and useful, so that it is *necessary* that there should be bishops superior to other ministers." Melancthon wished for bishops, "not to confirm their domination, but to re-establish their administration; for I see what a church we shall have, if we overthrow the ecclesiastical polity." (lib. iv. ep. 104.) The Articles of Smalcald, drawn up by Luther (pars ii. art. iv.), say, "The church

can never be better governed and preserved, than when we all live under one head, Jesus Christ, and all *bishops*, equal in office, though unequal in gifts, are most perfectly united in diligence, concord of doctrine, &c. . . . The apostles were equal, and afterwards the bishops in all Christendom, until the pope raised his head above all."

^z Fleury, 136, s. 45.

^a Ibid.

^b Articuli Smalcald. pars ii. art. iv. ut supra.

^c Fleury, 139, s. 53—56.

^d Ibid. s. 91.

^e Ibid. s. 98—102.

many, however, in a harsh manner, rejected the articles agreed on; but the laity and princes petitioned the emperor to hand them to the papal nuncio, and to consider the other articles in debate, in a *national synod* of Germany, if a general synod could not be obtained^f. The protestants avowed their opinion that there might easily be an agreement on all the points in debate: even the papal nuncio expressed a hope that *they should all agree*^g.

All these circumstances prove that the Protestants did not separate from the church; that they acknowledged all its ordinary authority, regarded themselves as merely separated by an *abuse* of authority^h, and were ready to make concessions, if there had been any disposition to meet them. The war of Smalcald, which soon after ensued, and in which the emperor endeavoured to subdue them by force of arms, together with the decrees of the Council of Trent, which, without admitting or hearing their theologians, decided several matters in controversy, rendered accommodation more difficult. But still they were willing to treat, provided the decrees made in their absence were not held binding; and, in 1548, Melancthon and many others submitted to the imperial decree called "the Interim," so as to admit the rites of the Roman church generally, without any material alteration, except in receiving both kinds in the eucharist. Even in 1551 they sent their ambassadors and theologians to the Council of Trent, which refused to hear them. All these things prove that the adherents of Luther did not voluntarily separate themselves; and that, at all events, for a *long time*,

^f Fleury, 103.

^g Ibid. 105.

^h Melancthon thus states the case of his party: "We are not deserters from the church, we are not separated from the body of Christ; for those who retain the true doctrine of the Gospel and are obedient to it, remain members of Christ though the pontiffs should expel them from their communion. . . . This difference arose at the beginning from the reproof of a most scandalous sale of indulgences. Then the pontiff and his adherents met together, and the excommunication was fulminated. Are we said to be cut off from the church on account of those unjust

decrees?"—See his Epistles, lib. i. ep. 67, which well merits a perusal. In another place he puts the argument very strongly from their Appeal to a General Council. "Those who *ex animo* and not feignedly, appeal to the judgment of the church, are by no means enemies of the church, or seditious, or schismatics, or heretics: for it is written, If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican. Therefore, so long as he does not refuse to accept the judgment of the church, he cannot be called an enemy or a schismatic."—Melanc. Enarr. in Evang. Joh. tom. iii. Oper. p. 797.

they desired the restoration of communion. No small number of protestants, in succeeding ages, considered them as having made too large concessions for the sake of peace; but the truth is, they were deeply impressed with the evils of division; and felt that no obstacles, except those which arose from absolute necessity, ought to prevent union.

I do not mean to say, that there was not sometimes unjustifiable violence in their language. Luther sometimes permitted himself to be transported beyond reasonable bounds, by his indignation at the tyranny and cruelty with which they were persecuted, and to inveigh, in somewhat unmeasured terms, against the doctrines and practices which he opposed. There was not less violence of language on the other side, and his tone was lamented by the wiser Lutheransⁱ. He also exposed himself to just censure by several acts. His burning the papal bulls and decretals at Wittenberg, which has been unwisely commended as a noble act, seems to have been an useless ebullition of indignation, in return for the burning of his own writings, by the universities of Cologne and Louvain, and at Mentz and Treves^j. But allowing for faults on both sides, it is clear that the Protestants did not wish to separate, and that they were ready to make concessions to restore communion. It would be, also, a mistake to suppose that Luther, or his party, originally *designed* to effect a reformation of the church: they were driven by the force of circumstances to adopt the course they did. They would have *widely* altered their system, which was a merely provisional arrangement, if by so doing they could have restored the unity of the church. But the opposition of the Roman see thwarted these designs; the Council of Trent rendered them still more difficult; and, in time, the Protestants forgot that their system was provisional, pretended to justify it as ordinary and sufficient, and lost their desire for accommodation with the rest of the church.

In maintaining that the adherents of Luther originally did not voluntarily separate from their pastors and brethren, I do not mean, of course, that they did not receive additional adherents by subsequent acts of persecution directed by the Romanists against any members of their own communion who

ⁱ See Melancthon, Epist. lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 14, 15. Fleury, Hist. Ep. 28.

^j Gerdesii Hist. Evang. Renov. Eccl. liv. 126, s. 81.

embraced the tenets of the Reformation ; or even by the voluntary separation of those Romanists who found themselves surrounded by heretical or idolatrous clergy and people. It is certain that both heresy and idolatry prevailed widely in the Roman communion^k, and we cannot consider those as schismatics who separated from the contagion of such crimes when they were generally prevalent around them^l.

SECTION II.

WHETHER THE REFORMED SEPARATED FROM THE CHURCH.

Zuingle observed the prevalence of errors and corruptions around him, apparently before Luther ; and he addressed himself, in the first instance, to the proper ecclesiastical authorities in Switzerland, the bishop of Constance, and the cardinal bishop of Sion, in order to procure a reformation in the discipline of the Swiss churches, several years before any alteration was made^m. In 1519 he was appointed to the principal church of Zurich, where he declaimed against indulgences, at that time preached in Switzerland ; and was encouraged to do so by the bishop of Constanceⁿ. He also began to preach other doctrines opposed to the prevalent errors. But, notwithstanding this, he did not attempt innovation in rites. For five years Zuingle celebrated mass, and persevered in the usual rites and ceremonies. From his discourses some persons, in 1522, discontinued the fasts of the church, and began to eat meat on prohibited days. A controversy ensued between Zuingle and Faber, vicar-general of the bishop of Constance ; who, together with the chapter, had accused him of *heresy* and sedition, to the magistracy of Zurich. In this conference the Zuinglian party declared, that they only complained of the multitude of ceremonies, which were more grievous than the Jewish ; but that they did not condemn all human precepts, nor did they, *either in act or intention, separate from the church*^o. In this there was nothing of schism certainly ; and the senate of Zurich, though favourable to Zuingle, manifested its respect for constituted authority, by decreeing that no one, without serious cause, should break the fasts of the church, until the

^k Chap. xi. appendix iv.

ⁿ Gerdes, i. 262.

^l See above, p. 64—69.

^o Ibid. 267—270.

^m Gerdes, i. 105. Hospinian, ii. 22.

affair was more fully expounded and cleared by the *bishop* ^p. In May 1522, this bishop wrote to the chapter of Zurich, to prevent and suppress the reformed doctrines, condemned by Leo X. in his bull against Luther, which he charges with schism, heresy, &c. ^q Zuingle *denied* the imputation of seeking to withdraw the people from the communion of their bishops ^r. He was again formally accused of heresy in 1523 by the Dominican friars. The senate desired to hear both parties, and the vicar-general was again called in to dispute with Zuingle. It was after this, that the senate made a decree that the Reformer should continue to preach as before; that the clergy should preach nothing except what they could prove by testimony of holy Scripture; and that mutual charges of heresy should be abstained from ^s.

Thus it appears that the Zuinglian party did not propose any separation from the church, and there is no evidence that they ever did so by any positive act; but the bishops and the opposite party treated them as heretics, and separated them from their communion. In France and the Low Countries, those who adhered to Luther or Calvin were not only expelled from the church, but were cruelly persecuted. I do not deny that in several instances, there was a degree of turbulence in the introduction of the reformed doctrines, which cannot be justified; but all I contend for is, that there is no evidence that their adherents *generally separated* from the communion of the church. They were treated by those around them as heretics, and were thus cut off from external communion by others, and not by themselves. When, however, the communion of the church had been thus divided by the acts of the Romish party, it is certain that the reformed obtained many adherents from the communion opposed to them; partly by similar acts of excommunication on the part of the Romanists, and partly by the voluntary separation of individuals from that party, who found themselves surrounded by idolatries and heresies ^t, and held it a duty no longer to communicate with those who were polluted by such crimes ^u; and such a principle of separation

^p Gerdes. 267—270.

^q Ibid. 272.

^r Ibid. 275.

^s Ibid. 286.

^t See chap. xi. appendix iv.

^u Calvin, in reply to the charge of

schism, says: "Eant nunc, et clamitent hæreticos nos esse, qui ab ipsorum ecclesia recesserimus: quum nulla alienationis causa fuerit nisi hæc una, quod puram veritatis professionem nullo modo ferre possunt."

I have already shown to be conformable to the principles of Scripture, and of the catholic church ^v.

It was true, indeed, that we cannot adduce in their case such manifestations of a desire for reunion, as in that of the Lutherans. They did not, in the same manner, continually appeal to a general council, nor did they hold conferences with the Romish party, with a view to reconcile their differences. But the reason of this is, that they were excluded from all compromise by that party. It was one of the conditions which were required from the Protestants at the pacification of Nuremburgh, that they should not unite with the adherents of Zuingle. The latter were thus cut off by both parties.

SECTION III.

WHETHER THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOREIGN REFORMATION
WERE SUBVERSIVE OF UNITY.

It is argued by Romanists, and too often admitted by others, that the principles of the Reformation were subversive of church authority and unity. We are assured, that its fundamental principle was the absolute right of every individual to deduce his own religion from the Bible only, to the exclusion of creeds, articles, catholic tradition, and the authority of the church; and to maintain, with unlimited freedom, whatever doctrines might appear, to his own private judgment, most consistent with Scripture. This *pretended* principle of the Reformation is overthrown by the *public* declarations and acts of the foreign Reformation.

(1.) I shall first prove *their admission of church authority in matters of faith, and of catholic tradition*. The continual appeal of the Lutherans to the decision of a *general council*, proves that they acknowledged the right and authority of the church to judge in religious controversies. If they did not believe that the church had such an authority, they must have been hypocrites in appealing to its judgment; but it would be inconsistent with charity, to impute such conduct to them without

Taceo autem quod anathematibus et diris nos expulerunt . . . Quum ergo ejectos esse nos constet, idque propter Christi nomen fuisse factum, parati simus ostendere, de causa certe prius quaerendum est, quam aliquid

de nobis in hanc vel illam partem deficiatur. Sed . . . abunde mihi est, oportuisse nos ab ipsis recedere, ut ad Christum accederemus.”—
Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. ii.

^v See above, p. 64—69.

any proof. The Confession of Augsburgh declares, that they differ in no article of faith from the catholic, or even the Roman church^w; thus tacitly admitting, that it would, in their opinion, be wrong to dissent from the faith of the church. It professes, “that they had taken most diligent heed that no *novel* and impious doctrines should creep into their churches^x.” And as they rejected all new heresies, so did they reject those which had been condemned by the church formerly. The Saxon Confession says: “We condemn all the madnesses (furores) which are opposed to the creed; such as the portentous errors of Heathens, Jews, Mahommedans, Marcion, the Manichees, Samosatensians, Arians, Macedonians, and others *condemned by true judgments of the church*.” The Formula Concordiæ says: “We reject and condemn all the heresies and errors which were rejected and condemned in the *primitive church* of the faithful, from solid proofs of the word of God^z.” The Confession of the French concurs in the same principle of reverence for catholic tradition. “We approve in this mystery (the Trinity) whatever those four ancient *councils* determined; and all the sects condemned from the word of God by those *ancient holy doctors*, such as Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrose, and others, we detest^a.” The Belgic Confession speaks of the “Pseudo-Christians and heretics, Marcion, Manes, Praxeas, Sabellius, Samosatenus, Arius, and others who were rightly and deservedly *condemned by the orthodox fathers*.” The Polish Confession says: “We receive as a sure and undoubted interpretation of Scripture, the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed . . . to which we acknowledge the Athanasian Creed to be consonant: also the confessions of the *synods* of Ephesus and Chalcedon; also whatever the *fifth and sixth synods* opposed to the remains of the Nestorians and Eutychians, whatever the *synods* of Milevis and Orange taught against the Pelagians from the Scriptures, *whatever the primitive church, from the apostolic age, believed and taught with an unanimous notorious consent, as a necessary article of faith,*

^w Confess. August. pars i. art. 22.

^x Conf. Aug. Epilogus.

^y “Damnamus etiam constantissime omnes furores qui pugnant cum symbolis; ut sunt Ethnicorum, &c. . . . portentosæ opiniones, et

aliæ condemnatæ veris Ecclesiæ iudiciis.”—Conf. Saxon. 1 De Doctrina.

^z Formula Concordiæ, pars ii. De Antithesi, &c.

^a Confessio Gallicana, c. vi.

^b Conf. Belgica, c. ix.

the same we also profess to believe and to teach from the Scriptures^c.”

Hence it appears that the Reformation had a reverence for the doctrine of the primitive church; and accordingly we find its confessions of faith, and the writings of its doctors, full of citations from the fathers and councils. The Confession of Augsburgh quotes Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Jerome, Gelasius, &c. in confirmation of its doctrines. The Apology of the Confession is also full of references to the fathers, and in one place observes that the doctrine there maintained is “accordant with the writings of the apostles and prophets, *the holy fathers*, Ambrose, Augustine, and many others, and the *whole church of Christ* ^d.” The Helvetic and most other Confessions of the reformed, are full of references to the authority of the fathers. Melancthon and Œcolampadius composed books on the doctrine of the fathers concerning the eucharist. Calvin, in his Institutes, quotes largely from Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Bernard, &c. in proof of his doctrine; he employs their authority against others; he examines and refutes the interpretations of their sentiments advanced by Valentinus Gentilis and Michael Servetus, obviously admitting their authority^e. Melancthon says: “May the earth open under my feet, sooner than it should ever happen that I separate from the doctrine of the church, in which Jesus Christ reigns.” On another occasion he says: “We have shown always, that we do not shun the true judgments of the church, nor will we ever shun them^f.” “We leave our reply to the judgment of the other churches^g.”

The respect of the Reformation for catholic tradition was evidenced on so many occasions, that even Bossuet is obliged to acknowledge, “que nos réformés sont *souvent* contraints par la force de la vérité à respecter le sentiment des pères plus qu’il ne semble que leur doctrine et leur esprit ne le porte^h.” And Blackburn, who pretends that the principle of the Reformation was to regard catholic tradition as of no authority, cannot help admitting that “in those days nothing was thought

^c Declaratio Thoruniensis, I.

^d Apologia Confessionis, III. De dilectione (268).

^e Calvin. Explicatio perfidiæ Valent. Gentilis, inter Tractat. Theolog. p. 779, &c. See also his Refutatio

error. Mich. Serveti, in the same volume.

^f Melancth. Epist. lib. iii. ep. 44; i. 67.

^g Epist. i. 105.

^h Bossuet, Variations, liv. ix. s. 84.

to be sufficiently confirmed by Scripture testimonies, without additional vouchers from the ancient worthies of the church: and accordingly Tertullian, Chrysostom, Austin, and Jerome, regularly took their places on the same bench of judgment with Paul, Peter, James, and Johnⁱ." This statement is exaggerated, but coming as it does from an enemy of catholic tradition, it is a strong confirmation of the reverence of the reformers for the authority of the church.

(2.) The principle and practice of the Reformation was opposed to the *unbounded liberty of private judgment*, or the right of individuals to hold whatever religious tenets they judged most conformable to Scripture. It has been justly observed by a dissenter, that "there is a certain universal candour, or rather latitudinarianism, which is but scepticism veiled as an angel of light; and which knows not how to frown on sin and error; but on the principles of the New Testament, love to what is holy cannot exist apart from love to what is true; and this spurious charity is in reality nothing else than an angel of darkness and a minister of evil^j." From so evil a principle the foreign Reformation was free.

I have already cited some passages which show the aversion of the Reformation generally from heresy. I shall here mention only a few other instances in which this feeling (or rather principle) is displayed. The language of the Reformation was as follows: "We execrate all the heresies of Artemon, the Manichees, &c.^k" "We condemn all heresies and heretics who teach that the Son and the Holy Ghost are only in appellation God," such as the "Noetians, Praxeas, the Patripassians, Sabellius, Arius, &c.^l" "We abominate the impious doctrine of Arius and all the Arians against the Son of God, especially the blasphemies of Servetus and his disciples, which Satan by their means brought out of hell against the Son of God, and most audaciously and impiously dispersed through the world." "We abominate the Nestorian doctrine;" and the "Eutychian insanity, removing the proper human nature of Christ, we utterly execrate^m." "All those heresies which have formerly disturbed the church, and are contrary to that truth, we detest; and especially the diabolical imaginations of

ⁱ Confessional, p. 20.

^j Essays on Church Polity, Present State of Religion, &c. p. 13.

^k Confessio Helvetica, c. i.

^l Ibid. c. iii.

^m Ibid. c. xi.

Servetus, who attributed to our Lord an imaginary deityⁿ. “We condemn the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, &c.^o” “We detest the error of the Anabaptists, who are not contented with one baptism,” &c.^p The Confession of Augsburg “condemns” all the heresies of Valentinians, Arians, Mahommedans, Pelagians, Anabaptists, &c. Speaking of evil doctrines, the Articles of Smalcald say: “Such and similar portents have arisen from ignorance of sin, and of Christ our Saviour, and are really heathenish doctrines, which we cannot tolerate^q.” The “Formula Concordiæ” is full of condemnations of heresies. The Polish Confession declares that whoever shall send his children to Arian schools in which the sincere doctrine of the Gospel is not taught, shall be excluded from the Lord’s supper, and the communion of the church; and “whosoever in our evangelical churches shall refuse to employ the expression ‘Holy Trinity,’ him as one suspected of not being rightly grounded in the faith concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we *exclude from our communion*,” &c.^r

Such were the sentiments of the Reformation with regard to heresy; and those who would blame the severity of their censure, would do well to remember the words of God himself: “So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I HATE.” Accordingly they *acted* on this principle. The Germans rejected the Swiss from communion, because of their differences on the doctrine of the eucharist. The Reformed, in the synod of Dort, condemned and excommunicated the Arminians as heretics. The Swedish Protestants excommunicated as heretics the Sacramentarians and the Papists^s. Nor was this all; they asserted the right of the civil magistrate to interfere for the suppression of heresy. This doctrine is maintained by the Helvetic^t, Scottish, Belgic, and Saxon Confessions; and too many instances are to be found of the execution of heretics. The cases of Servetus, Valentinus Gentilis, Campanus, Gruet, Crellius, Felix Mans, &c. are

ⁿ Confessio Gallic. c. 14.

^o Conf. Scotica, art. vi.

^p Conf. Belgica, art. xxxiv.

^q Articuli Smalcald. pars iii. 1 de Peccato.

^r Thorun. Synodi, Canon vii.

^s Baazii Inventarium Eccl. Sueo-

Gothorum, lib. iv. c. xi.

^t “Coërceat (magistratus) et hæreticos (qui vere hæretici sunt) incorrigibiles, Dei majestatem blasphemare et ecclesiam Dei conturbare adeoque perdere non desinentes.”—Conf. Helvet. cap. xxx.

well known; not to speak of the imprisonment and banishment of a great number of others.

The truth is, that although individuals in that age may have held principles which *tended* to the conclusion, that every man was at liberty to hold whatever doctrine he pleased, that conclusion was not drawn^u. The great body of the Reformation held the directly contrary view: they were zealous for the truth, and they exhibited that righteous intolerance of falsehood which is one of the characteristics of Christianity^x, and which alone subjected it to the persecutions of heathenism in the first ages, as it may perhaps to those of infidelity in the last.

SECTION IV.

WHETHER THE CHURCHES OF THE FOREIGN REFORMATION
ARE PART OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Reformed
not schis-
matics,

nor here-
tics.

I have already shown that the reformed did not voluntarily separate themselves from the existing church, but were ejected by an abuse of authority; consequently, they are exempt from the charge of *schism* as far as regards the separation. Under such circumstances they had no remedy, and were obliged to remain as a distinct community until God should see fit to heal the divisions of the church; they were consequently still in the way of salvation. Neither does it appear that they were guilty of heresy; for whatever their doctrines might be, it did not seem that they generally defended them with obstinacy against the evident truth. They received all the creeds of the church, professed to be guided by Scripture and tradition, and to introduce no heresies or novelties. Their opinions

^u I am happy to be enabled to confirm this position by the unsuspected and highly-important testimony of Mr. Hallam. "It is often said, that the essential principle of Protestantism, and that for which the struggle was made, was something different from all we have mentioned,—a perpetual freedom from all authority in religious belief, or what goes by the name of the right of private judgment. But to look more nearly at what occurred,

this permanent independence was not much asserted, and still less acted upon," &c.—*Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 521.

^x "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema. As I said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema."—Gal. i. 8, 9. See Chapter v. sect. i. ii.

were not condemned by any clear judgment of the universal church, for the synod of Trent was not of binding authority^a. They varied in their doctrines; and some things which had been incautiously said in the heat of controversy by Luther and Zuinglius, were modified and corrected by their adherents^b. The error of Zuinglius and Cœcolampadius on the eucharist, had been apparently given up by Calvin, who obtained a great influence in the reformed communities. His language was very strongly in favour of the real presence^c, though it is questionable whether his doctrine was really consistent with it; and the differences on this point were not for a long time considered irreconcilable^d. Many conferences took place between the Protestant and the Romish party, and concessions were made, which inferred that there was not any obstinate adherence to preconceived opinions; and the Protestant divines offered to *retract* if in error, and continually appealed to the

^a See Part iv. chap. xii.

^b Whether these societies maintained sufficiently the necessity of sanctification, is not very clear; certain it is that Luther went so far in his opposition to the error of justification by our own merits, that he fell into a contrary error. Gerdesius says, that "he not only removes the necessity of sacerdotal absolution, and satisfaction by external works, in order to the remission of sins, but relieves sinners, in some measure, from the necessity even of *contrition*."—Gerdesii Hist. Evang. tom. i. p. 220. However, the reformers generally, after a time, maintained the obligation of good works, and condemned Agricola, the founder of the Antinomian heresy. "Præterea docent nostri, quod *necesse sit* bona opera facere."—Conf. August. pars i. c. xx. "Sunt enim facienda opera propter mandatum Dei, &c. propter has causas necessario debent bona opera fieri."—Apol. Conf. iii. de dilect. et impl. legis. The Formula Concordiæ, pars ii. art. iv. de bonis operibus, also affirms that good works are necessary, and quotes Luther, affirming that "it is impossible to separate good works from true faith."

The obligation of performing good works, and the reward awaiting them, are also urged by the Helvetic Confession, c. 16.

^c Bossuet remarks that Calvin, in his endeavour to reconcile the doctrine of Luther and Zuinglius, maintained "that under the signs, we receive truly the body and blood of Christ;" that "there are two things in the sacrament—material bread and wine, and Jesus Christ;" that "Jesus Christ is present truly, and not merely in figure," &c.—Bossuet, Variations, l. ix. s. 36—45.

^d In 1560 Jewell said, "Tantum de una, nec ea ita gravi aut magna quæstione, inter se dissentiunt. Nec desperamus, vel potius non dubitamus, brevi fore concordiam," &c.—Apol. p. 63, 64, ed. 1606. The Confession of Augsburg was repeatedly approved by the adherents of other confessions, as containing nothing contrary to faith; especially by the reformed of France in the synod of Charenton, A.D. 1631 (Mosheim, Cent. xvii. sect. ii. part ii. ch. i.). From which it is plain that they were not obstinately opposed to the doctrine of the real presence.

judgment of a general council. All these circumstances combine to prove that the Protestants and reformed were not heretics. And when particular persons or churches were convinced, from an examination of the several questions in debate, that the truth lay more with the adherents of the foreign reformation than with their opponents, or even that it was equal on both sides, they were justified in not excluding the reformed societies from their communion.

This will suffice to clear us from any charge of countenancing heresy or schism, on account of the intercourse which members of our churches have held with the churches of the foreign reformation. There was no sufficient evidence that they were really separated from the unity of faith and charity; and as they exhibited a friendly feeling to our churches, there were good reasons to meet them with kindness and charity. The sufferings which we experienced, in common with them, from the Roman pontiff and his adherents, added sympathy to this good will; and the agreement on many most important points of doctrine and discipline against Rome, may have perhaps induced us to give a better construction to some things than they deserved, and to overlook some faults which a strict criticism would have condemned. If so, however, it was a mistake as to the fact only: there was no wish to countenance heresy or schism; which the churches of Britain have always abhorred and condemned.

Are deficient in apostolical succession.

But while this is maintained, it by no means follows that these separated brethren constituted of themselves churches of Christ, in the full sense of the term, as implying the possession of all the essentials of the church. Their position was extraordinary, temporary, and only justifiable on the plea of necessity. The system of the church as it related to them, was disarranged and shattered; and they had to construct from the fragments a provisional system, adapted to the exigencies of their case. Harshly driven from the ordinary administration of the means of grace, they were obliged to establish themselves as best they could. Hence it is by no means necessary to the justification of the churches of the foreign reformation, to suppose that they were generally invested with *all* the graces and institutions of the catholic church. That they are not, generally speaking, possessed of all these institutions, appears evidently from their deficiency in the point of aposto-

lical succession in their ministry. They cannot prove their succession from the apostles by exhibiting the catalogue of their bishops descending from them. Far, very far be it from us to condemn them for any deficiency which arose from necessity, or to assert that there was any sinful intrusion on the sacred office of the ministry when, under such necessity, they resorted to unusual methods to supply their wants. If they were placed in an extraordinary position, and deprived of the assistance of those to whom the power of calling and ordaining ministers of Christ was entrusted by the will of God, we cannot blame them for having recourse to the best expedients within their reach. Under such circumstances, even popular election of ministers, or mere appointment by individuals of considerable authority, *without any ordination*^e, could not have been condemned; nor, of course, could there be any greater objection to ordinations performed by *mere presbyters*. Certainly not; absolute necessity would excuse such proceedings, however irregular. But it is a very different question whether these ordinations were *valid*; whether they really conveyed the apostolical commission. There is an extreme difficulty on this point, because the whole practice and principle of the catholic church, and even of the ancient heresies, limited ordinations to the chief pastors of the church. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that the reformed caught eagerly at one or two passages in the Fathers, which they supposed to countenance merely presbyterian ordinations; but the weight on the other side is so great, that there must at all events be most serious doubts of their validity. Even conceding, however, that such ordinations are valid, there would still be considerable uncertainty whether they are preserved in the societies in question; for it appears that several of their ministers at the beginning acted, and probably ordained others, without having been ordained presbyters themselves. Calvin was not even a deacon; Beza was never ordained; Bullinger, Brentius, and many others, seem to have been in the same case^f. Luther and Zuinglius appear to have claimed extraordinary mission some-

Transmission of Presbyterian ordinations, questionable.

^e In the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken" for October, 1841, cited by Dr. Pusey in "A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury," &c. p. 168, it is stated, that "*where ordination is not employed at all, much,*

on many sides, is said about introducing it." It appears, therefore, that ordination is not a universal practice in these societies.

^f See Gerdessii Hist. tom. ii. p. 79—83.

times^g; and Beza, in the colloquy of Poissy, denied the necessity of any imposition of hands, and admitted that many of them did not receive it^h. It was afterwards declared in the confession of the reformed of France, that in their time, when the state of the church was interrupted, God had raised up persons in an *extraordinary* mannerⁱ, &c.; and their synod of Gap decided, that the vocation of their ministers who had reformed the church was derived, not from their *ordinary* vocation, but from one which was extraordinary and internal. Now, we may infer from all this, that many of the first ministers of the Reformation were not themselves presbyters, and therefore that there is considerable uncertainty as to the continuance even of presbyterian ordinations in those communities^j.

Their vocation not ordinary.

That the protestants and reformed were sensible that the vocation of their preachers was not ordinary, and that it was only justified by necessity, we may infer from their relinquishing the ancient and scriptural appellations of the ecclesiastical ministry, and no longer pretending to ordain bishops and presbyters. Luther and Zuinglius assumed the titles of "ecclesiastes," while their adherent ministers were called to the various offices of "antistes," "pastor," "superintendent," "inspector," "abbot," "præpositus," &c. It would seem, indeed, as if their preachers were originally regarded in somewhat the same light as the first Wesleyan methodist preachers in more recent times. They were not to intrude on the sphere of the established clergy, but to co-operate with them where they could. Luther himself declared that he preferred that his adherents should retire from a parish rather than preach there by intrusion; that no one ought to preach without the knowledge of the lawful minister; which should be so religiously observed, that an evangelical ought not to preach in the parish of a papist or a heretic, without the participation of the pastor, because no truly pious man ought to attempt anything without vocation, &c.^k

^g Fleury, liv. 126. s. 80.

^h Ibid. liv. 157. s. 13. 15.

ⁱ Confess. Gallicana, art. xxxi.

^j Under these circumstances, it seems plainly the duty of members of the Anglo-catholic church not to receive the eucharist or other rites from the evangelical or reformed pastors, as their power to administer

those rites is very doubtful, to say the least. This, however, should arise simply from our own scruples on the point, and should not imply condemnation of their practice, as if it were sacrilegious.

^k In ps. lxxxii. de Magistrat. tom. iii. fol. 488, 489. A. D. 1534.

The case of the church of Sweden, however, forms an exception to what has been said of the ordinations of the foreign Reformation. In this church the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon have been preserved¹, and it is admitted by Romanists that their ordinations are valid^m. Lars Benzelstierna, bishop of Westerasⁿ, and Adolphus Henebom^o have published dissertations on this subject, in which the fact of a succession of valid ordinations appears to be sufficiently proved.

Swedish Church.

The Swedish church was reformed in the reign of Gustavus Vasa, by whose encouragement, Laurentius Petri and Olaus Phase, disciples of Luther, preached the Reformation so effectually, that in 1529 a synod of bishops and clergy, assembled at Örebro, commenced the work of reform in doctrine and discipline^p, which was subsequently advanced and completed by various councils and diets of the kingdom. In 1537 an alliance or union was effected with the German protestants^q; and in 1593 the council of Upsal examined and approved the confession of Augsburg^r, and settled the church of Sweden (which had been disturbed by the efforts of king John to restore popery,) in the form which it still continues to bear.

In 1528 Gustavus Vasa, previously to his coronation, caused Petrus Magni, bishop of Westeras, who had been consecrated at Rome^s, to ordain three bishops, Magnus Haraldi, bishop of Scara, Magnus Sommar, bishop of Stregnes, and Martin Skytte, bishop of Abo^t. In 1531 Laurentius Petri was consecrated archbishop of Upsal, by the same Petrus Magni, bishop of Westeras^u. Laurentius Petri Gothus, the next archbishop, was consecrated in 1575 by the bishops of Wexio and

¹ "Les Suedois ont moins changé que les autres; car ils ont des évêques, des prêtres, et des diacres mariés."—Fabre, Cont. de Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. cxxxii. s. 126.

^m "En Suède, la validité de la consécration épiscopale s'est conservée."—Grégoire (ancien évêque de Blois) Hist. des Sectes Religieuses, t. iv. p. 376. ed. 1823.

ⁿ "Meletema Historico-Theologicum de Successione Episcoporum Canonica apud Evangelicos præsertim in Suecia." Londini Gothorum, 1738.

^o "De Successione Canonica et consecratione Episcoporum Sueciæ."

Upsaliæ, 1790.

^p Baazii Inventarium Ecclesie Sueo-Gothorum, p. 239.

^q Ibid. p. 260.

^r Ibid. p. 518.

^s Benzelstierna, Meletema, &c. p. 50. This author cites the "Diarium Vadstenense," p. 178, in proof.

^t Baazii Inventar. p. 227; Benzel. p. 50; Henebom, p. 9, who also cites Tegel, Historia Gustavi I. p. 184; Messenius, Chron. Episc. c. xii. item Scend. Illustr. t. x. p. 24, cited by Benzelstierna.

^u Tegel, Hist. Gustavi I. p. 290, cited by Henebom.

Abo^x; and there is evidence that all the Swedish archbishops and bishops have been regularly consecrated ever since.

Benzelstierna says, that the Swedish "ecclesiastical canons oblige the bishops to receive a *second imposition of hands*, and from no other than the archbishop of Upsal^y." The forms of prayer used at episcopal ordinations have been published, and appear to refer distinctly to the episcopal office^z. Besides the bishops, there are some prelates entitled superintendents, who exercise jurisdiction over dioceses without having received ordination as bishops^a; but from what has just been said, it appears that they do not ordain the bishops. It may be observed, as a fact peculiarly interesting to the English church, that the Swedish historians acknowledge themselves indebted to the English bishops and missionaries, Sigfrid, Eschil, and David, for their conversion to Christianity, and for the ordination of their first bishops^b.

Want of
apostolical
succession
excusable.

But to return to those churches of the foreign Reformation which are destitute of a ministry derived by valid ordinations from the apostles. It seems evident that their deficiency in this respect did not arise from any wish to reject the apostolical ministry, but from necessity. In the first instance they were expelled from the communion of their bishops without any just cause. They did not, however, for many years consider themselves *definitively separated* from those bishops^c, because they continually appealed to a general council to terminate the division. Under such circumstances there would have been an apparent *irregularity* in establishing bishops in opposition to the existing bishops, and it would have been dif-

^x Henebom, De Successione, p. 10.

^y "Nostri canones ecclesiastici jubent episcopos secunda manus impositione donari, idque non ab alio quam ab archiepiscopo Upsaliensi, quemadmodum jussit Rex gl. m. Carolus XII. D. Doctorem David Lund episcopum constitutum Viburgensem, non Aboæ, quæ suum habuit episcopum, sed Upsaliæ ab archiepiscopo ordinari." — Benzelstierna, p. 57.

^z The rites are, according to Henebom, prescribed in the "Ordinania Ecclesiastica," A. D. 1571. and the Ecclesiastical Laws, published in 1686.

^a The superintendents seem to have been appointed early in the seventeenth century. — Baazii Invent. p. 622.

^b Baazii Inv. 98-104; 105-110; 139. For further information, see Perceval's "Collection of Papers," &c. ch. viii. 1842.

^c Even the final arrangement which was made between the contending parties in the diet of Augsburg, 1555, only *provisionally suspended* the jurisdiction of the bishops over the adherents of the confession of Augsburg, until an agreement could be attained in matters of religion.

difficult to find prelates properly qualified to ordain them. The provisional system of church government which they established, was, perhaps, the best that could have been adopted under the circumstances; for it can scarcely be maintained that they ought entirely to have laid aside public worship and the administration of the sacraments, until their bishops consented to receive them into communion. The effects of such a line of conduct might have been fatal to religion.

Thus then the irregularities of the foreign Reformation seem to have been almost unavoidable for many years: and afterwards it became extremely difficult to correct those irregularities, partly, because the temporal power was not inclined to restore the constitution of the church^d; partly, because the public mind in those communities had become reconciled to the continuance of the provisional system, and had even laboured to persuade itself that such a system was not essentially different from that of the primitive church; and partly, because there was a reluctance on the part of those pastors who had been called to their offices under that system, to recognize any deficiency in their ordinations^e. We can make allowance for these various difficulties so far as to admit, that the absence of the apostolical ministry does not convict the foreign Reformation of schism; and we think that, material as are the deficiencies under which they labour, those defects will be either excused, or extraordinarily supplied by the Author of all Grace.

^d The temporal sovereigns of Germany, during the suspension of the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, gradually assumed or received many powers in spiritual matters, which could no longer be exercised by the ordinary authorities in the church. Nor does it seem that there was any thing more objectionable in this, under the circumstances of the case, than there would have been in the assumption of those powers by the people, or even by mere presbyters. The powers actually possessed, however, by the temporal powers, must, in a great degree, control the proceedings of the German churches subject to them.

^e This difficulty might have appeared less, if it had been remem-

bered, that vocation to an office might be *sufficient* in a case of necessity, and under extraordinary circumstances; and yet that when circumstances had changed, and it was possible to obtain the *ordinary* vocation, it would be right to do so. The reception of regular ordination need not have implied any decision against the previous vocation of the reformed pastors. It seems plain also, that they are not ordained *deacons* and *priests*, but *pastors* or *ministers*; therefore the reception of holy orders would have merely conferred on them the ordinary offices which have always existed in the church, and to which they have not been ordained.

But it is impossible not to hope that the time may come, when these imperfectly constituted churches, may, in the words of Irenæus, "Obey those presbyters who are in the church, who have *succession from the apostles*, who *with the succession of the episcopate* have received the certain gift of TRUTH, according to the will of the Father^f." They will then have fulfilled the wishes of Luther, of Melancthon, of Calvin, and of all their most eminent divines^g. They will have replaced themselves in possession of the discipline received by all churches from the age of the apostles for fifteen centuries, and in the present day by the Roman, the Oriental, the English, the American, and Swedish churches; and even by all the Oriental sects of Jacobites, Armenians, Copts, and Nestorians. And they will have removed one of the principal obstacles to the general reunion of the catholic church throughout the world.

In fine, it may be remarked, that these churches have not been wholly without communion with the successors of the apostles; for the apostolical succession remains in the Anglo-catholic churches of the west and east, and in the church of Sweden, and these churches have never refused communion to the members of the imperfectly constituted societies of which we have spoken.

Since, therefore, the churches of the foreign Reformation,

^f Irenæus, Adv. Hæres. l. iv. c. 26.

^g "Quapropter ecclesia nunquam melius gubernari et conservari potest, quam si . . . *episcopi* omnes, pares officio, licet dispares sint quoad dona, summa cum diligentia conjuncti sint unanimitate doctrinæ, &c."—Artic. Smalcald. IV. "In hoc conventu sæpe testati sumus, nos *summa voluntate cupere* conservare *politiam ecclesiasticam*, et gradus in ecclesia factos etiam humana auctoritate. Scimus enim, bono et utili consilio a patribus ecclesiasticam disciplinam hoc modo, ut veteres canones describunt, constitutam esse . . . Sævitia episcoporum in causa est, quare alicubi dissolvitur illa canonica politia, quam nos magno opere cupiebamus conservare . . . Porro hic iterum volumus testatum, nos libenter conservaturos esse eccle-

siasticam et canonicam politiam, si modo episcopi desinant in nostras ecclesias sævire."—Apolog. Confess. August. art. vii. "Nobis si contribuant hierarchiam in qua emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent . . . tum verò nullo non anathemate dignos fatemur, si qui erunt, qui eam non reverent et summa cum obedientia observent."—Calvin, t. vii. ad Sadoletum, et de necess. reform. Eccl. p. 69, cited by Bp. Stillingfleet, in his Irenicum, part ii. c. vii. Works, ii. p. 414. These sentiments were also held by George Prince of Anhalt (who testifies that they were those of Luther), by Melancthon, Heerbrand, Hemingius, Zepper, &c.; as Stillingfleet proves in the same place.—See Durel on the Reformed Churches, p. 118, 123, 127.

during the sixteenth century, were not devoid of principles, which, if rightly applied, would lead to unity in faith and communion; since there is no evidence that they were guilty of schism or heresy; since they did not generally deny the necessity of good works or sanctity of life; since they did not separate themselves from the communion of all nations, but were willing to hold communion with all catholic churches, and were actually in communion with many nations; since their deficiency in the apostolical succession of the ministry appears to have been a matter of necessity (to a considerable extent), and they were not in principles or in fact wholly cut off from the communion of the successors of the apostles, it seems impossible to deny that they constituted, on the whole, a portion of the catholic church, though it is unquestionable that errors and even heresies were taught by some of their members. In this respect, however, they were superior to the Roman churches, in which idolatries and errors of a far more pernicious description were widely disseminated.

Foreign
Reformation not
separated
from the
church.

This view of the position of the foreign Reformation appears to have been adopted by the great majority of the English theologians and bishops, from the period of the Reformation to the present day. And if such a view might be fairly taken of the foreign reformers and their immediate adherents, there seems no reason why we should judge differently of those who are spiritually descended from them. To employ the language of an eminent prelate, "It is not difficult to trace, in the history of their churches, the gradual declension of orthodoxy; and to point out the individual writers who became, in succession, more and more heretical in their teaching, till they were plunged into that dismal gulf of rationalism, below which there is hardly a lower depth to reach. And I know, too, that this was a consequence, perhaps a punishment, of the imperfect system of church government which was suffered to remain so long after the first necessity had past away. But I will not venture to say, that because this or that generation of men did not re-establish . . . perfect community with the catholic church in ecclesiastical discipline . . . they and those who came after them . . . are to be considered *schismatical*^h." Neither does

^h Three Sermons on the Church, Bishop of London, 1842. These by Charles James (Blomfield), Lord sermons comprise many valuable

the existence of rationalism and infidelity in these communities¹, prove that they are to be rejected as altogether apostate or heretical; for as in the time of Arianism, heresy had apparently, for a time, the ascendancy in the eastern churches, and yet the true faith was preserved among the people and many of the pastors who were externally united with heretics; so, even in those churches of the foreign Reformation, where the pride of philosophy has for a time subverted the faith of many, there are still adherents and advocates of the truth.

From what has been said in Chapter IV. (p. 64—69), it might, perhaps, be inferred, that it is positively the duty of such believers to separate themselves from all communion with Neologians and heretics, and that, in the absence of such an act of separation, they must be considered as involved in the guilt of those with whom they communicate; but this is a case in which the principle laid down by our Lord in the parable of the tares, as commented on by the fathers (see above, p. 89—92), would seem to apply. For it is probable that the truth may, under existing circumstances, be promoted by methods of persuasion, and that any such separation might, perhaps, only extend the influence of error.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Even if Luther and his adherents had been unjustly excommunicated by Leo X. still they were guilty of schism in establishing private conventicles, and altering the rites of religion. St. Augustine says, that “Divine Providence often permits even good men to be expelled from the Christian congregation, through the turbulent seditions of the carnal; which contumely or injury, if they endure patiently for the peace of the church, and attempt no novelties of schism or heresy, they will teach men with what true affection and what sincere love God should be served... such are crowned in secret by the Father, who seeth in secret: they seem to be rare, yet examples have been found^a.” Therefore the Lutherans ought

details on the views of our bishops and theologians, with reference to the position of the churches of the foreign Reformation.

¹ The most melancholy details on

this subject are furnished in “The State of Protestantism in Germany,” by the Rev. Hugh James Rose.

^a Augustinus de vera Religione, cap. vi. tom. i. p. 752.

to have remained patiently under the excommunication, even if it had been unjust, and not to have established conventicles.

Answer. There was no reason why an unjust excommunication should induce them to *deprive themselves* of the means of grace, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the eucharist, which is “generally *necessary* to salvation.” Several of them were clergy empowered by ordination to administer the means of grace. Surely it would have been unreasonable to expect, that men who had not been condemned by a legitimate judgment of the church, should abstain at once from all the most sacred duties of religion. Good conscience would never have permitted such a proceeding. It must be remembered that they were *appellants* to a general council, and were authorized in not considering themselves as definitively separated from the church. St. Augustine, perhaps, only speaks of cases where there is no question of doctrine, and where those expelled have not to offer any testimony against prevalent errors; but at all events, he does not prohibit such persons from using the means of grace, if they can obtain them.

With regard to the change of rites it may be replied, that, under the circumstances, they could not obtain permission from the ordinary authorities to do so, for those authorities had separated them from their communion. The question then arises, whether they were strictly bound to adhere to rites, which were manifest innovations, abuses, things not enjoined or required by the catholic church, and injurious to piety and sound religion. Under the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed, it does not seem that there was any thing schismatical in abstaining from such rites provisionally, until the church should decide the questions in controversy, and communion should be restored.

II. The Reformation was effected in most places by the authority of the civil magistrate, who had no right to interfere in questions of doctrine and discipline; therefore the Reformation, as emanating from an usurped and intrusive authority, was schismatical.

Answer. The magistrates were obliged, in several instances, to take some measures in religion; because the public peace was endangered by the contending parties. This was the case at Basle, Geneva, and elsewhere. In other places, as at Zurich, the magistrates were obliged to examine the question, in con-

sequence of the applications of the Romish party, to put down by *force* the doctrines of the Reformation. In many cases simple protection was afforded by the civil magistrate, as in Friesland, Goslar, Holstein, Dithmar, &c. At Strasburg the senate would not give up the married clergy to be *punished* by the bishop, until he had first punished those who were guilty of more scandalous crimes; and when they finally suspended mass according to the Roman rite, it was only conditionally, until its supporters should prove it conformable to the word of God^b.

I do not deny, however, that the civil magistrates did overstep occasionally their legitimate office; but those regulations which they made by the desire and advice of the reformed, for their societies, are not to be reckoned among intrusions on the office of the church. Zuinglius himself, who has been accused of attributing too much to the civil magistrates, says, that “the civil power (which is placed in supreme authority, in order to correct and regulate externals,) when it is *Christian*, may, with the *consent of the church*, (for I do not wish it to be understood without that consent,) make laws concerning those externals, which are either to be observed or neglected^c.” Such was the principle on which the regulations of the civil magistrates in religion were generally made. And besides this, they were, as I have already observed, only of a temporary, provisional nature. It must be remembered too, that the Emperor Charles V. in 1548, published, by his own authority, the Interim^d, which contains numerous regulations concerning doctrine and discipline, and which he forced on his subjects. The Diet of Ratisbon, in 1540, took cognizance of religious questions; and even Erasmus gave it as his opinion to the magistrates of Basle, that the *diet of the empire* might permit the clergy to marry, and the religious to leave their convents^e. Therefore the Lutherans, &c. were not the only persons who allowed the authority of the civil magistrates.

III. The Arians, Apollinarians, and other heretics might have alleged also that they were unjustly condemned by the church; and if the merits of the church’s judgments are to be

^b Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 120. 206.

^d Fleury, liv. 145. s. 19.

^c Ibid. tom. i. supplement. ad

^e Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 296.

p 286 and 287.

inquired into, there can be no use in them, for controversy will be perpetual.

Answer. I do not examine whether the church judged justly or unjustly, but what I contend is, that the church *did not judge at all* in these controversies. I shall hereafter prove (Part IV.) that the papal decree and the Synod of Trent alone did not convey the judgment of the catholic church.

IV. Many theologians of the reformed communities confess that they separated themselves from the Roman church. Luther said, that at the beginning he stood alone.

Answer. They separated from the *errors* commonly held, but not from the communion of the church; as Archbishop Laud truly said: "The Protestants did not depart; for departure is voluntary, so was not theirs. I say not theirs, taking their whole body and cause together. For that some among them were peevish, and some ignorantly zealous, is neither to be doubted, nor is there danger in confessing it^f." When Luther said that he stood alone, he meant that he was almost the only person who conspicuously, and in the face of the world, maintained his doctrines; but he knew that many others, though less conspicuously, approved and defended them.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE SEPARATISTS FROM THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

I AM now to speak of the societies which are separated from the communion of the Anglo-catholic churches. As I shall consider elsewhere the character of the Romanists and the Scottish Presbyterians^a, it only remains here to treat of the various sects of dissent. Of these communities, whether collectively or individually considered, I affirm, that they are no part of the church of Christ. This question has been recently so well treated by many able writers, that very little need be said on the subject.

^f Laud, Conference with Fisher, s. 21. No. 3. ^a Part II. Chapters ii. and ix.

SECTION I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF DISSENT.

The church exists beyond the dissenting sects.

The dissenting societies cannot be supposed to constitute the true church of Christ, to the *exclusion* of the more ancient and infinitely greater churches of the east and west, and those of the Foreign Reformation: for it has been proved, that the church of Christ must always be morally universal^b. Now dissenting communities only exist in Britain, in the United States, and in a few of the English colonies. They are unknown on the continent of Europe, in Asia, Africa, South America, that is, in nearly the whole world. It is impossible that a party so small, so unknown to the world at large, can be that "mountain filling the whole earth," that "city set upon an hill which cannot be hid."

There is another proof that they cannot alone constitute the church of Christ. Whatever be their present state, it is certain that about two hundred and fifty years ago, they were entirely unknown; that they even did not exist. We know perfectly when these societies arose, and who were their founders. We know that Robinson, the author of *Independency*, lived in the reign of Elizabeth and James, that Jacobs founded the first congregational church about 1616, that Jesse established the first Baptist church in 1640. We can tell when the various existing denominations of Quakers, Presbyterians, Swedenborgians, Socinians, Moravians, Huntingdonians, Wesleyans, Whitfieldites, Kilhamites, Jumpers, Ranters, the followers of Johanna Southcote, Irvingites, &c. first arose: their origin is comparatively recent. If these societies alone constitute the true visible church of Christ, we should be at a loss to discover where that church existed two hundred and fifty years ago.

It has been proved that there must always be a visible and a universal church of Christ on earth. It is therefore in vain to allege that some individuals may have held the truth in secret, in the midst of an apostate and antichristian church. This would not be any answer to the question, where the visible church of Christ existed. It would be equally vain to attempt

^b Chapter vii.

to trace this visible church in the various sects of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliffites, Hussites, Anabaptists, &c. : for independently of the fact that none of these societies possessed the antiquity and universality of the church of Christ, the dissenting communities now existing cannot trace their descent from, nor their communion with, these more ancient sects.

Hence we may not unreasonably conclude, that the various denominations of separatists cannot constitute the church of Christ, to the *exclusion* of other greater and more ancient societies : and what has been observed of them collectively, applies of course still more strongly to each of them in particular.

It must be admitted then, that the dissenters can only form a small portion of the church of Christ, if they belong to it at all. We must look elsewhere for the great majority of that church ; and since even the foreign reformed societies in addition to the dissenters, would not make up a church such as the Scripture points out ; the more ancient churches of the Greek, if not of the Roman communion, must be added. Now if it be conceded, that the Greek or Latin churches, and the societies of the Foreign Reformation, are parts of the catholic visible church, it is impossible to exclude the Anglo-catholic churches from the same privilege ; for there is nothing objected to them by dissenters, which might not be equally objected to all the other churches of the east and west. All are more or less established by law, and influenced by the civil magistrate. None of them are modelled according to the congregational form. In none are the clergy elected or deposed by the suffrage of the people. All have rites and ceremonies of human invention, imposed by human authority ; creeds, articles of faith, confessions, liturgies, &c. It is therefore impossible, in admitting that they are part of the church, to deny that our churches are also churches of Christ.

If then the British churches continue to be churches of Christ, even to the present time ; they must have been so when these various communities separated from them, and constituted a rival worship. But I have already proved, that separation from a Christian church is incapable of excuse, and that the society formed by such an act of separation is entirely cut off from the true church ^c.

^c Chapter iv. s. ii.

This fixes ineffaceably the mark of schism on the origin of all these communities. For they not only separated themselves from this branch of the catholic church, but did so on principles which *involved separation from every other part of the church equally*; and accordingly, they held communion with no church which existed previously to their separation, nor were they acknowledged afterwards by any such church as a portion of the church of Christ.

And in
heresy.

The first separatists from the church of England maintained that her forms of government, and her ritual, were idolatrous and Antichristian, and that in consequence she was not a church of Christ, but a synagogue of Satan, from which they were bound to come forth^d. The conclusion followed of course from their principle; but that principle condemned as Antichristian, not merely the existing church of England, but *all other churches* for many ages, even up to the time of the apostles. On this principle then the church must have *entirely failed* for several ages; a position which is decidedly heretical.

Like the Novatians and Donatists, they denied her to be a true church, because her communion comprised *sinners*; and maintained the duty of separating from her on this account^e. On the same principle, they must have held it a duty to have separated from every Christian community for many centuries previously, and thus again denied the perpetuity of the church of Christ.

The same may be said of their plea for separation, grounded on the pretence, that the imposition of creeds, articles of faith, rites, ceremonies, &c. by authority of the church, was an act of rebellion against the sole authority of Christ, as king and legislator in his church^f. This has been notoriously practised

^d Stillingsfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, Works, vol. ii. p. 481—483. 549. Brown, in his book on the Life and Manners of the Christians (1582), asserts that the English church government is "Antichristian," that the clergy "enchant" the bread and wine by graces and prayers, make an idol of it, &c. The Apology of the Brownists (1604) maintained that the church's government and worship were Antichristian (art. 29, 30), that the English is not a part of the Christian church (art.

31), that "all who will be saved are bound to come forth of this Antichristian church" (32), that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to suppress and root out the ministry of the church and apply its property to civil uses, and to establish and maintain by law the true religion (39). See also Neal's Puritans, vol. i. c. 4, 5, 6.

^e Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church.

^f Towgood on Dissent.

by all Christian churches from the earliest ages, consequently the church of Christ must have been apostate and entirely failed, until the dissenters arose in the seventeenth century ; a position which is equally absurd and heretical.

Therefore, their separation from the church of England was founded not only in schism but in heresy, and this being the case, they could not have been any part of the church, nor were they capable of forming Christian churches.

SECTION II.

ON DISSENTING PRINCIPLES AS AFFECTING UNITY.

I shall not here dwell on the actual existence of divisions and heresies among dissenters, because every system is occasionally abused, and such evils may arise from the violation of its principles. Yet it must be confessed, that the religious disorganization of dissent is extraordinary and unprecedented. One of themselves admits, that “the most remarkable and flagrant circumstance that fixes the attention of the Christian philosopher, is the inveterate and incurable sectarianism that distinguishes our British Christianity. No people of any age or climate have carried the evil of religious faction and endless division to a more extraordinary height. No religious evil (in the present day) more resolutely defies correction than the evil of schism ^a.” These remarks are true ; but dissenters persuade themselves that the evil does not arise from their own principles. “Can it be shown,” they say, “that the tendency of the congregational *system* is to generate and foster the evils under review ^b?” I say it can be clearly shown. The dissenting *system*, the *principle* of dissent, is the cause of all their divisions ; it leads necessarily to tumult, division, separation, heresy without limit ; it leads to the conclusion that *schism* is altogether inoffensive, and may be made a matter of joke ; and it actually leads to the adoption of this Antichristian principle into their system, as *highly salutary*, and even *essential to its proper working* !

According to them, a church is a voluntary society of professing saints, which is complete in itself, subject to no juris-

^a Eclectic Review for 1831, p. 192.

^b Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. On Ch. Polity, p. 171.

Dissent creates and encourages division.

diction but its own, competent to make and execute its own laws, acknowledging no rule but Scripture, and possessing the ability to ascertain its directions. The voice of the society decides every thing; every measure is proposed and discussed, and the majority determines the matter^c. Such is the system and principle of dissent; whence it is clear that frequent discussion, debate, voting, are essential to it; therefore, there must be a perpetual excitement to anger, jealousy, party-spirit, ambition, and all the elements of division. These contending elements are pent up in each little community, and compelled to ferment there, because no external authority whatever is allowed. Nor is this all: it is the principle of dissenters that no human authority can be admitted in religious matters^d. Therefore, the minority in any question in their churches cannot feel it their duty to yield to the majority, because the judgment of that majority is merely human; and hence it follows that discussions among them are *interminable*, except by a total separation. Voluntary separation or dissolution in their societies is, in short, their only remedy against violent explosions; and injurious as it is to their interests and character, they are compelled, by the original vice of their system, to look with hope to so fatal a remedy. It will be remembered that Christ commanded his disciples to love one another, and prayed that they might be perfectly one; and that St. Paul exhorted Christians to be perfectly united, and that there should be no division among them^e. "The system of congregational churches" (I quote the words of a dissenter) "is totally different. From them any member, or any number of members, is at liberty to withdraw whenever they think it their duty, without incurring any censure, or provoking any resentment. . . . Peaceable and Christian *separation*, when separation becomes inevitable or *expedient*, is the MAXIM of the congregational system; and it has always been found to be, not only a sufficient *safety-valve* for the occasional disturbances of the churches, but a means of rendering those very disturbances conducive to the extension of Christianity^f!"

Thus we see the principle of schism and separation enshrined

^c Binney's *Life of Morrell*, p. 134, 135.

^e See Chapter iv.

^d Towgood on Dissent, *Library of Eccl. Knowledge*, vol. ii. p. 314.

^f *Library of Eccl. Knowledge*, vol. ii. p. 167.

as a *maxim* of dissent; and accordingly, we need not wonder to find Owen and Towgood, and other dissenters, ridiculing those who deliver solemn lectures on the sin of schism, and joking about schism as a mere “ecclesiastical scarecrow ^g.” According to them, “*separation* between different Christian bodies which agree in holding the head, but do not accord in lesser matters, is an affair of *expediency*; within certain limits it seems really conducive to *edification* ^h!” It is clear, then, that the principle of division is a principle of dissent; and therefore their community cannot form any portion of the church of Christ.

It is their principle to reject all human authority in matters of religion; therefore if a dissenter embraces some heresy, he cannot consistently yield to the contrary judgment of his own community, or of all Christians in the world, now and in all former ages; nor can a congregational society admonish him to turn from his error on pain of expulsion, because this would be that very assumption of authority in matters of religion which dissent exclaims against in the church. There is, therefore, no provision for the maintenance of the Christian truth amongst them.

According to their principle, a church is a mere voluntary association. The motive for entering it is the opinion of the individual that it will be conducive to his edification to do so. He is equally at liberty to depart from it when he judges it expedient ⁱ. From the voluntary principle of their associations, they argue that, like all other clubs, societies, &c., they must possess the absolute power of regulating their own affairs, appointing their servants or ministers, directing, controlling, paying, dismissing them. An infringement on any of these privileges they regard as an invasion of their indefeasible rights. Certainly this reasoning is perfectly correct, and founded on a sort of silent estimate of the real character of dissenting communities. They are *human* societies; the will of man makes them, regulates them, unmakes them. They

Dissent without remedy against heresy.

Dissent a human institution.

^g Owen sneers at “the *old* opinion of the unlawfulness of separation from a church,” as a “scarecrow to frighten men with.”—Gospel Church, p. 27. Towgood also represents it as “an ecclesiastical scarecrow, to keep the simple in

awe.”—On Dissent, p. 115. It is awful to remember *whose* injunctions are here sneered at.

^h Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 118.

ⁱ Owen, p. 47.

are, in a word, purely voluntary associations, and therefore cannot be any part of that church which is formed by the divine command, and by means instituted by God, and from which man cannot separate without most grievous sin.

SECTION III.

ON DISSENTING PRINCIPLES AS AFFECTING THE SANCTITY OF THE CHURCH.

In a preceding chapter (VI.) I have alluded to one of the most prominent and essential principles of dissent; namely, that the visible church of Christ consists of saints only. As they say: "The very *basis* of our church union is regeneration and holiness, evinced by the proper evidences in those persons who are admitted into (church) membership^a." "Religious communities of the congregational order are not only congregations, they are congregations of persons professing to be of a peculiar, that is, of a religious, character this is an essential point in the congregational system, and one, apart from which it would lose all its value, and even its entire character^b." "It is a prominent feature of congregational churches, that they aim at comprehending none but persons of *real* piety. Every member of them is to be supposed, therefore, to possess that adaptation to right judgment of which we have been speaking. Superior to the blindness of a carnal man, and delivered from the influence of worldly passions, his opinions may reasonably be regarded as enlightened and wise^c."

The design and intention, therefore, of dissenters is, to admit none but *really* regenerate and holy men into their churches; but in adopting this notion, they were obliged to devise a new method of admission into the church, different from what Jesus Christ had appointed.

Dissent
alters the
discipline
of Christ.

Christ had commanded his apostles to "teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing them;" and declared that "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved^d;" thus intimating that believers should, by baptism, be fully and perfectly made

^a Library of Eccl. Knowledge,
vol. ii. p. 399.

^b Ibid. 146, 147.

^c Ibid. p. 163.

^d Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 16.

his disciples, and enter on the way of salvation in his church. The evangelist had declared that "they that gladly received the word were baptized, and the same day were *added* about three thousand souls;" subjoining, that "the Lord *added* to the *church* daily such as should be saved^e;" thereby instructing us that the way in which men were added to the church was by baptism. The apostle had said: "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have *put on Christ* . . . ye are all one in Christ Jesus^f;" intimating that in baptism they were engrafted into Christ's body, the church. They were thus by lawful baptism made members of the whole Christian fraternity, and consequently of that portion of it in which they abode; and though they might not interfere with the particular concerns of other portions of the church, because this would have been contrary to the law of order and peace throughout Christianity, they had a right to all the offices of fraternity and spiritual consolation from every part of the church which they might visit, and to every privilege of that portion in which they abode.

But the only conditions for baptism were repentance and faith. There was no mention of regeneration, sanctity, real piety, whether visible or invisible, as pre-requisites to its reception. Those who were baptized came to the holy fountain as repentant sinners, not as professing saints: "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy *sins*." The publican and the harlot, the unjust, the scorner, the persecutor, the idolater, he whose sins were as red as scarlet, were all internally qualified by repentance and faith, and externally by the profession of both, for that divine and holy mystery.

Such a system could never compose a church of professing saints only; and more especially when all new members were added to the church by baptism in their *infancy*, it would have been impossible that the church should consist only of real saints, if baptism had been recognized any longer as the mode of admission into it.

Accordingly, the dissenters found it necessary to devise a new method of their own for admitting members into their church, distinct altogether from baptism. But let us contem-

^e Acts ii. 41. 47.

^f Gal. iii. 27, 28.

plate for a moment the difficulties into which the devious path of error led them.

They themselves could not deny in the face of Scripture, that, after all, baptism did, in some way or other, introduce members into the church of Christ. Now at least it must have made them members of the visible church; and this is expressly admitted by Owen, their chief writer, who speaks of "baptizing the children of church-members, giving them thereby an admission into the visible catholic church &c." Baptism, then, admitted into the visible catholic church; but baptism did not admit into dissenting churches of professing saints; therefore the latter form no part of the catholic church of Christ.

Nor is this all: whoever has been once lawfully baptized, and thus made a member of Christ's body the church, cannot by any subsequent rite or transaction whatever be introduced into that church; such a rite must be entirely null and void. While he who seeks for a new admission to the visible church, by that very act renounces his former admission to it in baptism; denies and tramples under foot the privileges which, by the divine appointment, are connected with it; and as he cannot be introduced again into the church by the vain and impious ceremony by which men dare to supersede the effects of baptism, he falls headlong from the church of Christ.

Dissent engenders spiritual pride.

But let us consider the operation of this principle on Christian sanctity. It is the manifest aim and intention of the dissenting community to admit none but "real saints," persons regenerate, sanctified, of a peculiar and exalted religious character. Such is their intention, and therefore they inquire by every possible means, including personal examination of the candidate's "experience," whether he be really possessed of these distinguished qualifications; therefore no person can enter a dissenting community without hypocrisy, unless he believes and *professes* himself to be a saint! He must believe himself to be a regenerate, really pious, sanctified man, superior to the blindness of the flesh, free from the influence of earthly passions; in short, a genuine saint! Surely modesty and humility were not to be altogether strangers to Christianity, yet they are utterly banished by the dissenting principle of

admission into the church; for he who proposes himself as a member of their community, knowing that none but real saints are to be admitted, knowing that the most rigid examination is to be instituted as to his regeneration, sanctity, real piety, &c., such a man, I say, must have a most perfect and singular assurance and self-satisfaction, he must "think more highly of himself than he ought to think." His feelings and his language must literally be: "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The church is more humble, and instructs each of her children to say, from the bottom of his heart, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

The adoption of the principle that none but real saints were to be admitted into the church, led them of course to condemn the church of England as acting on a different principle, and admitting persons of all sorts and ages to become her members by baptism. This appeared intolerable to dissenters; they separated from a church so "antichristian," and in the same act separated from every existing Christian community in the world, and condemned the universal church of Christ in all past ages. They were now to form a pure society of saints, a city set upon a hill, a light shining amidst the darkness of universal Christianity. This was on all accounts a perilous undertaking, and one of its peculiar dangers is well pointed out by a dissenting writer. "By the fact of our select association," he says, "we intimate both our conviction that a change of character is necessary, and our hope that we have experienced it; . . . but if, while we profess to be so materially diverse from others, that for the purpose of religious association we are constrained to separate from them, we are yet so much like them that little or no difference is perceptible; we do mischief rather than good, we falsify the lesson which our profession is adapted to inculcate, and turn our profession itself into inconsistency and ridicule^h." This is a true picture of the failure of the dissenting schemes of the church. That high theory of sanctity which led them to separate from the church of Christ, has been unhappily nothing but a theory; it has been proved an impossibility by experience. Dissenting communities are just like the rest of the world, troubled with im-

^h Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 189.

moralties, by no means elevated above the usual level in point of sanctity, and remarkable for nothing but divisions, party-spirit, and the indefatigable assertion and pursuit of their own rights and interests. "Hence," as the same writer observes, "the force of our profession itself is materially diminished, and almost annihilatedⁱ." Yet, strange to say, though experience has verified the scriptural doctrine on this subject, which the church has always maintained^k, the opposite doctrine of a perfect sanctity, which excludes all sinners, remains to this day one of the main principles of dissent, and is as much insisted on as if nothing had ever happened to refute it. So difficult is it for men, who are once involved in a false system, to escape from its entanglements.

SECTION IV.

DISSENT NOT APOSTOLICAL.

Dissenting communities cannot be derived from the apostles, for they were heard of for the first time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after Christ, and were not then peaceably derived from any society of apostolical foundation, nor afterwards acknowledged by any such as a portion of the church of Christ^a. In addition to this, it is easy to see that their ministry is not apostolical. They themselves ridicule the notion of any divine commission to minister in sacred things, derived by successive ordinations from the apostles. The claim of the church to such a commission for her ministers, is matter of unceasing vituperation and scorn with dissenters. Of course, therefore, their own ministers cannot pretend to such a commission. But after all, it is pretty plain that they are obliged, whether willingly or unwillingly, to adopt this course; for their founders, or some of their first ministers, were generally laymen, who usurped the power of the ministry, and pretended to ordain others to an office which they had not themselves received by any imposition of hands from the ministers of Christ. The Quakers have no ministry. The Wesleyans have or had no ordinations by imposition of hands. In fine, the Independents and others pretend that no ordination whatever is requisite; and many of them have no vocation except from mere popular

ⁱ Lib. of Eccl. Know. vol. ii. p. 189.

^a Chapters vi. vii.

^k Chapter vi.

election. It is, indeed, one of their principles, that the ministers of religion derive their vocation and mission entirely from popular election. The right of the people to elect, pay, control, and dismiss their teachers, is argued from the nature of a voluntary association or club, which must necessarily have the power of appointing its own officers, and regulating their whole conduct. And as every officer of a voluntary association or club derives his commission entirely from those who create him, so the dissenting minister is commissioned to preach the Gospel, not by God, but by man. He is the minister of man only; and therefore the dissenting communities being destitute of a true ministry, which is essential to the church^b, are not churches of Christ. I shall add nothing more in a case so easy and clear^c.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church of England cannot charge the dissenters with schism for separating from her, for they only exercised the same right which she claimed for herself in separating from the church of Rome.

Answer. I deny that the church of England ever separated herself from the communion of the Roman church^d; the latter merely estranged herself from us, under the prejudice that it was necessary for every one to be subject to the papal jurisdiction, and therefore that our suppression of that jurisdiction in England was schismatical. The dissenters, on the other hand, withdrew themselves from the communion of the church in which they had been baptized. The churches of Britain had existed in communion with the universal church for fifteen hundred years before the dispute took place between her and the pontiff. The societies of dissenters could not have existed in any such communion before their separation from us, for that separation alone gave them existence. The church of Britain only revived her ancient privileges and liberties, which had been usurped by the Roman pontiff, or allowed by her to

^b Chapter viii.

^c The argument against dissent has been treated by Bishop Stillingfleet in his *Unreasonableness of Separation*. See also *Articles on Dissent in the British Magazine* for

May, June, July, 1832; on the Church, June, 1833; and on the Congregational Union, September, 1833; and Mr. Maitland on the Voluntary System.

^d See Part II, chapter ii.

devolve to him; and she had for this purpose the ordinary spiritual authority instituted by Jesus Christ. The dissenters had no ancient rights, as their societies had never existed before their separation from the church of England; and they neither had nor claimed any spiritual authority, but rested their cause on the supposed rights of conscience, in opposition to authority. The church justifies her Reformation without imputing such errors or crimes to the universal church, before the separation, as would prove it apostate and antichristian. The dissenters can only justify their own existence by maintaining that the church of Christ had apostatized and entirely failed.

It is really astonishing that any one can venture to compare the Reformation of the church of England to the separation of the dissenters. There cannot be a stronger contrast than is afforded by the two cases.

II. The church of England has transgressed in several respects the laws of Christ, in acknowledging the king's supremacy, imposing creeds and articles of faith, establishing superstitious rites, &c.; consequently it was necessary to forsake her communion.

Answer. I have showed above (page 39) that separation from the church is *inexcusable*, and have answered these various objections of dissenters. (page 203, &c.)

III. There may be separation without schism, because Christians may be united in heart and spirit, though the offices of religion are performed in different places of worship.

Answer. Christ commanded his disciples to be perfectly united, that the world might believe that the Father had sent him (John xvii. 20. 23); therefore even schism within the church is contrary to his will; but open separation from it is a manifest disobedience to God. And when separate conventicles are established, and rival ministers endeavour to gain proselytes from the church, declaring its worship, its government, its regulations so unscriptural or erroneous, that Christians are bound to come forth from it and be separate; what plea can be vainer than the pretence of an internal communion of affections, which is disproved by every act?

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE NESTORIANS AND MONOPHYSITES.

THESE ancient sects, which were separated from the communion of our churches and from the rest of the catholic church in the fifth century, still continue to exist in Egypt, Abyssinia, Syria, Armenia, and some other parts of the east; and it seems to be the opinion of some respectable modern writers, that they are not to be excluded from the Christian church. Fricius, Jewel, Usher, and Laud are apparently of this opinion, and Field expressly maintains it^a. The arguments by which it is supported, are derived either from the supposition that these sects believe the fundamental articles of Christian faith, or that their difference with the church is rather verbal than real. It does not appear to me, however, that there is any reason to alter our opinion of these sects, from that which the universal church maintained for so many ages.

1. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, in declaiming Nestorians. against the old and pious term Θεοτόκος, or Deipara, (ascribed to the blessed Virgin as the mother of Him who was both God and man,) dogmatized contrary to the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, affirming in effect, that the Word of God and the man Jesus were two different persons, united only by a sort of moral union, the former inhabiting the latter as a temple. From this doctrine it followed, contrary to the Christian faith, that the Word of God was not made flesh, nor born into this world, nor did He suffer for us, nor redeem us with his blood; that Christ was not God, but only the temple of God; that the Virgin was only mother of a man, and not of Him who was both man and God. It is needless to go into a detail of the Nestorian errors, or to point out their inconsistency with scripture. Their consequences were so dreadful, that the holy œcumenical synod of Ephesus, in 431, most justly styled their author another Judas, and pronounced anathema against all who should divide the person of Jesus Christ. The decree of this synod on the incarnation was soon accepted and approved by the church in all parts of the

^a Of the Church, book iii. chap. i.

world ; for though John, patriarch of Antioch, and the oriental bishops, for a short time disputed the lawfulness of the proceedings at Ephesus, they afterwards united themselves to St. Cyril of Alexandria and the rest of the church, in pronouncing anathema against Nestorianism. The partizans of the condemned doctrine only found support in Persia, where they disseminated their errors and obtained a permanent settlement ^b. The chief founders of the sect there were Ibas, Barsumas, Manes, and others who had been expelled from the school of Edessa in consequence of their doctrine. The Nestorians have always continued in those parts ; they disclaim the name of Nestorians, and pretend that their doctrine and churches are derived from the apostles ^c. They, however, reckon Nestorius, Diodorus, and Theodore of Tarsus, who taught the Nestorian tenets, among the saints ; and while they pretend that there is no real difference between their doctrine and that of the church ^d, they anathematize the œcumenical synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, because they denied that Christ was two different persons ^e.

Since, therefore, the Nestorian doctrine was condemned by the whole church throughout the world ; since those who maintained it were ejected from the Christian society, and always accounted heretics ; since the Nestorians have never yet been restored to the communion of the catholic church, never forsaken their errors, never acknowledged the errors of their founders ; and since they anathematize the whole church in anathematizing the synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, it seems to me that we cannot reckon them as any part of the church of Christ, even though some of them may be desirous of representing their doctrine as orthodox, and consonant to that of the church.

Monophysites.

2. The doctrine attributed to Eutyches, of the conversion of the human nature into the divine, or the mixture of the two natures together in Christ, so as to form but one nature after the incarnation, was rejected by Dioscorus and the other leaders of the Monophysite faction, who opposed themselves to the decree of the holy œcumenical synod of Chalcedon (451), which was received and approved by the church in all

^b Assemani Biblioth. Orientalis, tom. iv. p. 69.

^c *Ibid.* 76.

^d *Ibid.* 220.

^e *Ibid.* 230.

parts of the world. They and their descendants, entitled Monophysites or Jacobites, acknowledge only one nature in Christ, compounded of the divinity and humanity, yet without conversion, confusion, or mixture^f. This doctrine, like the Nestorian, shook the main pillars of the Christian's hope; for in attributing to our blessed Saviour a sort of third nature, compounded of the human and divine, it threatened to render his suffering for us imperfect and incapable of obtaining salvation for men; for unless Christ had been very and perfect man to suffer, and very God to confer an infinite value on those sufferings, his death would have been inadequate to the accomplishment of so great a work.

Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, who was deposed by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon for his outrageous proceedings against the opponents of the Eutychian heresy, and who refused to believe the orthodox doctrine defined by the synod and approved by the whole Christian world, was legitimately succeeded by Proterius in the see of Alexandria; but the Monophysite, Timothy Ælurus, intruded into that see, having obtained ordination from two deposed Egyptian bishops of the same party; and his adherents murdered Proterius. In the same manner Theodosius, a monk of Palestine, usurped the see of Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem, while the latter was absent at Constantinople, and ordained Monophysite bishops throughout Palestine in opposition to the catholic bishops. Some time after, another Monophysite, Peter Fullo, came to Antioch under the protection of Zeno the governor, and excited a schism against the patriarch Martyrius, on whose retirement he seized the bishopric, but was soon compelled to fly by the orders of the emperor. Such was the origin of the Monophysites, who attempted then, and afterwards by the aid of the civil power, to usurp the various sees of the Church; and who established a rival communion, anathematizing the council of Chalcedon^g, approved by the whole Christian world, reckoning its adherents among the heretics, and including among the saints Dioscorus, Barsumus, Timothy, Severus, Jacobus, Theodosius, and others who were notoriously opposed to the catholic doctrine, and guilty of offences against the law

^f See Assemani's *Dissertatio de* of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, sect. v. Monophysitis, in the second volume ^g *Ibid.* s. iv.

of unity. Hence, although some of the Monophysites in later times have expressed themselves in terms that seem to render the difference in doctrine but inconsiderable^h, there seems to be no reason to suppose that they form a portion of the catholic church, having been originally excluded from that church as well by its decree as by their own separation from us: nor have they ever ceased to treat the doctrine of the church as heretical, styling us Chalcedoniansⁱ, and reckoning us among the heretics to this day.

It seems, therefore, that the Nestorians and Monophysites, or Jacobites, are no part of the church of Christ, for (as I have elsewhere observed^j), the assumption that they hold what are called fundamental doctrines, and are therefore free from heresy, is founded on an uncertain and arbitrary distinction. We need not, however, pronounce them heretics in such a sense as imports any grievous sin on their parts, and the loss of salvation: because it appears that their errors are generally held in ignorance^k, and that many of them are disposed to hear the truth. Under such circumstances great lenity should be employed. . But, at the same time, we cannot admit them to constitute any part of the visible church of Christ, unless we are prepared to annul the most solemn and united judgments of the catholic church^l.

^h Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* t. ii. p. 277. 97.

ⁱ See Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, p. 123, where the creed of the Syrian Christians of St. Thomas in India is stated to include a condemnation of the errors of "Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the *Chalcedonians*."

^j Chapter V. Appendix on Fundamentals.

^k "Leurs évêques, leurs ecclésiastiques, leurs moines, sont tombez dans une profonde ignorance . . . Il faut faire le mesme jugement des Eutychiens et des Nestoriens de

l'Asie, de l'Égypte, et de l'Éthiopie. Les relations nouvelles qu'on nous en a données depuis quelques années attestent que les Eutychiens ne savent plus quel est le point précis des anciens différends entre eux et les catholiques."—Thomassin, *De l'Unité de l'Église*, part i. c. xx. Modern accounts confirm the truth of this statement.

^l On the subject of the errors of the Nestorians and Monophysites, see Dionysius Petavius, *Theologica Dogmata*, t. iv.; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. sæc. v. dissert.* xxiv, xxv.

A TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART II.

ON THE BRITISH REFORMATION.

A T R E A T I S E

ON

T H E C H U R C H O F C H R I S T .

PART II.—CHAPTER I.

ON THE CHARACTERS OF THE TEMPORAL PROMOTERS OF
THE REFORMATION.

IT is my design in this Part to examine the reformation of the church in Great Britain and Ireland, to trace its conformity with the faith and discipline of the catholic church, and to reply to the various imputations of heresy, schism, variation, and inconsistency, advanced by Bossuet in his “Variations,” and by other opponents of the church of England.

The real facts of the reformation in England have been so misrepresented from ignorance or design, that there is no part of our controversies which merits from members of the catholic churches of these nations a more attentive study. It is perpetually and confidently asserted, that the various corrections in ecclesiastical matters, made in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, were effected, and can only be defended on principles subversive of ecclesiastical authority and unity; therefore that we cannot maintain the authority of the church of England as a part of the church of Christ, and the necessity of adhering to her communion, without, at the same moment, condemning the Reformation (or foundation as they call it) of the church of England. The use made of this principle by the Romanist is, to argue that a church which by her fundamental principle is deprived of all spiritual authority, and

which merely relies on the civil power for protection against anarchy, cannot be a true church of Christ. On the other side, the dissenter justifies his separation and resistance to ecclesiastical authority, by ascribing similar conduct to the church from which he separates; and the latitudinarian or the heretic refuses to admit the authority and judgment of the universal church, when adduced by us against him, because he alleges that the Reformation itself was based in their rejection. We need not wonder then that a view of the Reformation so beneficial to all the enemies of the Anglo-catholic church, is assiduously and confidently maintained by them.

Charges
against the
Anglo-
catholic
church.

If indeed, as is alleged, this church was *founded* at the Reformation by *separation* from the catholic church, if its *faith* was then invented or changed by Henry VIII., or by any other sovereign, on any motives whatever, good or evil; if the Reformation was the introduction of a *new Gospel*, the revelation of a doctrine hitherto *unknown to the catholic church, or condemned by it*; and if the church of England was responsible for all the views, motives, acts, of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, and their courtiers; in this case our adversaries might possibly triumph. But we altogether deny these positions. The church of England was not founded at the Reformation, nor separated from the catholic church, nor was its faith changed by Henry VIII., &c.; nor was the doctrine of the Reformation a new and unknown Gospel; nor is it possible, on any principle of reason or justice, to identify the church of England with all the sins, errors, and vices of those temporal rulers who supported its reformation. This then, in general, is what I proceed to show, considering successively the character and conduct of secular rulers as affecting the reformation of the church of England; the abolition of the papal jurisdiction and the schism; the royal supremacy and proceedings during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; the principles of the Reformation in England; the variations of the church in religion; the character of archbishop Cranmer; and the reformation and schisms in Ireland and Scotland.

Evil
Princes
sometimes
benefit the
church.

I shall first consider *the character of the temporal rulers as affecting the reformation of the church of England*. That men of unsanctified characters have frequently been made instrumental in performing works beneficial to the church, must be admitted by Romanists themselves. The character of Con-

stantine the Great was stained by serious offences, yet he established Christianity in the Roman empire. Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks; Phocas, who conferred on the Roman patriarch the title of œcumenical bishop; the empress Irene, who established the worship of images; many of the Roman pontiffs themselves; and even some of those who were most zealous to extend their jurisdiction, were all guilty of great and terrible crimes. The emperor Napoleon restored Christianity in France, yet it will not be pretended that his character was one of much sanctity.

There is no impossibility that God should cause evil men to benefit the church, for in the occasional employment of such instruments, He only glorifies His own supreme power and wisdom, which can educe good from the very evils he permits; and it may be designed to lead His people rather to contemplate the truth itself, than the personal characters of its promoters, which if it were regarded as the invariable test of truth, would even open the way for heresy, because it has been remarked that the founders of heresies are usually men of great external sanctity. Bossuet himself admits that God has made use of very evil princes to accomplish great works^a. The evil character then of Henry VIII., of Somerset, or of any other temporal or spiritual promoters of reformation in the church, affords (even if it were not exaggerated) no proof that the Reformation was in itself wrong. The objection only applies in a case supposed by Bossuet: when "God desires to reveal to men some truth, important, and unknown for many ages, or entirely unheard of^b:" in such a case he deems it impossible that God should have employed such agents as Henry VIII. or Cranmer. We will go further than this. If such a truth as had been *entirely unheard of before, or condemned in all past ages by the catholic church*, had then been propounded by "an angel from heaven," he would have been "anathema^c."

But we *deny* that any new important truth unknown for ages to the catholic church, or never heard of before, was promulgated at this time in the church of England. We by no means admit that the royal supremacy was novel. We suppose that some errors, commonly received by abuse, *e. g.* the papal

Reformation did not require extraordinary mission.

^a Bossuet, Variations des Eglises Protestantes, liv. vii. 49.

^b Ibid.

^c Galat. i. 8, 9.

infallibility and universal jurisdiction, purgatory, transubstantiation, were suppressed; that idolatries which were generally prevalent, though not compulsory on all, were removed; that some doctrines were defined more accurately, which had been vaguely and imperfectly held; that the Scriptures were freely circulated, several superfluous and abused rites were removed, and others were corrected. There was nothing in all this which required any extraordinary mission, or superlative sanctity.

It may be objected that this affords an inadequate view of the important changes made by the Reformation, and that if the difference between the faith of the church of England before and after it, was not profound and total, it could never have been worth while to *suffer martyrdom* for the truths of the Reformation, or to *separate* from the existing church. But I reply that this proceeds on a totally erroneous view of facts. Those who suffered under queen Mary, suffered because they would not profess their belief in certain errors which their opponents erroneously *asserted* to be matters of faith; and therefore the fact of their suffering does not prove that there was *really* any contradiction in faith between them and their persecutors. The latter were, in fact, rash and uncharitable; but they did not believe more *articles of faith* than their opponents; they merely received some points as *de fide* which were not so. The adherents of the confession of Augsburg, as we know, always asserted that they did not differ in any article of faith from the catholic, or even the Roman church, but only as to certain abuses and erroneous opinions^d. I also contend that the friends of the reformation in England *did not separate from the church* in point of fact. These are truths which I shall prove hereafter.

Admitting then that Henry, Somerset, &c. were justly accused of crimes, the reformation which they promoted may, in *itself*, have been a just and necessary work; and it would have been irrational and wrong in the church of England to have refused all consideration of subjects proposed to her examination or approbation by the royal authority, and to refuse her sanction to reforms in themselves laudable, merely because the character of the king or his ministers was unsaintly, and

^d Confess. August. pars i. sect. 22; pars ii. Prologus; and Epilogus.

his or their private motives suspected to be wrong. Such conduct on the part of the church would have been needlessly offensive to temporal rulers, while it would (in the supposed case) have been actually injurious to the cause of religion, and an uncharitable judgment of private motives. It must be remembered, that although Henry and the protector Somerset may have been secretly influenced by avarice, revenge, or other evil passions, they never made them public. They avowed as their reasons for supporting reformation, the desire of removing usurpations, establishing the ancient rights of the church and the crown, correcting various abuses prejudicial to true religion; and therefore the church could not refuse to take into consideration the specific objects of Reformation proposed by them to her examination or sanction.

Nor does the justification of the church of England in any degree depend on the question of the lawfulness of Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, or with Anna Boleyn; such matters, as Bossuet observes, "are often regulated by mere probabilities^e," and there were at least abundant probabilities that the marriage with Catherine was null *ab initio*^f; but this whole question only affects the character of Henry VIII. and of those immediately engaged in it; it does not affect the Reformation of the church of England.

We have an equal right to set aside the question of the suppression of monasteries. That suppression may perhaps show that some temporal promoters of the Reformation had temporal motives. We do not deny it. All we insist upon is, that the church of England is not to be made responsible for those motives. She never was invited to approve their avarice or other evil passions. She herself suffered from that avarice, just as the French, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese churches have suffered under the extortions or confiscations of their temporal rulers. It must be confessed, however; that in Eng-

^e Variations, liv. vii. 50.

^f It is not denied by any one, that the marriage with Catherine was within the limits prohibited by the book of Leviticus; and though God himself enjoined such a marriage, in case of a brother's death without issue, we must remember that his *express command* is sufficient to authorize proceedings which would be

otherwise contrary to his law: *e g.* the destruction of the Canaanites. The bishops and convocations of England, the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges, Toulouse, Bologna, Padua, &c. and a multitude of theologians, judged that any human dispensation in this case was null.

land, as well as in other countries, the clergy viewed without any extreme regret the extinction of the various orders of monks and friars, which (though in some things commendable) had extremely degenerated from the purity of the ancient rule, interfered with the unity and discipline of the church, and sustained the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, subversive of the liberties of churches. In modern times we have seen the monasteries suppressed in almost all the countries subject to the Roman see.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ABOLITION OF THE PAPAL JURISDICTION, AND THE SCHISM.

THE objections advanced against the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in England are, that it was effected by Henry VIII. in revenge for the refusal of the Roman pontiff to sanction his marriage with Anna Boleyn; that it was carried by false arguments; that the papal jurisdiction having existed since the foundation of Christianity in England, it was schismatical to remove it; and that the church of England then separated herself from the catholic church, and from Christian unity.

Motives of
Hen. VIII.

I. Now, as I have already observed, the private motives of King Henry were not matters on which the church of England could judge. His public professions were unexceptionable. According to them he was influenced by a desire of reforming abuses, reviving usurped rights, and relieving the church and state from foreign oppressions and exactions. The church of England was then bound to examine the question of the abolition of the papal jurisdiction on its own merits; and if she was convinced that abolition was right and advisable, she was justified in acquiescing in the various laws of the civil powers, made for that purpose. Let us examine those laws.

Suppres-
sion of

The various acts of parliament made in England, against certain parts of the papal power, all relate to the various

branches of *ordinary jurisdiction over the church of England*, which had been gradually acquired; and which in no degree concerned the *general* position of the Roman see in the church at large. The learned primate Bramhall has observed, that these acts were not intended to deprive the Roman pontiff of any spiritual power, instituted by Christ, or by the catholic church^a. They did not deny the precedence of the bishop of Rome over other bishops, nor his right of presiding in general councils, nor his right to exhort all bishops to observe the canons, nor his being the centre of catholic unity when he is in communion with all the catholic church, nor the lawfulness of his jurisdiction within his own patriarchate. None of these things were denied by the acts of parliament for abolishing the usurped *jurisdiction* of the Roman see in *England*; and therefore Romanists cannot impute schism or heresy to the church of England on this account^b.

papal jurisdiction.

The several acts of parliament alluded to, are concerning Annates, Bulls, Appeals, and Dispensations.

ANNATES.—In 1532 it was enacted, that annates, or first-fruits, and all other pecuniary payments for bulls, pensions, and annuities, to the Roman see, should entirely cease^c; and this act having been in vain suspended from execution, in order that the pope might redress those exactions, it was confirmed by another act in 1533, which ordered that no person from henceforward should pay any money for annates, first-fruits, or otherwise for any bulls, briefs, or palls. It was also enacted, that no one should pay any pensions, censes, portions, Peter's-pence, or other impositions, to the use of the bishop of Rome^d.

No one can pretend that there was any schism or heresy in the suppression of these pecuniary payments or taxes, which being of an entirely temporal nature, could never have been lawfully levied without the consent of the civil magistrate. They were generally too of comparatively recent imposition. Thomassin, presbyter of the Oratory, proves that annates

^a Bramhall, Works, p. 340.

^b It is not meant of course that any of these privileges of the Roman see were of Divine institution. That the see of Rome has no *primacy* by *Divine right*, and that it has never possessed *de facto* or *de jure universal jurisdiction*, will be proved in Part

vii. No one pretends that patriarchal jurisdiction is *de jure Divino*, and it will be shown that the Roman patriarchate does not canonically extend to England.

^c Act 23 Hen. VIII. for the repression of Annates, &c.

^d Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 20.

began to be exacted by Boniface IX. about 1392^e, and they were enforced by a refusal of the bulls of nomination to benefices or sees. They had been suppressed by the edict of Charles VI. king of France, in 1406, 1417, and 1418^f. They had been again suppressed by Louis XI. in 1463 and 1464^g; and what is more, they had been already prohibited in England, by act of parliament, in the reign of Henry IV.^h Even now, in Austria, annates are not allowed to be paid, except in the case of newly-created bishopsⁱ. Pensions began to be fixed on benefices, by the popes for their cardinals, or for the Roman court, about the same time that annates arose^k; and Peter's-pence were alms which the kings of England had very long been accustomed to pay to the see of Rome^l, but which there could be no religious obligation on them to continue. Therefore in all this enactment there was nothing to which the church of England could rightly object.

BULLS.—In 1532 it was enacted, as above, that no one should pay any money for bulls, or papal letters of institution to bishoprics; and that if those bulls were refused, the bishop elect should be consecrated in England without them; and the law which confirmed this in 1533, enacted that no one in future should be presented to the pope for any see, nor send or procure any bulls, briefs, or palls there^m.

The necessity of papal bulls, even for archbishoprics, was only founded on the laws of the Roman pontiffs, collected by Gregory IX. in the *Decretals*ⁿ; for it is well known, that for many centuries the metropolitans were confirmed and ordained by the provincial synods of bishops^o; but these laws derived their authority in England entirely from the consent or permission of the catholic church here^p. The English bishops,

^e Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, t. iii. p. 447.

^f Thomassin. *ibid.* p. 449.

^g *Ibid.* 453.

^h Bramhall, *Works*, p. 336.

ⁱ Rechberger, *Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriaci*. See Report of Select Committee on Regulation of Roman Catholics, A. D. 1816.

^k Thomassin. iii. p. 355, 356.

^l *Ibid.* p. 109. In the time of Edward III. Peter's-pence were not allowed to be collected in England.—Soames' *Hist. Refor.* i. p. 431.

^m Act 23 Hen. VIII. for repression of annates, and 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. for the non-payment of first-fruits to the bishop of Rome.

ⁿ Thomassin. tom. iii. p. 430.

^o *De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imperii*, lib. iv. c. 4. Thomassin. tom. ii. p. 426, &c.

^p The canon law was only partially received in England.—Bramhall, *Works*, p. 72, 328. Even the laws of general synods, in matters of discipline, are not obligatory in particular churches until they are received

as Thomassin proves, were, so late as 1373, confirmed and ordained by their metropolitans, and not by papal bulls^q. The custom of obtaining bulls for newly-elected bishops arose entirely from the papal reservations or usurpations of the patronage of all bishoprics during the great western schism^r; and they were continued afterwards by concordates between sovereigns and the Roman see, who divided the spoils of the church. That they may be dispensed with by the authority of particular churches, we may conclude from the synod of Ems in Germany, A. D. 1785, which declared, that if the pope refused to confirm the bishops, they would find resources in the ancient discipline^s. The commission of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, instituted by the Emperor Napoleon in 1811, acknowledged that a National Council of France could order that bishops should be instituted by the metropolitan or senior bishop instead of the pope, in case of urgent circumstances^t; and when the Roman bishop had for a long time refused to institute bishops in Portugal, the Portuguese applied to the Gallican church to intercede with the pontiff on their behalf, and in case of failure to consecrate their bishops. And accordingly the Gallican bishops intimated to the Roman bishop, that in case of his continued refusal, they would supply his defect, and consecrate the Portuguese bishops^u. Therefore it is plain that bulls from the Roman see may be dispensed with by particular churches, when there is a sufficient reason, *e. g.* the desire and injunction of the supreme temporal power, and the long continuance of abuses and exactions connected with them.

The necessity of obtaining a pall from Rome for the exercise of metropolitan jurisdiction was founded on the spurious decretals to which Gregory VII. and the succeeding bishops of Rome appealed, in justification of their claims on this point^x. Innocent III. interdicted all metropolitans from exercising any functions till they had received the pall^y; but this regulation could not have been obligatory on the church of England at

there; *e. g.* the discipline of the Council of Trent has never been universally received. It was one of the liberties of the Gallican church, that the pontiff could not derogate from the laws or customs of provinces, or the lawful privileges of particular churches.—Bailly, *Tract. de Eccl. Christi*, tom. ii. p. 209.

^q Thomassin. tom. ii. p. 430.

^r Thomassin. iii. p. 393.

^s Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Eccl. xviii^e siècle, tom. iii. p. 60—65.

^t Ibid. 523—530.

^u Bramhall's Works, p. 111.

^x Thomassinus, tom. i. p. 379.

^y Ibid.

any time, except by her own consent and permission, and therefore she was perfectly at liberty to withdraw that permission whenever she judged it expedient so to do. For the pall itself was merely an external ensign of honour, which the archbishop of Canterbury had originally received as a compliment from the Roman see, and which was understood to give those who possessed it a portion of the authority of that apostolical see^z. But it was so many ages before the use of the pall became common among metropolitans^a, that it is plain there could be no absolute necessity for obtaining it.

APPEALS.—In 1532 it was enacted that all causes concerning wills, matrimony, and divorce, the rights of tithes, oblations, and obventions, should be determined within the realm of England by the proper ecclesiastical tribunals^b; and in 1533 it was enacted that no manner of appeals shall be made to the bishop of Rome, but that all causes shall be determined in England^c. According to Fleury, Du Pin, and Van Espen, the custom of direct and indiscriminate appeals to Rome was introduced by the false decretals^d. Various Roman theologians hold that all appeals to Rome, even in the causes of bishops, are of human institution^e. Du Pin shows that many churches terminated their ecclesiastical causes themselves^f. The African church prohibited expressly all appeals to Rome^g; and the English had just as much power. Even in the last century (1788) Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, abolished all appeals to Rome, and determined the tribunals in which all ecclesiastical causes should be decided^h; and the

^z *Ibid.* p. 369.

^a Palls were first given to the metropolitans of France, in the time of Boniface (the eighth century).—Thomassin. tom. i. p. 370. They were only gradually given to other metropolitans afterwards; and the popes declared, at length, that they were essential to the exercise of the metropolitan jurisdiction.

^b Act 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.

^c Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 19.

^d Fleury, Discours IV. sur l'Hist. Eccl. et Institution au Droit Eccl. tom. ii. c. 23. p. 206; Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 132, &c.; Van Espen, Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum, pars iii. tit. x. c. i.

^e De la Hogue, Tractatus de Ecclesia, p. 382; Bouvier, De Vera Ecclesia, p. 323. The fabrication of false decretals to sustain this pretension is developed by M. de Hontheim in his Febronius, chapter iv. sect. viii.

^f Du Pin, De Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, p. 130, 131.

^g Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccl. tom. ii. p. 206; Van Espen, Tractatus Historico-Canonicus in Canonibus, &c. tom. v. oper. p. 62, &c.; Thomassin, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. tom. ii. p. 47.

^h Mém. Eccl. xviii^e siècle, tom. iii. p. 107.

king of Naples also prohibited appeals^l. In Austria, France, Spain, and other countries, no appeal is allowed to the Roman pontiff, except for the purpose of procuring a *re-hearing* of the cause in those countries^k; which is very different from sending causes to be tried before Roman tribunals. The Roman bishop was given this privilege of desiring a re-hearing by the synod of Sardica, A.D. 341, but the decree of this synod was not for many ages, and never *generally*, received in the church^l, and was only obligatory on the church of England by her own choice and consent, which she might withdraw at any time on a sufficient reason being assigned.

DISPENSATIONS.—It was enacted in 1533 that no one shall hereafter sue to the bishop of Rome for licences, dispensations, compositions (for annates), faculties, grants, rescripts (all relating to the institution to benefices), delegacies (in ecclesiastical causes), or any other instruments or writings^m. I have already spoken of all the points here mentioned, except dispensations and licences. According to Thomassin, they were originally granted by all bishopsⁿ; but gradually in the tenth and following centuries they were allowed to devolve to, or were usurped by, the Roman pontiffs^o. The facility with which they were granted for money excited just complaints, and enervated the discipline of the church. The evils arising from this afforded a sufficient reason for the limitation of the power of dispensation in future to English prelates^p, who would naturally feel more deeply interested in the preservation of discipline amongst us than the Roman court, which viewed this power chiefly as a means of supplying its pecuniary necessities. In fact, papal dispensations have been abolished in several other countries. All papal dispensations for marriage were abolished by the emperor Joseph II. in his dominions^q; the synod of Ems, in 1785, declared that all bishops should dispense, even in cases

^l Ibid. p. 120, 121.

^k Fleury, Discours XII. sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gall.

^l Du Pin, De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina, p. 113. The Second Dissertation of Du Pin, p. 93—116, &c. treats of the whole subject of appeals to the Roman see most excellently well.

^m Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. con-

cerning Peter-pence and dispensations.

ⁿ Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. tom. ii. p. 606.

^o Ibid. 607—610.

^p The power of granting dispensations is reserved to the primate of England.

^q Mém. Eccl. xviii^e siècle, tom. iii. p. 20, 21.

reserved to the pope^r; and in Austria all papal absolutions in reserved cases are disallowed; and all licences granted by the pope to bishops are held null by the Austrian laws^s.

Papal jurisdiction lawfully abolished.

In the suppression of these various branches of jurisdiction, there was *nothing which the church of England was in any degree bound to oppose*; her own rights were not infringed by these acts of parliament, they were, on the contrary, rather restored and confirmed; and *no privilege which belonged to the Roman see, either by primitive custom or by the grant of œcumenical synods, was interfered with*. Therefore the church of England offered no opposition to these legal enactments. The bishops and other prelates in parliament acquiesced in them; and, in fine, when the question was proposed soon after to the bishops and clergy of England, in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York, "Whether the bishop of Rome has, in the holy Scripture, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop," they determined that he had not^t. The universities concurred in this judgment^u. The various chapters, and the convents of regulars, mendicants, &c., throughout the kingdom, also declared their assent^x; and only one bishop (Fisher, of Rochester) refused to unite in this general decision of the church of England. Thus the *ordinary jurisdiction* of the Roman pontiffs, which had been either conferred by ourselves or usurped by them, was regularly and validly suppressed.

Had the Roman see even *legitimately* acquired jurisdiction in England, the church would not have acted schismatically in acquiescing in the regulations made by the temporal powers. This is evident from the parallel case of the churches in Illyricum and Sicily, which were removed from the jurisdiction of the see of Rome by the emperor Leo Isaurus, in the eighth

^r See the account of this synod in *Mém. Eccl. xviii^e siècle*, tom. iii. p. 60—65; and all its Acts in the *Report of Committee on Roman catholics* (1816), p. 146, &c.

^s *Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austriaci*, 1809.

^t Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* vol. iii. p. 158, 159 (Oxford ed. 1816). *Records*, no. 26; *Collier*, ii. 94. The question at that time turned entirely on whether the papal jurisdiction

was instituted by God in *Scripture*. It was not contended that it was handed down merely by tradition. —See *Episcopacy Vindicated*, &c. p. 94—96.

^u Burnet, p. 159. *Rec. n.* 27; *Collier*, ii. *Rec.* xxvii.

^x See Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. xiv. p. 487—527, where the documents are preserved. Burnet, vol. iii. *Rec.* n. 28.

century; and yet no one ever accused these churches of schism; and their bishops sat without any dispute in synods which the Roman see acknowledges as œcumenical^y. But the Roman see *had not legitimately acquired jurisdiction in England*; that jurisdiction had been *usurped*, in contradiction to the decrees of the œcumenical synods^z and the sacred canons; and even the injunctions of the ancient Roman pontiffs obliged and compelled the English church, as a matter of most solemn duty, to remove the papal usurpations^a.

II. Bossuet attempts to prove that they argued falsely in suppressing the papal jurisdiction. It was argued from Gregory the Great's rejection of the title of universal bishop, that at the time when our ancestors received the faith the authority of the Roman see was in a laudable moderation; which Bossuet endeavours to refute by adducing passages from Gregory's writings claiming an extensive jurisdiction^b. Now, without discussing the argument in question, we may safely allow that this and several other arguments then employed may not be convincing, because they are only a few out of a multitude of arguments derived from Scripture, the doctrine and practice of the catholic church in all ages, the decrees of general councils, and the history of particular churches^c, which altogether form a body of evidence amply sufficient to justify the decision of the church. To accuse us of deciding on wrong principles because some one or two unsound arguments may have found their way amidst a number of good ones, is surely most unreasonable and unjust.

III. It is further argued, that the papal jurisdiction having existed in England ever since Christianity had been introduced by its means, it was an act of ingratitude and of schism to disturb so ancient a privilege. But, as it has been already observed, this jurisdiction had risen many ages after the foundation of the church of England, by usurpation, and in contradiction to the canons^d. Whatever acts of jurisdiction were

Its abolition not schismatical.

^y See *Episcopacy Vindicated*, &c. sect. xii.

^z *Ibid.* sect. viii. ix.

^a *Ibid.* sect. vii. viii.

^b Bossuet, *Variations*, liv. vii. s. 62.

^c Burnet, vol. i. p. 251—261.

^d The principle of the canon law

itself was: "Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter. 1 qu. 1. quod de necessitate." According to the same canon law, long custom does not create a privilege.—Dist. c. contra morem; 64 di. quia; 9 qu. 3 conquestus.

performed by Gregory the Great and his immediate successors, in relation to the churches founded by St. Augustine, were extraordinary acts, only justified by necessity, and by the power inherent in *every catholic bishop*; but did not flow from any *ordinary jurisdiction* over our churches^e. And in fine, we were not *exclusively* or *originally* indebted to Rome for our Christianity, the church having existed here for several centuries before the arrival of St. Augustine, and the Anglo-Saxons even having been converted for the most part by holy bishops and missionaries from Ireland.

IV. It is attempted to prove the church of England schismatical by alleging that the abolition of the papal jurisdiction was, *ipso facto*, a separation from the centre of catholic unity. But even admitting (what we deny) that the Roman see is the centre of unity by divine appointment, the abolition of its usurped *jurisdiction* in England by no means indicated a desire on our part to separate from its *communion*. Churches may surely hold fraternal communion without pretending to exercise jurisdiction over each other. The church of England most certainly did not design to separate from the communion of any church of Christ; we defy our adversaries to adduce a single valid proof of such an intention. She held that the Roman see had no right to complain of the suppression of its jurisdiction^f; and if the popes and their subjects considered us schismatics, under an erroneous opinion that it was necessary for every church to be *obedient* to the successor of Peter at Rome, this was to be lamented, but it could not render the catholic church of these realms schismatical.

V. It may be alleged that the removal of the bishop of Rome's name from the ritual offices of the church was an act of schism, implying separation from the rest of the church. This removal was not for the purpose of insulting the Roman bishop, or rejecting his communion; it followed as a necessary consequence on the suppression of his jurisdiction; for had especial prayer been continued for him under the designation of "pope," which had been connected with the notion of his supreme jurisdiction, it could not have failed to be construed into a tacit admission of that authority which had been re-

^e See Part VII. chap. vii.; and
Episcopacy Vindicated, sect. ix.

^f See the Letter of Bishop Tun-
stall, which will be presently cited.

moved, and would have tended to foster in the minds of the ignorant a notion so subversive of the character and due authority of the church.

VI. But further, I deny absolutely that the English church did, either in fact or in intention, separate herself from the communion of the rest of the catholic church; she did not even excommunicate any other western churches; none of their clergy or people were refused communion by her; she recognized them as churches of Christ, and acknowledged that it was the duty of their people to remain united to them. Henry VIII. himself never intended to separate from the church. These facts shall be proved forthwith.

English church did not separate.

We find in the "Institution of a Christian Man," approved by twenty-one archbishops and bishops in 1537 (several years after the abolition of the papal jurisdiction), the following passage: "Therefore I do believe that the church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called, the catholic church, but only *a particular member thereof*, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right, and by the word of God, to be head of this universal church, or to have any superiority over *the other churches of Christ* which be in England, France, Spain, or in any other realm. . . . And I believe, also, that the said church of Rome, with all the other particular churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but *one catholic church or body* §." This bears the signatures, among others, of Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, Bradford, May, and Cox, who were all warm supporters of a reformation in the church.

The "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition^h," approved by the bishops of England, 1543, acknowledges the particular churches of England, Spain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and *Rome*, to be parts of the catholic church, "notwithstanding that among them is great distance of place, diversity of traditions, not in all things unity of opinions, alteration in rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, or estimation of the same, as one church peradventure doth esteem their rites, traditions, laws, ordinances, and ceremonies to be of more force and efficacy than another church doth esteem the same." It is added, that these particular churches are "members of the whole catholic church,

§ "The Institution of a Christian Man," p. 55; Formularies of Faith, Oxford, 1825.

^h Ibid. p. 247.

and each of them by himself is also worthily called a catholic church, when they merely profess and teach the faith and religion of Christ, according to Scripture and the apostolic doctrine. And so every Christian man ought to honour, give credence, and follow the particular church of that region so ordered (as afore) wherein he is born or inhabitethⁱ." It is obvious, then, that the sole intention was, to suppress the novel or usurped *jurisdiction* of the Roman bishop, not to separate from his *communion*, or from that of the other western churches.

That Henry VIII. did not design to separate from the rest of the church, appears by his protest against the council called to assemble at Mantua, A. D. 1536, in which he declared that he most heartily desired a true general council, and that he would preserve all the articles of the faith in his kingdom^k. And it is further confirmed by the learned and excellent letter written by Tunstall, bishop of Durham, by the king's desire, to cardinal Pole, dated 13th July, 1536, where he speaks thus :

"In all your book, your purpose is to bring the king's grace by *penance home unto the church again*, as a man clearly *separate* from the same already. And his recess from the church ye prove not otherwise than by the fame and common opinion of those parts, who be far from the knowledge of the truth of our affairs here," &c. . . . "Ye presuppose for a ground the king's grace to be *swerved* from the *unity* of Christ's church, and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the church of England, he intendeth to *separate his church of England from the unity of the whole body of Christendom* ; taking upon him the office belonging unto spiritual men, grounded in the Scripture, of immediate cure of souls, and attribute to himself that belongeth to priesthood, as to preach and teach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments ; and that he doth not know what belongeth to a Christian king's office, and what unto priesthood ; wherein surely both you and all others so thinking of him do err too far," &c. . . . "His full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Christ's faith

ⁱ Ibid. p. 248.

400. See Collier, vol. ii. Rec. 38.

^k Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p.

without blot kept and observed in his realm; and *not to separate himself or his realm any wise from the unity of Christ's catholic church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same*; and to redeem his church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers heretofore *usurped* therein, into the Christian state that all churches of all realms were in the *beginning*, and to abolish and clearly put away such *usurpations* as heretofore in this realm the bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage," &c. . . .
 "Wherefore since the king's grace goeth about to reform his realm and reduce the church of England into that state that both this realm and all others were in at the beginning of the faith, and many hundred years after; *if any prince or realm will not follow him, let them do as they list*; he doth nothing but stablisheth such laws as were in the beginning, and such as the bishop of Rome professeth to observe. *Wherefore neither the bishop of Rome himself nor other prince ought of reason to be discontent herewith*¹."

This proves sufficiently that neither the church of England, nor king Henry VIII., had any notion of separating themselves from the communion of the rest of Christendom when they removed the papal jurisdiction, which they justly held to be an usurpation altogether unsupported by the Word of God, or by the laws of the church. They did not condemn other churches which were unable to remove the Roman jurisdiction, or correct abuses^m; but they held themselves justified in resuming the exercise of those rights and liberties which they had in the beginning, and which the canons of general councils supported. Nothing could be more reasonable, or more consistent with the unity and due authority of the catholic church; but it was considered by the Roman see, and its adherents, as an act of schism—a revolt—because they were imbued with the modern opinion, that it was necessary to salvation to be subject to the bishop of Rome. Their mistaken opinion, however, was

¹ Burnet, vol. iii. Records, 52. p. 160—163.

^m Even the act of parliament 1 Edw. VI. c. 1, establishing the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, on the ground of Christ's institution and primitive practice, adds the following words: "Not condemning hereby the usage of any

church out of the king's majesty's dominions;" so careful even were the parliaments not to violate the unity of the church. It should be added, that this act is attributed to the pen of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Le Bas' Cranmer, i. 293.

not the *judgment of the catholic church*; and, however we may lament it, and make some allowance for their mistake, we were in no degree bound to submit to it.

Neither does it appear, by any evidence, that the church of England afterwards, during the Reformation, separated herself from any other western churches, or refused to acknowledge them as parts of the catholic church. The separation was on their side, not on ours, as we shall see.

No obligation to attend the synod of Trent.

VII. It may be objected that this church was schismatical, in refusing to send bishops to attend the general council of Trent, where the other churches of Europe were assembled by representation. In reply, I ask whether the Gallican church was schismatical in refusing, till the year 1562, to send bishops to Trentⁿ? Was the German church schismatical, from 1545 to 1563, in not receiving during that time the decrees of the synod, or acknowledging it as oecumenical^o? Were the Gallican, German, and English churches schismatical, in sending no bishops to the council of Florence^p?

I maintain that national churches are not under any obligation to send representatives to synods summoned by the papal authority, as the invariable practice of the western churches sufficiently proves; and *certainly not if the temporal prince withholds his permission*. It was at this time unlawful to depart from the kingdom without royal licence; and the temporal rulers, offended justly by the decree of excommunication and *deposal* passed by the Roman pontiffs against Henry VIII.^q, and threatened against Elizabeth^r, could not reasonably be expected to give permission to obey the papal summons. Besides this, it was evident that the council consisted chiefly

ⁿ Henry II., king of France, in 1551 informed the bishops assembled at Trent, that no French prelate should be permitted to assist there; and his ambassador formally protested, in his name, against its authority.—Fleury, liv. 146, sect. 120, 121. See Bramhall's Works, p. 110.

^o In 1547 the decrees of the synod of Trent were not yet received by the German nation.—Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 144, sect. 87. The Interim, published in 1548, by Charles V., is another proof to the

same effect.—Ibid. liv. 145, sect. 18, &c. The legates, at the opening of the synod of Trent, 1562, were afraid to declare it a *continuation* of the former synod there, lest it should offend the Germans and French.—Fleury, liv. 157, sect. 105.

^p Fleury, liv. 107, sect. 54. These churches acknowledged the rival synod of Basle.—Fleury, l. 107, sect. 71 : 108, sect. 50.

^q Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 445—9.

^r Ibid. vol. ii. p. 673.

of creatures of the Roman pontiff, and that its œcumenicity and authority was doubted or rejected, not only in England and Ireland, but in France, Germany, Sweden, and other parts of Europe, as well as by all the East; and since, therefore, it was not acknowledged as œcumenical by the great body of the universal church, there could not be any sort of obligation to attend it as such.

However, had this council really appeared ultimately deserving of approbation, the church of England still had the power of *confirming its decrees*; therefore there is no evidence of schism in our not *attending* that synod. And if this church, not acknowledging any of the sessions before 1562 (which had also been rejected in many parts of the west), and having no confidence in the proceedings at that time, made reformations in doctrine and discipline independently, the same had been recently done in the diet of Augsburgh^s, and by the provincial synods of Augsburgh and Mayence^t in Germany, and in France. The Colloquy of Poissy was convened by the queen in 1561, with the intention of “providing in particular for the kingdom of France, without the authority of the holy see and the council^u ;” and, accordingly, the prelates of France there assembled, *made regulations concerning discipline, and published a confession of faith*^x. The synod of Trent itself, when it consisted of forty or fifty bishops of Italy and Spain, decided questions of doctrine without the concurrence of England, Ireland, France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Greece, Syria, and all the rest of Asia and Africa. We had as much right to determine questions in our national synods, as the Italian and Spanish bishops had to act in their synod at Trent.

VIII. It is objected by Bossuet, that the principle on which the whole Reformation of the church of England was conducted, is schismatical; viz. that every national church was a complete

The principles of English Reformation not schismatical.

^s The Interim, a formulary of doctrine as well as discipline, was decreed by the Emperor Charles V. and the diet of Augsburgh, 1548.—Fleury, liv. 145, sect. 20.

^t The provincial synod of Augsburgh, under Cardinal Otho, received the Interim A. D. 1548.—Fleury, l. 145, sect. 37, &c. The synod of Mayence, in the same year, under the Archbishop of Mayence, made

forty-seven articles or decrees concerning doctrine, and fifty-seven concerning reform of discipline.—Ibid. sect. 89, &c.

^u Bossuet, Variations, liv. ix. sect. 90.

^x Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. 157, sect. 35, 36. Many of the prelates assembled at Poissy were of opinion that communion in both kinds might be restored by a royal edict.—Ibid. 37.

body in itself, and might with the authority and concurrence of its head and king, examine and reform errors and corruptions in doctrine and worship. This, it is said, is a schismatical principle, because it constitutes a principle of unity under a temporal head, which the Gospel has not established; and a national church, in regulating its doctrines privately, and apart, and without considering the doctrine of the rest of the church, separates itself from the universal church, and renounces the unity of faith and doctrine ^γ.

In reply, I observe, first, that this principle introduces no new species of unity in connecting the reformations of doctrine and discipline with the sanction of the temporal ruler, because this sanction was necessary to give them *temporal and legal* force ^z. In no other respect did the church of England ever deem their sanction necessary.

Secondly, it is admitted by our opponents, that provincial and national synods have, by immemorial practice of the catholic church, the right of condemning heresies and errors ^a, and of correcting abuses of all kinds, in particular churches. Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Sabellius, Arius, Eustathius, Apollinarius, the Donatists, Pelagians, &c. were all condemned in particular councils, in the first instance. The particular councils of Arles, Orange, Carthage, Toledo, Gangra, &c. made judgments in controversies of faith; *not to speak of more recent decisions of the same kind*. But, it is objected, these synods never acted without regarding the church's faith: they sent their decrees to other churches for confirmation ^b. We reply, first, that the church of England cannot be proved to have despised the faith of the church at large, nor to have made reformations in doctrine without properly considering it. It was the essential principle of the English Reformation throughout, that the doctrine and tradition of the catholic church of Christ, *in all ages*, were to be obediently followed, as I shall make evident hereafter. Even the parliament, which suppressed papal jurisdiction, declared, "that they did not hereby intend to vary

^γ Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 68. s. 37.

^z Thus the prelates of France, assembled at Poissy (A. D. 1561), petitioned the king to *approve* the regulations in discipline, and the confession of faith, which they had agreed on.—Fleury, Hist. l. 157,

^a Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 69; and Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallican, lib. iii. c. 2. This point is well treated by Laud, Conference, sect. 24, n. 4, 5.

^b Bossuet, *ibid*.

from Christ's church, about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom^c." King Henry VIII. declared, A. D. 1536, that "while he lived, he would adhere to the faith and doctrine which had always been embraced by the true and catholic church^d." The church of England, in 1543, declared the unity of the catholic church to consist chiefly in unity of *doctrine*; and that particular churches ought not to vary from one another in the said doctrine, so accepted and allowed^e. And in 1562, the synod of London declared, that "the church has authority in controversies of faith^f. Accordingly, when Cranmer appealed to a general council, against the judgment of the Roman pontiff, his language was this: "I intend to speak nothing against one holy catholic and apostolical church, or the authority thereof, the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is *in all things to obey*^g" . . . and again: "I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ^h." But, while it is evident that the church of England did not act without considering the doctrine of the church in all ages, still the examples of ancient councils prove, that it was not necessary to *wait* for the reformation of errors and abuses, until the judgment of the *existing* universal church *was made known by means of an œcumenical council*. Secondly, if the church of England did not send her decrees of doctrine to other churches for their approbation, the reason was, because this discipline was *obsolete* in the church; nor is there any evidence that it was at any time *universal*. It had become customary to look only to the see of Rome for sanction and confirmation of all synods; and in the absence of this sanction, it would have been useless to send any decrees to the churches subject to Rome for their approval.

IX. But it is suggested, the judgment of the universal church might have been known without waiting for a general council, by the decree of the pope, accepted by all the bishops of the catholic churchⁱ. Now my reply to this is, that the

^c Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 265.

^d Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 121.

Rec. 38.

^e Formularies of Faith, p. 246.

^f Article XX.

^g Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns,

vol. iv. p. 121.

^h Ibid. 126, 127.

ⁱ Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 70.

judgment of the bishop of Rome *alone* would not, in the opinion of the church of England, have been of greater authority than that of her own provincial or national synods; and the notion of the papal decrees, in matters of doctrine, deriving infallibility from the *acceptance* of all other bishops, was at that time almost unknown ^k. Besides this, the bishop of Rome had separated himself from our churches, and being out of our communion, we could not invite his co-operation.

Schism
of the Ro-
man party.

X. We are now to examine the question in another point of view, and having cleared the church of England from these charges, to retort them on her adversaries.

The pretensions, exactions, and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs in England and elsewhere, were evidently founded in the unholy passions of ambition, avarice, and the pride of earthly domination. They did not merely reason on *false principles* in maintaining it, but made use of *forgeries*, acknowledged to be such by the most enlightened of their own communion ^l, and of *temporal force*, exciting insurrections against the sovereigns who resisted it, depriving them of their dominions, proclaiming crusades against them. Therefore the origin of the Roman ordinary jurisdiction over particular churches was unholy.

The principle of *obedience to the Roman Pontiff*, as the true test of catholic unity, was a principle *tending to schism*. It was never taught by the Gospel, and it was injurious to the catholic communion of churches; because it interrupted that communion whenever any church refused to submit to the unjust pretensions of the Roman see. This principle divided the western from the eastern churches, as it afterwards separated several of the western churches from the English church.

The principle of *papal infallibility*, maintained by the pontiffs and their partizans, established a new tribunal, injurious to the authority of the catholic church itself, by binding that church to receive implicitly the decrees of a single bishop, instead of judging them by the catholic doctrine; and it *tended to schism*, by obliging those who received it to believe, as mat-

^k This notion seems to have been developed only in the Jansenistic controversy. It was most certainly not generally agreed on, even at that time, in the Roman obedience.

^l See Fleury, Discours IV. sur

l'Hist. Ecclésiastique; Hist. Eccl. l. 44, n. 22; Du Pin, Bibliothèque; and especially Van Espen, Tractatus Historico-Canonicus in Canones, &c. pars iv. c. 1. Oper. tom. v. p. 123, &c.

ters of faith, whatever the pontiffs decreed; and therefore to reject, as heretical, those churches which did not receive them.

The conduct of the Roman bishop was altogether inconsistent with fraternal charity, in condemning the churches of England as schismatical and heretical, for their suppression of his jurisdiction in England, which had been either *usurped* or had been *derived* from the same church which now withdrew her commission. It was absolutely schismatical in the Roman pontiffs to send missionaries to England and Ireland, to excite divisions in these churches, and withdraw the people from the obedience of their legitimate pastors. It was grievously schismatical to ordain bishops and clergy for the sects thus formed, and to recognize them as churches of Christ, and to give or encourage them to assume the name of catholic. Thus, in relation to the church of England, the pontiffs were guilty of the most irregular proceedings, and the most inconsistent with the principles of fraternal charity that well can be imagined. We know, indeed, and can make allowance for the *opinions* relating to the Roman power then commonly prevalent; and therefore we do not involve in the charge of real schism all who sanctioned these proceedings; but the imputation of actual, though not always of formal, schism, rests on all those who took a part in exciting divisions and separations from the catholic churches of these realms.

XI. Finally, the Romish party in these countries committed schism in separating from the communion of the church, and the obedience of their legitimate pastors, in the reign of Elizabeth. It is certain that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. Except during the schismatical proceedings under Mary, all the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570 that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, openly separated itself and fell from the catholic church of England^m. This is proved in many ways.

Romanists
involved in
schism.

^m I here speak of general and open separation from communion. Without doubt the popish party had, all along, been disaffected to the church, and schismatically disposed; and some individuals may

have occasionally attended the celebration of popish offices unsanctioned by the church; and the schismatical bishops and clergy expelled by Elizabeth probably did not return to the church; but with these

Lord Coke, in 1607, declared that, "generally all the papists in this kingdom, not any of them did refuse to come to our church, and yield their formal obedience to the laws established. And thus they all continued, not any one refusing to come to our churches during the first ten years of her majesty's government. And in the beginning of the eleventh year of her reign, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, and Silyarde, were the first recusants, they absolutely refusing to come to our churches; and until they in that sort began, the name of recusant was never heard of amongst usⁿ." Lord Coke asserted the same in the trial of Henry Garnet, jesuit, in 1606, when he said that before the bull of Pius V., "in the eleventh year of the queen, wherein her majesty was excommunicated and deposed, and all they accursed who should yield any obedience to her, . . . there were no recusants in England, all came to church (howsoever popishly inclined or persuaded in most points) to the same divine service we now use; but thereupon presently they refused to assemble in our churches . . . not for conscience of any thing there done, against which they might justly except out of the word of God; but because the pope had excommunicated and deposed her majesty, and cursed those who should obey her; and so upon this bull ensued open rebellion in the north^o." The jesuit Garnet, in his reply, said he knew some persons who before that bull refused to go to church all the time of Queen Elizabeth, "though perhaps most 'catholics' did indeed go to church before." He pretended that it had been declared unlawful to attend our churches, by certain theologians at the synod of Trent^p. To which Coke replied, that this synod closed in the fifth year of Elizabeth, whereas the Romish party in England continued to come to our churches even till the *nineteenth* year of her reign^q. And Parsons the jesuit, in his reply to Coke's reports, having asserted that some individuals refused to attend the service of the church from the beginning of that reign, adds: "I deny not but that many

few exceptions, the popish party did not separate themselves, and organize conventicles and sects, till the year 1570.

ⁿ Coke, speech and charge at Norwich Assizes, 1607.

^o State Trials, vol. i. p. 242 (Trial of Henry Garnet, jesuit). See also

Coke's Reports, fifth part, p. 34, 35. Bramhall shows the treasonable principles and conduct of the papists during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.—Works, p. 183—185.

^p Ibid. p. 249.

^q Ibid. p. 252.

other besides these, throughout the realm, though otherwise 'catholics' in heart (as most then were), did at that time and after, as also *now*, either upon fear, or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to 'protestant' churches^r."

But the fact is rendered, if possible, more certain by the queen's instructions to Walsingham, her resident at the French court (11th August, 1570), in which it is said of the heads of the popish party, that "they did ordinarily resort, from the beginning of her reign, in all open places, to the churches, and to divine service in the church, without any contradiction or show of misliking^s." And about the same time a royal declaration published in the Star-chamber, informs us, that although some persons had been lately questioned by the council on matters of religion, it had been occasioned by their own misbehaviour: "It was because they broke the laws, because they declined coming to church, to common prayer and divine service, as they had usually done for nine or ten years together^t." After this it is needless to cite the concurrent testimony of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes^u, Dr. Heylin^x, Archbishop Bramhall^y, &c.

The open separation of the papists, in fact, was caused by the exhortations of the seminary priests whom Dr. Allen began to send into England from his college at Rheims, in 1568^z; and it was increased by the jesuits who came under Parsons and Campion, in 1580. It was at the instigation of these emissaries of the papacy that so many of the people fell from the church, and constituted conventicles apart. The schism, indeed, had been commenced by the irregular expulsion of the legitimate prelates in the reign of Mary, and the intrusion of schismatical bishops, who persecuted the church. But this temporary evil was removed by the expulsion of the schismatics on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558; and the adherents of Rome did not openly separate themselves from the church till after the year 1569, when Pius IV. deposed Queen Elizabeth and excommunicated her and all her adherents.

^r Parsons, Answer to the fifth part of Sir E. Coke's Reports, p. 371. (1606.)

^s Heylin, History of the Presbyterians, p. 260.

^t Collier, Eccl. History, ii. p. 524.

^u Andrewes, Tortura Torti, p. 130.

^x Heylin, ubi supra. For several

of the preceding proofs I am indebted to the kindness of a venerable man, whose learning and piety shed lustre on this University.

^y Works, p. 241, where he cites a contemporary tract, and also Camden's History, to prove the fact.

^z Dodd, Church History, ii. p. 403.

These Romanists were evidently schismatical, because they voluntarily separated themselves from the original Christian society of their locality, and from the apostolical succession of its episcopacy, without any cause^a; for they could not convict that society of apostacy from Christ, either by idolatry, heresy, or schism. Idolatry they did not pretend to lay to its charge; and heresy and schism could not be imputed to a society which had never rejected the Scriptures, the tradition of the catholic church, or the judgment of the œcumenical synods; which had never voluntarily separated from the communion of the universal church, or been condemned or excommunicated by any judgment of the universal church. What *essential* of the church had been lost in England? The papal supremacy and jurisdiction could not be essentials, because half the Christian world had never received them; communion with the Roman see could not be an essential, because more than half Christendom was without it; communion with all nations could not be an essential, for Rome itself was not possessed of such a communion. The decisions of a council like that of Trent, which was not received by the East, and which was rejected by half the West, could not have sufficient authority to justify the separation of the Romanists from the English church, more especially when they had so long preserved their external communion with that church, notwithstanding her rejection of the synod of Trent.

In fine, supposing that some errors were received by certain members of the church of England, they were not surely greater than the errors and *idolatrics* which were so generally, and *without censure*, received in the Roman communion^b. In separating themselves, then, from the apostolical church in England, and submitting themselves openly to the see of Rome, Romanists could not plead as an excuse their zeal for *Christian truth* or for *sound religion*. The communion which they preferred was so widely and manifestly tinged with error and idolatry, that such an excuse would have been wholly unavailing. If it was lawful to communicate with the church of Rome, notwithstanding the errors of some of her members, it was far more lawful to communicate with the church of England.

^a See above, p. 193, 194.

^b See above, p. 273, 274.

On the whole, then, it is evident, that the separation was the act of the Roman pontiffs and their adherents, not of the churches among us. I repeat it, as a fact which ought never to be forgotten, that WE DID NOT GO OUT FROM THEM, but, as the apostle says, THEY WENT OUT FROM US^c; thus bearing what is, as Bossuet well observes, the invariable mark of schism and heresy in every age^d: “Non enim nos ab illis, sed illi a nobis recesserunt^e.”

Hence it follows that the Romish communities in England are not churches of Christ; and we have an additional proof of this in the fact, that they are unable to show any succession of the episcopacy in their conventicles. Had they been satisfied that the English church was really heretical or schismatical, they would have constituted bishops for the sees occupied by the Anglo-catholic bishops. Their not doing so, and not attempting to establish the episcopate amongst themselves, is a tacit confession of the legitimacy of the episcopacy from which they separated. They have always remained without bishops. The pope, indeed, sent a titular bishop to them in 1625, whose successor went to France in 1629, and returned no more^f; but up to the present time the Romish community has not had any bishops, for although the vicars apostolic (as they call themselves) pretend to the episcopal character, this character is by no means essential to their office^g; their successors may be priests or monks^h, and they have no ordinary power over the English Romanists, being merely deputies of the Roman pontiff, who may revoke their commissions, without any trial, at his own will and pleasureⁱ. Consequently as vicars-apostolic they have no episcopal jurisdiction in England; and as titular bishops, “in partibus infidelium,”

Romish communities not churches of Christ.

^c 1 John ii. 19.

^d First Pastoral Instruction on the promises to the church.

^e Cyprianus de Unitate.

^f See Dodd's Church History.

^g Benedict XIV. de Synodo Diocesana, lib. ii. c. 10, where he says they are “interdum quidem sine Episcopali characterē, interdum autem hujusmodi characterē insigniti, cum titulo tamen alicujus Ecclesię in partibus infidelium sitę, ut spirituale regimen gerant alicujus regionis, cujus episcopus et pastor

proprius non existat.”

^h The Vicar Apostolic (so called) in Sweden is a priest.—Parliamentary Report on Roman Catholic Subjects, 1816, p. 452.

ⁱ In 1817 the papists of the London district petitioned the Roman pontiff most earnestly not to remove Dr. Poynter from the situation of Vicar Apostolic; to which he was pleased to reply, that he had no intention of doing so.—See Roman Cath. Magazine for 1817, p. 243.

they have no jurisdiction any where. Therefore they are not, properly speaking, bishops. Besides this, being schismatics and separatists from their legitimate bishops, and having been ordained priests without consent of those bishops, and in opposition to their authority, they are *irregular* by the canons, and incapable of promotion to the episcopate; and when consecrated bishops, they are incapable of receiving jurisdiction; and being also consecrated schismatically in opposition to the legitimate bishops, they are not bishops^k. In fine, the ordinations of Romanists are involved in very serious difficulties, by the gross irregularities practised in the ordination of their pretended bishops, without the assistance of the number of consecrators required by the canons of the universal church^l.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY AND ACTS OF THE CIVIL POWER DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII. AND EDWARD VI.

IN considering the title of supreme head of the church of England, given to Henry VIII. by the clergy of England, we must be careful to distinguish the sense in which they allowed it to the king, from any exaggerated and unsound meaning which may have been affixed to it by courtiers or lawyers: for the former only is the church of England responsible; the latter she is not concerned with.

Title of
supreme
head.

I. When it was proposed to the clergy of the Convocation of Canterbury, to acknowledge the king supreme head of the church and clergy of England, they refused to pass this title simply and unconditionally; and, after much discussion, the king was at last obliged to accept it with a *proviso*, introduced by the clergy, to the following effect: "Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum

^k See *Episcopacy Vindicated against Wiseman*, sect. iii. xviii.

^l See Part VI. chapter xi.

dominum, et (*quantum per Christi legem licet*) etiam supremum caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus^a.”

To recognize the king as supreme head of the English church, “as far as it is allowable by the law of Christ,” certainly was not to admit his right to interfere with the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops, or with any of the laws, liberties, doctrines, or rights of the church, established either directly or indirectly by the law of Christ. The clergy of England were entitled to believe that they had saved all the spiritual rights of the church by this proviso^b; and, indeed, we learn from Burnet, that “those who adhered to their former notions,” *i. e.* the church generally, “understood this headship to be only a temporal authority in temporal matters^c.” I shall not here enter on the general question of the authority of the crown in ecclesiastical affairs, which will be discussed elsewhere^d; but it is admitted by the theologians and canonists of the Roman obedience, that Christian kings have generally a supreme power of external direction in such matters^e. It has been shown by our writers that the kings of

^a Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 725; Burnet, *Hist. Refor.* vol. iii. p. 90—92, and vol. i. p. 205; Collier, vol. ii. p. 62. The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (attributed to Parker) incorrectly states that the proposed qualification, “*quantum per Christi legem licet*,” was left out finally.

^b This proviso is always to be understood in any subsequent measures. It is not true that it was “*struck out* of the recognition by Act of Parliament, out of the oath of supremacy, &c.” (*Dublin Review*, May, 1840, p. 351.) It was merely *not expressed*, but understood.

^c Burnet, iii. 92. Archbishop Bramhall terms our kings “political heads” of the English church.—*Works*, p. 25.

^d See Part V.

^e Stapleton, *Princip. Doctr. lib.* v. c. 17; Champney, *De Vocat. Ministr.* c. 16; Thomassin, *Ecl. Discipl. tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 92. sect. 12, &c.*; Rechberger (chancellor of the diocese of Lintz) maintains the regal power of superintendence and vigilance over the transactions and

decrees of the church, of enacting laws on disciplinary matters for the church, of correcting abuses, limiting religious rites, enjoining silence in controversies of faith, establishing uniformity in divine service, abolishing festivals, &c.—See Report of Committee on Rom. Cath. subjects (1816), pp. 80—114. De Marca, archbishop of Paris, informs us that Molinæus, Fauchetius, Pithæus, Hotmannus, Servinus, &c., who were all eminent writers of the Roman communion, teach “that the R. pontiff exercised no authority in Gaul before the sixth century; that in all that interval, of almost 600 years, *the king* alone presided over the Gallican church as *head*.”—*Proleg. ad lib. de Concord. Sacerd. et Imp.* p. 71. The Answer of the Prince de Kaunitz, chancellor of the empire, to the papal nuncio Garampi, A. D. 1781, and which is referred to as of high authority in Austria, claims for the prince a most extensive supremacy over the church. It asserts that “the reform of abuses which

England always were the supreme political governors or heads of our national church^f. The most learned lawyers, Fitzherbert and Coke, affirm, that the law confirming the royal supremacy was only declaratory of the ancient laws of England^g; and Bossuet himself only condemns this supremacy on the erroneous supposition that it was admitted to affect fundamentally the validity of all ecclesiastical acts, not if it were understood to relate to a merely external direction and execution^h.

Now it is incredible that the clergy, in acknowledging the supremacy "as far as it is allowable by the law of Christ," could have designed to admit that all their ecclesiastical acts emanated from, or were fundamentally affected as to their validity, by the royal power. They could not at once in a body have relinquished the notions which had always hitherto prevailed; and there is evidence that they did not, as we shall see in discussing the royal commissions for bishops. Indeed king Henry himself, in a letter to the clergy of the province of York, who thought the title of "Head" could not with propriety be given to man, unless it were limited to *temporals*, seems to restrain his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction to such things as were of a temporal or of a mixed nature, such as the assembling of convocations and confirming their lawsⁱ,

do not concern dogmatical or merely spiritual points . . . belongs exclusively to the sovereign, who alone commands, and alone has the right to command in the state. That to this authority belongs, *without any exception*, whatever relates to the external discipline of the clergy;" and that the power of the state "comprises, without any exception, whatever is of human institution in the Christian church."—See the Report above referred to, p. 144, 145. The government of Napoleon, it will be recollected, declared that the French sovereigns regarded themselves as "*les évêques du dehors*," and always exercised power over the clergy in matters of discipline, worship, &c.—*Mém. Eccl. de France*, tom. i. p. 71.

^f Archbishop Bramhall, Works, p. 25. 69, &c.

^g *Ibid.* p. 77.

^h Bossuet, Variations, l. x. n. 14.

ⁱ Thomassin observes that the Gallican convocations or assemblies of the clergy, were summoned by the king, that they exercised no acts of jurisdiction, deliberated and concluded on nothing without the king's permission; that the bishops sought in vain permission to hold synods, &c.—*De Eccl. Discipl.* l. ii. c. 56, 57. In fact, during the whole of the last century the French bishops were petitioning the king ineffectually to be permitted to hold provincial synods. See also Fleury, *Droit Eccl.* ii. c. 2 and 25; Van Espen says a royal minister was always present in the synods of Belgium, which were summoned with the royal licence; and their decrees were of no force till confirmed by the king.—*Jus Canon.*

the appointment of bishops and abbots^j, the cognizance of causes in criminal matters, &c., in all of which he was actually, as he said, "Head," and because there was no one above him here, "Supreme Head." And he adds, "We be as God's law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform ourselves^k," apparently desiring that the recognition should be interpreted in no offensive or unorthodox sense. Bishop Tunstall, who had particularly objected to the expression, was so far satisfied that its meaning was sound and good, that he consented, in 1535, to swear to the royal supremacy, and in 1536 wrote to cardinal Pole, justifying the king against the charge of confounding the royal and priestly offices.

The intention of the church of England in making this recognition was only to admit a general power of external control and direction in ecclesiastical affairs to the king, without relinquishing any of the ancient rights of the church. And if *courtiers* or *lawyers* pretended to understand it in a different sense, we are in no degree responsible for their errors.

II. It is an unfounded assertion of our adversaries of all denominations, that the *papal power was transferred to the king*. The royal supremacy was of a perfectly distinct nature from the papal jurisdiction. The clergy recognized the former, in the year 1531, as already existing; the papal jurisdiction continued *legally* to exist *along with it* till 1534 (of which we have a proof in the fact that Cranmer, in the judgment on king Henry's marriage, 1533, retained the title of "legate of the apostolic see"). It was then SUPPRESSED, not transferred to the king^l. The kings of England did not at any time pretend to succeed to the authority of the popes, but to that of their own royal predecessors.

King did not succeed to papal powers.

p i. tit. 20. c. 4. s. 3. 5. See also Bramhall, Works, 103. 112. 318, 319.

^j The antiquity of this right, extending to the Norman conquest, is shown by Thomassin, Eccl. Discipl. t. ii. l. ii. c. 34. See also Bramhall, 75. 107. 314. 316.

^k The letter of the king is found in the collection entitled Cabala, p. 244. ed. 1663.

^l It is pretended that the act

(1534) declaring the king to be head of the church of England, gave him the *papal* power; "for no other supreme head had hitherto been known in the English church." (Dublin Review, May, 1840, p. 347.)—The act itself, however, and the recognition of the clergy on which it was based, take no notice of any *transfer*, and suppose the regal headship to be already in existence.

Appeals.

III. In 1533 the king was given by act of parliament the power of appointing delegates to hear appeals from the metropolitan courts of England in case of "lack of justice there" (Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 19). But this was merely the principle of the *appel comme d'abus* so long practised in France, Germany, and all the other countries of the Roman obedience^m; and bishop Gibson observes that by the law these delegates ought to be *spiritual* persons, and that in fact there were no traces of nobility or common law judges in commission till 1604, seventy years after this act, and then not one in forty cases till 1639, when that court began to include ordinarily, laity as well as clergyⁿ.

Regal
power to
visit.

IV. The act of parliament 1534, acknowledging and confirming the royal supremacy, gave the king power to visit and reform all errors, heresies, and abuses, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed^o. This, it is alleged, was an impious attempt to invest the king with real internal spiritual jurisdiction. Doubtless, the wording of the act, as is usual in such legal forms, is in the most sweeping and comprehensive terms. But the *church* must undoubtedly have understood it as only designed

^m See Van Espen's *Tractatus de Recursu ad Principem*, where it is shown that the appeal to the temporal power from the unjust decrees, depositions, excommunications, &c. of the ecclesiastical authorities, is practised in every country of the Roman obedience. See also Fleury, *Droit Eccl.* tom. ii. c. xxiv. The *appel comme d'abus* has existed since the fourteenth century, and the appeals were heard by the French *parliaments*. It is established in Austria.—Rechberger, *Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr.* The king of Sicily, from the foundation of that monarchy, has judged finally in all ecclesiastical causes in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy," and cardinal Baronius observes, that "under the name of monarchy, besides that one monarch which all the faithful have ever acknowledged as the only visible head in the church, *another head* is risen up, and brought into the kingdom of Sicily, for a monster and a prodigy."—See Bram-

hall, *Works*, p. 114. Yet notwithstanding, the Sicilian church is not accounted heretical by Romanists.

ⁿ Gibson, *Codex*, vol. i. p. xxi. Bossuet therefore in vain accuses the church of England of giving the king the power of excommunication, *Variat.* vii. n. 47, 48. The king never excommunicates with us, but only the royal court, which comprises ecclesiastics. The king of Sicily excommunicates in the "tribunal of the monarchy." In Austria no one can be excommunicated without the emperor's consent, and the motives of excommunication must be previously discussed by an equal number of ecclesiastical and civil commissioners.—Rechberger, *Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr.* s. 259. Bramhall understands this act only to give the king the power of appointing bishops to rehear causes.—*Works*, p. 63.

^o Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

in reality, to confer on the king the power of acting in these matters as his predecessors had done, *i. e.* by temporal means and penalties, and in concurrence with the judgment of the church, not in opposition to it. The bishops understood it in some such sense; for they not only offered no opposition to the passing of this bill, but immediately after swore to the king's supremacy^p.

V. Their acknowledgment that all convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the king's writ^q, apparently related only to convocations or assemblies of the clergy convened by the king, as one of the three estates of the realm to parliament; it does not seem that synods are here spoken of: but at all events, as I have observed before, synods cannot be assembled in any country of the Roman obedience without the royal licence; and the promise which our clergy made at the same time^r, to enact no new canons in future without the king's permission, was only consistent with the harmonious action of the temporal and spiritual powers; while it is also certain, that all temporal princes in the Roman communion exercise the power of rejecting whatever regulations of discipline (even those made in general councils^s) appear to them unadvisable.

VI. The first act of the king was to appoint Cromwell, in 1535, his Vicar-General and Visitor of Monasteries^t. The former title was certainly novel, and sounded ill, but there being no evidence that it was intended in a heterodox sense^u, the church was not bound to resist the title or office. Louis XVI., king of France, also instituted a commission for examining the monastic orders^x, and many of them were sup-

Assembling of convocations.

Acts of the Vicegerent.

^p Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. 330.

^q Ibid. i. 270, 271.

^r Burnet, *ibid.* It appears that the clergy only intended to refrain from enacting canons during the lifetime of king Henry, as a matter of special compliment, and that they made a *salvo* for the immunities and privileges of the church of England, and all existing provincial constitutions accordant with the law of God and holy church.—Burnet, vol. iii. p. 133, 134. Records, n. 20.

^s The kings of France have always rejected the discipline of the synod of Trent. It has been only imper-

fectly received in most countries of the Roman obedience. See Mosheim, Cent. xvi. sect. iii. p. 1. n. xxiii. See also the learned treatise of Van Espen de Promulgatione Legum Eccl., in which he maintains the right of Christian princes to approve of ecclesiastical laws.

^t Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 784.

^u The commission asserts that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanated from the crown, but, as will presently appear, this only refers to its *legal* character.

^x Mém. pour ser. à l'Hist. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 513, &c.

pressed by this royal commission. The emperors and kings of the Carolingian race had established permanent visitors of all orders of the clergy under the title of “*Missi Dominici*”^y; therefore there was nothing intolerable in these acts of king Henry, nor did they really imply (as Bossuet pretends) the assumption of papal power^z.

VII. The next step taken by the king, was to inhibit the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the archbishops and bishops during the royal visitation^a. This was apparently an ill-advised act of interference; but as its intention appeared to be merely to prevent the ordinary jurisdiction from coming into collision with the visitors appointed by the crown, and even exercising authority over them, the irregularity of the proceeding was tolerated. The same remarks apply to a similar proceeding in the reign of Edward VI., when it is said that the crown again suspended the jurisdiction of the bishops, and required the clergy not to preach out of their own churches, unless with the special licence of the king^b. This last assertion is a mistake. The crown did not pretend to silence the clergy, but directed the *bishops* to inhibit them^c; thus recognizing the episcopal authority. As to the royal pretence to license preachers, it was an irregularity which the church was not called to pronounce upon^d.

^y See a most curious account of them in Thomassin, *Eccl. Discipl.* t. ii. l. iii. c. 92. According to him they “exercised an episcopal function,” were quasi-colleagues of the bishops, visited churches and monasteries, examined the lives and conduct of the clergy, the zeal of the *bishops*, their obedience to the canons made by imperial authority with the advice of the clergy, &c. They were commonly counts and other laymen. Such appointments could only be justified under extraordinary circumstances, and by the tacit sanction of the church.

^z Bossuet, *Variations*, l. vii. n. 17. 76. The claim advanced by Cromwell as the king’s vicegerent to the *first seat* in convocation was *indisputable*. As the representative of the prince he could not be refused a position which the œcumenical synods allotted to the Christian em-

perors. Thus, the emperor Marcian was given the precedence in the synod of Chalcedon.—(Harduin. *Conc.* ii. 463; Richer. *Hist. Concil. General.* i. 191.) Constantine Pogonatus presided in the sixth œcumenical synod (Richer. i. 279—282); Basilius in the synod of Constantinople, 870 (Richer. i. 363).

^a Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 797.

^b Bossuet, *Variat.* l. vii. n. 77.

^c Burnet, *vol. ii. b. i. Rec.* 7.

^d The emperor Joseph II. took on him to *silence* preachers.—Mém. *Eccl.* xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 22. Charles V. in 1553 also silenced the preachers of both parties, as we learn from Melancthon, *epist. lib. iv.* 99. The pretence to *license* preachers was not more irregular than this: and the various restraints put on preaching during the time of violent controversies by king Edward VI., which Bossuet alludes to, (*Var.* vii. 79.)

VIII. But the fact most relied on to demonstrate the exaggerated claims of the temporal power, and the improper subserviency of the church of England, is the issuing of *commissions* to the bishops. Episcopal
commiss-
sions.

In 1535, it appears that immediately after the king had inhibited the bishops from exercising their jurisdiction during the royal visitation, commissions were issued to some of the bishops^e, perhaps to all, empowering them to exercise jurisdiction within their dioceses. Similar commissions were given afterwards in the time of Henry VIII.^f and Edward VI. I contend that these commissions are capable of an orthodox sense, and that they must be understood in that sense. They declare that "all jurisdiction ecclesiastical and secular emanates from the king, that it was fitting that those who had hitherto exercised it only precariously, should acknowledge that it was conferred by the king's liberality, and should be ready to relinquish it when he judges right" . . . that therefore "since the king's vicegerent was occupied by arduous business," the king declared the bishop to be in his stead, and licensed him to perform all which concerned the episcopal authority and jurisdiction, "*besides and beyond those things which are discerned from the holy Scriptures to be committed to thee by God;*" and in some cases stated that this licence was "only to last during the king's pleasure." Now, however wide and high-sounding the terms of this commission appear, I contend that it does not necessarily convey an heterodox meaning; for it may be understood to confer ecclesiastical jurisdiction not *in foro conscientie* and as operating internally, but as *externally and legally coercive*. Thus, in other words, it amounts to nothing more than a grant of temporal authority confirmatory of that spiritual authority given to bishops by the word of God. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction might in this sense be most truly said to emanate from the king, to be conferred by his bounty,

were merely in accordance with the right of Christian kings to preserve the peace of their dominions. Rechenberger, a Roman canonist, asserts their right to enjoin silence in controversies of faith, and this right was exercised by the emperor Joseph II. in his decrees of 1781 and 1782, which prohibited all discussion on the bull Unigenitus, and which are

still in force. Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austriac.

^e Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 797; Collier, ii. Rec. 41.

^f Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 484, 485. Records, n. 14. Bossuet (Variations, l. vii. n. 45), and Micaiah Towgood (On Dissent, p. 22, 23), unite in assailing us on this point.

and to be liable to be withdrawn when he pleased; and the king might authorize his bishops to ordain, institute, nominate to benefices, prove wills, grant administration, judge causes, and exercise all other parts of the episcopal jurisdiction, always understanding that this licence conferred no proper spiritual power, but one which was in its nature entirely temporal. Thus may these expressions be understood, according to the doctrine of our theologians Bramhall^g, Leslie^h, Gibsonⁱ, &c. And it is evident in fact that it *must have been so understood*. The "Institution of a Christian Man," approved *by the king himself* and by twenty-one archbishops and bishops in 1537, maintained that "*God's law*" committed to bishops or priests the powers of *jurisdiction*, in *excommunicating and absolving offenders*, (but "not with violence or corporeal restraint,") in *ordaining and nominating ministers*, and in making *canons* concerning discipline, rites, &c.^k and limits the jurisdiction of princes, conferred by them on the church, to *corporal and legal powers*, and to certain privileges *in matters of a temporal and civil nature*^l, and acknowledges that it is lawful for princes to "revoke and call again into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain all the power and jurisdiction which was given and assigned unto priests and bishops by the licence, consent, sufferance, and authority of the said kings and princes, and not by the authority of God and his gospel^m." This document, exhibiting the doctrine publicly maintained by the church and by Henry VIII. at that moment, suffices to determine the sense in which the commission was issued to be orthodox, and proves that the power conferred by, and supposed to emanate from the king, was in its nature only *temporal*.

In the first year of Edward VI. the bishops were required to take out similar commissions, which we have no reason to suppose were issued or received in a different sense. It is not to be denied, however, that they are *capable* of a heterodox sense, and as it was affixed by the partizans of Rome, it was right, in order to avoid scandal, that the practice should be discontinued; and accordingly, from the accession of Queen Eliza-

^g Bramhall, Works, p. 77.

^h Leslie, Regale and Pontificate, s. 9.

ⁱ Gibson, Codex, vol. i. p. xvii. xviii. See also Mason, Burnet, Brett, and others cited by Courayer

in his Defence of English Ordinations, chap. xi.

^k Formularies of Faith, p. 107—110.

^l Ibid. p. 113.

^m Ibid. p. 114.

beth, no such commissions have been issued, nor has the crown conferred such powers.

IX. The archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1535, obtained the king's licence to make a provincial visitationⁿ, but the reason of this was, because there was a reluctance in several of the bishops to allow such a visitation^o; and therefore it was necessary to support the canonical power of the metropolitan by royal authority, not that any essentially spiritual jurisdiction was supposed to emanate from the crown^p.

X. In 1536 the king issued injunctions or edicts in several matters of discipline to be executed in all the churches, and the clergy, it is said, "were much troubled at this precedent of the king's giving such injunctions to them, without the consent of the convocation; from which they concluded they were now to be slaves to the lord vicegerent^q." Yet in fact such injunctions, though apparently novel, were not really unprecedented. The laws of the Roman emperors, Theodosius, Honorius, Justinian, &c., the capitulars of Charlemagne, Carolus Calvus, and of other emperors and kings of France, the ecclesiastical laws of the Saxon and Norman kings of England^r, were all exactly of the same nature as these injunctions; that is, they were confirmatory of regulations already made by the church. Of the injunctions, some are for the enforcement of things recently decreed by the convocations of the clergy; others are confirmatory of the canons then in force. All were of such a nature that the church was not bound to oppose them. The same observations apply to the injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547, and to those of Elizabeth.

XI. Bossuet affirms that the articles of doctrine of 1536 were decided and ordained only by the king, though he had previously heard the bishops, as judges hear experienced persons^s; thereby insinuating that the king claimed, or was allowed, to have the power of dictating the religion of his subjects. But Henry VIII. himself, in the preface to these

Injunctions.

Articles of doctrine.

ⁿ Burnet, vol. i. p. 334.

^o Le Bas, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. chap. v.

^p Bossuet, *Variations*, l. vii. n. 18.

^q Burnet, vol. i. p. 412.

^r See Bramhall's *Works*, p. 88; 105, 106. 110; 73, &c. The ecclesiastical laws of the emperor Joseph II., of Leopold grand duke of Tus-

cany, of the duke of Parma, and the "Organic Articles" enacted by Napoleon, are all proofs that the same or greater power than that exercised by Henry VIII. is acknowledged to belong to princes of the Roman obedience.

^s Bossuet, *Var.* l. vii. n. 29.

articles, declares that he had assembled the bishops and clergy in *convocation* "for the full debatement and quiet *determination*" of these questions of faith and discipline; and that he approves their "determination, debatement, and agreement," which accordingly he commands all his subjects to receive^u. This is only a royal confirmation of the church's decisions, such as is necessary even in every part of the Roman obedience.

XII. An act of parliament, in 1547, declared that as all jurisdiction spiritual and temporal *emanates from the king*, all proceedings in the episcopal courts shall be in the king's name, and sealed with his arms^x. The jurisdiction here spoken of was not the spiritual jurisdiction as given by the law of God to his ministers, and operating on the conscience, but an ecclesiastical jurisdiction *legally coercive*. It related entirely to processes in the recognized ecclesiastical courts of law; and by the very same act, the bishops might use their own names and seals in admitting their chancellors, commissioners, &c. and in commissions of suffragan bishops, faculties, dispensations, collations, presentations, gifts, institutions, inductions, letters of orders, or dimissories^y. So that there was no intention of interfering with the real spiritual jurisdiction of bishops. This act was subsequently repealed^z.

Suspension
of clergy.

XIII. The royal injunctions issued at this time, enjoined the clergy to pray publicly for the king as supreme head of the church of England, and the violation of this rule was to be punished by suspension, deprivation, and excommunication. "Behold," says Bossuet, "in the ecclesiastical penalties, all the essence of the pastoral authority usurped by the king, and the inmost deposit of the sanctuary torn from the sacerdotal order^a." The answer is simply, that these penalties were not to be inflicted by the king, but by the bishops. *They* were enjoined to see this regulation executed, *i. e.* to suspend, depose, or excommunicate the clergy who disobeyed it^b.

^u Formularies of Faith, Oxford, p. 4. The bishops in 1537, transmitting to the king the "Institution of a Christian Man," acknowledged their readiness to "conform themselves" to such alterations as he might suggest (*ibid.* p. 26). Can it be conceived, that this respectful intimation, so proper where the royal confirmation was sought for, has

been distorted into a formal recognition of the king's "*superior authority in matters of faith?*" (*Dublin Review*, vol. viii. 354.)

^x Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

^y *Ibid.*

^z Gibson, *Codex*, p. 967.

^a Bossuet, *Var.* l. vii. n. 77.

^b Burnet, vol. ii. p. 53.

Their authority was called in to the aid of the royal power, and it is certain that Christian kings have often required their bishops to support their regulations in a similar manner.

XIV. The lower house of convocation, in 1547, addressed the bishops, desiring, among other things, that, according to the ancient custom, the inferior clergy might be again admitted to sit in the house of commons, "or else, that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy^c." Bossuet misrepresents this as follows: "They asked as a favour of parliament, that the affairs of religion should not be regulated without at least taking their advice and listening to their reasons. What misery! to reduce themselves to be listened to as mere advisers, they who ought to have been heard as judges, and of whom Jesus Christ said: 'He that heareth you heareth me.' But that, says our historian, did not succeed^d."

Rejection
of the peti-
tions of
convoca-
tion.

Now the request was not to parliament, but to the bishops; it was not made by the bishops, but by the presbyters of the church; and finally, it did not fail of success; for it appears that the consent of convocation or of the clergy was sought and obtained in all the chief measures affecting the church which followed (as we shall presently see): and in fine, the historian alluded to did not mean that this request failed of success, but that the proposed *alternative* of sitting in parliament did so.

XV. This is succeeded by another misrepresentation. "They did not blush to require from bishops an express declaration 'to make profession of the doctrine as it should be from time to time established and explained by the king and by the clergy^e.'" This promise, which one would suppose was required from several bishops, was only sought by the council from one (Gardiner), who was extremely refractory and turbulent; and he answered that he would conform himself as the other bishops did^f. It will be remembered that the conduct here attributed to the civil power was actually realized afterwards in the Roman church by the emperor Joseph II., who issued a decree "which compelled all the

^c Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 87. Rec. n. 16.

^e Ibid.

^f Burnet, ii. 103.

^d Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 78.

bishops of his hereditary states to promise obedience to all the orders which had already emanated from the emperor, or which he might publish hereafter ^g."

Inter-
ference of
parliament.

XVI. It is alleged, that in the time of Edward VI. all the most important changes in the form of ordinations, the public service, the body of the canons, &c. were regulated by the king or parliament, to the annihilation of the church's power ^h. This is far from the truth. The parliament only added the force of the temporal law to the determinations of convocations or bishops, or at least its regulations were confirmed by ecclesiastical authority.

Thus, in 1547, an act passed for communion in both kinds, and against private masses, on the ground of Scripture and primitive practice, but the convocation also agreed to it ⁱ. In 1548 an act legalized the marriage of priests, but the clergy had decided this point of discipline in their convocation the preceding year, and they now confirmed it again ^k. In 1549 the Ritual having been prepared by bishops and theologians at Windsor, was authorized by act of parliament, but it was also approved by convocation in November, 1548 ^l. When a new office for ordinations was provided for by parliament, it was to be left to the composition of six bishops and six theologians ^m. The alterations in the Ritual confirmed by parliament, A. D. 1552, had been made by bishops in the preceding year ⁿ. Thus there was always a respect paid to the priesthood; and if in any point the temporal government neglected some of the usual forms, the church always retained the power of rejecting any regulation inconsistent with the catholic faith or discipline.

Depriva-
tion of
bishops.

XVII. It only remains to notice the deprivations of bishops by the civil power, and it may be at once conceded that the principle of such deprivations cannot be approved of in general; but acts of this kind have been often practised in the church. Justinian and many others of the Eastern emperors expelled bishops from their sees ^o, and in more modern times this con-

^g Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontif. t. i. p. 236.

^h Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 76.

ⁱ Burnet, ii. 92; Le Bas, Life of Cranmer, i. 291.

^k Ibid. and p. 172.

^l Ibid. ii. 87. 113. Le Bas' Cran-

mer, i. 315, 316.

^m Ibid. p. 262.

ⁿ Wheatley on the Common Prayer.

^o Bramhall, Works, p. 89. De Marca, Concord. Sacer. et Imperii, lib. iv. c. 18. See also the treatise

duct has been imitated in churches of the Roman obedience. Cardinal de Chatillon was expelled from his see by the civil power in France^p, and the emperors Joseph II. and Napoleon suppressed sees in their respective dominions^q. The church is sometimes obliged, in order to avoid greater evils, to confirm such acts by ordaining bishops in the place of those who have been deprived^r; and thus whatever may have been the justice of the deprivations, in the reign of Henry VIII., of two alien bishops, or of two others accused of crimes against the state, the church of England was the proper judge whether these deprivations were tolerable, and she had the power of sanctioning them.

In the reign of Edward VI. several deprivations of bishops took place, by means of royal commissions, sometimes consisting of bishops, sometimes of laymen, which were apparently unjust as well as irregular. Boner bishop of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Heath of Worcester, Day of Chichester, and Tunstall of Durham, were expelled successively from their sees between 1549 and 1553^s. These irregularities I do not pretend to justify.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE REIGN OF MARY.

THE deprivations of bishops, alluded to above, were acts deserving of censure; and we therefore cannot view as an irregularity or an injustice the restoration of bishops Boner, Gardiner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall, to their sees by the royal commissions of queen Mary^a, though the result was the ex-

Expulsion
of bishops.

of Nicephorus, edited by Dr. Hody, at Oxford, 1691, and of Methodius, published by cardinal Maio, in the third volume of the *Ancient Remains*, p. 247, &c. This subject is further considered, Part v. ch. v. Appendix I.

^p Of Beauvais. See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ix.

^q *Mémoires Eccl.* xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 22; iii. 504.

^r See Hody, *Case of sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical deprivation*.

^s Burnet, ii. 234. 280. 305. 375. 398. *Le Bas' Cranmer*, i. 329.

^a Burnet, ii. 443.

pulsion of bishops Ridley, Poynt, and Scory, who had occupied those sees with, at least, the tacit sanction of the church. But other proceedings followed, which were too obviously dictated by a spirit of vengeance and hatred. The removal of bishop Hooper by the queen, from his see of Gloucester, which he held by regular and canonical institution^b, was altogether unjustifiable. Voysey was irregularly restored to the see of Exeter by an order under the great seal, expelling without any trial or formality whatever, bishop Coverdale, who had succeeded on his voluntary resignation^c. Pates, who had been nominated to the see of Worcester many years before by the pope, contrary to the ecclesiastical and civil regulations made in the reign of Henry VIII., was intruded into that see by royal authority^d. But in March, 1554, an unprecedented violation of justice and of ecclesiastical liberties took place. *Royal commissions* were appointed for the deprivation of no less than seven archbishops and bishops at once, some for the fact of marriage which the church of England had sanctioned, and others on a vague charge of offences, and the clause in their patents given by Edward VI., (which was a mere nullity,) “*quamdiu se bene gesserint*”^e. Thus nine bishops were almost at once driven from their sees by the royal power. The bishop of Bath was compelled to resign by threats and intimidation^f. This is exclusive of Ridley, Poynt, and Scory, who were at once harshly expelled, and of archbishop Cranmer, afterwards degraded by two papal delegates, who besides being incompetent to judge according to the canons^g, acted by a power which was irregular and null, the papal jurisdiction having been suppressed in England, and never regularly revived again.

It is in vain that Bossuet would cloke the scandal of such proceedings by pretending that “until the ecclesiastical order was re-established they acted against the protestants on *their own maxims*”^h. If these maxims were wrong in themselves, it

^b Burnet, ii. 282.

^c Ibid. 306.

^d Ibid. ii. 585.

^e Ibid. ii. 494, 495.

^f Ibid. p. 497.

^g According to the canons of the synod of Antioch (can. 4. 12.), and the African code (can. 12.), a bishop could only be deprived regularly by

a provincial synod or by twelve bishops. Besides this the pope had no right, even by the canon of Sardica, to judge bishops in the first instance. He could only have appointed delegates in case of an appeal.

^h Variat. l. vii. n. 99.

could not be justifiable to act on them. They could only have afforded a sufficient reason for proceeding in a lawful manner against any who could have been proved to hold them. But there is no evidence that any maxims were received either by the church of England generally, or by the prelates so arbitrarily and irregularly expelled, which could justify such proceedings.

Acts of such violence were without parallel in history. The expulsion of so many bishops by royal commissions, bishops not intruded into their sees by force, or on any doubtful title; and this, too, by a queen so well satisfied of the incompetency of the temporal power for such acts as to refuse the title of Head of the church of England, to decline accepting the oath of supremacy, to repeal all the laws establishing the ecclesiastical power of the crown, and restore, without any inquiry, those bishops who had been expelled by the temporal power in the last reign; this expulsion, I say, is too obviously attributable to a spirit of hatred towards those bishops who had promoted the Reformation of the church of England and its independence of the Roman pontiffs, and to the revengeful feeling of Gardiner and Boner, who being elevated to the head of affairs (Gardiner was immediately made lord chancellor of England), had the power as well as the inclination to persecute their opponents. The same motives which influenced Gardiner and Boner operated on Tunstall, Heath, and Day, ranging them in opposition to the cause of the Reformation in the church of England. They were reinforced by a few weak or time-serving prelates, and by fourteen *new* bishops, selected for their implicit devotion to the Roman pontiff, and chiefly intruders into the sees of bishops irregularly expelled¹. These, and the other bishops subsequently appointed by Queen Mary, were ordained *without the consent of the metropolitans* Cranmer and Holgate, contrary to the decrees of the synod of Nice^k. They were confirmed by bishops who had been *intruded into the sees of those metropolitans during their life-time*, and when they had not been deposed by any legitimate authority¹; or they were translated to sees by the *papal authority, contrary to the canons*^m.

Irregular
ordina-
tions.

¹ *Episcopacy Vindicated*, p. 239.
241.

¹ *Episcopacy Vindicated*, p. 238—
240.

^k *Beveregii Synod. t. i. p. 66.*

^m *Ibid. p. 240.*

In contemplating these proceedings in the reign of Mary, we observe all the principles of ecclesiastical discipline violated by the popish party, in their anxiety to place these churches under that jurisdiction of the Roman see which they imagined to be essential to catholic unity. This imagined necessity caused them to violate the rules of the church, and to subvert our liberties, contrary to the spirit and express injunctions of the canons. The usurped and novel jurisdiction of the Roman see had been removed twenty years before, in accordance with the canon of the œcumenical synod of Ephesus, which decreed that the liberties of churches should be preserved, and that every province should retain those rights which it had possessed from the beginningⁿ. The ancient liberty of the church of England had, after due enquiry, been revived, and had continued in force for such a time; and it was therefore unlawful, and contrary to the sacred canons, as well as subversive of the interests of true religion, to introduce again the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.

Papal jurisdiction irregularly revived.

It may be most reasonably denied that the church of England could, even *synodically*, have revived this power, contrary to the decree of an œcumenical synod in a case of general discipline, where a great principle of universal application was laid down. But there was *no synodical examination or judgment on the question*; the papal party in the church having forcibly and uncanonically expelled their opponents from their sees, submitted themselves blindly to the authority of the Roman pontiff, superstitiously imploring his *forgiveness* for the sin of which they had been guilty in removing his usurped jurisdiction^o. This mere *submission*, without any formal examination and enactment, could not possibly erect the papal authority in England; and consequently all the acts subsequently performed by that authority in England, were irregularities, usurpations, and nullities. It was only fit that what had begun in contradiction to order, reason, and ecclesiastical authority, should be sustained by persecution. Accordingly, upwards of three thousand clergy were expelled from their

The church persecuted.

ⁿ Canon VIII. The obligation of this canon is maintained in "Episcopacy Vindicated," &c., sect. iv—xi. See also Barnes, *Catholico-Romanus Pacific.* sect. iii., where the liberties of the British church

are defended; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* book ix. c. 1; Bramhall, *Works*, p. 77—85; Stillington, *Origines Britannicæ*; Basire, *Diatriba de Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Libert.*

^o Burnet, ii. 528; iii. 412.

churches^p; and those who were most resolute in refusing to wear the papal yoke, and to profess papal superstitions and errors, were obliged to take refuge in exile, or were delivered to the flames.

Thus was the church of England miserably distracted and persecuted under the dominion of the schismatics, as the oriental churches in the time of Constantius had been by usurping Arian bishops. We cannot recognize in the changes which they effected any valid ecclesiastical authority. The rule which they followed was not the judgment of the catholic and primitive church, but the decrees of the modern bishops of Rome. They were men who had usurped irregularly the episcopal sees of others; who acted in disobedience to the laws and customs of the church of England, by jurisdiction delegated from the Roman pontiff; or who had been intruded into English sees by his nominations, which conferred no title whatever, and without consent of the legitimate metropolitans. The church of England, oppressed by these schismatics, beheld her liberties sacrificed, her institutions altered for the worse in many respects, and the abuses which she had removed forced upon her again.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

THE scene changed on the accession of Elizabeth, who was made the instrument of putting in force all the laws and regulations of the church of England which had been disobeyed and violated by the papal faction in the last reign. She found the episcopal sees filled chiefly by intruders of that party, but several were vacant.

It is contended by Romanists and other opponents of the church, that the reformations in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were contradictory to the principles of ecclesiastical authority. I fully admit that they are indefensible on papal

^p Burnet, *ibid.*

principles, because they had the radical fault of being in disobedience to the bishop of Rome; but I contend that they were in no respect contradictory to the principles of the catholic church.

Objections
of Roman-
ists.

There are three points in which these reformations are chiefly assailed. First, the enacting of ecclesiastical regulations in parliament, without the consent of the bishops or of the convocation of the clergy, and in opposition to their wishes; secondly, the expulsion of those bishops from their sees; and, thirdly, the appointment of successors in their place. Hence it is argued that all the proceedings concerning religion at that time, were made by an incompetent and schismatical authority; that the church of England was involved in schism^a, &c. I shall notice these objections successively.

Acts of
parliament
justified.

I. It is admitted that the parliament passed acts for abolishing the papal jurisdiction and establishing the regal supremacy, with an oath to that effect; and also for establishing the English ritual^b. But these acts were merely confirmatory of the laws and institutions made by the church of England during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., which had been indeed disobeyed by the schismatics in the reign of Mary, and annulled by the civil power, but which had never been annulled by any legitimate authority of the church. These acts were simply revivals of laws which had been formerly made with the concurrence of the church of England; they only gave the temporal sanction to institutions which had always remained in their full spiritual force and obligation. Further, I deny that the bishops then occupying sees in England were legitimate bishops, as will be presently shown; therefore it was needless to solicit their sanction of these acts, or to regard their opposition. The lower house of convocation, too, consisted generally of men who were of the same faction, and who had been active in all the irregular proceedings of the last reign, besides being intruded into the benefices of others; so that their petition to the bishops in favour of the Roman supremacy, &c. deserved no attention.

Expulsion
of schisma-
tical bi-
shops jus-
tified.

II. Those bishops who were expelled from the English sees by royal commissions, in consequence of their refusal to

^a Trevern, Micaiah Towgood on ^b Burnet, ii. 692.
Dissent, 10. 108. 126.

acknowledge the regal supremacy, and to relinquish the papal jurisdiction, had obtained those sees in an irregular and schismatical manner, by means of an authority annulled and prohibited by the church of England, according to the canons. Of these bishops of the popish party, the following had been appointed to their sees by papal provisions or bulls, which were unlawful and null in the church of England: Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Pool of Peterborough, Pates of Worcester, Goldwell of St. Asaph^c. The following had not only taken their sees merely by papal authority, but had intruded into them while those sees were not vacant, that is, during the lifetime of their legitimate pastors: Heath of York, White of Winchester, Turberville of Exeter, Scott of Chester^d. Bourne of Bath had intruded into the place of Bishop Barlow, who had been forced by intimidation to resign. None of these bishops had been confirmed by their legitimate metropolitans, Cranmer and Holgate. Thus ten bishops of those expelled by Elizabeth had been schismatically and invalidly appointed to the sees they occupied; and of the remaining four, Boner and Thirlby had been guilty of grievous offences, as well in attempting to introduce the papal jurisdiction, in violation of the canons, as in presiding, in the character of papal delegates, at the uncanonical degradation and most cruel murder of their own metropolitan and primate; and in many other acts of persecution against the orthodox. If one or two were removed from their sees apparently without sufficient canonical reason, so comparatively small an irregularity cannot affect the character of the proceedings in general; and Tunstall died before his see was filled up by any new consecration^e.

III. We are to consider the appointments of the new bishops at this time. The metropolitan chair of Canterbury, and twelve other bishoprics, were vacant by death before any

^c Burnet, iii. 455; Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. xv.

^d *Ibid.*

^e Innumerable instances occur in the history of the primitive church, in which schismatical, heretical, or intruding bishops were expelled by the temporal power. Thus the emperor Gratian made a law expelling

the Arian bishops, and restoring the orthodox to their sees. (Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 2.) The usurpers, Theodosius and Peter the Fuller, were expelled from the sees of Jerusalem and Antioch respectively, by the emperors. See other instances in *Episcopacy Vindicated*, &c. sect. xiv.

of them were filled by fresh ordinations^f; eleven other sees were vacant by the legitimate expulsion of those who had usurped them^g; therefore the new appointments of bishops took place in the ordinary and regular manner.

Ordination
of bishops
canonically
conducted.

According to the canons, all bishops should be consecrated by their metropolitan and the synod of com-provincial bishops, or at least by three of them^h; but at this time, in consequence of the usurpations and intrusions of the schismatics, there was not a sufficient number of bishops in England actually and legitimately in possession of sees, to perform the ordination. It was a time of great difficulty (the church of England having been deprived of so many of her legitimate bishops); and therefore the consecration of archbishop Parker was performed by four of the bishops who had been expelled and driven into exile by the papal schismatics in the last reign, two of whom, at least (viz. Barlow and Coverdale), were still legitimately invested with episcopal jurisdiction in the province of Canterburyⁱ; while Scory, lately bishop of Chichester, ejected by the temporal authority, as having been invested with that see *dubio jure*, and Hodgkins, suffragan bishop of Bedford, were both at least canonically vacant, and competent to afford their aid in the necessity of the church^k. Thus there was no informality in the case, because two of the ordaining bishops were still, *de jure*, bishops possessing jurisdiction in the province of Canterbury, and this entitled them, under the circumstances, to call in the assistance of other bishops.

^f Canterbury, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, Rochester, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor, St. David's, Man.

^g York, Bath, Lichfield, Winchester, Lincoln, Carlisle, Exeter, Peterboro', Chester, Worcester, St. Asaph.

^h Nicene Synod, can. 4; Antioch. can. 19. 23; African code, can. 13. 49; ii Orleans, can. 7; iv Toledo, c. 18; Bingham's Antiq. b. ii. c. 16. s. 15; De Marca, Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. iv. c. 4.

ⁱ Barlow having been forced to relinquish his see of Bath by threats and intimidation, and Coverdale expelled from the see of Exeter by the civil power, which restored Voysey,

who had freely resigned it.

^k Bishops who are without actual jurisdiction over any see, in consequence of any cause which does not arise from their own misconduct, may exercise episcopal functions when permitted by other bishops. This is the rule of the synod of Antioch, can. 18. Apost. can. 36. See also Balsamon and Zonaras on the 18th canon of Antioch. Thomassin, Eccl. Discip. p. i. l. i. c. 27, 28, details the origin and office of titular bishops, who, without any real see, officiate in the Roman churches, under the direction of others, and even assist in consecrating bishops. See also Benedict XIV. de Synodo Diœcesana, l. ii. c. 7.

Pelagius, bishop of Rome, was, under circumstances of less difficulty, ordained by only two bishops of his province¹.

It has been alleged by Romanists that the bishops who restored the hierarchy of England at this time were without any spiritual authority or jurisdiction, having been deprived of their sees and offices under Mary^m. This objection is easily refuted by an appeal to the practice of the catholic church, which has always held that bishops unjustly and schismatically expelled from their sees are still invested with spiritual power. Thus the council of Sardica decreed that if any bishop "has been forcibly and unjustly expelled on account of his catholic discipline and belief," he should be received with kindness and humanityⁿ. St. Athanasius, after he had been *deposed* by the synod of Tyre, and spent some time in exile, was sent back to his church by the emperor Constantine the younger, in 338, and entered on his duties as bishop without being restored by any synod^o. The synod of Alexandria, in 340, did not restore Athanasius to his see, they only acknowledged him as bishop^p. Athanasius, having been expelled again, and another ordained to his see, returned to Alexandria on the death of the intruder, and resumed the episcopal office, holding a synod, and making decrees on faith^q. Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, and Marcellus of Ancyra, who had been deposed by the Arians, were restored by the emperors without any synod. The synod of Rome acknowledged Athanasius and Marcellus to be bishops, notwithstanding their unjust expulsion by the Arians^r. The synod of Alexandria in 362 consisted of about twenty bishops, who had been deprived of their churches and exiled, and who nevertheless acted as if they had never lost their jurisdiction^s. These bishops, while they were in exile, and expelled from their sees, ordained a bishop for the Saracens^t. Multitudes of orthodox bishops, who had been expelled by the Arians and other heretics, were restored by the laws of the emperors Jovian, Gratian, and Theodosius, and acted as if they had never lost their jurisdiction. Pope Nicholas I. declared that

¹ Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 33, n. 55.

^m Dublin Review, v. 306; viii. 366. 369.

ⁿ Concil. Sardic. can. xvii. Beve-regii Synodicon, t. i. p. 574.

^o Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xii. n. 4.

^p Labb. Concil. t. ii. col. 533, &c.

^q Ibid. t. ii. col. 809.

^r Ibid. col. 501. 505.

^s Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xv. n. 26.

^t Socrates, Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 36; Sozomen. l. vi. c. 38.

Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, having been unjustly deposed from his see, he had always remained its legitimate bishop^u.

On the same principle, the exiled bishops of the English church, who had been unjustly expelled and persecuted by the schismatics for their adherence to the catholic discipline and doctrine, remained always invested with their apostolical commission and jurisdiction, and were fully competent to perpetuate the ancient line of succession in England.

It has been further objected, that these exiled bishops who consecrated archbishop Parker, were not in communion with other catholic bishops throughout the world; and therefore must have been schismatics, and as such been incompetent to confer any apostolical commission^x. But it has been already proved (p. 124. 144. 228.) that the bishops of a national church may not be actually in communion with bishops in all nations, and yet may be free from schism. The most holy confessor, St. Athanasius himself, was excluded from the communion of all bishops after the synod of Milan, with the exception of a few, who, like himself, were expelled from their sees and driven into exile. Besides this, our bishops *were not condemned* by the eastern churches; and they were not without communion with bishops in the west, especially in Sweden.

Royal authority not excessive.

IV. Bossuet in vain endeavours to prove that notwithstanding the denial in the Article that we “give to our prince the ministering of God’s word, or of the sacraments,” which seems to reduce the royal authority to a mere exterior direction and execution, the contrary appeared in practice^y. “The queen,” he says, “gave licence to preach.” (If so, we may suppose it was with the advice and permission of her prelates; but at all events *we* are not responsible for every act of sovereign power.) She “made bishops with the same authority as the king her father, and the king her brother, and for a limited time if she pleased.” (The former was justifiable by the universal practice of Christian emperors and kings^z. The latter power she did not exercise in fact, and it was obsolete: besides, the church did not intend to admit any such power.) “The commission

^u Nicholaus P. ad Michael. Imper. Labb. t. viii. col. 288; see also col. 382.

^x Dublin Review, viii. 368.

^y Bossuet, Variat. l. x. n. 14, 15.

^z Thomassin. Eccl. Discipl. p. i. l. ii. c. 19; p. ii. l. ii. c. 34.

to consecrate them emanated from the royal power." (The kings of France formerly issued similar injunctions to their bishops ^a.) "Excommunications were decreed by the same authority." (The queen herself never issued excommunications, but the court of delegates or the high commission court, which consisted of bishops. Besides, the king of Sicily in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy" absolves and excommunicates.) "The queen by her edicts regulated not only external worship, but faith and doctrine, or caused it to be regulated by her parliament, whose acts derived their authority from her." (These edicts were only like those of other Christian princes, confirmatory of the faith and discipline approved by spiritual authority.) "In fine, the parliament pretended to prescribe rules for the judgment of heresy, namely, that nothing should be accounted such, except what was contrary to Scripture, the four first councils, &c., or should be decided by parliaments with the advice of the clergy in their convocation." (This related to the *legal* description of heresy, which was a crime by law, and liable to be punished by burning, until the 29th year of Charles II. It was only fit that parliament should exercise some control over the application of so terrible a punishment, and see that the clergy should not exceed the limits of their jurisdiction in defining new heresies. In Austria no one can even be excommunicated, without the previous judgment of the civil powers ^b.)

Queen Elizabeth, at all events, never went so far as some sovereigns of the Roman communion, who have prohibited bishops from conferring orders, obliged them to take out the royal licence to hold ordinations, prescribed the most minute points of public service, silenced preachers, suppressed sees, supported heresy against the church, compelled bishops to swear obedience to all their decrees in religion, future as well as past, obliged the clergy to read the bulletins of their armies in the churches, compelled bishops to submit their pastoral letters to the police, and instituted lay metropolitans, called ministers of worship ^c.

V. If it be said that the Articles themselves declare, that

^a Thomassin. p. ii. l. ii. c. 34. s. 8. ^c See Part I. Chapter x. Append.

^b Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. I. II. III.
Austr. s. 259.

“ if any man, through his private judgment, openly breaks the ceremonies of the church which be ordained by *common* authority, he shall be openly rebuked as one that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the *magistrate*^d,” and therefore that the civil magistrate is acknowledged to have authority in such matters, and may alter the worship of the church as he pleases^e—I reply that the *common* authority spoken of, means the authority of *church* as well as state, and the latter is only confirmatory of the former, or at least only temporal; and cannot effect alterations contrary to the will of the church, so as to have any obligation *in foro conscientie*.

VI. In fine, the convocation of the clergy in the reign of Elizabeth completed the reformation of the church of England. In 1562 they compiled and authorized the XXXIX Articles of Christian doctrine, which were published and confirmed legally by the supreme temporal authority. In 1571, and 1603, they enacted canons in their convocations, which were confirmed by Elizabeth and James I. Thus the ritual, Articles, and discipline of the church of England do not rest merely on temporal authority, but on the original sanction and subsequent practice and custom of the catholic churches of these realms.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

HAVING examined the mode of reformation in these churches, and the authority by which it was effected, we are now to enter on a most important question:—the principles of the English reformation. These principles have been so often misrepresented by the opponents of our catholic apostolic churches, that it becomes a matter of necessity to clear them from the imputation of schism, heresy, and anarchy, by the weight of facts.

^d Article XXXIV.

^e Towgood on Dissent, p. 10.

It has been already shown that one leading principle of that reformation, namely, the authority of provincial or national churches to correct doctrine and discipline without the necessity of waiting for the formal judgment of the Roman pontiff, or of the universal church, is free from all imputation of schism or heresy ^a.

But we are assured that the main, essential principle of the Reformation was the liberty of interpreting Scripture according to our private fancies, in opposition to the doctrine and the judgments of the catholic church of Christ in all ages.

I believe that not one of those who brought about the Reformation ever ventured to maintain such a principle; and although some individuals may have spoken incautiously on the subject of catholic doctrine, when they were pressed with erroneous positions, deduced from spurious writings, which an imperfect criticism prevented them from promptly rejecting; the testimony of a universal consent of Christians, was generally respected by those who were favourable to reformation.

In England the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture was most rightly maintained, not against a catholic tradition teaching the *same doctrines as Scripture itself*, and therefore strictly confirmatory of Scripture, but against a tradition imagined to convey articles of faith *in addition* to those which Scripture contained ^b. The title of Dr. Smythe's book "*De Veritatibus non Scriptis*," sufficiently shows the principle of the papal party. The Roman controversialists founded some of their articles of faith on unwritten tradition merely. Against them it was maintained, that for every article of faith there ought to be scriptural proof; but it was never supposed that particular churches were at liberty to affix whatever meaning they pleased to Scripture, contrary to the doctrine of the catholic church in all ages; still less was it imagined that private individuals might lawfully hold whatever doctrines they should themselves devise, without paying reverence to the authority of that branch of the church in which they should abide, and entire obedience to that of the church universal in all ages.

Scripture and tradition, how related.

I proceed to prove that the catholic and primitive doctrine and the authority of the church of Christ, as opposed to

^a See chapter ii.

^b See Part III. chap. i.

modern abuses and to the licence of an unbridled private judgment, were the principles of the English Reformation ^c.

Authority
of the
church up-
held in the
English
Reforma-
tion.

The abolition of the papal jurisdiction, it will be allowed, was a considerable act of reformation; but we find from history, that those who supported that measure argued not only from Scripture, but from the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, the œcumenical councils, the invalidity of later councils called general, the doctrine of the fathers, the customs of the church of England, and of other churches in modern times ^d. Of these arguments we find a good specimen in bishop Tunstall's letter to cardinal Pole ^e.

The recognition of the royal supremacy was no inconsiderable proceeding in the Reformation. We find that it was argued for, not only from Scripture, but from the doctrine of the fathers, and the exercise of such a power in the church formerly, and the customs and laws of the realm of England ^f. Communion in both kinds was received, not only as being more agreeable to Christ's first institution, but to "the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ ^g." The question of the divorce of the marquis of Northampton was judged, not only from the authority of Scripture, but on "the authorities of the fathers" and councils of the church ^h. In the public disputations on the eucharist at Oxford, A. D. 1549, before Ridley and the king's commissioners, the argument of those opposed to the Romish doctrine was derived from the ancient fathers as well as from Scripture ⁱ.

The "Necessary Doctrine," &c., agreed on by the whole church of England in 1543, says, "All those things which were taught by the apostles, and have been by an whole universal consent of the church of Christ ever sith that time, taught continually, and taken always for true, ought to be received, accepted, and kept, as a perfect doctrine apostolic ^k." It declares that all Christians must take the articles of the creed, "and interpretate all the same things, according to the

^c This subject has been treated by Bishop Jebb, in the appendix to his Sermons; and by Dr. Hook, in his "Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation," p. 8—14.

^d Burnet, i. 250—257.

^e Ibid. iii.; Records, 52.

^f Ibid. i. 257—261.

^g Ibid. ii. 76, 77.

^h Ibid. ii. 104—108.

ⁱ Ibid. ii. 198—204.

^k Formularies of Faith, p. 221.

selfsame sentence and interpretation which the words of Scripture do signify, and the holy approved doctors of the church do agreeably entreat and defend ;” and that they must refuse and condemn all opinions “ which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils ¹.”

Cranmer evidently acknowledged the authority of universal tradition ; on what other ground could he have made those voluminous collections of extracts from the fathers, the councils, the schoolmen, and the canonists, of which we read? In his speech on general councils, A. D. 1534 or 1535, he said, “ that when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God ; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceits ^m.” We see another example of his veneration for the tradition of the church, in his papers on justification, where are many passages from the fathers and schoolmen, down to the time of Aquinas and Bonaventure ⁿ. His epistle to Joachim Vadianus says, with reference to certain writings of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius : “ so far as they have endeavoured to point out and correct papistical and sophistical errors, I praise and approve them. And would that they had contained themselves within those bounds, and had not trampled on the fruit as well as the tares, that is, violated at the same time the authority of the ancient doctors and earliest writers in the church of Christ ^o.” When Ridley had been induced, by the perusal of the ancient writer Bertram on the eucharist, to change his opinion, Cranmer being shaken by him, re-examined the doctrine of the fathers with the greatest care ^p ; and in his work on the eucharist he refers continually to them in confirmation of his opinions : he advances nothing without adducing their testimony (not always, indeed, well understood). In his preface to the Bible, A. D. 1540, he uses, as he says, “ the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. John Chrysostom,” in proof of the use of reading the Bible and in admonition to the readers ^q. Even in his epistle to Queen Mary (September, 1555), stating the reasons by

Cranmer's
respect for
the church.

¹ Formularies of Faith, p. 227.

ii. p. 526.

^m Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 14,
by Jenkyns.

^o Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 195.

^p Le Bas, Life of Cranmer, vol. i.

p. 315.

ⁿ Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p.
121, &c. ; Soames, Hist. Ref. vol.

^q Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 113.

which he had maintained his doctrine of the eucharist in his examination by Brooks, he says, "Herein I said I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto^r." And that his respect for the doctrine of the catholic church was not limited merely to the primitive church, appears from his appeal to a general council. "I intend to speak nothing against one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church, or the authority thereof; the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey^s." "I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ." "In this thing I only am accused for an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament; and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers^t."

Other English Reformers respected the church.

Bishop Ridley revered equally the testimony of catholic tradition. He protested that he did not dispute the doctrine of the "real presence founded in the word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of the orthodox fathers^u." Bishop Poynt, in his treatise on the eucharist, appeals to the tradition of the church universal^x. Mr. Philpot, when imprisoned by the Romish faction in the reign of Queen Mary, wrote thus to a fellow-prisoner: "Let us all that be obedient children of God submit ourselves to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of our faith and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any man's private interpretation of the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had. . . . Let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day^y." Bradford says: "This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God and with the true testimony of Christ's church, will I not forsake," &c.^z Bishop Jewell says: "We are come as near as we possibly could to the church of the

^r Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 380.

^s Ibid. vol. iv. p. 121.

^t Ibid. p. 127. The Treatise on Unwritten Verities which has been attributed to Cranmer, and which speaks less respectfully of the doctrine of the fathers, was not written by him.—See Jenkyns's Cranmer,

vol. i. p. lv.

^u Ridlæi Protestatio, Enchirid. Theolog. p. 53.

^x Poynt, Diallacticon.

^y See the Letter cited in the British Magazine for 1836, p. 50.

^z Martyr's Letters, p. 265. 270, cited by Mr. Churton.

apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers ; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer ^a.”

In accordance with these principles the preface of the reformed ritual, composed A. D. 1548, refers us to “ the ancient fathers ” for the original of divine service, and declares that what is now set forth is “ much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers ^b.” In the preface to the ordinal, composed A. D. 1552, the three orders of the sacred ministry are continued, on account of its appearing from “ Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles’ time there have been those three orders of ministers in Christ’s church.” The homilies, composed in 1547 and 1562, continually refer to the authority of the fathers in confirmation of the true doctrine ^c ; and the convocation of the clergy of England, in 1571, again solemnly recognized the authority of catholic tradition, in their canon concerning preachers : “ Let preachers above all things be careful that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from that very doctrine.”

Thus the authority of catholic tradition was recognized by the church of England and by all our learned theologians. It would take up too much space to cite the concurrent testimonies of Taylor, Nowell, Hooker, Bancroft, Bilson, Overall, Morton, Field, White, Hall, Laud, Montague, Jackson, Mede, Usher, Bramhall, Sanderson, Cosin, Hammond, Thorn-dike, Jeremy Taylor, Heylin, Pearson, Barrow, Bull, Stillingfleet, Ken, Beveridge, Patrick, Sharp, Leslie, Potter, and others innumerable of our primates, bishops, doctors, and theologians, who have all maintained the authority of catholic tradition ^d.

^a Jewell, *Apologia*, p. 156, ed. 1606.

^b Preface to Book of Common Prayer.

^c See Sermon concerning Prayer, part ii. Place and Time of Prayer, ad fin. ; Hom. on Common Prayer and Sacraments ; Sermon on Alms-Deeds, &c.

^d See the Appendix to bishop Jebb’s Sermons ; the Rev. E. Churton’s valuable Sermon “ The Church of England a Witness and Keeper of the Catholic Tradition,” Appendix A. ; and Mr. Russell’s “ Judgment of the Anglican Church,” for the sentiments of all the theologians mentioned above.

Absolute
right of
private
judgment
rejected.

It is evident then that the authority of catholic tradition and of the universal church as opposed to the unlimited freedom of private inventions, was continually recognized in the church of England during the whole reformation, and always afterwards. Indeed so little was thought of the right of individuals to hold their own inventions and dogmas in those days, that we find even corporal severities exercised by those who promoted the reformation, against those who held heretical doctrines. Thus in 1549 Cranmer and Ridley were on the commission which condemned Joan of Kent for heresy, and the archbishop himself obtained the signature of king Edward VI. to the warrant for her burning, at which bishop Scory preached the sermon^e. Van Pare, a Dutch heretic, was condemned in like manner, A. D. 1551; and in the time of queen Elizabeth, bishop Jewell in his Apology declares that “we not only condemn the old heretics, as Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, &c. and pronounce them impious and lost, and detest them to the gates of hell, but even if they anywhere break forth and show themselves, we restrain them severely and seriously with lawful and civil punishments^f.” In fact the writ “de Hæretico comburendo” was in force till the twenty-ninth year of Charles II., and not unfrequently acted upon. Of course I do not approve the principle of persecution here laid down by Jewell, but it is an absolute demonstration that the principle of the liberty of private judgment to oppose the true doctrine of Scripture confirmed by catholic testimony, was not the principle of those times.

The doctrine then maintained was THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH: “The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and AUTHORITY IN CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH.” (Art. XX. A. D. 1562.) And accordingly it is afterwards said: “Whosoever, through his *private judgment*, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly,” &c.^g; the church herself, of course, being the judge of this repugnance^h. Even the parliaments which

^e Le Bas, Cranmer, vol. i. p. 334. Burnet, vol. ii.

^f Juell Apolog. p. 5.

^g Article XXXIV.

^h Towgood the dissenter says: “Of this repugnance and contrariety, the church alone, you will observe, and not every private per-

established the Reformation, acknowledged the authority of tradition, and of the catholic church. The act (1547) appointing communion in both kinds, and the people to receive it with the priest, went on the ground of "the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ," and "the primitive practice¹." The act for the Royal Supremacy (1559) declared, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters, should judge nothing to be heresy, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which such doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture. All other points, not so decided, were to be judged by the parliament, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation^k.

It is strange that in opposition to the weight of such facts, the principle of the Reformation should be assumed to be that of the right of individuals to oppose their own judgments to the true doctrine of Scripture, taught by the tradition of the universal church in all ages. I know not what answer can be made to the above facts, except that the principle of the Reformation *ought* to have been this, and that it is indefensible on any other; but we are satisfied with the principle of the English Reformation as it actually was, because we believe it was orthodox, and consistent with common sense, and accordingly always and in all places received by Christians; and as for the defence of the Reformation, we are content to undertake it without the aid of the principle which later ages have attempted to create for it.

The principle of reverence for catholic tradition, as maintained by the church of England, was a principle calculated not merely for the maintenance of Christian truths always received, but it was essentially a corrective and reforming principle; for it taught the church to look beyond the limits of existing practices and opinions into the mind of all ages, and to take the belief of the universal church in most holy union with Scripture, as the rule by which she might be en-

Reverence
for tradi-
tion a re-
forming
principle.

son, is allowed to be the proper judge, for otherwise the article is absurd: it actually overthrows itself, and takes away with one hand what

it gives with the other."—On Dissent, p. 6, 7.

¹ Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 1.

^k Act 1 Eliz. c. 1.

bled to give due importance to matters essential, and to correct abuses and innovations inconsistent with the apostolic truth. And it was a principle fraught with practical wisdom, because it placed before her the experience and examples of fifteen hundred years, to guide and admonish her in her proceedings.

There may be one other answer made to this :—that the church of England herself did not understand the true principles of the Reformation ; that we must look for those principles in the churches of the foreign Reformation. But I have already shown that they also were abundant in their acknowledgments of the authority of the catholic church, and of general and national synods in matters of faith ; that they shrank from the imputation of setting up their private opinions against the authority of the catholic church ; that they never designed or wished to separate themselves from the existing church ; that the Reformation in itself was, in a great degree, brought about without a previous design on their parts ; that they were ready to alter their systems much, if they could, by so doing, have healed the divisions of the church ¹. There are facts enough to prove all this, and to show that we do not stand alone in recognizing the authority of catholic tradition. Therefore there is error in both the assertions on which Blackburn founds his attack on the Articles of the church of England ; viz. that “the protestants *withdrew from the communion of the church of Rome,*” and that the principle on which they did so was *the right of an unbounded liberty* (so called) *of private judgment,* and the rejection of all church authority ^m. Indeed Blackburn himself is compelled, by the force of truth, to acknowledge that the *reformers themselves* afterwards “took their interpretations of Scripture,” and “formed their rule of faith and doctrine” on “the sense of the orthodox fathers ⁿ ;” that “in those days nothing was thought to be sufficiently confirmed by Scripture testimonies, without additional vouchers from the ancient worthies of the church ^o ;” that “in process of time some particular persons *began* to see into this mistake,” and Cartwright (the Puritan) “in his dispute with Archbishop Whitgift, about the year 1573, took the courage to *appeal* from the authority of the fathers ;” that his sentiments were

¹ Part I. chap. xii.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 3.

^m Blackburn's Confessional, p.

^o P. 20.

regarded “as so much blasphemy;” that when Erasmus Johannes, a schoolmaster at Antwerp, a few years afterwards assailed the fathers and councils, “the times were not ripe for the *toleration* of these sentiments,” and he was “obliged to fly his country^p!” These facts, admitted as they are by a despiser and an enemy of catholic tradition, are of the highest value; they show what the *general* sentiment of the Reformation was, and they render it utterly incredible that it could have been originally founded in the contradictory principle; because if it had been so, how could all have concurred immediately afterwards in adopting the principle of obedience to the doctrine of the catholic church?

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE VARIATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

THE regulations made by our catholic and apostolic churches concerning doctrine and discipline during the sixteenth century, have been maliciously traduced by our opponents, as affording evidence of heretical variations and inconsistencies. The mere circumstance of a church’s altering her doctrine or discipline in some point, affords no presumption of heresy. The African churches, in the time of Cyprian, maintained the invalidity of heretical baptism; in the time of Augustine they decreed the contrary. The western churches practised communion in both kinds till the thirteenth century; the synod of Constance confirmed the opposite practice. The western churches, in the ninth century, condemned the worship of images; yet afterwards many of them sanctioned the custom, in its most offensive shape. For a long time they acknowledged the Roman pontiffs to have temporal authority over princes; yet this doctrine was afterwards rejected by the Gallican and other churches. The churches of Spain hold the immaculate conception of the Virgin as a matter of faith; yet it will hardly be contended that they might not maintain the

^p Blackburn’s Confessional, p. 21, 22.

contrary doctrine. In France the superiority of a general synod to a pope was held *de fide*; yet it is so no longer.

The variation, then, so justly assigned as a note of heresy by Tertullian, Hilary, and other fathers, does not relate to the mere correction of prevalent errors and abuses by competent authority; but to the fluctuation, contradictions, and uncertainty of sects who separate from the church. Variation in this sense, or as implying inconsistency, or sanction of what is admitted to be heresy or dangerous error, affords a legitimate presumption of unsoundness.

But of such variations there is no evidence in the Reformation of the church of England, which proceeded, gradually, consistently, and lawfully in the correction of modern though prevalent errors and abuses.

Reforms
under Hen-
ry VIII.

I. The reformation of the church of England during the reign of Henry VIII., is represented uniformly by Bossuet and our other opponents of all "denominations," as limited entirely to the rejection of the papal supremacy^a. With this single exception, according to them, the system previously existing was received and authorized in all points. Now it will appear on examination, that the corrections in the reign of Henry were very little inferior in importance to those made in Edward's reign.

Besides the rejection of the *papal supremacy* of jurisdiction in the convocation of 1534^b, *purgatory* was disclaimed by authority of the church in 1537^c and 1543^d, she being well aware that the council of Florence, on which it rests, is of no binding force^e. *Indulgences* were rejected by the same authority^f, together with all *kneeling, bowing, and offering to images*^g; and all worship *before* them was to be directed, not to the image itself, not even to the saint represented, but to God only^h. The principle and practice was established by the royal injunctions received by the church, of *removing* all images

^a Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 24—28. 37.

^b Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. and iii.

^c Institut. of a Christian Man, Formulæ of Faith. p. 211. Oxford ed.

^d Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, *ibid.* p. 376.

^e *Ibid.* p. 285.

^f Formulæ of Faith, p. 211. 376.

^g Articles about Religion, 1536; Formulæ of Faith, p. xxviii.; Institution of a Christian Man, p. 134, 135. 137; Injunctions of Archbishop Lee, Burnet, iii.; Records, 57; Injunct. Bp. Sarum, *ibid.*; Rec. 59.

^h Articles, 1536, p. xxviii.; Necessary Doctrine, p. 300.

abused by pilgrimages and other special honoursⁱ. The practice of *praying to saints for any gifts* was prohibited by the church^k; and though their invocation was still permitted under certain limitations, intended to divest it of its most injurious tendency, it was discouraged in the public service^l. The *superstitious use of relics* was also discouraged^m; and the church prohibited several other abuses, such as *using gospels for charms, drinking holy water for the cure of diseases*ⁿ, &c. These were very important reforms; and though some customs were retained for a time, under a hope that they might be divested of abuse, the principles developed in attempting their correction led naturally to their ultimate removal, when experience had proved them to be incorrigible. It is therefore a great misrepresentation to affirm that the papal supremacy

ⁱ Injunctions of the King's Vicerent; Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. Records, p. 276; Injunctions of Archbishop Lee, Bur. iii. Rec. 57. All such special honours are prohibited by the Institution of a Christian Man, p. 137. Milner, a noted papist, thus involuntarily justifies us for removing images: "The learned Petavius says, 'We must lay it down as a principle, that images are to be reckoned among the adiaphora, which do not belong to the substance of religion, and which the church may retain or take away, as she judges best,'—L. xv. de Incar. Hence Dr. Hawarden, of Images, p. 353, teaches, with Delphinus, that if in any place there is danger of real idolatry or superstition from pictures, they ought to be removed by the pastor, as St. Epiphanius destroyed a certain pious picture, and as Ezechias destroyed the brazen serpent."—End of Controv. Let. 34. 'That there were, in fact, great abuses and even idolatry in the use of images before and after the Reformation, is admitted by Cassander and other Roman writers.—See Laud, Conference, sect. 33, n. 13. Bossuet himself admits that the *ignorant* are in danger of falling into idolatry by using images: "What might be feared for the ignorant is, that they should believe

the Divine nature capable of being represented or rendered present in the images, or regard them as filled with some virtue for which they are honoured: these are the three characters of *idolatry*. It is not allowable to attribute more virtue to one image than to another; nor, consequently, to frequent one more than another, except in memory of some miracle or pious history, which may excite devotion."—Bossuet, Variat. l. xv. sect. 156. But, in fact, it is not merely the *ignorant* who practise idolatrous worship of images. The majority of the most eminent theologians in the western church, from the time of Thomas Aquinas, maintained that *LATRIA*, or the worship due to the Divine nature, is also due to many images and relics.—See above, p. 273; Usher's Answer to a Jesuit, ch. ix.; Palmer's Eighth Letter to Wiseman; where it is shewn that the same doctrine is still approved in the Roman communion, and that it was not censured by the council of Trent.

^k Institution, p. 141.

^l Injunctions of the Vicerent, Burnet, *ibid.* p. 279.

^m Injunc. of Vicerent, Bur. i. Rec. p. 249. 276; Injunctions Bp. Sarum, Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 195.

ⁿ Institution of a Christian Man, p. 133; Necessary Doctrine, p. 293.

alone was rejected and suppressed by the church of England in the reign of Henry VIII.

Reforms
under Ed-
ward VI.

II. It is asserted, that our churches having stedfastly adhered to the whole Romish doctrine in the reign of Henry VIII., relinquished it immediately after the accession of Edward VI., and became Zuinglian, rejecting especially the catholic doctrine of the eucharist. This assertion arises from an erroneous view of facts, and from not distinguishing the opinions of individual theologians from the public and authorized doctrine of the church of England.

Articles of
1552.

It is a fact, that *no new formulary of doctrine whatever* was published by authority of the church during the whole reign of Edward VI. The forty-two articles of religion compiled (it is supposed) by Cranmer, Ridley, and others, in 1552, were never authorized by convocation^o, though the royal council most unjustifiably published them as so approved; for which Archbishop Cranmer remonstrated with them in vain^p. Nor were they ever at any time received as a formulary of the church of England, having been put forth by the king but a few days before his death, in 1553, and only subscribed by a few clergy in Canterbury, Norwich, and London, and in the University of Cambridge, who were solicited, but not compelled, to subscribe by the bishops Cranmer and Ridley^q. From this time we hear no more of them as of any binding authority. That no new doctrine was established in the church of England during this reign appears from Burnet, who observes, with reference to the above articles, "It seemed to be a great want that this was so long delayed, since the old doctrine had still the legal authority of its side^r;" yet these articles, as we have seen, were never actually in force.

Authorized
doctrine
under Ed-
ward VI.

It seems plain, indeed, that during the whole reign of Edward VI., the doctrine of the church of England was most *authen-*

^o Burnet, iii. p. 362, 363.

^p Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, iv. p. 64, 65; Burnet, *ibid*.

^q Burnet, iii. 365—367. It has been argued in reply to this, that these Articles were published by authority of the head of the church, at the petition of the archbishop; and that the clergy of every diocese were ordered by the Government to subscribe them; and that it was

intended to procure the subscriptions of the clergy in every diocese (Dublin Rev. viii. 360. 361); but it is admitted that "the scheme was *defeated* by the death of the king." So that these articles were never, in fact, the authorized creed of the church of England, though they may have been considered such by some persons.

^r *Ibid*. 361.

tically represented by the formulary of instruction formally approved by the convocation in the reign of Henry VIII., A. D. 1543^s, entitled, "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition," a book which was most assuredly quite opposed to the Zuinglian doctrines. This book was of authority in the church of England during the remainder of King Henry's Reign. In 1546 Archbishop Cranmer, in writing to the king concerning the abolition of certain ceremonies, recognizes it as of authority in the church^t. The first book of our Homilies, published in 1547 (the first year of Edward VI.), chiefly relates to Christian morals, but it terms matrimony a *sacrament*^u; (indeed, the second book of Homilies speaks of ordination and "*other sacraments*^x," besides baptism and the eucharist;) and at the end of this book of Homilies, we read of "the due receiving of Christ's body and blood under the form of bread and wine." This is all very consistent with the Necessary Doctrine, but it is not Zuinglian. Immediately after the publication of the Homilies, Gardiner objected to the doctrine of Justification there laid down, as inconsistent with that of the Necessary Doctrine, assuming the latter to be of authority still^y. Again, in 1551, in arguing against the opinions of Cranmer on the eucharist, he appealed to the doctrine confessed by the whole clergy of England in an open council, and "never hitherto by any public council or any thing set forth by authority impaired^z." Nor could any effectual answer be made to this; and accordingly, not only does Cranmer disclaim the notion that Gardiner had been brought to trial for his doctrine on the eucharist^a, but none of the bishops of the popish party who were expelled from their sees in Edward's reign, were deprived on pretence of their holding *doctrines contrary to those of the church*, but for disobedience to the royal council, or for treason.

^s Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. iii. p. 868.

^t Cranmer's Works, i. p. 322.

^u "By like holy promise, the *sacrament of matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love."—Sermon on Swearing, part i.

^x "Though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign or promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as *all other sacraments* besides the two above named

do. Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as baptism and the communion are."—On Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

^y Burnet, ii. p. 67; Le Bas' Cranmer, i. 285.

^z Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns', vol. i. p. xlvi. ; vol. iii. p. 363.

^a Cranmer's Works, vol. iii. p. 36; Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

Real presence admitted.

Thus it appears that the *authorized doctrine* of the church of England, during the whole of Edward the Sixth's reign, was that of the real presence, in the strongest and most decided sense. It is true that there were considerable discussions and controversies concerning *the mode* of the presence, between Cranmer, Ridley, Poynt, &c. on the one side, and Gardiner, Tunstall, and Smythe on the other; and therefore it may be concluded, that at that time *the mode* of the presence was held undecided by the church of England, as in fact she had avoided the term Transubstantiation in the Necessary Doctrine, and while a change of substance was there strongly asserted, this might be understood in several senses^b, though I admit that transubstantiation is the more natural meaning. The real presence, however, was then professed by all parties. I need not speak of Gardiner and Smythe, who went into the extremes of the Romish opinions: but it was not confined to them. Dr. Oglethorpe, in his submission and profession of faith, A. D. 1550 (having been accused of being opposed to the service-book and the king's proceedings), was permitted to declare, that while he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, he held "that there is a certain, and an ineffable presence of Christ's body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express," &c.^c Bishop Ridley protested, that in opposing the doctrine of the corporal presence, he did not mean "to remove that real presence of Christ's body in his supper, duly and lawfully administered, which is founded in the word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of the orthodox fathers^d." Bishop Poynt maintained the doctrine of the real presence in his book on the Eucharist, in a very decided manner^e. Bucer and Melancthon, whom Cranmer invited to England, had always maintained the real presence, as even Gardiner admits^f.

Doctrine of Cranmer.

I shall not attempt to defend all the doctrine of Cranmer, in his Treatise on the Sacrament, A. D. 1550, and his Answer to Gardiner next year, which in fact, (though he seems not to

^b *E. g.* not a physical, but a spiritual or sacramental change, or a change by union with the Divinity, or with the humanity of Christ. Various explanations might be given, which would not infer transubstantiation, or the total cessation of the

substance of bread.

^c Burnet, vol. ii. Rec. p. 290.

^d Ridlæi Protestatio, Enchirid. Theologicum, p. 53.

^e See Poynt's Diallacticon.

^f Cranmer's Works, vol. iii. p. 54, 55. 167.

have been aware of it,) amounted to a denial of the real presence, and is very different from that of Ridley and Poynt, from the Necessary Doctrine, the Homilies, and the Prayer-book, composed in 1548. His belief in the corporal presence had been unsettled by Ridley, at the end of Henry's reign; but Peter Martyr and Alasco, who were in his house for some time, appear, in their conferences on the matter, to have exercised an unhappy influence on his too flexible mind^g. In his controversy with Gardiner, he assailed, indeed, successfully the common errors and superstitions on the Eucharist; but his own positive opinions were not in all points orthodox. However, it seems that he was misled, not by any vain confidence in his own private opinion in opposition to the catholic church, but by certain passages from the fathers which he did not rightly understand; and that he deemed his opinion sincerely to be supported by apostolical tradition. That he did not obstinately adhere to it we may reasonably trust from his appeal to a general council, in which he protests that he did not design to maintain his private opinion against the catholic church, "to which," he adds, "my mind is in all things to obey^h."

The church of England, however, was not in the slightest degree committed to the particular opinions of archbishop Cranmer on this point. In this controversy he wrote merely as a private theologian, and not *ex cathedra*, with episcopal authority: and I contend that we have fully as much right to say that the opinions of Gardiner, Tunstall, and Smythe, were approved by the church of England as that Cranmer's were. They were just as much in communion with the church as Cranmer himself, and the latter even expressly disclaims the notion of Gardiner's having been deposed for his doctrine of transubstantiation. Therefore these books of Cranmer are not to be confounded with the public and authorized doctrine of the church of England.

The declaration on kneeling at the sacrament, contained in the ritual of 1552, and which is said to convey the doctrine of Zuinglius on the eucharistⁱ, cannot be considered as a definition of doctrine made by the church of England; for indepen-

Declara-
tion on
Kneeling.

^g Ibid. vol. i. p. lxxix. lxxx. 121. 126.

^h Cranmer's Works, vol. iv. p. ⁱ Bossuet, Variat. liv. vii. s. 82.

dently of the uncertainty as to who really put forth that declaration^k, the bishops and clergy were not then bound to declare their assent to every thing comprised in the ritual: they were only bound to perform the rites therein contained, of which this declaration was no part. Its intention, however, was merely to prevent the worship of bread and wine in the eucharist, which would be decidedly idolatrous; and to reject such a real presence of Christ's body as is corporal and organical, since the body of Christ in its natural mode of existence can only be in heaven. This, however, does not interfere with the doctrine of the real presence then universally confessed, and maintained by the Homilies, Necessary Doctrine, and Prayer-book.

Invitation
of foreign-
ers to Eng-
land.

But it is alleged that the church of England must have been at this time imbued with Zuinglian doctrines, because several of that school were invited to England to reform the church, such as Peter Martyr, Ochinus, and others, whose opinions, it is said, had great influence on the reformation then proceeding^l.

I deny that these foreign theologians were invited to England to reform the church here. The facts of the case are these. The emperor Charles V. was, in 1548, forcing the general adoption of that code of doctrine and discipline, known by the name of the "Interim." Many of the protestants of Germany could not consent to accept this formulary, (imposed too by merely temporal authority,) and were obliged to escape from the emperor's vengeance. The fugitives took refuge in England as the safest country, and archbishop Cranmer, with great humanity, wrote to others, such as Alasco, Melancthon, and Bucer, offering them an asylum^m. At the same time, he began to urge a favourite plan of his, the composition of a general formulary of doctrine for all who favoured the Reformation, in which the true doctrine might be explained without any ambiguity, and thus go down to posterity. With this object he repeatedly, in 1548, 1549, and again in 1552,

^k It appears from some letters in the early numbers of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, that this declaration was not in the book as sanctioned by act of parliament, and that various copies exist in which it does

not occur. It was afterwards privately inserted by orders of the council.

^l Bossuet, *Var. liv. vii. s. 81.*

^m Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 334—337.

entreated Melancthon, Alasco, Hardenburg, and finally Bullinger and Calvin, to meet and consult on this formulary, and offered them a secure place for deliberation in Englandⁿ.

Such were the causes, and not any general invitation to reform the church of England, which brought several of the foreign adherents of the Reformation to England, though their chief leaders probably saw deeper into the differences between them than Cranmer, and did not think it advisable to enter on fresh discussions. Alasco was made superintendent of the *foreign* congregation, protected in the exercise of their religion, in London. Bucer was, by Cranmer's influence, placed in the chair of divinity at Cambridge, and Martyr at Oxford. The doctrines of these theologians (especially the latter) at that time were, it must be confessed, of an objectionable character with reference to the eucharist: but I contend that the church of England was not responsible for their opinions. Whatever influence these divines exercised was indirect and private, through Cranmer; and as I have already shown that it did not produce the enactment of any new doctrine in the church, so I deny absolutely that the church of England at large can be responsible for the opinion of one of its bishops, and still less for those of his private advisers. Martyr was in the chair of divinity at Oxford, and had many opponents there: but God forbid, that the whole church of England should be held responsible for the heresies or errors of a professor at one of the universities. It is often difficult to censure or convict delinquents of this kind, even though the sense of the church may be manifestly against them^o.

If it be alleged that under the influence of Martyr and Bucer, some expressions in the ritual of Edward VI., which conveyed the doctrine of the real presence, were removed on its revision in 1552; I reply, that Martyr and Bucer were merely desired to give their opinions as to the alterations expedient, as private theologians; but several alterations had been already agreed on, and they were not allowed to do more than state their sentiments to those who were in authority^p.

ⁿ Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. civ. cv; 329—349. Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 78—82.

^o Professor Hermes continued to teach his doctrines in the university of Bonn for fifteen years, and many

other Roman-catholic professors in Germany have been and are tinged with Neologian errors. See above, p. 263.

^p See Ridley's Life, p. 334. Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 73, 74.

And the immediate reason of the omissions referred to was, that Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the other maintainers of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and the corporal presence, had employed those passages to persuade the people that their doctrine was authoritatively taught by the church^q. These changes by no means implied the adoption of the doctrine of a merely figurative presence, or real absence of Christ's body; and we find no assertion of that doctrine in the ritual thus altered.

Reforms
under Edw.
VI.

It appears then, that during the reign of Edward VI. the church made no alteration in doctrine, except in leaving the mode of the real presence in the eucharist undetermined. It is certain, indeed, that considerable alterations in rites and ceremonies were effected, but in this there is not the slightest proof of heretical variation. The removal of *images* specially abused by superstitious or idolatrous worship, was merely following up the practice already sanctioned by the church in the preceding reign. The subsequent removal of all images, by order of the council in 1548, was grounded on the tumults and disorders which there were at that time about them^r; and the church in acquiescing in this regulation, did so under the conviction that they were unnecessary to true piety, and liable to the grossest abuses. *The administration of the eucharist in both kinds*, (approved by the convocation of the church) was not *inconsistent* with the doctrine of the real presence^s, or even of concomitance maintained by the Necessary Doctrine^t (and never, that I am aware, absolutely condemned by the church of England since, though not expressly taught in our present formularies); but was founded on "primitive practice." Cranmer himself justified it, even admitting the doctrine of concomitance^u. The permission of *the marriage of the clergy* was a mere change of discipline, and perfectly lawful, as I shall prove elsewhere^x: and the publication of *the ritual in the*

^q Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 93. 99. 114. 145. 153. 155. 494.

^r Burnet, vol. ii. p. 111, 112.

^s Bossuet, Variat. liv. vii. s. 93.

^t Necessary Doctrine, p. 265. The Lutheran Confession of Wirtemberg, drawn up by Brentius, acknowledges the doctrine of concomitance, though it insists on commu-

nion in both kinds. (Cap. de Cœnâ.) The Articles of Smalcald say it may be true, and yet hold that communion in one kind is unlawful, as inconsistent with the divine institution. Pars iii. art. vi.

^u Letter to Queen Mary, Works, vol. i. p. 377.

^x Part VI. Chapter on the celibacy of the clergy.

English language, corrected and reformed, must be allowed by every one to have been most perfectly within the office of the church. As to the abolition of various *ceremonies*, such as *carrying candles, ashes, palms, the paschal sepulchre, creeping to the cross, oil, chrism, &c.* it was effected by the church, not on principles condemnatory of her former practice, but because these rites were abused to superstition and idolatry, and the abuses could not be removed without removing their objects; or because they were too numerous and burdensome⁷. These are principles to which it is impossible that any catholic can object, and of their application the church is the proper judge.

It was on the principle of removing things non-essential, and actually much abused, that the church sanctioned the removal of *prayer for the departed faithful* from the public service, which had been abused into a proof of the doctrine of Purgatory, which she rejected². In the same manner she removed *Invocation of Saints*, as leading too frequently to superstition, and even to idolatry³. The practice of *private confession* to priests, and absolution, she never abolished. It is said that the form of administering the eucharist, drawn up by eighteen bishops and other clergy in 1547, left private confession entirely to the option of individuals^b; but, strictly speaking, this licence related not so much to the practice of confession in general, as to the particular custom of confessing before receiving the eucharist^c. That the church did not mean to abolish confession and absolution (which she even regards as a

⁷ Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

² Bossuet most unjustly attributes this to mere hostility to the Roman church.—Variat. liv. vii. s. 88.

³ It is taught by Roman theologians that there is no positive precept of the church to invoke the saints, the council of Trent having only pronounced it salutary, not necessary.—See Milner, *End of Controversy*, Letter 33, where he refers in proof to Petavius, Suarez, Wallemburg, Muratori, and Natalis Alexander. Bossuet admits that this custom may be abused. “Ce qu’il y avoit à craindre pour les igno-

rans, c’étoit qu’ils ne fissent l’invocation des saints trop semblable à celle de Jesus Christ.” The council of Trent, he says, endeavoured to guard against this danger by their doctrine (Variat. xv. 155); but our churches acted more piously and charitably, in removing a practice which we knew by experience led to most decided idolatry in very many cases. For a view of the idolatries which have arisen from this practice, see Archbishop Usher’s *Answer to a Jesuit*, chap. ix.; Rev. T. H. Horne’s *Mariolatry*; Palmer, Letter I. and V. to Wiseman.

^b Burnet, vol. ii. p. 120, 123.

^c *Ibid.* p. 119.

sort of sacrament ^d) in general, appears from the offices of the eucharist, and for the visitation of the sick, then drawn up; and from the powers conferred on priests in the ordination services. The Homilies, drawn up in 1562, only declared this confession and absolution not essential generally to the pardon of sin ^e, but this does not militate against its desirableness and benefit, which the church never denied ^f. We only disused the canon “*omnis utriusque sexus*” made by the synod of Lateran in 1215, and for good reasons restored the practice of confession to the state it was in previously, when it was not enjoined at a particular time every year. The alteration was merely in a matter of changeable discipline.

Proceedings under Mary.

It is needless to dwell on the interruption to the reformation of the church of England sustained in the reign of Mary. All the religious acts made or approved by this catholic church for many years previously, were at that time assailed by the civil power, and subverted without discussion, under the influence of the queen, and Gardiner lord chancellor. But as I have before observed on the schism and nullity of all these proceedings, I shall pass without further comment to the next reign.

Reforms under Elizabeth.

The accession of Elizabeth was succeeded by the legal restoration of the system of the church of England, but still without any new formulary of doctrine till 1562, when the Convocation compiled the Thirty-nine Articles. It is alleged by our opponents, however, that the church of England having been Zuinglian in the time of Edward, now veered towards the Roman doctrine, in proof of which they allege the alteration of the Article of 1552, which had declared the corporal presence impossible, the omission of the declaration concerning kneeling

^d “Absolution is no *such* sacrament as baptism and the communion are . . . but in a general acceptation the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified,” &c.—Sermon on Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

^e Sermon of Repentance, part ii.

^f *Ibid.*—See Exhortation in the Communion Office, and the Visitation of the sick. The National synod of Ireland, A. D. 1634, in their 64th

canon, charged all ministers not to reveal offences entrusted to them in private confession, under pain of irregularity. Private confession was also approved by the Lutherans.—See the Confession of Augsburg, pars i. art. xi. De Confessione; pars ii. art. iv; Apologia Confessionis, vi; Articuli Smalcald. pars iii. art. viii; and Luther’s Catechismus Minor, where the form of confession and absolution is prescribed.

at the sacrament, the uniting of the forms of delivering the eucharist in the first and second books of Edward VI., and the omission of the petition against the bishop of Rome in the Litany, all which alterations are said to have been made with the intention of conciliating the professors of that very doctrine of the corporal presence and transubstantiation, the denial of which had cost Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer their lives ^g.

Now first, I have before observed that the Articles of 1552 were never of any authority in the church of England, and therefore the convocation of 1562, in correcting what was there said as to the eucharist, and omitting what seemed too much of mere human reasoning on the nature of bodies, did not in any degree change the doctrine of the church. Secondly, we have no certain evidence of what the motives of those alterations in 1558 really were. Burnet says indeed: "It was proposed to have the communion book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal presence: for the chief design of the queen's council was to unite the nation in one faith, and the greatest part of the nation still continued to believe such a presence ^h." What the proof of this is, I have yet to learn; and Burnet himself, thirty-three years afterwards, gave an account of the matter, from which it may be suspected that he drew on his own imagination for the reasons assigned in the above passage. "The most material (difference) is the leaving out of that express declaration that was made against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which *I then thought* was done in compliance with the opinion prevalent among the people of the popish persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the belief of such a presence; but *I am convinced* by the letter sent me from Zurich, that in this, great regard was likewise had to the Lutheran churches, with whom a conjunction was much endeavoured by some ⁱ. Blackburn, the author of the Confessional, observes with much apparent truth, that Burnet, in affirming that the Articles were framed with the intention of including different opinions, "says a good deal of this *at random*, or at least upon plausible conjecture ^k."

^g Bossuet, Variat. liv. x. s. 5—

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^h Burnet, vol. ii. p. 704.

ⁱ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 518.

^k Confessional, p. 134, &c. Bossuet, assuming that the Articles of the church of England were conceived in vague and general terms,

I repeat it, that there is no certain evidence of the motive of these changes—that we have only the *fact*. They may have been, very probably, designed to remove what was deemed a not altogether unreasonable ground of offence to men well disposed. But they may have been made chiefly for their own sake, on the principle of not putting forward mere human reasonings, or any thing else which might seem harsh in tone, or be in any way construed into a doubt of the real presence. That these alterations were made on the ground of their own fitness, and not with any direct intention of including the opinions of either Romanists or Lutherans, appears to me most probable. The Romish party had attended the worship of the church in the reign of Edward VI., when the Prayer-book was unaltered: why then was it necessary to make those alterations on their account? At all events, whatever may have been the motives of the queen and her council, we have no proof that they influenced the clergy who reviewed the Ritual, or that *they* had any design of comprehending persons of various doctrines within the church. I have dwelt on this point, because the motives of these alterations are too often assumed as a matter perfectly clear and indisputable, and the reformation itself is thus most unjustly enlisted in the service of *latitudinarian* principles.

It may be further observed, that Cranmer and others suffered simply for not professing their belief in transubstantiation and the corporal presence as matters of faith. Cranmer might have held these to be serious errors, and as such refused to profess his belief in them, without judging that their supporters ought to be excluded from all church communion. If therefore there had been an intention to facilitate the union of those who believed the corporal presence, there would not have been any evident inconsistency with the faith of Cranmer and his companions in suffering.

in order to admit different doctrines, remarks that such a proceeding amounted to a betraying of the truth, Variat. x. s. vi; but he himself says elsewhere in defence of the synod of Trent, to which similar vagueness of expression is attributed, “qu’il faut souvent dans les décisions de l’Eglise s’en tenir à des expressions *générales*, pour de-

meurer dans cette mesure de sagesse tant louée par S. Paul, et n’être pas contre son précepte plus savant qu’il ne faut.”—Variat. xv. s. 58. This is really the rule followed by our catholic apostolic churches, and not any political and latitudinarian principle of comprehending different doctrines concerning matters of faith.

In 1562 the Convocation authorized the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the only formulary of doctrine established by competent authority in England since the publication of the Necessary Doctrine, in 1543. It may be well to remark the points of doctrine in which the two formularies agreed and differed. Baptism and the eucharist alone are in the Articles accounted "sacraments of the Gospel¹," but matrimony, ordination, and other rites are termed sacraments in our homilies^m, approved by the Articles; so that there is no very marked difference as to the number of sacraments between the two formularies; for the Necessary Doctrine does not pronounce the lesser sacraments or rites of the church to be "sacraments of the Gospel." It seems, in fact, that the church of England has refrained from limiting the use of the term "sacramentⁿ," and left her theologians, in this respect, to that ancient liberty of which the synod of Trent has deprived the Roman theologians. If the Necessary Doctrine maintains a change of substance in the eucharist, without affirming transubstantiation^o, the Article, in denying transubstantiation, does not condemn absolutely all change of substance in *any sense*^p, but the particular change

Thirty-nine Articles compared with the "Necessary Doctrine."

¹ Art. XXV.

^m Homily on Swearing, part i.; On Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

ⁿ The Catechism affirms that there are only two sacraments *generally necessary to salvation*; the Article, that there are two sacraments *ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel*. The object of the church is to secure these two great sacraments in their supremacy of dignity and necessity beyond all other rites.

^o "It is a remarkable fact," says Mr. Jenkyns, in his valuable edition of Cranmer's works, "that the several formularies of faith to which he (Cranmer) was a party under Henry VIII., while they maintain most unequivocally the corporal presence, yet all fall short of any explicit assertion of transubstantiation. Even the *Necessary Doctrine*, which is justly considered to be the most favourable to the church of Rome, though it teaches that the bread and wine 'do not remain in

their own substance, but by virtue of Christ's word in the consecration, be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ;' yet does not go the full length of pronouncing that 'after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ.' And yet these are the terms by which it has been thought necessary to guard the Romish tenet from misinterpretation, and in which it had been expressed four years before in the noted Act of the Six Articles." This omission may not unreasonably be attributed to Cranmer's opposition.—Works of Cranmer, vol. i. p. lxxv. lxxvi. It must be admitted, however, that the more apparent meaning of the Necessary Doctrine implies a change of substance in the Romish sense.

^p *E. g.* if we do not take the term *substance* in the scholastic sense, as distinguished from the accidents, and if the *change* is not corporal, or

called by the Romanists transubstantiation, which supposes the bread to cease to exist. The Article condemning "the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that Christ was offered for the quick and dead, for the remission of pain or guilt," rightly censures that erroneous view of the sacrifice, but does not declare against the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice rightly understood ^a, and therefore does not differ from the Necessary Doctrine, which merely acknowledges a sacrifice. There is no difference between the two formularies as to the canon of Scripture, the Creed, the rule of faith, the fallibility of the church of Rome, or of general councils, the papal supremacy. They both admit justification by faith, which worketh by charity ^r. The Article, in declaring that concupiscence in the regenerate hath the *nature* of sin ^s, does not affirm that it is liable to the guilt and punishment of sin if it be resisted; and therefore does not really contradict the Necessary Doctrine ^t. The Article containing the opinion that works done before the grace of God have the nature of sin, because "they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done ^u," in order to exclude entirely the merit of such works, is not essentially contradictory to the "Doctrine," which declares that they "be not meritorious nor available to the attaining of everlasting life, when they be not done in the faith of Christ," and therefore be not accounted amongst the good works "recommended to a Christian ^x."

It is true that the Necessary Doctrine approves the invoca-

in any sense carnal, but mystical, or spiritual, or moral. Some change of the bread and wine all orthodox Christians allow. Bishop Pearson says truly, that "the μεταστοιχείωσις of the sacramental elements maketh them not to cease to be of the same nature which before they were."—On the Creed, article iii. note on Eutychian heresy. The term *substantial* is used by Bishop Poynt in his *Diallacticon*, and by Bishop Taylor (*Real Presence*, &c. Oxford ed. 1836, p. 521), to express the true presence. The Confession of Augsburg is said, both by the Apologia (art. iv. de Ecclesia), and by the papal confutation of it (num. x) to have taught the real and "sub-

stantial" presence; which is also affirmed in the Formula Concordiæ, pars i. art. vii.

^a Archbishop Cranmer himself allows the eucharist to be a spiritual sacrifice. See his works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 5. 161. 539. 551.

^r Article XI. XII. Necessary Doctrine, p. 221. 223. 368.

^s Article IX. The synod of Trent (Sess. v. de Peccato Originali), acknowledges that concupiscence is sometimes called sin by the apostle, because it is "*ex peccato, et ad peccatum inclinat.*"

^t Necessary Doctrine, p. 254, 350.

^u Art. XIII.

^x Necessary Doctrine, p. 370.

tion of saints to pray for us^y, and the Article censures it as “a fond thing,” and “repugnant to the word of God;” and perhaps a similar discrepancy may be found in the opinion of transubstantiation; but, as I have already observed, particular churches are liable to involuntary error without heresy, and may in some points change their opinions without heretical variation. Altogether I see not that there is any very great contradiction between these two formularies in matters of doctrine. I dispute not that several of those who composed the one differed in some points from several of those who composed the other; but their formularies are not so worded as to evince any great or irreconcilable opposition between the public and authorized faith of the church of England in the reign of Henry VIII. and in that of Elizabeth.

The church of England is said to have varied again when, in the time of Charles II., she readmitted the declaration on kneeling at the sacrament; which not only maintains the existence of the substance of bread and wine after consecration, but denies the corporal presence. But there is no inconsistency; for the former assertion only amounts to a denial of transubstantiation, already rejected by the Articles; and the latter is not opposed to the real, spiritual, and heavenly presence of Christ’s body.

This catholic and apostolic church has always avoided any attempt to determine too minutely the mode of the true presence in the holy eucharist. Guided by Scripture, she establishes only those truths which Scripture reveals, and leaves the subject in that mystery with which God, for his wise purposes, has invested it. Her doctrine concerning the true presence appears to be limited to the following points:—

Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the eucharist.

Taking as her immoveable foundation the words of Jesus Christ, “This is my body. . . . This is my blood of the new covenant^z,” and “Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life^a,” she believes that the body, or flesh, and the blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of

^y Neces. Doctrine, p. 237. 305.

^z Matt. xxvi. 26. 28.

^a John vi. 54. The church of England believes these expressions to relate to the eucharist. “Then we spiritually eat the *flesh* of Christ, and drink his blood,” &c.—Exhort.

in Communion Office. “Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the *flesh* of thy dear Son,” &c.—Prayer before Consecration. The term “flesh,” is only used in this chapter of St. John.

the world, both God and man united indivisibly in one person^b, are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper^c, under the outward sign or form of bread (and wine)^d; which is, on this account, the "partaking or communion of the body and blood of Christ^e." She believes that the eucharist is not the sign of an *absent* body^f; and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure, or shadow, or sign of Christ's body, but the reality itself^g. And as Christ's divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the eucharist, not only the flesh and blood of Christ, but Christ himself, both God and man^h.

Resting on these words, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" and again, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine;" she holds, that the nature of the bread and wine continues after consecrationⁱ;

^b "Who although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ . . . one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person."—Athan. Creed.

^c "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper . . . is received and eaten in the supper."—Art. XXVIII. "The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper."—Catechism. "The holy communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ."—Exhort. in Communion Office. "We spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood."—Ibid. "Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," &c.—Prayer before Consecration. "Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood."—Consecration. "Most heartily thank thee for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us . . . with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ."—Post Communion.

^d "The outward sign or *form*."

—Catechism. "Hereafter shall follow sermons . . . of the due receiving of his blessed body and blood, under the *form* of bread and wine."—Advertisement at the end of the first book of Homilies.

^e 1 Cor. x. 16. Art. XXVIII.

^f "Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent."—Hom. xxvii. p. 1.

^g The faithful "receive not only the outward sacrament, but the spiritual thing also; not the figure, but the truth; not the shadow only, but the body."—Ib. Bishop Poyntet says, "Corpus Christi et veritas et figura est: veritas dum Corpus Christi et sanguis virtute Spiritus Sancti in virtute ipsius ex panis et vini substantia efficitur: figura vero est id quod exterius sentitur."—Diallacticon, p. 6.

^h "He hath given *his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ*, not only to die for us, but also to be our *spiritual food and sustenance* in that holy sacrament."—Exhortation in Communion Office. "In no wise are they partakers of *Christ*."—Art. XXIX.

ⁱ "The sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very na-

and therefore rejects transubstantiation, or “*the change of the substance^k*” which supposes the nature of bread entirely to cease by consecration.

As a necessary consequence of the preceding truths, and admonished by Christ himself, “It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life;” she holds that the presence (and therefore the eating) of Christ’s body and blood, though true, is altogether “*heavenly and spiritual^l*,” of a kind which is inexplicable by any carnal or earthly experience or imagination; even as the Sonship of the eternal Word of God, and His incarnation, and the procession of the Holy Spirit, are immeasurable by human understandings.

Believing, according to the Scriptures, that Christ ascended in his natural body into heaven, and shall only come from thence at the end of the world^m,” she rejects for this reason, as well as for the last, any such real presence of Christ’s body and blood as is “*corporalⁿ*” or organical; that is, according to the known and earthly mode of the existence of a body.

Resting on the divine promise, “Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life,” she regards it as the more pious and probable opinion, that the wicked, those who are totally devoid of true and living faith, do not partake of the holy flesh of Christ in the eucharist^o, God withdrawing from them so “*divine*” a gift^p, and not permitting his enemies to partake of it. And hence she holds, that such a faith is

tural substances.”—Declaration at end of Communion Office. “If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent.”—See Rubric in same. “The terrene and earthly creatures which remain.”—Hom. xxvii. p. i. “The bread which we break,” &c.—Art. XXVIII.

^k “Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture,” &c.—Art. XXVIII.

^l “The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.”—Art. XXVIII.

^m “He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; from

whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”—Athanasian Creed.

ⁿ “No adoration is intended or ought to be done . . . unto any corporal presence of Christ’s natural flesh and blood.”—Declaration after Communion Office.

^o “The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ.”—Art. XXIX.

^p “Which being so *divine* and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily.”—Exhortation in Communion Office.

“the means by which the body of Christ is received and eaten,” “a necessary instrument in all these holy ceremonies;” because it is the essential qualification on our parts, without which that body is not received; and because “without faith it is impossible to please God^q.”

Following the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the apostles, and supported by their authority, she believes that “the blessing^r” or “consecration^s” of the bread and wine is not without effect, but that it operates a real change; for when the sacrament is thus perfected, she regards it as so “divine a thing,” so “heavenly a food,” that we must not “*presume*” to approach it with unprepared minds^t; and that sinners, although they only partake of the bread and wine, partake of them to their own *condemnation*, because they impiously disregard the Lord’s body^u, which is truly present in that sacrament. Hence it is that the church, believing firmly in the real presence of the “precious and blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ^x,” speaks of the eucharist as “high and holy mysteries^y,” exhorts us to consider the “dignity of that holy mystery^z,” that “heavenly feast,” that “holy table,” “the ban-

^q Hom. xvii. p. i.; Art. XXVIII. Bossuet says that this assertion of the Article is certainly true, provided the reception be understood of a *useful* reception, in the sense of St. John speaking of Jesus Christ: “His own received him not,” though he was in the midst of them; *i. e.* they did not receive his doctrine nor his grace.—Variat. x. sect. vi.

^r “Beginning at our Saviour Christ, &c. for the *blessing* of the bread, and at ‘likewise after supper,’ &c. for the *blessing* of the cup.”—Rubric in Communion Office.

^s “The priest . . . shall say the prayer of *consecration*.”—Rubric Comm. Office. “If the *consecrated* bread and wine be all spent . . . the priest is to *consecrate* more.”—Rubric, *ibid.* “If any remain of that which was *consecrated* . . . the priest and such other, &c. . . shall immediately after the blessing reverently eat and drink the same.”—Rubric, *ibid.*

^t “Which being . . . so dangerous

to them that will *presume* to receive it unworthily.”—Exhort. in Comm. Office. “St. Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves before they *presume* to eat of that bread and drink of that cup.”—*Ibid.* “We do not *presume* to come to this thy table, merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies.”—Prayer before Consecration.

^u “So is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord’s body; we kindle God’s wrath against us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death.”—Exhort. in Communion Office.

^x Prayer before Consecration; Post Communion Prayer.

^y Exhort. Comm. Office; Hom. xvii. p. i.

^z *Ibid.*

quet of that most heavenly food^a," even "the King of kings' table^b."

Such is the simple, the sublime, and, what is more, the true and scriptural doctrine of our catholic and apostolic church—a doctrine which cannot be accused of heresy except from ignorance or uncharitableness. Even our adversaries are compelled sometimes, by the force of truth, to clear the church of England from the imputation of disbelieving the sublime mysteries of this holy sacrament^c, and reducing it to a common spiritual exercise, in which the mind of the individual derives edification, and perhaps grace, from the contemplation and remembrance of an absent Redeemer's sufferings.

Our doctrine leaves this subject in the sacred mystery with which God has enveloped it. It is not to be denied that the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation facilitates *the mental conception* of that mystery; but it has the fatal defect of being opposed to the plain language of Scripture. And if those statements are to be explained away, and reduced to merely figurative expressions, according to the doctrine of Paschasius Radbertus and his school^d, the Zuinglians and Socinians may

^a Exhort. Comm. Office; Hom. xxvii. p. i.

^b Hom. xxvii. p. i.

^c Milner is obliged to confess, that the genuine doctrine of the church of England is that of the real presence. He refers in proof to the Catechism, Articles, Ritual, and Homilies, and to Ridley, Nowell, Bilson, Andrewes, Morton, Laud, Bramhall, &c. and to Cleaver, bishop of Chester, who says, "The great object of our reformers was, whilst they acknowledged the doctrine of the real presence, to refute that of transubstantiation; as it was afterwards to refute the notion of impanation or consubstantiation." Sermon, Nov. 25, 1787.—See Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, letter viii. Hornyhold, another of their titular bishops, admits that "the doctrine of the church of England," in the Catechism, "expresses the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament as fully as any catholic can do; for if verily and indeed be not the same as really

and truly, and of as full force to exclude a mere figurative presence, I confess I am yet wholly ignorant of the signification even of the most common words, and it will be impossible to know what men mean, even when they deliver themselves in the plainest terms."—Real Principles of Catholics, p. 243. ed. 1749. Bossuet affirms, that even the Declaration against transubstantiation leaves the English at liberty to "believe that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are really and substantially present in the bread and in the wine immediately after consecration."—Variat. xiv. 122.

^d The Roman doctors are grievously perplexed by the language of Scripture in calling the eucharist bread after consecration. Bellarmine (De Euchar. l. i. c. 12) mentions four solutions of the difficulty: (1.) It is called bread by a trope, as *having been* bread, as in Exod. vii. the rods turned into serpents are still called rods; Matt. ii. the blind are said to see, &c. (2.) Scripture

with reason claim a similar privilege of arbitrarily explaining away into figures the very passages in which the doctrine of the true presence itself is conveyed.

The Roman doctrine of transubstantiation is entirely founded on human reasoning from the nature of bodies, and the supposed incompatibility of the scriptural statement that the eucharist is bread and wine, literally understood, with the other expressions of Scripture. But what Bossuet has observed of the philosophical reasonings of the school of Zurich and Geneva against the real presence,—“que les recevoir en matière de religion, c'est détruire non seulement le mystère de l'eucharistie, mais tout d'un coup tous les mystères du Christianisme,”—is perfectly applicable to those of Romanists for their transubstantiation.

APPENDIX.

ON THE IDENTITY OF THE REFORMED AND UNREFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The separatists from our catholic and apostolic churches endeavour to justify their schism by denying the identity of the English church, after the Reformation, with that which existed previously to the Reformation; and they point out several differences between them in respect of church government, worship, and doctrine, whence they argue that the English church in the reign of King Edward VI. “could not be one and the same church” with the English church in the first years of Henry VIII.^a

The reforms of the church seem to them to destroy its continuity; as if the identity of the church consisted in the *retention of abuses and corruptions*, or the preservation of customs and rites introduced by the church herself. To us it seems that the real identity of a church consists in her preservation of the catholic faith revealed by God, and taught in all ages by

ordinarily names things according to their *appearance*, e. g. angels appearing in the human shape are called men; oxen, pomegranates, &c. made of brass, are called simply oxen, &c. (3) “*Optime*,” bread, is a Hebrew phrase for *any sort of food*. (4.) It is so called because it

is a solid, principal, substantial food. Of course it is easy to explain away any terms of Scripture, however clear; but those who *arbitrarily* give a figurative meaning to these terms of Scripture, cannot oppose the Zuinglians and Socinians.

^a Dublin Review, viii. 357—361.

the universal church ; and in the retention of those rites and that government of the church which are of divine institution, or were instituted in all churches by the apostles. While these essentials are preserved the identity of the church continues, and it is not affected by the introduction or removal of certain jurisdictions of human origin, by varieties in the external forms of worship, or by the prevalence of abuses or corruptions in doctrine and practice amongst the people. The existence of serious errors, nay, even of idolatry and heresy, does not destroy the identity of a church, unless all its members are obliged, as such, to profess idolatry or heresy^b.

Let us now consider the arguments which have been advanced to disprove the identity of the church of England in its reformed and unreformed states.

I. It is alleged that the church, at the commencement of Henry's reign, "admitted in the bishop of Rome a primacy of order and jurisdiction," which it "abjured" in the reign of Edward, and "transferred to the crown^c." I admit that the supremacy of the Roman see was for a long time admitted generally amongst us, as it was in other western churches ; but this was merely a mistaken opinion, it was not a heresy, and therefore its popular reception, or its rejection, did not affect the identity of the church. I have before shown that the papal supremacy was not transferred to the king^d.

The bishops, it is said, were acknowledged in the former church to inherit their spiritual authority from Christ, while, "in the more recent church, the bishops were mere creatures of the crown, appointed like civil officers by patents," which professed to confer on them ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They were consecrated after a new form devised by the archbishop, and were liable to be suspended from their authority by royal visitors, and obliged to conform to *any* injunctions which might be issued by the crown^e.

It has been already shown that these patents or commissions conferring ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be understood as relating only to the grant of legal and external powers ; and that they always admitted that certain powers were given to bishops in the Scriptures^f. The *novelty* of the form of conse-

^b See above, Part I. chapter v. section iii.

^c Dublin Review, p. 357.

^d See above, p. 355.

^e Dublin Review, p. 357, 358.

^f See above, p. 359.

cration does not prove that it was *invalid* or *uncanonical*. As to the royal visitations, it is possible that the crown may have assumed too much in some points; but the church was not bound to approve of these particular irregularities^g. In fine, the power of the crown to issue injunctions does not imply that the church was obliged to obey "any" that might be made. On the whole, it may be very possible that Henry and Edward may have sometimes exceeded their power in ecclesiastical affairs, and that their courtiers, and even some of the clergy, may have somewhat exaggerated the royal power; but this did not compel the whole church to adopt any heretical views, or to deny the real authority of the church and its episcopate. Therefore there is no evidence that the church lost its essential identity during these changes.

Difference
in worship.

II. It is further contended, that the church lost its identity, because certain alterations were made in public worship. "The old church followed, in the public worship, certain well-known forms which had been in constant use for many centuries. In the new church *every thing* was altered. The ancient *ceremonies* were, with few exceptions, abolished; the *habits* of the officiating ministers were thrown aside, the service was read from *another part of the church*, the *altar* was turned into a *table*, the former ordinal was superseded by a new one, and the sacrifice of the mass . . . was expelled to make room for a new Liturgy." "A book of common prayer was composed," with alterations which caused it to differ "from every other Liturgy that had ever existed either in the eastern or western church. . . . Prayer for the dead was omitted . . . with several unctions and ceremonies . . . care was taken to exclude from the Liturgy the several allusions which it still retained to the real presence of Christ in the eucharist^h."

I answer, that the translation and reform of the ritual of the church does not prove that any of its essentials were lost. Many ceremonies were abolished, it is true: but they were not instituted by the Apostles, or received or enjoined by all churches. The identity of the church does not depend on the use of particular habits, or the celebration of the office in a particular part of the church, or the use of a stone altar in preference to a wooden table. Altars are used in the Latin

^g Page 358.

^h Dublin Review, p. 358, 359.

churches, tables in the Greek and the English churches. The change was made in order to remove from the popular mind the gross errors and superstitions which had been so commonly connected with the sacrifice of the mass. It was the prevalence of these abuses that induced the church to exchange the appellation of "the Mass" for that of the "Holy Communion;" but the essentials of this most holy service, which had always been preserved, were comprised in the reformed rites. The circumstantial difference of our rites from those of other churches, does not infer any contradiction in essential matters. No one pretends that prayer for the dead is an *essential*. The alterations in the reformed ritual, which excluded some passages confirmatory of the real presence, were made because certain persons had pretended that the doctrine of transubstantiation was conveyed in them. Thus it is evident, that nothing can be more futile than the attempt to argue against the identity of the church of England, because *her worship was reformed*. On these principles, no church could ever reform her rites, omit needless or abused ceremonies, or adopt new ones. If the mere circumstance of *alteration* and *reform* is held sufficient to destroy the *identity* of the church, the church's power must be strangely limited, and those individuals who may dissent from any of her improvements, will be entitled to regard her as no longer Christian. Such principles, then, manifestly tend to encourage schism, and to subvert the authority of the church.

III. With respect to *doctrine*, it is maintained, that there were essential contradictions between the church of England, before the Reformation, and the Reformed church. Difference
in doctrine. "All agree," it is said, that the "old church . . . taught the very same doctrines which were afterwards embodied in the creed of Pius IV. . . . The doctrines of the new church may be learned from the *Forty-two* articles published in the last year of the reign of Edward. Compare the two, and you will find that . . . they contradict each other in several [points], and that religious opinions are sanctioned in the latter, which would have subjected their advocates to the penalties of heresy during the prevalence of the former¹."

I reply, that it is not exactly true that the church, before

¹ Dublin Review, p. 359.

the Reformation, *taught* the doctrines comprised in the creed of Pius IV., for, not to remark, that several of these doctrines were openly rejected by all the eastern churches; it may be observed of them all, that they had never been defined by any œcumenical synod, or even by any formal judgment of the whole *western* church^k. And besides this, it has been demonstrated, that they had been all along disputed, or not admitted *universally* in the western church^l, although they had certainly been very commonly received into the popular belief. It would, therefore, be more correct to say, that the doctrines contained in the creed of Pius IV. were *prevalent* in the church before the Reformation, than to say that they were “*taught by the church.*”

With reference to the *Forty-two* articles, it has been already shown, that they were never, in reality, the authoritative confession of the church of England^m. But it is fully conceded, that there are contradictions in some points between the doctrines popularly received before the Reformation, and the *Thirty-nine* Articles of 1562; and that many adherents of the former have judged some of the articles heretical. The doctrine of transubstantiation, and the papal supremacy, and the worship of images and relics, were very commonly regarded as matters of faith before the Reformation; but these mistakes arose from want of learning and of examination; and they were not *contrary to the faith*; so that their reception did not annul the character of the church. And neither did their rejection destroy its identity: they were neither heresies nor articles of faith; and as such their acceptance or their non-reception did not affect the *identity* of the church, though they might, and did most materially affect its purity and soundness. The unity of faith is tested by our acceptance of the whole truth actually revealed by Christ; not by our opinions whether other doctrines do, or do not, form part of revelation. We may err in supposing that some doctrines have been revealed which were not really so; but if the faith itself be retained, the unity of faith is preserved. It may be concluded then, that the church of England always continued to exist, and that the Reformation did not destroy its identity.

^k See Part IV. chap. x. sect. iv.; chap. xi.

^l This is proved by Field, in the Appendix to the third book of his

work “Of the Church” See also Gerhardi Confessio Orthodoxa.

^m See above, p. 388.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF ARCHBISHOP
CRANMER.

THE opponents of the English Reformation have eagerly laid hold of every imputation, however unjust and groundless, against the character of archbishop Cranmer; and when they have painted it in untrue colours, we are asked whether we can recognize in such a man, the instrument whom God would have chosen to promulgate doctrines of the utmost importance, hitherto unknown to the church. Now we are by no means concerned to establish the immaculate sanctity of Cranmer, because we do not imagine that any doctrine which he was instrumental in establishing in our churches was novel. A prelate of learning and respectability as he was, might, without superlative sanctity, have been a very useful instrument in correcting abuses, errors, and superstitions, by the exercise of his ordinary vocation. But as these writers represent Cranmer as a monster of perjury, dissimulation, and ingratitude, in order to excite prejudice against the reformation of the church of England, which he most laudably promoted, it may be advisable briefly to notice and refute some of the more prominent charges against him.

I. It is alleged that Cranmer promised obedience to the Roman pontiff in the oath taken by him at his consecration in 1533, though he internally neither acknowledged the spiritual power of the pontiff, nor intended to obey it; and that his protestation, made at the same time, was an unjustifiable attempt to elude the oath ^a.

Oath at
consecra-
tion.

^a Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. xi. The oath itself ran as follows: In Dei nomine amen. (1.) Ego Thomas, electus Cantuarien', ab hac hora inantea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, ac domino nostro domino Clementi Papæ septimo, suisque successoribus canonice intransibus. (2.) Non ero in

consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quæsito colore. (3.) Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. (4.) Papatum Romanum et regalia

Now, first, it is certain that this oath was taken by every bishop in Europe with certain exceptions, not simply and absolutely. Every English bishop on receiving his temporalities from the crown, renounced by oath "all such clauses, words, and sentences" which he had of the pope, "that in anywise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to the king or his royal dignity or privileges^b." The learned canonist Van Espen (of the Roman communion) observes, on the articles of the oath of bishops, that the three first are plainly conformable to those of *oaths of fealty* made by vassals to their superior lord; that they infer subjection to the pope not only in spirituals but in *temporals*. In the fourth article he shows that the "regalities of St. Peter" means the *temporal possessions* of the Roman see. The fifth, eighth, and ninth articles, he observes, can only be executed by permission of the prince, in France and Belgium; and therefore they must be taken only *conditionally*. Some of the articles, he says, are so expressed, considering their tenor, and the ancient customs of provinces, it is very doubtful whether bishops *can fulfil their oath as regards them*. On one article (9) he cites Fleury's observation: "In France this article is *not observed*." On another article (7) he cites Florens, who says, "this

sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. (5.) Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo et reundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. (6.) Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, domini nostri Papæ et successorum suorum prædictorum, conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. (7.) Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reserva-

tiones, provisiones, et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo. (8.) Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. (9.) Apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. (10.) Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, nec impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capitalis Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Sic me Deus," &c.—Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 249.

^b Burnet, vol. i. p. 226.

clause is of the widest extent, *nor does our custom allow it in many respects;*" and the same, he adds, may be without doubt affirmed of Belgium. In fine, he remarks, that "Provisions, reservations, and mandates apostolical, are not here (Belgium) admitted generally and indiscriminately, but with certain limitations according to the rights and received customs of churches: nor is it to be believed that the pontiffs would desire their observance to be sworn to otherwise; and custom and the general understanding *seem to have explained the oath in this sense*, not merely as regards this article, but the rest also, namely, that *the things contained in those articles be observed, as far as the rights and customs of provinces permit them* ^c."

It is plain, therefore, that the oath contains many clauses which require to be understood with conditions and exceptions; and we are informed by Rechberger, that as "it did not appear free from all danger to the state," it was ordained by the imperial statute of Joseph II., emperor of Germany, that in the Austrian states it should only be taken, on condition that it be understood to relate simply to canonical obedience. The Austrian bishops also must previously take a particular oath of allegiance and fidelity to the emperor ^d; and in Spain the oath to the pontiff is always taken with certain conditions ^e. In fact, every other bishop of the Roman communion must make some mental exceptions, unless he means to bind himself to absolute obedience to the pontiff in temporals as well as spirituals; and therefore archbishop Cranmer, so far from deserving blame for taking it with certain qualifications, merits approbation for making a distinct and formal protest of the sense in which he took it, while others contented themselves with merely *mental* exceptions. He might have contented himself, like them, with the modifications and exceptions which practice *seemed* to have introduced into the meaning of the oath; and might have taken it silently, without any intention of obeying it literally and in every point; and might afterwards, like other bishops, have formally renounced all parts of it inconsistent with his fealty to his sovereign; and proceeded in lawful reforms of the church of England; but

^c Van Espen, Jus Eccl. Univ. pars i. tit. xv. c. 2.

^e Report from Select Committee on Roman Catholic subjects (1816),

^d Rechberger, Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriac. p. 313.

it seemed to him a more conscientious course to define by a formal protest the sense in which he meant to take the oath; and that sense was merely in accordance with that which other bishops entertained. It was to this effect, that he did not mean to oblige himself by the oath, "to say or do any thing *against the law of God, the king, or state of England, or the laws or prerogatives of the same;*" or to prevent himself from freely speaking, consulting, and consenting to all things "concerning the *reformation of the Christian religion, the government of the church of England, or the prerogative of the crown thereof, or the good of the commonwealth;*" and from *reforming what seemed to him ought to be reformed in the church of England*^f. No bishop could have intended to oblige himself, by taking this oath, to act contrary to the law of God, or to deprive himself of the power of correcting abuses. Therefore Cranmer merely defined by a formal instrument, and in the presence of witnesses^g, what others retained in their own minds^h."

"But," says Bossuet, "either this oath is an illusion, or it obliges to acknowledge the spiritual power of the pope. The new archbishop therefore acknowledged it, though he did not believe it." I reply that he certainly did acknowledge the spiritual power of the pope, and promise obedience to him, but he most certainly did not believe that the papal power was *binding* on the church of England. He, therefore, only bound himself, according to Van Espen's interpretation, to obey the

^f Cranmer's Works, vol. iv. p. 248.

^g Cranmer is blamed for not making his protest formally in presence of the papal delegates, before he took the oath; and his not doing so is attributed to fear lest those delegates should throw up their commission. (Dublin Review, viii. 343.) There seems no reason to suppose that any such result would have followed, or that he would not have been consecrated if his protest had been publicly made. His protest only expressed what other bishops *understood*, and the call for publicity comes with an ill-grace from those who allow their own bishops to take oaths without any

attempt at explanation, which they have no intention of obeying literally.

^h It is alleged, that Cranmer protested in private that he would only take the oath "in a *new and unusual meaning*," and then took it in public "without any expression of that meaning." (Dublin Review, viii. 344.) Is it meant then, that bishops by this oath of obedience are released from their obligations to the law of God, to their sovereigns, and to their churches; and are bound only to obey the pope? If these duties are imperative, then there can be no impropriety in expressly reserving them when the oath is taken.

pope *as far as the rights and customs of our churches permitted*, that is, while these churches permitted the papal jurisdiction to continue, but no longer. Without doubt the archbishop intended, with the utmost sincerity, to obey the papal jurisdiction while that jurisdiction was sanctioned by the church and state of England, as it continued to be for a year after.

II. Bossuet endeavours to fix on Cranmer a charge of the most odious dissimulation in the following points¹. His opinions being Lutheran, and therefore opposed to "the mass and the catholic doctrines," he carried his dissimulation so far that the pontiff made him his penitentiary, an office which he accepted, notwithstanding his Lutheran opinions. He concealed his marriage in Germany (which was contrary to his promise and the canons) from king Henry VIII. He accepted the papal bulls for the see of Canterbury against his conscience. He performed mass, which he regarded as an abomination, during the whole reign of Henry VIII., and in ordaining priests made use of the terms of the Roman Pontifical, giving them power to "change by their holy benediction the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, and to offer sacrifice and say mass as well for the living as the dead." "Behold him then at once a Lutheran, married, concealing his marriage, archbishop according to the Roman Pontifical, submitting to the pope whose power he abhorred in his heart, saying the mass which he did not believe, and giving power to say it . . . a man who practised during so long a time that which he believed to be the height of abomination and sacrilege." And further: the Articles devised by Henry VIII. in 1536, the Confession of 1538, and that of 1543, comprised the doctrine of penance, the real presence, transubstantiation, mass for the dead, the seven sacraments, the honouring of images, invocation of saints, adoration of the cross, use of ceremonies, &c. Yet Cranmer subscribed all these articles which he disbelieved in his heart, and even drew up regulations published by Cromwell for their enforcement, and himself aided in executing them in every way.

Such is the sum of the charges of this kind advanced against Cranmer, and they would certainly suffice to blacken his

Dissimulation objected to Cranmer.

¹ Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 9, 10, 11. 30. 32. 37, 38, 39.

character most effectually, were they not evidently founded on a misrepresentation of his real sentiments. I shall notice them in order.

Cranmer
not guilty
of dissimu-
lation.

Admitting then as not impossible, that in 1529 or 1530, he was inclined in some points to Lutheran opinions, it remains to be considered what these opinions were. Certainly Luther himself approved of penance^j, therefore if Cranmer's opinions agreed with his, he could not have held it wrong to accept the office of papal penitentiary, while the pontiff was still in communion with the church of England, and exercised ordinary jurisdiction here. With reference to his marriage it may be observed, that there is no evidence that he ever denied it; and I shall elsewhere show that such a marriage was lawful, and that there was no obligation to reveal it^k. It is, besides, a matter of dispute even among Roman theologians, whether the obligation of clerical celibacy be *ex præcepto ecclesiæ*, or *ex voto*; and Ligorio declares that both are probable opinions, and cites Mastrius, Bosco, Herinx, Scotus, Palaus, Valentia, Aversa, Sanchez, &c., as allowing that clerical celibacy is not obligatory from any *vow*^l.

His opi-
nions on
the eucha-
rist.

That Cranmer really maintained doctrines in matters of faith different from the pontiff himself, when his bulls were forwarded to him at the request of *king Henry*, not his own, may be asserted, but has never yet been proved. The celebration of mass^m, and the offering of sacrifice for the living and deadⁿ,

^j See the forms of Confession and Absolution in his Catechismus Minor (pars iv.)

^k Part VI. Chapter ix.

^l A. M. De Ligorio, Theologia Moralis, lib. vi. tract. v. art. 808.

^m The Confession of Augsburg says: "Our churches are falsely accused of abolishing the mass, for the mass is retained among us and celebrated with the greatest reverence; and almost all the accustomed ceremonies are preserved, except that in some parts German hymns are intermingled with the Latin for the instruction of the people."—Pars ii. art. iii. The Apology of the Confession says: "It must be premised that we do not abolish the mass,

but religiously retain and defend it. Masses are celebrated among us on all Sundays and other feasts, in which the sacrament is distributed to those who desire it, and after they have been examined and received absolution. And the customary public ceremonies are preserved, the order of lessons, prayers, vestments," &c.—Art. xi. de Missâ.

ⁿ The Apology of the Confession of Augsburg admits that the fathers call the eucharist a sacrifice, which it explains to be a eucharistic sacrifice; and observes that the term "oblation," if understood of the whole service, the prayers, and thanksgivings, gives them no offence.—Art. xii. de Missâ. "We know

provided it were understood not to be an *expiatory* sacrifice, need not have been inconsistent with the conscience of a follower of Luther. Melancthon and the ministers of Wittenburg, and the universities of Leipsic and Wittenburg submitted in 1549 to the Interim, which obliged them to celebrate mass in the customary manner, and to use all the ceremonies of the church. They regarded these as “adiaphora,” indifferent matters. Further, it is plain that Cranmer did not hold the office of the eucharist as then administered in England, to be an abomination; because, after king Henry’s death, when he was at liberty to proceed in the Reformation, he agreed with the other bishops and divines in very nearly translating that office into English; giving it the title of “the mass,” and leaving in it both a verbal oblation of the elements, and prayer for the departed faithful. And so little did this office vary from the essentials of that previously used, that even Gardiner expressed his approbation of it in his subsequent controversy with Cranmer^o. The fact is, that Cranmer was, in the very last years of his life, induced to verge too much towards Zuinglian errors, by the conversation of Alasco and Peter Martyr: but his opinions during the whole reign of Henry VIII. were widely different. In 1533 he held Frith to be a heretic for doubting the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar^p. In 1537 he held the commonly received notions on the real presence, and in his epistle to Vadianus, testified his displeasure at the errors of Zuinglius and *Æcolampadius*^q. In 1538 he maintained, in a public disputation

the ancients speak of prayer for the dead, which we do not prohibit, but the application of the Lord’s supper for the dead *ex opere operato* we reject.”—*Ibid.* In the same place the opinion of *Aërius* that such prayers are useless, is rejected.

^o Cranmer’s Works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 99. 114. 155.

^p Cranmer’s Works, vol. i. p. 32.

^q *Ibid.* p. 194, 195.—As to Luther’s own opinions on the eucharist, we know that while he vehemently maintained the substantial and corporal presence, he regarded transubstantiation as a matter, which it was of little importance to admit

or deny. “*Permitto itaque qui volet utramque opinionem retinere.*”—*De Captiv. Babyl.* t. ii. fol. 66. Melancthon said, in 1543, that Luther conceded the doctrine of transubstantiation to some churches of Italy.—*Hospinian, Hist. Sacr.* p. 2. fol. 184. Luther continued the elevation of the sacrament till 1542 or 1543, when he discontinued it in consequence of the offence it gave to some persons (*Gasp. Peucer, Hist. Phil. Melancth.* ed. 1596, p. 24.); but in 1544 he declared it was lawful as a testimony of the real and corporal presence (*Parva Conf.* 1544. *Hosp.* fol. 13.); and in 1545 he de-

against Lambert, the possibility of Christ's body being in several places^r. In the same year he expressed his opinion in a letter to Cromwell, that a person who disputed "against the opinion of transubstantiation," without denying the real presence, taught the truth^s: yet his notes in a manuscript collection, prove that in 1543 he was a believer in the corporal presence at least, if not in transubstantiation^t. It was not till 1546 that he ever doubted the corporal presence, when Ridley's conversation first unsettled his opinion^u. In 1548 he published Justus Jonas's Catechism, containing apparently Lutheran views of the eucharist, though he afterwards explained them away; and in 1551 replying to Dr. Smythe, he said, "I confess of myself that not long before I wrote the said catechism, I was in the error of the real (corporal) presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitious errors . . . but after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance^x." Thus Cranmer evidently believed the corporal presence during the whole reign of Henry VIII., and we have seen that even in Edward the Sixth's time he admitted an oblation or sacrifice in the eucharist, and therefore he did not act against his own conscience in saying mass; more especially since he afterwards did not *reject*, but *explained* the language of the fathers in speaking of the eucharist as a sacrifice, by supposing rightly that they called it so, chiefly as being a commemoration of the one great sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the altar of the cross^y. This most acceptable *spiritual sacrifice* of commemoration he did not deny: and therefore he might without violating his conscience, both perform the liturgy and give to priests whom he ordained, the power of offering sacrifice.

clared the sacrament to be *adorable*.
—Cont. xxxii. Art. Lov. Theolog.
t. ii. fol. 503. He taught that the
body of Christ ought to be adored
and honoured in the bread, on two
other occasions.—See Hospinian,
fol. 14.

^r Cranmer's Works, p. lxxiii.

^s Ibid. p. 257.

^t Ibid. lxxiv.

^u Ibid. lxxvii.

^x Ibid. vol. iii. p. 13.

^y Ibid. p. 5. 161. 539. 551.

With reference to the several formularies of faith signed by him, we have not a shadow of proof that he subscribed to anything which he really deemed unlawful. The corporal presence I have already spoken of. Transubstantiation, as a word, is not contained in those formularies; and their doctrine is susceptible of another interpretation. Confession, penance, and absolution are maintained by the Confession of Augsburg^z, and the use of images, and communion in one kind, were sometimes held by Luther to be matters indifferent, or even approved^a; as the ceremonies of the church generally (including, of course, creeping to the cross) were by Melancthon and the Saxon divines. Therefore there is no proof that Cranmer, if he maintained Lutheran opinions in any point, acted against his conscience in subscribing these formularies. Customs and ceremonies then approved were afterwards suppressed, partly by his influence; but he had then considered more attentively the abuses and evils connected with them, and held it pious and expedient to remove them.

His opinions on other subjects.

There never was a more futile or calumnious charge than this, of imputing to Cranmer the profession or practice of things which he considered sinful or unchristian. His opinions *changed*, and we are not bound to defend the soundness of his judgment on every particular point; but his sincerity and honesty cannot fairly be questioned.

III. The subjects on which Cranmer's opinions have been condemned, are the eucharist and the power of the civil magistrate in connexion with the ministry and ordinances of the church. Of the first I have already spoken above, and in chapter vii.^b; with reference to the latter, it is not to be disputed that Cranmer did at one time entertain *privately* opinions which merit censure. It appears from his answer to queries concerning the sacraments and the appointment and power of bishops and priests (in 1540), that he held several strange errors, such as that the clergy are as much ministers under the king as the civil officers; that ordination is unnecessary; that popular election, or appointment by the civil magistrate, con-

His mistakes not held with obstinacy.

^a Confessio August. pars i. art. xii. De Penitentia; Apologia Confessionis vii. de nu. et usu Sacramentorum.

^a Gerdesii Hist. Evangelii Reno-

vati, vol. ii. p. 66. He approved frequently of communion in one kind, though he varied on the question.—Hospin. pars ii. fol. 12, 13.

^b Page 391.

fers a sufficient mission ; that bishops and priests were not two offices originally ; and that excommunication was not allowable if the law of the land forbade it^c. These doctrines, as maintained at that time by Cranmer, seem certainly indefensible ; but we may observe that they were *only private opinions*, not made public, but merely given in answer to certain queries of the government. Secondly, he did not hold them firmly, for he added : “ This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, *which nevertheless I do not temerarily define* ;” and besides, it is fairly to be presumed that he afterwards corrected his error, for in 1543 he allowed, in the Necessary Doctrine, that “ *order is a gift or grace of ministration of Christ’s church, given by God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the bishop’s hands upon them* ^d.” His catechism (1548), in the article on the keys, insists on the divine commission, apostolical succession, and sacred character of the priesthood^e. He was instrumental in drawing up the Preface to the Ordinal, in which it is declared that no man might ever exercise the office of bishop, priest, and deacon, without being admitted to the same by lawful authority, with imposition of hands ; and therefore no one shall be accounted lawfully ordained in this church, unless he be episcopally ordained. It appears, therefore, that Cranmer did not continue to maintain these errors.

Other
charges
against
Cranmer.

IV. The character of Cranmer was not naturally one of much firmness or courage. Hooper said of him in a letter, that he wishes he were not too feeble^f. This, however, was an infirmity, not a crime ; and if he did fail sometimes in due decision, an apostle himself had been still more unhappy. The charges against him on this head are, of an unworthy subserviency to the king in dissolving his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, and confirming that with Anna Boleyn ; in afterwards annulling Anna Boleyn’s marriage, and thus rendering her child illegitimate ; in annulling the marriage with Anne of Cleves. He is also accused of unjustly signing the death warrant of Lord Seymour ; and of cowardice as regarded his recantations^g.

^c Cranmer’s Works, vol. ii. p. 101—103. ford ed.

^f Burnet, vol. iii. p. 347.

^d Necessary Doctrine, p. 277.

^g Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 21, 22. 36. 98. 103.

^e Cranmer’s Catechism. (Instruction of the Keys, p. 193, &c.) Ox-

Now first, there is not a shadow of evidence that Cranmer did not act sincerely, according to his judgment of probabilities, in dissolving the marriage with Catherine^h. It had been judged null by many universities abroad and at home, and by the bishops and convocation of England. Secondly, the annulling of Anna Boleyn's marriage cannot be imputed as a fault to Cranmer, for it appears that the queen herself came into court where he sat as judge, and in the presence of several witnesses, confessed some just and lawful impedimentsⁱ, on which the archbishop was obliged to give sentence against the marriage. It is true that those impediments have not, in fact, been discovered, the record of the sentence being burnt, and this throws a doubt on the transaction; but the archbishop may have been deceived, and the sentence was given by the advice of persons learned in the law^k. The inconsistency remarked between the archbishop's pronouncing the marriage null and void, and the peers condemning her to death as an unfaithful wife to Henry^l, does not throw any discredit on the archbishop, because the act of parliament, which came first, did not *pronounce*, but only *supposed*, the validity of the marriage. Cranmer is blamed for not interceding more vigorously for Anna Boleyn's life; but it appears, in fact, that he was the *only person* who attempted to speak in her favour to the king^m, and he doubtless did it in the way he judged most persuasive to a man of violent temper. Thirdly, the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves was pronounced null for certain causes assigned, not merely by Cranmer, but by the whole convocation. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was the chief agent in this proceeding, and not Cranmer, as Bossuet pretendsⁿ. Fourthly, his signing the death warrant of Lord Seymour, condemned without hearing his cause, was an act which he should have avoided from the apprehension of scandal; but unless it can be shown that Seymour was innocent, and

^h The dishonesty imputed to Cranmer by Bossuet, in assuming the title of Legate of the Apostolical See, in the sentence of divorce, is a mere calumny. The papal power was at this moment legally established in England; and the sentence of divorce might have been objected to as irregular and illegal,

if the usual and legal style of the archbishops of Canterbury had been omitted.

ⁱ Burnet, vol. i. p. 370.

^k Soames, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 137.

^l Burnet, p. 371.

^m Ibid. p. 364, &c.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 508, 509.

that there was not certain and unquestionable evidence against him, which has not been done, the substantial injustice imputed to Cranmer cannot be proved. Fifthly, his recantations, said to have been made more than once, with a hope of preserving his life, are only proofs that his natural firmness did not exceed that of the great majority of men; even some of the early martyrs had exhibited at first a similar weakness: but his last hours shed a splendour on his name. Altogether it may be concluded, that Cranmer was a man liable to infirmities, not free from faults and mistakes, but altogether free from the crimes which have been attributed to him by our adversaries. And as we do not view him or any other prelates or theologians of our church at that time as its founders, though we acknowledge with gratitude the beneficial reforms which their learning and piety aided in effecting, we do not hold ourselves responsible for every private opinion which some of them may have entertained, or for every particular act which they performed as individuals.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE REFORMATION AND SCHISM IN IRELAND.

THE churches of Ireland had, in the course of four centuries before the Reformation, become subject to the Roman see^a, which gradually usurped the patronage of the bishoprics and other benefices by provisions, and exacted oaths of allegiance from the subjects whom it promoted. The people were immersed in barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, through the anarchy caused by the wars and insurrections of a multitude of rival sept.

Reforma-
tion in Ire-
land. The abolition of the papal power in England by the united action of the temporal and spiritual powers, was speedily,

^a It was only in 1152 that the Roman pontiff acquired ordinary jurisdiction over the Irish churches, when, at the synod of Kells, the four archbishops for the first time received palls from Rome.

though imperfectly, imitated in Ireland. In 1537, the Irish parliament declared the king supreme head of the church of Ireland, prohibited appeals to Rome, suppressed the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, and prohibited all pecuniary payments to the Roman see^b. The primate Cromer opposed ineffectually these regulations^c; they were sustained by Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates; and it seems that the clergy took the oath of regal supremacy and rejection of the papal jurisdiction, prescribed by the act of parliament. The Irish princes and lords also consented universally to take this oath, and made indentures to the same effect with the king^d. In 1538, images abused by pilgrimages and superstitions were removed^e; yet during the rest of the reign of King Henry, it appears that not much was accomplished, partly through the intrigues of the Roman pontiff and his adherents, and partly on account of the disturbed state of Ireland. Even in the reign of Edward VI., A.D. 1550, the adoption of the English Ritual, recommended by a royal proclamation, was opposed in the assembly of the clergy by the primate Dowdal, who, with most of his suffragans, refused to accept it^f. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates, however, approved the Ritual, and introduced it into their dioceses^g. It appears, in fact, that notwithstanding the events which took place in 1537, the papal power continued to prevail partially in Ireland during the whole reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., for even as late as the year 1550, the crown occasionally admitted to the possession of their temporalities, bishops who had been provided with Irish sees at Rome^h.

In the reign of Mary, the chief prelate Dowdal, under royal commission in 1554, deprived and expelled from their sees the

^b Cox, *History of Ireland*, p. 247.

^c *Ibid.* p. 256; Ware's *Bishops of Ireland*, edited by Harris.

^d Cox, p. 253, 273, 274.

^e *Ibid.* p. 255.

^f *Ibid.* p. 256; Ware's *Bishops of Ireland*.

^g *Ibid.* p. 289.

^h Thus, in 1541, Owen Magenis, ordained bishop of Down and Connor by Paul III, was, on his oath of allegiance to the king, restored to the temporalities of that see; and in like manner, Roland de Burgo,

bishop of Clonfert. In 1542, Hugh Ocervelan, made bishop of Clogher by the Roman patriarch, was confirmed by royal letters patent, on his going to England with O Neal, prince of Tyrone, who submitted to the royal power. In 1550, Arthur Magenise, made bishop of Dromore by the Roman patriarch, was confirmed by the king. There are other similar instances.—See Ware's *History of the Irish Bishops*, and *Annals*.

archbishop of Dublin and three or four other prelates favourable to reformationⁱ, and six bishops were ordained in place of the prelates expelled or compelled to fly. In 1557 the parliament also reversed all the acts made against the authority of the Roman see, which it restored in its full vigour.

In the reign of Elizabeth the emancipation of the church of Ireland from the Roman usurpation was finally accomplished, yet not without the accompanying calamity of a schism, which has continued ever since. Few parts of history have been more misrepresented than that which concerns the catholic church of Ireland, and the schism there in the reign of Elizabeth. It is too often asserted, without contradiction, that religion was changed at that time by merely secular and parliamentary power; that the catholic bishops and clergy were expelled from their places, and supplanted by ministers sent from England to propagate their opinions by force.

The ecclesiastical regulations made at this time consisted in the rejection of the papal jurisdiction, the acknowledgment of the regal power in ecclesiastical affairs, and the adoption of the English instead of the Roman Ritual^k. I have elsewhere proved (see chapters ii. and iii., and *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. p. 1, &c.) that these regulations were in themselves legitimate, and consistent with catholic principles; we are then only to consider whether they were now made by a competent authority.

Reformation as-
sented to
by the Irish
church.

The earl of Sussex was sent by the queen, in 1560, to promote the adoption of these measures in the Irish parliament, and also to convene a general assembly of the clergy, and secure their sanction^l. In the parliament which met and enacted these regulations, nineteen prelates were present, of whom only two were opposed to their adoption^m. At this time

ⁱ Cox, *History of Ireland*, p. 299; Ware's *Bishops*. Staples of Meath, Brown of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, were deprived. Bale of Ossory, and Casy of Limerick fled, and others were put in their places irregularly.

^k The church of Ireland does not seem to have enacted any new formulary of doctrine during the whole of the sixteenth century. It was not till 1615 that the synod of Ireland authorized 101 Articles, which, in most points, followed closely the

doctrine of St. Augustine. The XXXIX Articles of the synod of London, 1562, though always esteemed orthodox in Ireland, were not formally accepted by the catholic church there till the year 1634; since which time they have been used as the standard of doctrine, in preference to the Articles of 1615.

^l Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, anno 1560.

^m Leland's *Ireland*, book iv. chapter i.

we know that not more than twenty-six bishops were living in the Irish church, probably not so manyⁿ. Thus a great majority of the whole synod of Irish bishops assented to the measures in parliament, and the assembly of the clergy offered no opposition; so that it is evident that the reformation of the church of Ireland was not effected merely by secular authority, in contradiction to that of the church itself.

With regard to the deprivation and expulsion of the bishops at the Reformation, so assiduously and impudently asserted, we have merely to state these facts: *Four* bishops favourable to reformation had been expelled irregularly by royal commissions in the time of Queen Mary; *two* only, out of the whole number of Irish bishops, were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, in consequence of their opposition to the measures approved by the rest; and it is to be observed, that these two bishops had both intruded into their sees, the legitimate pastors being still alive, and deprived, not by a synod, but by a single bishop, which was altogether contrary to the canons^o. Therefore these two bishops were justly expelled; and the remainder of the synod of Irish bishops remained (either by right or tacit dispensation) in the possession of their sees and jurisdictions. The inferior clergy also generally concurred, and the laity everywhere continued subject to their pastors, and did not cease to attend the sacred offices^p. It is true, however, that this unity was more apparent than real or firm, because among the clergy were some who conformed in the hope that some favourable circumstances might arise for the restoration of the papal authority. And besides this, the want of information and the credulity of the people rendered them too accessible to the arts by which they were ere long assailed.

The court of Rome, ever inflexible in the maintenance and augmentation of its power, could not permit the church of Ireland to pass from under its dominion, and resume its ancient

Origin of
the Romish
schism.

ⁿ According to Sir James Ware, there were twenty-nine bishoprics in Ireland at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Two of these, Clonfert and Elphin, were held in commendam by Rowland de Burgo. Armagh was vacant; and Skiddy, bishop elect of Cork, was not yet

consecrated. Of some sees we know not whether they were then filled or not.

^o Episcopacy Vindic. p. 239.

^p Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 33. Phelan's Remains, vol. ii. p. 166.

rights, without offering the strongest opposition. It was necessary to excite a schism in this church. The first effect of the intrigues of Rome is seen in the fact of the presence of three bishops assuming Irish titles at the synod of Trent, A. D. 1563, within four years after the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in Ireland^a; but it seems that they were mere creatures of the pope, on whom he had conferred the titles of those sees very recently^r. One at least of these men went afterwards to Ireland, and was in schism with the rest of the church, endeavouring vainly to introduce the regulations of the synod of Trent, which the church of Ireland never received.

Ignorance
of the peo-
ple.

I have already spoken of the superstition and ignorance of the people, which rendered them so peculiarly open to deception and fraud. This appears from the language of a Romish author who lived early in the following century, and who, in describing the danger to which the people were exposed of remaining in communion with the church of Ireland, says, "Some indeed were *so devoid of information in the faith*, that they knew not what to maintain or to say, except that they firmly believed whatever the catholic Roman church believed, that she had the true catholic doctrine, and the English were wrong in faith. . . . In this *extreme darkness and ignorance* it is not to be doubted that the Irish avoided, ridiculed, and contemned, by Divine inspiration, the English preachers; and rejected their errors by a sort of hidden and secret light of faith^s." This is to be understood as a description of the feelings and conduct of the Romish party rather at the time when this author wrote (1621), than at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when these angry feelings were yet undeveloped; but it affords ample proof of the ignorance of the people even then, who were thus unhappily liable to the impositions of popish emissaries.

^a Roth, titular bishop of Ossory, in speaking of Thomas Hierlaciuss, bishop of Ross, says, "Quia in Synodo Tridentina cum aliis duobus Hiberniæ episcopis Donaldò Magonail Ep. Rapoten. et Eugenio Ohairt Ep. Agaden. ipse tertius nec infimus eorum interesset, præcipuò quodam studio et solitudine conabatur decreta ejus et disciplinam observare et per totum districtum

suæ jurisdictionis propagare." — Analecta, pars iii. p. 72. See also O'sullivan, Hist. Cath. p. 92.

^r Ohairt was named bishop of Achonry by the Roman bishop, during the time of the council of Trent.—See Ware's Bishops of Ireland, edited by Harris.

^s O'sullivan, Hist. Catholic. Iberniæ, p. 109.

To a people thus ignorant and predisposed to superstition, the Romish missionaries who came from abroad to pervert them from the church, addressed themselves. They declaimed against the church of Ireland as infected with heresy and schism, vehemently exhorted the people to forsake its communion, and as their hearers could not comprehend other arguments, worked on their fears and superstitions by innumerable lying miracles, wonders, and visions. Of the species of arguments used to deceive this hapless people, we find abundant examples in the pages of Osullivan, and Roth, pseudo-bishop of Ossory, which are loaded with fabulous miracles. For example, St. Columkill takes the form of a wolf, and carries a torch into the magazine of a garrison of English "heretics," who are in consequence destroyed. A "heretic" converts a priest's robe into a nether garment, but as soon as he draws it on, he takes fire and is consumed on the spot. A popish bishop, condemned for high treason, summons his judge to appear before a higher tribunal in a certain number of days, on which the latter accordingly dies in torments. A governor particularly obnoxious to the Romish party is heard conversing with the devil, and immediately an explosion is heard, and he is found frightfully distorted and dies raging mad.

Arts of
Romish
emissaries.

As an instance of the course pursued by the Romish emissaries in their labours to create a schism and establish their new church in Ireland, I shall relate a portion of the history of Richard Creagh, who is styled by Roth "the renowned champion of the catholic faith, and the principal PROPAGATOR or RESTORER of the same in his native land^t." He was the son of a merchant at Limerick, whence he went to the university of Louvain, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and ultimately that of Bachelor of Theology. "Having received this degree," says Roth, "he deemed it his duty to return to his country now overgrown with weeds and brambles, through the schism and heresy springing up again under queen Elizabeth (her catholic sister being now dead). He grieved at the errors everywhere disseminated in that kingdom, especially in his native city (Limerick), which he earnestly desired to reform, and also to sow better seed. He laboured

Schismatical proceedings of Creagh.

^t "Magnus hic et clarus ecclesiæ ejusdem vel propagator vel restaurator in suo natali solo."—Roth, fidei Catholicæ pugil et primarius iii. p. 1.

strenuously by private exhortation, public preaching, and performing the sacred offices of the priesthood (for he had returned from abroad invested with the character of priest, to lend greater efficacy to his work). He discoursed very earnestly on the *impiety* of taking the oath of ecclesiastical supremacy arrogated by the queen, and *the unlawfulness of frequenting and communicating in the schismatical* (i. e. church) *service*; and *he withdrew many from their nefarious use and connexion*^u." With the same objects he taught a school: "With all possible zeal and solicitude he applied himself to the instruction of youth, in order that he might mould the tender clay in the orthodox faith^x."

Proceed-
ings of
schisma-
tics.

Thus it appears that the people were induced to forsake the communion of their legitimate pastors, by those foreign emissaries, who came at the pope's instigation, to found a new sect in Ireland. But, to proceed. After exciting a schism at Limerick he went to Rome, when the pope Pius V. esteeming him a proper subject, consecrated him archbishop of Armagh; that see being *already filled* by the legitimate primate Loftus, who had been canonically consecrated in Ireland. He was now to intrude into the jurisdiction of this prelate, to excite if possible a schism in the church, and to erect rival altars and a rival priesthood. As Roth says, "therefore being sent from Rome, he came, aided by the *most liberal munificence* of pope Pius, in order that he might withdraw his *sheep in Ireland* from the jaws of *most savage wolves and of the lioness*, (i. e. their legitimate pastors,) and preside over them zealously and piously^y." Thus furnished with authority and money by the pope, he endeavoured to pervert the people and excite a schism, in which he was not altogether unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards the Roman pontiff ordained Maurice Gibbon to the see of Cashel, who had the audacity to demand from the legitimate metropolitan Maccaghwell, a surrender of his office; and on his refusal to do so, *wounded*, and attempted to assas-

^u "De impia nuncupatione juramenti primatus ecclesiastici a regina arrogati, de illicita frequentatione et communicatione in officio schismatico pressius agebat, et plurimos avocabat a nefario utriusque usu et nexu."—Ibid. p. 7.

^x Ibid. p. 9.

^y "Roma itaque missus venit non sine liberalissima Pii Pont. Max. munificentia, ut et oves suas in Hybernia e truculentissimorum luporum ac læænæ faucibus everteret, atque eis officiose ac pie præesset." p. 22.

sinate him with a spear, for which he was obliged to escape to Spain ^z.

These proceedings, however, did not sufficiently advance the schism in Ireland. The people still too generally continued subject to their pastors, notwithstanding the efforts of the Romish emissaries, some of whom also themselves repented of their sinful undertaking, and united themselves to the church. Thus the schismatic bishop of Clogher was reconciled to the church in the time of Richard Creagh, mentioned above, and is said ineffectually to have exhorted the latter to conform also ^a. Miler Magrath, made bishop of Down by the pope, also repented, and having embraced catholic unity, was elevated to the see of Clogher by the royal favour ^b. Peter Poër, pseudo-bishop of Ferns, followed his example, but whether from want of preferment or from natural instability relapsed again ^c. The civil government steadily set itself against the Romish schism, and there was extreme danger of the total overthrow of that party. We find this to have been frequently their apprehension during the reign of Elizabeth. Hence it was necessary to employ new methods of withdrawing the people from their legitimate pastors.

Dangers of the schismatics.

The Irish princes and lords, who exercised a great power over their retainers, and who were always jealous of the royal prerogative, and even aimed at independent sovereignty, were stimulated to break into insurrection on pretence of maintaining the rights of religion; and the people were excited to hate and persecute the church of Ireland, as being the religious system supported by the *English* government. The chieftains themselves were encouraged by aid of all kinds from the pope and the king of Spain, at that time the most powerful monarch in Europe; and the consequence was, that the reign of Elizabeth in Ireland was marked by a series of savage insurrections, under pretence of sustaining the (so called) catholic cause.

They excite insurrection.

In the insurrections under Jaimus Geraldinus and Desmond, Odonel, and Oneal of Tyrone, religion was the avowed object, and the bishops and priests of the Romish schism the chief political agents. We are about to review scenes in which these ministers of religion, who pretended to peculiar

^z Ware's Abps. of Cashel.

^a Roth, *Analecta*, iii. p. 36.

^b Ware's Bishops of Clogher.

^c Roth, *Analecta*, iii. p. 61.

sanctity and piety, and who styled their opponents wolves, heretics, and antichrists, were guilty of almost incredible enormities. We behold professed ministers of Christ, plotting against the dominion of their lawful sovereign, exciting and stimulating all whom they can influence to war against the royal authority, heading bands of insurgents, and issuing orders for the massacre in cold blood of all prisoners taken from the royal armies.

Treason of
the schis-
matics.

Queen Elizabeth had been excommunicated and declared an heretic by pope Pius V. in 1569, who absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and forbid them on pain of anathema to obey her in any respect, while he conferred her dominions on the king of Spain^d. Gregory XIII., in 1570, relaxed the obligation of this bull *for the present* to his own adherents, until a fitting time for its execution should arrive. About 1575, Jaimus Geraldine of Desmond plotting an insurrection, went (as we are informed by the Romish author Osullivan) to Spain, “related to Philip II. the catholic king, the state of affairs in Ireland, and sought aid from him for the ‘catholics.’” He then proceeded to Rome, “where at that time was Cornelius Omelrian, a Franciscan, an Irishman, and bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely, who sought aid from the pope against the English in the name of the Irish^e.” There also was Dr. Sanders, that calumnious Jesuit^f (the glory of the English nation as Osullivan calls him.) Jaimus solicited the pope Gregory XIII. to aid the catholic church, then *nearly falling* in Ireland; and the result was, that “his holiness” granted a pardon to all the *bands of robbers* who then infested Italy, on condition that they should undertake this expedition to Ireland for the exaltation of the see of Rome. Of the army thus composed, the pontiff made Hercules Pisanus general; and the *bishop* Omelrian, together with the jesuit Sanders, placed themselves at the head of these bands of robbers, by whose aid they expected to establish their sect in Ireland^g.

^d According to the Romish historian Osullivan, Elizabeth was justly declared a heretic by Pius V. on V. Kal. Mar. 1569, and others were empowered to take away her kingdom. “Hinc,” he proceeds, “a multis Ibernis sæpe capiuntur arma pro religionis jure: omnia ferro

et flamma devastantur et corrumpuntur.”—Hist. Cath. p. 70.

^e Osullivan, Hist. Cath. p. 94.

^f See the falsehoods of his history detected by Burnet, History of the Reformation.

^g “Eo tempore nonnulli latronum manipuli Italiam non parum infes-

They landed after various difficulties, with 4000 stand of arms, supplied by the king of Spain to arm the adherents whom they hoped to find in Ireland. They brought over a bull from Gregory XIII., in which all who should join themselves to Jaimus, and rebel against queen Elizabeth, were granted a plenary indulgence and remission of their sins, as in the case of making war on *the Turks in the Holy Land*^h! The general declared to the Irish chieftains what was true, “that he had been sent by the chief pontiff to assist the Irish against the heretics, for the rights and liberty of the catholic church; and, therefore, that he bore *the keys* depicted on his standards, because they were fighting for *him who had the keys of heaven*ⁱ.” Such was the method by which the Romish sect was propagated. We find the same “*bishop*” Omelrian again in 1583, arriving from Spain, where he had been an emissary of the rebel earl of Desmond, with a supply of *men, money, and arms*^k.

It is lamentable to find that persons assuming the sacred title of bishop could be guilty of conduct so inconsistent with Christian sanctity and piety. Edmund Macgabhrana, pseudo-archbishop of Armagh, came from Spain about 1598, having the commands of the king of Spain to the Irish, to declare war against the “protestants” for the “catholic” faith; and that they should receive aid from him immediately. Macgabhrana “proceeding to Macguier, who was then at war (*i. e.* in insurrection against the queen), and was a man desirous of warfare, *easily confirmed him* by the words of the catholic king and by the hope of aid^l.” This warlike pontiff fell shortly afterwards in battle with the queen’s troops.

tabant, dum ex sylvis et montibus, in quibus latebant, erumpentes, nocturnis rapinis, et incursionibus pagos diripiebant, et itinera obsidentes viatores spoliabant. Jaimus Gregorium decimumtertium pontificem exorat, ut ecclesiæ catholicæ in Iberniam jam pene corruenti ferat opem: a quo demum impetravit impunitatem iis latronibus ea conditione, ut secum in Iberniam proficiscerentur. . . . Quibus summus pontifex duces præfecit Herculem Pisanum . . . aliosque Romanos milites.”—Osullevan, p. 94, 95.

^h Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 101.

ⁱ “Id quod erat, se fuisse a pontifice maximo Iberniam auxilio missum in hæreticos pro ecclesiæ catholicæ jure et libertate: ob id in militariibus signis claves gerere depictas quod illi militabant qui regni cælorum claves habebat.”—Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 95.

^k Carte’s Life of Ormond, Introduction, p. 57.

^l “Sub hoc tempus Edmundus Macgabhranus Iberniam primas archiepiscopus Ardmachæ ex Hispania a Jaimo Flamingo Pontanensi mercatore vehitur, habens ad Iberniam regis Hispaniæ mandata ut protes-

Not long after, Odonel, chief of Tirconnel, being engaged in plotting an insurrection against the queen, employed a Romish bishop as his agent. "Odonel, observing and thinking within himself that it would be difficult to free Ireland and the catholic religion from the heresy and tyranny of the English without the aid of foreign princes, sends as his ambassador Jaimus Ohely, 'archbishop of Tuam,' a man of known learning and innocent life, to lay before Philip II., king of Spain, the state of Ireland; to beseech aid from him for the catholic faith, nearly fallen, which he had promised by 'the primate of Ireland' (Macgabhrana); and to promise the assistance and obedience of Odonel and the other Irish chiefs^m." This Romish bishop extolled to King Philip the advantages of Ireland, which he exhorted him to invade and subdue, as he might from thence easily conquer England, &c. The king was much struck by his representations, as we are informed by Osullewan; and a few years afterwards sent a fleet, with 17,000 troops, to invade Ireland; but it was unhappily shipwrecked on the coast of Galliciaⁿ.

The monarch with whom these ecclesiastics held such continual intercourse was the same who, in 1588, fitted out the "invincible armada" for the conquest of England; or, as the Romish historian describes it: "Philip the Second, that most wise king of Spain, commiserating the calamity and hellish state of England, in which he had reigned for a short time on his marriage with Queen Mary, having prepared an excellently appointed fleet, sends into that island a most powerful army, commanded by the duke of Medina Sidonia, which would have extinguished, without doubt, the deadly pest of heresy in its very cradle, if it had been safely landed. But (*our sins preventing it*) in the year 1588, partly by the art of the heretics, but chiefly by a great tempest, the fleet was dispersed," &c.^o

tantibus pro fide catholica bellum indicent, et ab ipso quam celerrime auxilium mittendum esse, intelligant; et ad Macguierum, qui jam bellum gerebat, profectus, cupidum bellandi virum catholici regis verbis et auxilii spe, in incepto facile confirmavit."—Osullewan, p. 127.

^m "Jaimum Ohelium Tuemix archiepiscopum virum doctrina et innocente vita probatum legatum

mittit, qui Philippo II. Hispaniarum monarchæ Ibernarum rerum statum pandat; ab eo *declinatæ pæne catholice fidei* opem petat, quam per Ibernix primatem promiserat, et illi Odonelli et aliorum magnatum Ibernorum operam et obedientiam polliceatur."—Osullewan, Hist. Cath. p. 130.

ⁿ Ibid. 130, 131.

^o "Miseratus calamitatem atque

To return to the proceedings of the schismatic clergy. When Odonel was in insurrection against the crown, and had ravaged Connaught and other parts of Ireland, we read that amongst his troops “were some ecclesiastics, especially Raymond Ogalachur, ‘bishop of Derry and vice-primate of Ireland,’ who *absolved from the bond of excommunication* those who *deserted* from the royal army to the ‘catholic’^p.” About the same time (1600) “came into Ulster friar Matthew de Oviedo, a Spaniard, ‘archbishop of Dublin,’ and Martin Cerda, a noble Spanish knight, bringing from the chief pontiff to all who should take arms against the English *for the faith*, indulgences and pardon of their sins,” together with the aid of 22,000 pieces of gold to the insurgents^q. The friar returned again to Spain, but it was only to join in an expedition sent by King Philip to invade Ireland, under the command of Joannes Aquila, who, however, was obliged to retire before long, without accomplishing anything^r. In 1602, Eugene Maceogan, whom the Roman pontiff had sent over as his vicar, with the title of the see of Ross, together with his brethren in schism assuming the titles of Clonfert and Killaloe, issued an excommunication against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or *give quarter* to the prisoners of the royal army^s. Maceogan absolved all such prisoners from their sins, and then caused them to be put to death in his presence. He fell in battle against the royal army, leading a troop of horse, with his sword in one hand, and his breviary and beads in the other^t.

In this manner the schism arose in Ireland. Originating in the exhortations and impostures of foreign emissaries, addressed to a superstitious, an ignorant, and a credulous people, it was fomented by the arrival of usurping and intrusive bishops, sent by the Roman pontiff, and completed amidst rebellion and massacre, stimulated by the unholy ministers of the new communion. Alternately deluded, terrified, encouraged, and excited to schism and insurrection, by their chieftains and their priests,

Romanism
founded in
schism.

Tartareum statum Angliæ . . . cæterum peccatis nostri obstantibus, anno redemptionis 1588 partim heræticorum arte,” &c.—Osullivan, p. 120, 121.

^p Ibid. p. 144.

^q “Deferentes a summo pontifice omnibus qui pro fide in Anglos

arma caperent, indulgentias et peccatorum omnium,” &c.—Ibid. p. 167. Cox, Hist. Ireland, p. 422.

^r Osullivan, Hist. Cath. p. 175. 177.

^s Leland, vol. ii. p. 405.

^t Leland, Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 406; Cox, Hist. Ireland, p. 453.

it is not to be wondered at that too many of these unhappy people fell from the right way, and from obedience, to the original and catholic hierarchy of Ireland. It is needless to proceed further in this lamentable history, which would furnish too frequently a repetition of the same features. The Romish sect in Ireland was founded in schism, in rebellion, and by force of arms; not by the peaceful weapons of argument and prayer. And as it was unholy in its origin, so were its fruits unholy: "Certainly," says Osullivan, "the Irish of my party (*i. e.* the Romish), although they excel most nations in their honour and observance of the catholic faith and of divine religion, yet, in the time of this war, were *much worse than Turks or heretics in faction, dissension, ambition, and perfidy*."^u "There are not wanting some who *kill* the minister-clergy—though *seldom*. Many cause them such fear, that they dare not exercise their heretical office, or prevent the catholic priests from performing divine service^x."

It may be alleged, in justification of the conduct of these schismatics, that great severities were exercised by the government against their bishops and pastors; but surely it is impossible to wonder that the queen treated as rebels and traitors men who acted as *political* agents and emissaries from those Roman pontiffs who had issued bulls deposing her from her sovereignty, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, conferring her dominions on the king of Spain, and promising plenary remission of sins to all who should rise in insurrection against her. The first principles of self-preservation required the punishment of those who are acknowledged by their *own historians* to have been sent by foreign powers for the purpose of *exciting insurrection* in Ireland, on the avowed principle that the Roman pontiff had conferred the queen's dominions on another monarch. Those historians acknowledge that the disturbances in Ireland were *excited* by the papal bulls; and that when some of the Romish party doubted the lawfulness of taking up arms against their sovereign, *the pontiff forbade any*

^u "Certe Iberni mei, quamvis catholicæ fidei religionisque divinæ cultu et observantia plerisque gentibus præsent, hujus tamen belli tempore, factione, dissidio, ambitione, perfidia, Turcis et hæreticis plurimi deterius fuerunt."—Osul-

levan, 119.

^x "Non desunt qui ministro-clericos etsi raro occidunt. Multi illis metum incutiunt ut nec ipsi munus hæreticum exercere, nec catholicos sacerdotes divinis officiis prohibere audeant."—Ibid. 227.

division, and ordered all to unite their forces against the queen^y. It is even acknowledged, that “when just and honourable conditions of peace were offered by the queen to the ‘catholic’ priests and laity,” the ambassadors of king Philip persuaded them to break off the treaty by promises of further assistance from Spain, and that the very same circumstance afterwards broke off a treaty between Norris and Odonel^z. We cannot wonder, then, that the government treated the Romish bishops and priests as its *enemies*; and we are fully entitled to disbelieve the accounts of tortures alleged to have been inflicted on some of them, because we observe in their writers a total disregard of truth where the interests of their sect were to be promoted.

The schism was thus formed, but its power was broken considerably by the unsuccessful issue of the various rebellions in the reign of Elizabeth, and by the resolution of James the First to prevent the residence of Jesuits, missionary priests, popish bishops, &c. in his dominions. In 1621 Osullivan describes the Romish hierarchy thus: “There are four archbishoprics and many bishoprics, and all are at present possessed by ‘heresiarchs’: therefore ‘catholic’ prelates are not, except rarely, ordained to their titles, because it seems that without revenue so large a number of bishops cannot maintain their dignity and honour. Therefore the four archbishops who are *inaugurated by the Roman pontiff*, constitute in their suffragan dioceses, vicars general, by the authority of the pope, who are either priests, or inferior clergy, or religious: these again appoint the parochial clergy. Eugenius Macmagaun, archbishop of Dublin, and David Ocarney of Cashel, undertake great dangers and vast labours to tend their flocks personally (N. B. these usurping prelates were in the pay of Spain^a); while Peter Lombard of Armagh, and Florence Omelcontrius of Tuam, who for many reasons cannot remain safely in Ireland, on account of the English, have delegated their provinces to vicars^b.”

On the other hand, the church maintained a continual succession of bishops in all the sees of Ireland. We have seen that the prelates consented almost unanimously to remove the

Its want of
succession.

Episcopal
succession
preserved
in the
catholic
church.

^y Ibid. 117.

^z Ibid. 142. 144.

^a Phelan, Remains, vol. ii. p. 294.

^b Osullivan, Hist. Cath. p. 229.

papal jurisdiction in Ireland in 1560. In the Irish parliament under sir John Perrott's administration, A.D. 1585, four archbishops and twenty bishops were actually present ^c, and as we know that at this time three of the twenty-nine sees existing at the accession of Elizabeth, were held in commendam with others, and one *at least* was vacant ^d, we see that at this time all the dioceses of Ireland must have been possessed by the church. Sir John Davis seems to have erred in saying that there were three northern dioceses to which the queen never presented ^e, as we find Magrath made bishop of Clogher (one of them) in 1570 ^f, but at all events the bishops of those dioceses must have been in communion with the church of Ireland in 1585 ^g. Thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick through a long line of venerable prelates, has descended continually in the church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish society, on the other hand, derived its mission and succession from the pope of Rome in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First, and cannot in any degree derive itself from the ancient church of Ireland, from which it separated.

We may conclude from these facts, that the community of Romanists in Ireland thus formed, was no part of the church of Christ; for I have before proved that voluntary separation from a Christian church, and the establishment of a rival communion, is a separation from Jesus Christ, and altogether inexcusable ^h. The only defence which can be offered is, that the church of Ireland had herself become heretical and apostate. Were this manifestly true, there would indeed have been a positive obligation to forsake her communion: but I contend that there was no evidence of her heresy in any point whatever. The removal of the papal jurisdiction in Ireland

^c Cox, History of Ireland, p. 383.

^d Emly was united to Cashel, Ross to Cloyne, Clonmacnois to Meath, before this time (see Ware). Killala or Mayo was vacant, as we learn from Osullivan, who says it was in vain offered to Gelasius Oculenan, on condition of his forsaking the cause of the Roman pontiff.—Hist. Cath. p. 105. Sir John Perrot wrote to England in 1584, that no more bishoprics ought to be put in com-

mendam.—Cox, p. 382.

^e Viz. Clogher, Raphoe, and Derry. See his "Causes why Ireland," &c.

^f Sir J. Ware's Bishops of Ireland.

^g Leland says the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe sat in the parliament that year.—Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 295.

^h See Part I. Chapter IV.

was merely a restoration of an ancient discipline, which had never been changed by any law of the universal church. In short, whatever was done, had the assent of the bishops, the ordinary pastors of the church, and successors of the apostles, whose judgment ought to have been a sufficient warrant to the ignorant and undisciplined people, that the catholic faith and discipline were preserved in their integrity. Their first and most solemn duty was to hear and obey their immediate bishops and pastors in those questions which they were incompetent to decide themselves; but they permitted themselves to be deceived by the foreign monks and priests who came to sow dissension in the church. The sect which was thus created arose in separation from an older Christian society; it was founded by unholy men, who encouraged schism, practised on the ignorant by false miracles, were involved in treason, and excited sedition, war, and massacre. It was not apostolical, because it separated from the successors of the apostles in Ireland, and adhered to the intruding bishops, whom the Roman pontiffs sent over to excite sedition. Involved in schism, ordained without consent of the lawful ecclesiastical authorities, and in defiance of the canonsⁱ, its ministry is altogether devoid of spiritual power, and is not derived from the apostles. Consequently we cannot admit this sect to constitute any part of the catholic church, and the whole history of Ireland from the period of the Reformation to the present time, affords a terrible example of the retribution which grievous sins draw down upon the descendants of the guilty.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE REFORMATION AND SCHISMS IN SCOTLAND.

THOSE who contemplate without prejudice the conduct of religious parties in Scotland during the sixteenth century, will find none of them exempt from serious faults, which gave rise

ⁱ See Part VI. Chapter XI.

to evils almost unprecedented. The gross corruptions and idolatries of all sorts long prevalent in the Scottish church, were maintained against the spirit of reformation with a cruelty which at length called up a formidable reaction. The burning of Hamilton, Forrest, Gourlay, Straiton, Russell, Kennedy, Wishart, Wallace, Mill, &c. for supposed heresy, together with innumerable imprisonments and banishments for the same offence^a, disgusted the majority of the nation; and the want of energy and zeal which the prelates of the Romish party evinced when their opponents gained the ascendancy, and which, together with their immoral lives, is fully admitted by Lesley, bishop of Ross^b, threw almost the whole nation at once into the cause of the Reformation. In 1558 the reforming party petitioned for relief from *persecution* “till a *general council, lawfully assembled, have decided all controversies in religion*”^c; and protested that they were “compelled” by the bishops “to adhere to idolatry;” that they could not “obtain a just Reformation according to God’s word,” and that if it “should chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime thereof be not imputed to them, who most humbly do now seek all to be reformed by an order^d.” In 1560 they were powerful enough to obtain from a convention of estates a sanction of their confession of faith, the suppression of the papal jurisdiction, and a prohibition of the celebration of the sacraments according to the Roman rites^e. Four of the bishops united themselves with the promoters of the Reformation^f, a larger number were either actively or passively opposed to it: but the latter either forsook their sees and went abroad, or died before long. The papal party dwindled to nothing^g: it was without bishops, had no organized churches, and about 1580 several foreign jesuits and missionary priests began to resort to Scotland and endeavour to make converts^h.

^a Archbishop Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 63—96.

^b Leslæus, *De Reb. Gest. Scotorum*, lib. x. p. 583. Romæ, 1578.

^c Spottiswood, p. 119. Knox, *History of the Reformation*, p. 131, ed. 1644.

^d Knox, *Hist. Reform.* p. 133.

^e Spottiswood, p. 150. Knox, p. 272, 273, 274.

^f Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, Gordon of Galloway, Stewart of Caithness, Hamilton of Argyle. Some of these bishops had not yet been consecrated. — See Keith’s *Scottish bishops*.

^g Skinner’s *Ecclesiast. History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 165.

^h Spottiswood, p. 308. Russell, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 26. The Romish party

Under all the circumstances of the case, we cannot regard the adherents of the Reformation in Scotland as schismatics. They did not voluntarily separate themselves : they sought for reformation of prevalent idolatries and abuses by competent authority ; and were expelled from communion and most cruelly persecuted by the Romish party. It does not seem from their confessions^l and other public acts that they upheld doctrines contrary to faith. The congregation in Scotland, however, though reformed in various respects, was not possessed of an apostolical ministry, which is essential to the church. It seems that the mistaken opinions which had begun to prevail amongst many of the foreign adherents of the Reformation, had been imbibed by the leaders of the Scottish Reformation, for they did not distinctly receive the episcopal office, nor practise the imposition of hands in ordination ; nor did they restrict ordination to bishops. The superintendents who were appointed by the First Book of Discipline in 1560^k, and who exercised, to a great extent, the power of bishops, were not ordained by bishops with imposition of hands, nor were the other inferior pastors. There was not, however, any objection in principle to the office of bishop, and in 1571 an approach was made to the establishment of episcopacy, when it was agreed by a convention of the church that the sees then vacant should be filled, that the bishops should exercise spiritual jurisdiction in their dioceses, should be elected by the chapters^l, &c. Thenceforward the dioceses of Scotland were filled by nominal bishops who sat in parliament. The superintendents which had been constituted in 1560 by the Reformed, were permitted to retain a certain jurisdiction during their lives, and then the office ceased.

Scotland was for a long period in a state of anarchy ; and the evils which resulted were unparalleled, except perhaps in France under the Merovingian dynasty. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, stated that in his time "the episcopal sees, for the most part, were given up to the possession of avaricious *lay-*

had no bishops until the reign of James II., when the pope sent them a titular bishop.—See Dodd's Church History.

^l Knox, History of the Reforma-

tion, p. 252.

^k Spottiswood, p. 158.

^l Spottiswood, p. 260. Knox himself highly approved of this.—See Russell, vol. i. p. 332.

men," or to clergy of the most scandalous character. He observes that for eighty years there had been no archbishop in France, no synods^m, &c. Such was the fate of the Scottish sees from this period; for many of the bishops who were appointed were merely nominees of powerful barons, who, under their names, obtained possession of ecclesiastical property; and none of the bishops were validly ordained by other bishopsⁿ. Thus Scotland remained without any lawful succession of the ministry; but did not, apparently, receive any directly schismatical doctrine on the subject of episcopacy. The presbyterian errors on the *unlawfulness of episcopacy* were first introduced into Scotland by Melville, about 1575, who had just returned from Geneva, and was desirous of introducing the discipline established there^o. He succeeded in exciting great disturbances in the church; and in 1580 an assembly of clergy at Dundee declared the office of bishop, as then used in Scotland, unlawful^p; and required all persons called to it to forsake the same. However, these calamities were terminated by the wise conduct of king James, who, in 1584, caused the bishops to be restored to their seats in parliament^q; and who, after many contentions with the Presbyterian party, in which he was obliged to consent to the establishment of their discipline in 1592^r, at length succeeded in gradually restoring the episcopal office, first by nominating bishops in 1600, then by acts of parliament and of a general assembly of the church in 1606^s; and afterwards more fully in a general assembly at Glasgow in 1610^t; after which the Scottish bishops elect received from the English that apostolical commission which was necessary to the completion of their church^u. From that time the church of Scotland has always continued to be guided by a regular suc-

^m Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Ecclesiæ Disciplina, tom. ii. p. 329.

ⁿ Keith, Scottish Bishops, p. 216.

^o Spottiswood, p. 275.

^p Russell, vol. i. p. 377; Spottiswood, p. 311.

^q Heylin, History of the Presbyterians, p. 231.

^r Ibid. p. 293.

^s Ibid. p. 385.

^t Ibid. p. 387.

^u The term "church" is here

used in the same *general* sense as in page 276; not as implying the possession of all the essentials of a church. In this sense we must understand the English Canons of 1603 (Can. LV), in which the "*churches* of England, Scotland, and Ireland" are mentioned, though the prevalent party in Scotland at that time was opposed to episcopacy.

cession of bishops even to the present day, though afflicted by many grievous losses and persecutions, especially since the Revolution of 1688.

In the time of Charles the First, 1638, the nobility, irritated by the king's revocation of the grants of church-lands, and jealous of the bishops, united themselves with the schismatics, who broke into insurrection against the king, abolished episcopacy by act of parliament, and instituted the "solemn league and covenant," one of whose articles consisted of an engagement to "endeavour the *extirpation* of prelacy; that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, &c.^x" These proceedings being annulled on the restoration of Charles II., the church of Scotland continued till 1690 to be subject to its bishops, like all other churches, though many adherents of the covenant formed conventicles and separated themselves from the church^y. In 1690 this party of schismatics obtained the support of the civil power, in consequence of the refusal of the bishops to acknowledge king William III.; and under their influence the Scottish parliament consummated a most woeful schism, abolishing episcopacy, and establishing the presbyterian schismatics as the church of Scotland. Thus the bishops and clergy were deprived of their estates and of all their legal rights, and their place and authority was usurped by others, while a portion of the nation fell from their obedience, and united themselves to the new establishment, which afterwards obtained many converts by the severe persecution which it directed against the church^z.

^x Skinner, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 368.

^y *Ibid.* p. 470.

^z The Cameronians (dissenters) forcibly drove out two hundred of the clergy, before any alteration of religion was made by law.—Russell, ii. 348, &c. It appears that the majority of the people were in 1690 still attached to their church.—Russell, 359, &c.; and almost the whole body of the clergy remained steadfast.—*Ibid.* 362. The clergy were in 1695 prohibited by act of parliament from baptizing or solemnizing marriage, on pain of banishment.—*Ibid.* 380. In 1707 all their chapels were closed by order of government (*Ib.*

392), and those who officiated were imprisoned.—*Ibid.* 394. In 1746, after the battle of Culloden, the magistrates directed the soldiers and the mob against them, burned their chapels, plundered their vestments and church-plate, burned their books, and compelled them to seek safety in flight or concealment.—*Ibid.* 401. Every clergyman ordained by a Scottish bishop was, by act of parliament, made liable to transportation for celebrating divine worship, and their people were subjected to fine or imprisonment.—*Ibid.* 402, 403. Under this dreadful persecution they remained for forty-two years.

Hence it would be a great mistake to suppose that the question between the presbyterians and the church was merely a dispute on church government; it was concerning the most vital principles of church unity and authority. The presbyterians were innovators, who *separated* themselves from the church because they judged episcopacy *antichristian*, and thus condemned the church universal in all past ages. Had their opinion been merely that the presbyterian discipline was lawful or even desirable, this opinion, though erroneous, would not have cut them off from the church of Christ; but it was the *exaggeration* of their opinion into a claim of Divine right for presbyterianism, and their *condemnation* of episcopacy as antichristian; their separation for the sake of these opinions; their actual *rejection* of the authority and communion of the existing successors of the apostles in Scotland, and therefore of the universal church in all ages, that marks them out as *schismatics*; and the mere temporal sanction which the parliament extended to their system, in giving it a legal establishment, could not absolve them from the schism which they had committed, or restore them to the church.

That the presbyterian ministry of Scotland is *schismatical*, is sufficient at once to show its unlawfulness and incompetence to administer the sacraments. Even admitting, for the sake of argument, the validity of ordinations performed by mere presbyters, there seems to be some doubt concerning the preservation of such ordinations; for it appears that many of the Scottish reformers were *not in orders*, such as Willocks, Erskine Laird of Dun, and Spottiswood, who were made superintendents^a. Melville was not ordained; and others were doubtless in the same case. According to the First Book of Discipline, imposition of hands was laid aside in all ordinations^b, which were therefore unlawful. The Second Book of Discipline (in 1578) prescribes imposition of hands^c; but at this period the great majority of the clergy had been ordained without it; and their own ordinations being thus irregular, they could not lawfully ordain others. Thus matters continued till 1610—12, when bishops were consecrated; but it does not seem that the *re-ordination* of the parochial ministers of Scotland was insisted on, probably with a view to the more peace-

^a Skinner, i. 123, 124.

^b Ibid. p. 117.

^c Chap. iii.

able introduction of episcopacy ; and what proportion of the clergy may have been episcopally ordained in 1638, when presbyterian ordinations recommenced, is uncertain. Thus, then, it seems rather uncertain to what extent presbyterian ordinations have been preserved ; as there can be no doubt that numbers of the ministers in 1638 had received ordination from persons whose own ordination was more than questionable. Many of the clergy were expelled by the presbyterians in 1638^d, and these probably consisted of persons who had received ordination from the bishops.

There is another question affecting these ordinations which involves them in considerable difficulties, even if it were conceded that presbyters might, in case of necessity, ordain presbyters. It seems doubtful, then, whether presbyterians mean to ordain their ministers to the office of *bishop* or of *presbyter*. On the one hand, they maintain the *parity* of all ministers, and *reject episcopacy* ; on the other, they ordain *elders or presbyters* in each congregation, whom they regard as a standing order in the church^e, and *subject* them to the ministers. So that it is uncertain whether they intend to ordain their ministers to the office of *bishop* or to that of *presbyter* ; and consequently, it seems questionable whether those ministers are called to either of those offices.

These questions, however, are not essential in the discussion of the presbyterian ordinations ; for it is certain, that such ordinations having been performed *without any necessity, and in opposition to the authority of the bishops of Scotland*, were in their origin illegitimate and schismatical ; and the catholic church in all ages has rejected such ordinations, and accounted them wholly null^f ; therefore the presbyterian establishment being founded in schism, and destitute of an apostolical ministry, constitutes no part of the visible church of Christ.

With regard to all the other sects in Scotland which have seceded from the presbyterian community, such as Glassites, Sandemanians, Seceders, Burghers, Antiburghers, Constitutional Associate Presbytery, Relief Kirk, Scottish Baptists, Bereans, Independents, &c., the same observations apply to

^d Russell, ii. 194, 195.

chap. vi.

^e Second Book of Discipline,

^f See Part VI. chap. iv.

them all. Their predecessors, the Presbyterians, voluntarily separated themselves from the catholic church of Christ ; and they, in departing from the presbyterian communion, have not yet returned to that of the true church, consequently they form no part of the church of Christ.

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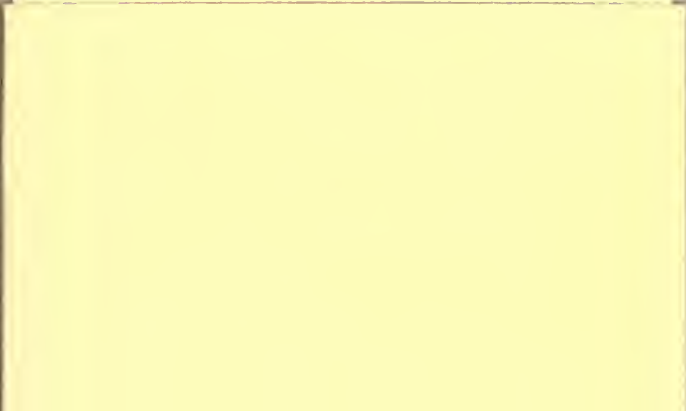
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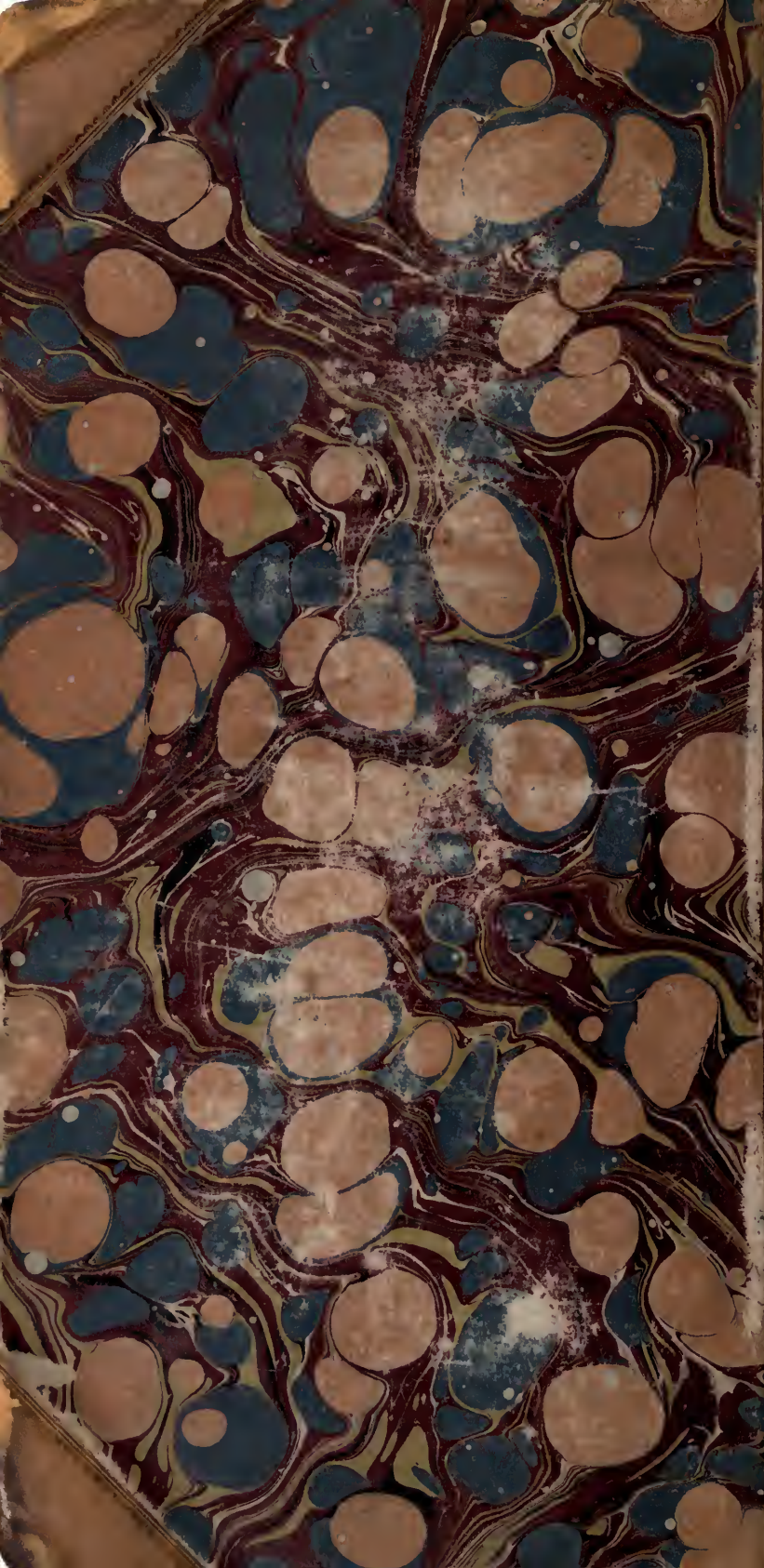
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