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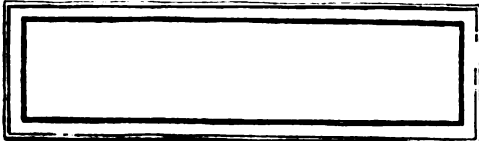
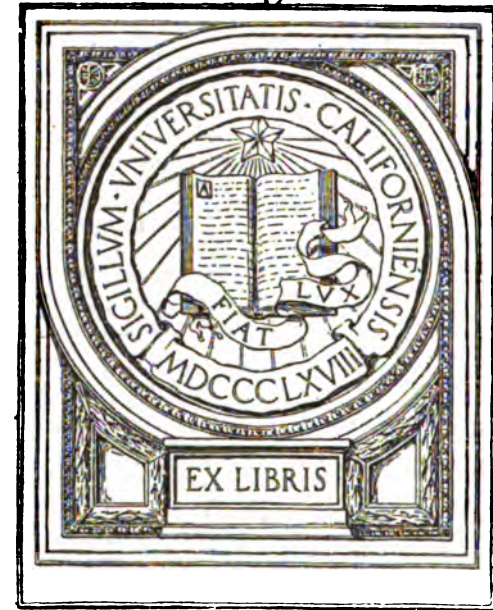
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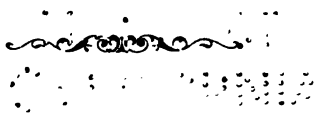
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TO YOU
ALBERTA

P R E F A C E.

IN preparing this collection for publication, the reader may well suppose, that this thought must have presented itself to the writer's mind: Would it not be better to suppress the whole of this controversy, which occupies this volume, as dead and gone; as either having attained its purpose, or not likely now any longer to attain it? Such a thought was natural, and connected with other feelings, of which I may have to speak. But it was necessarily overruled by the motive of the entire work. Those persons, whose judgment I respect more than my own, who wished such a collection to be made, particularly desired that this series should not be omitted.

The strongest objection to be overcome in acceding to this wish was, the painfulness of appearing in conflict with persons who are now joined with me in perfect unity of thought and principle, of many whom I respect and even venerate for their learning, their piety, and their orthodox zeal. But this consideration had its other side. For it may not be without its use to see how those who once clung to error through earnest conviction, who defended their mistaken views with erudition and ability, but who, throughout, showed themselves sincere in the desire to attain truth, could nobly abandon that erroneous system, when the moment of Grace arrived, and become far more powerful advocates than their former adversary,

of the Faith, which these pages represent them as opposing. It shows us how really we should be full of hope, wherever there is sincerity; they bring home powerfully to our minds the words of St. Augustine:—
 “Plerumque, cum tibi videris odisse inimicum, fratrem odisti, et nescis.”*

But these words at least have not their full application here; and this is a strong motive with me for republishing these papers. If they exhibited not so much as hatred, but harshness even, or unkindness, towards those for whose sake they were written, I should be ashamed to put before the public the expression of feelings which must now appear most uncalled for and unjust. But it is a consolation to look back at those times, and feel that every kind anticipation has been fulfilled, no expression of trustfulness disappointed. When the day of union came, there was nothing to forgive on either side, nothing to regret. Each had written with earnestness, and even perhaps eagerness; but mutual respect had been observed, and on one side, I can answer for it, most affectionate interest had been felt. So that now I am sure, that those very persons, whose feelings it may be thought would be best consulted by suppressing all this matter, will be the first to admit, that no unpleasant personal recollections will be awakened by recalling the memory of times when the united were disjoined, only to manifest the amalgamating and unifying powers of God’s Church.

I have already alluded, in the Preface to the first volume, as well as in the body of this, to the first circumstance which turned my attention to the wonderful movement then commenced in England—the

* “Often, when you think you are hating an enemy, you are hating a [future] brother, and know it not.” In Psal. liv.

visit which is recorded in *Froude's Remains*. From that moment it took the uppermost place in my thoughts, and became the object of their intensest interest. It is but little remembered now, how chillingly were met the views which they suggested; how little support they received from any single writer beyond the pages of the *Review*; how systematically they were opposed by our periodical press; how pamphlets were issued by perhaps more than one priest, with such titles as "Are the Puseyites sincere?" And it is not known, how friends remonstrated with the holder of hopeful views, how they treated him as an enthusiast, or rather a fanatic, who was digging a pit of bitter disappointment for his own feet; how even the most learned of our historians wrote in friendly warning, to remind him of the vain hopes raised and doomed to bitter disappointment at the times of Laud and of the Nonconformists, and ask him what he saw in the present movement that gave better grounds of reliance than experience had proved to exist then. Even those so situated as to have near them the evidences which convinced him of hopeful advance, viewed them in a very different light, and thought their importance, to say the least, much exaggerated.

At the same time, a serious danger had to be avoided. No concessions could be made to error, beyond the acknowledgment of sincere belief that it was unconscious. To have allowed it to possess a single mark or element of Catholicity, to have admitted a particle of the specious theory of apostolic succession, silent unrecognised communion with the Church, and possession of sacramental power by the national establishment, would have been both false in theology and pernicious in practice. It would have

encouraged a delusion, which, undisturbed, might have laid many asleep in a fatal contentment, who now repose in peaceful security in the bosom of their Mother the Church. No real love for those involved in this state could be shown, except by energetic endeavours to snatch them from it. Whoever, therefore, wished to be truly their best friend, had to make up his mind to appear their most unrelenting opponent.

Besides the pain which such a position inflicted, it had its further difficulties. The theories propounded in the High-Church system were new, and totally different from any aspect which Protestantism had really assumed since the Reformation. They were put forward by men, some of whom brought to their work great ecclesiastical learning, while others contributed acute reasoning, power, and constructive skill. The entire system was built with great apparent consistency, such as to deceive its very architect, who believed it to be planned and raised upon orthodox and primitive models. There could be little hope of undeceiving them, except by pursuing them on to their own ground, and finding there the instruments of assault. Reasoning had to be met by reasoning; a mistaken, by a truer, reading of antiquity.

To undertake this work was the aim and undeviating purpose of the essays here collected together: and they will consequently be found to present various forms. To say that they proceeded, from the beginning, on a complete and preconcerted plan, would be not only an exaggeration, but a false assumption of sagacity. They followed the course of fresh events and new publications, till by degrees more accurate views were obtained of the opposite system, and then it was felt necessary to attack it in its foundation.

This led to a mere theological discussion, in which the principles of the ancient Church were collected and applied to the existing controversy. While acknowledging the immense imperfection of every part of these essays, it would be ungrateful not to express what consolation has been derived from the information, after many years of unconsciousness, so graciously and affectionately conveyed, that they had exercised a material influence on minds so infinitely superior, in every way, to their writer's, by awakening attention to arguments which those minds were peculiarly able to develop for themselves.

However, such as they are, these papers form the only body of Catholic controversy on the subject, during several years, and until they for whom they were written, happily standing on our side, took up the weapons which their experience made a hundred times more powerful and effectual, and rendered it both unnecessary, and presumptuous, for earlier writers to keep the field. After the wonderful lectures on Anglican difficulties, and the smaller treatises by so many other learned converts, as Capes, Thompson, Renouf, Wilberforce, Belany, Lewis, Allies, Northcote, the lists may be considered as about closed; and scarcely an objection can be anticipated which has not been forestalled and answered. These writers, and especially the honoured and venerated Superior of the Oratory, have amply paid back, as children can do to parents, whatever solicitude the Church may have at one time entertained for their welfare.

And let me become selfish once more, before I close. If, during the years of affectionate opposition which preceded the happy hour of our union, I can say that I never was unhopeful or unloving, so will I with equal assurance assert, that since that period I have

never been for a moment suspicious or distrustful. Protestant writers and Protestant speakers chose to say that unkindnesses, or jealousies, or doubtfulness, had arisen between some converts and myself. This was a simple untruth; for which, nor act, nor word, nor thought, could furnish the semblance of a ground. Whether it sprung up complete, as an invention, or grew imperceptibly as a rumour, I give it a most unqualified contradiction.

And now let my conclusion be in the form of an earnest and affectionate request; that if any of my readers shall remember to have formerly received profit, however small, from any passage now reprinted in this volume, he will kindly more than repay it by a short and fervent prayer, that he who has here presumed to preach to others may not, through neglected graces, himself become a castaway.

LONDON, *April 23*, 1853.



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THE
HAMPDEN CONTROVERSY.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for May, 1836.

THE
HAMPDEN CONTROVERSY.

- ART. XI.—1. *Inaugural Discourse read before the University of Oxford in the Divinity School, on Thursday, March 17, 1836.*
By R. D. HAMPDEN, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity.
London, 1836.
2. *A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, explanatory of the Proceedings at Oxford.* London, 1836.
3. *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements.* London, 1836.
4. *Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements and the Thirty-nine Articles compared.* London, 1836.

WE feel obliged to confess, that, in looking over the controversial tracts which the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the theological chair of Oxford has called into being, our minds have been crossed by feelings, which we scarcely know how to reconcile together, or even to analyze, with satisfaction to ourselves. On the one hand we see learned and zealous, and we have reason to believe, in some instances, amiable men, contending, in the spirit which belongs to a better Church and a better cause, in favour of a rigid adherence to principles and doctrines which *we* must approve; yet, thereby departing from the consistency of their professed faith, and betraying how powerless they are in wielding the weapons which it has long since blunted, and then thrown aside. On the other side, we see the professor *elect* accused, not unjustly, of rash and dangerous opinions in his earlier

works, but yet most unjustly cited to answer for them, upon principles which his accusers themselves had no right to adopt. For he is charged not so much with heterodoxy in faith, as with violating articles, that can pretend to no power of binding the internal belief.

But the anomalies of the system, which this controversy has exposed, are still further exhibited by the new position, wherein the professor *installed* has placed himself. His inaugural discourse appears; in it all is conformable to what his opponents could require; the doctrine of the Trinity is no longer the result of "a combination of the judgments of speculative reason, with the prescriptions of authority," or "an exact scientific view of the principle of causation;"^a the sacramental influence is no longer the consequence of a "general belief in magic in the early ages of the Church;"^b transubstantiation is no more a doctrine which, as "a simple opinion, might have had no harm in it;"^c but all is just what the most zealous supporter of the church articles could desire; the Trinity, as in them taught, cannot be denied "without expunging the Scriptures themselves,"^d the sacrament of regeneration is efficacious as a means of grace, through Christ's blessing, "so as to be indispensable to all within the reach of it;"^e and, as a peace-offering perhaps to more relentless spirits, transubstantiation is "rejected as a fond notion."^f Not only in these points, but in many others, the impartial reader of the works before us will see manifest variations of opinion, not to say glaring contradictions.

But is the blame of this to be cast upon Dr. Hampden? Assuredly not. Had he been a teacher in our Church, had he made his confession of faith amongst us,

^a Theological Statements, pp. 17, 19.

^b *Ib.* p. 58.

^c *Ib.* p. 61.

^d Inaugural Lect. p. 9.

^e P. 14.

^f *Ibid.*

we might have been startled at such a change; because we could have discovered no principle in the mind of a Catholic theologian, whereby it could be justified. But where the religion itself admits the possibility of variation in the whole collective Church, and supposes, that to-day it may be plunged into idolatry or gross superstition, and to-morrow rise regenerated and purified from the laver of a reformation, it is surely unreasonable to expect, that its individual teachers shall have preserved consistency, through the growing experience of life. We do not mean to insinuate that the professor's chair can have, or has had, a magical influence upon the opinions of its occupant, or that it is an infallible nostrum for the cure of heterodoxy. For the professor's adversaries absolve him from all *formal* guilt in this respect, as the schoolmen call it. Dr. Pusey says, that what they have written, "it should be plainly understood, has not been done with any idea of passing judgment upon the personal faith of Dr. Hampden." "On the contrary," he adds, "we believe that the earlier faith planted in the soul yet survives, and we trust and pray that it may survive, unharmed if possible, by the later philosophical system, which has been admitted into the intellect."^s The report of the Committee, appointed, March 5, by the Corpus meeting, makes the same declaration, and is careful in stating that "they are far from imputing to Dr. Hampden personally those unchristian doctrines, with which his system [characterized in the preceding paragraph as the *theory of rationalism*] is closely connected, or the consequences inevitably flowing from it."^h

Here, then, is an admission, of inward orthodoxy in

^s Theological Statements, p. iii.

^h Letter to His Grace the Archb. of Canterbury, p. 32.

the accused professor, while his outward teaching is in direct opposition to the principles of faith which he has professed, and to the articles of religion which he has solemnly subscribed. Yet even here there is no inconsistency, upon the principles maintained by distinguished divines of the English Church; though the order of proceeding is obviously reversed. For Dr. Hampden is acknowledged inwardly to believe according to the doctrines prescribed, and only charged with outwardly professing what is at variance with them; whereas the more ordinary theory is, that the subscribers of the articles may in their hearts reject them, while outwardly they shape their teaching in conformity to them. Which species of discrepancy between the heart and the hand is the more reprehensible, we leave candid readers to determine. Bishop Bramhall says of the thirty-nine articles, that they are "only pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them."¹ Dr. Hey, when actually Norrisian professor of theology in the sister University, asserted in his Lectures, that "the sense of the articles is to be determined by circumstances." Dr. Balguy is still more explicit; for he says, "The articles are not exactly what we might wish them to be. Some of them are expressed in doubtful terms; others are inaccurate, perhaps unphilosophical; others, again, may chance to mislead an ignorant reader into some erroneous opinions; but is there any one among them that leads to immorality?" Such is his opinion of the articles; now hear what he says of subscription and mental adherence to them. "I am far from

¹ This is the language so severely blamed in Dr. H. "Pious opinions (such as the doctrinal statements of our articles) are not parts of revelation."—*Elucidations*, p. 43.

wishing to discourage the clergy of the established church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think, nor even from writing. I say nothing against the right of private judgment or speech, I only contend, that men ought not to attack the church from those very pulpits, in which they were placed for her defence."

Now, Dr. Balguy, as Dr. Milner remarks,^k was the most strenuous opposer of those clergymen, who, in 1772, petitioned the legislature to be relieved from the burden of subscription; and his sermons, from which this passage is drawn, were dedicated to the king. The theory therefore of these, and many other divines of the Establishment, whom we could quote, is, that the articles are not obligatory on the conscience, but only "articles of peace," which need not be believed, but must not be publicly, or rather *officially*, impugned. And if in Dr. Balguy's text, we simply substitute *chair* for *pulpit*, Dr. Hampden's justification is complete; nay, he may go on still philosophizing on the articles and analyzing them in speech and writing, till he has sublimated them into a vapoury breath, so long as from the chair which he now holds, he shall not gainsay their solidity!

Surely this is strange doctrine; but it is not ours; it is the strait to which the right of freedom in religious opinion on the one side, and the exacted submission to subscription on the other, have, by alternate and repeated blows, driven the theological science of the Establishment. It is the doctrine not merely of this, but of foreign communions too: the clergy of Geneva continued to subscribe to the Divinity of our Lord, long after belief in that doctrine had been openly disavowed among them: Michaelis maintains that the

^k "End of Religious Controversy," Let. xi.

adhesion, by subscription, to formularies of faith, only extends to outward profession, and not to interior conviction;¹ and Semler bitterly complained that men should be compelled to subscribe such documents, when, according to the very principles of the Reformation, it was tyrannical to exact a profession of belief even in the inspiration of Scripture.^m But if such has been the belief of so many dignitaries and lights of the Protestant Church, Dr. Hampden has surely no reason to be challenged and summoned before any tribunal, for acting in conformity with it. On the contrary, we fancy he has not come up to the measure of dispensation to which those opinions and declarations seem to entitle the conscience; for, once more, we observe, that he is acquitted of believing anything at variance with the established creed.

How, then, are we to solve this mystery, and account for the jealousy now felt regarding the *former* opinions of Dr. Hampden? Did not a prelate of the English Church, of whom, as laden with years and infirmity, we wish not harshly to speak, translate and make known in this country one of the most dangerous, because one of the most covert and moderate, rationalists of Germany? and did not his notes, partly by not reaching through the entire work, partly by the dilutedness of their antidote, by their illustrating rather than removing the danger, greatly add to the mischief? And yet if Dr. Herbert Marsh was the importer and propagator of rationalism, was not the Margaret Professor, and the Bishop of Peterborough, a zealous

¹ In an Essay on the Possibility of Effecting a Union of Religions, in his "Commentationes, R. S. Götting prælectæ." Not having the work at hand, we cannot refer more accurately.

^m In his Preface to his Abridgment of Schultens's Commentary on Proverbs.

churchman, and the unrelenting foe to popery? Ought not this example to have given hopes of others, that when placed in high places of responsibility, the spirit of their order would come forth, and flourish perhaps the fresher, for their early and partial blight? But it is not difficult to discover the secret springs which have been here at work; and inasmuch as therein are found the latent germs of principles which we would gladly see avowed in the face of heaven, we must feel an interest in watching the course of the accusation.

That the individuals, who call Dr. Hampden to account, are leading men among the high church party, is sufficiently understood. The history of this section of the Anglican Church it is not our province to trace; but we believe that we may compare it to the theory, which Dr. Gilly, and other fanciful writers, have imagined for that Church itself.^a For, these gentlemen, unable to get rid of the universal domination of popery during so many centuries, have devised a species of mythological protestantism; which, like the Homeric deities, was invisible save occasionally as a thin vapoury phantasm appearing amidst the turmoil of controversial warfare, but yet really existed in its Idas and Olympuses amidst the mountains of Savoy, until it came forth, in bodily substance, as a celestial Avatar, from the head of Luther. And so, do we really believe, that the party in the Church, to which Dr. Hampden's impugners belong, hold their only true and semi-visible Church to have existed pure, until this day, amidst the wilder theories of Protestantism; always bearing with it some precious remnants and

^a See the Rev. James Wheeler's short, but triumphant reply to Dr. Gilly's work entitled, "Our Protestant Forefathers." Durham, 1835.

relics of good old Catholicity, upholding the authoritative teaching of Christ's Church, and the true efficacy of His sacraments, and reverencing, and perhaps regretting, many of those institutions, which the hurricane of the Reformation recklessly swept away.

The genealogy of this church-party is easily traced, with occasional breaks, from one advocate to another of principles too obviously Catholic; sometimes the depreciators of ecclesiastical rule are for a brief space the lords of the ascendant, at others the star of the church culminates in the political and literary sphere; but still it has ever continued to live, and the opinions, which this controversy have brought out, have circulated, with alternations of languor and of activity, through the body of the Establishment. In the "Report" above alluded to, the head and front of Dr. Hampden's offending is, his having no "regard to those rules and principles of interpretation, which have guided *the judgments* of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in all ages of its history, and under every variety of its warfare."^o

Again, the committee write as follows:—

"They [the committee] suggest and submit it [a declaration] to you, as a measure, which, while it removes from us a charge of supineness or indifference, may warn the younger part of our students against immediate danger, and will solemnly declare to the world *our resolution to hold fast those great laws of Scripture-interpretation and Scripture-Proof, which we inherit from our ancestors in the faith.*"—
P. 33.

Is this Oxford or Salamanca that speaks? Is it Corpus Christi College or the Sorbonne? First, a dogmatical condemnation of opinions; secondly, a censure on the same; thirdly, the *judgments* of the Church; fourthly, this is no other than the *Holy*

^o Letter, p. 32.

Catholic Church ; fifthly, this Church guided *through all ages* by the same *sound* principles, for this is implied in the jealousy wherewith they are to be guarded ; sixthly, these same *sound* principles in all ages observed *in every warfare*, therefore against Berengarius, Wicklif, the Waldenses — why not Luther ? seventhly, these principles to be derived from ancestors in the faith ; eighthly, no law of Scripture-proof to be admitted save what is thus inherited ;—surely these are not the distinctive principles, and acts, and terms of a Protestant clergy, and a Protestant University ! We doubt not that those who signed the Report would reply in the affirmative, and seriously and earnestly maintain that such has always been the conduct and the belief of their Church. Alas ! we wish it had been so. For had these principles been always practically upheld in England, never would the sad separation have occurred which has rent this country from its mother Church. Others, however, will not so easily see the conformity between these principles and those whereon the Reformation was originally based ; but will refuse to believe, that the thick wall of separation which it was intended at the era of that event to place between popery and the new religion, was in reality so thin a film, as it must here appear. The author of the Letter to his Grace of Canterbury, reads Catholicity in every line of the Report. For thus he writes :—

“I venture to affirm, without risk of contradiction, or at least of confutation, that the doctrine involved in both the above-cited passages is much more manifestly at variance with the characteristic principle of Protestantism, and with the practice of the English Established Church, than any doctrine extracted from Dr. Hampden’s writings.”—P. 37.

Again—

“The Roman Catholic doctrine would, if such admission were made, have a manifest advantage over every Protestant church,

inasmuch as the rules and principles of her interpretation, and her interpretation itself, if not more ancient or more uniform, have unquestionably been more prevalent during many ages of the Church, and have been more distinctly inherited from ancestors in the same faith, than any articles, expositions, or confessions of faith, adopted by the Church of England, or recommended by any Protestant community on earth. I know not to what conclusions a theory like Dr. Hampden's, founded on the belief of the Scriptures, and entire freedom in interpreting them, might lead a rash or intrepid disputant; but I am morally certain that the slavish doctrines propounded in the Corpus Report would compel every consistent reasoner, who adopted it, to acknowledge an *infallible* Church. When we once start on the line of *infallibility*, it is obvious at what goal we must arrive.—*Tendimus in Latium*. We may bawl out No Popery! on the road, but we must put up at the Old Lady of Babylon's at last."—P. 40.

This is consistent reasoning; and we can forgive some words in it which we like not, in consideration of its general sense. It is only another illustration of what Catholics have repeatedly observed, that if two contending parties arise in the Protestant Church, the one is driven to tax the other with Socinianism, and that other retorts with the accusation of popery. It only confirms what every Catholic must feel, that the rejection of a principle of authority necessarily leads, theoretically at least, to the rejection of all mystery, and so to Socinianism, while its adoption obliges its supporters to reason on principles purely Catholic. This tendency of the party at Oxford to run into Catholic principles for shelter, has necessarily attracted the attention of many. It has been ingeniously developed by the author of a clever pamphlet entitled a "Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford." Imitating in some respect Sir R. Steele's witty device of a letter to the Pope, complaining that the Protestant Church laid claim to as much authority and infalli-

bility as himself, the writer introduces the Sovereign Pontiff in person, accepting and commending the opinions set forth in the "Tracts for the Times," by members of that University. In reading this ingenious production, we could not help sometimes imagining, that a feeling better than mere love of sarcasm came over the writer's mind, and that his imagination gradually warmed with his subject into an enthusiastic regret, that he could not say in truth what seemed so beautiful even in sportive phrase. One instance of text and commentary will suffice to explain our meaning. The Tracts write as follows:—

"The Catholic ritual was a precious possession; and if we who have escaped from popery have lost not only the possession, but the sense of its value, it is a serious question, whether we are not like men who recover from some grievous illness with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing:—whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron, or the ark of the covenant, which indeed had ever been hid from the world, but then was removed from the temple itself."—Tract, No. xxxiv.

Upon this passage, the Pope is thus imagined to comment:—

"Oh, when you have returned to the temple, with what joy will you behold the rod of Aaron and the ark of the covenant still preserved in its mystic depositories! With what delight will you behold the splendour of our ritual! What new sensations of piety will throb within your bosoms, as you prostrate yourselves with reverence before our holy altar. The ark of the covenant will be presented to your view; the real cross will offer itself to your vision; the relics of holy martyrs will animate your devotions; nor will you be pained by the absence of the prayer (which you say has been excluded from the English ritual) 'for the rest and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear.' You have justly remarked, that 'prayers for the dead' formed a portion of those liturgies which have emanated from St. Peter, St. James, St. Mark, and St. John;^p and when you join us in these devotions, you will feel a new proof

^p Tracts, No. xliii.

within you, that the Church which has retained this office, is alone worthy of your regard."—P. 25.

Sincerely do we believe that the writer of these words, in true dramatic feeling, invested, or rather identified, himself, with the character which he personated, and could not but feel the æsthetic beauty, at least, of the ordinances which he recommends. Gladly do we adopt his language, and with all the earnestness of sincere zeal, and all the cordiality of brotherly charity, express our assurance that what he writes is but the truth; and that the emotions which he describes are the real and consistent consequences of practically adopting what that party theoretically approves.

We are not chimerical in our views, nor over sanguine in our expectations; but we are confident that if the divines who have censured Dr. Hampden would calmly look upon their principles, without the dread of popery in their hearts to stifle better feeling, if they would fearlessly pursue their own doctrines to their furthest consistent conclusions, they would surely find that they have unguardedly, perhaps unknowingly, rejected the principles of the Reformation, and returned to thoughts and feelings which belong to other times, or at least to another Church. Unfortunately, experience, trite and vulgar as it may be, has sanctioned the aphorism, that the repulsive action between two religions, the *odium theologicum* (the substantive we reject most heartily on the Catholic side), is in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance: and therefore we fear, that any of those who have been zealously trying Catholic weapons against the alleged semi-Socinianism of the Regius Professor, would turn round and be as ready to close with us in wager of battle, did we but tap him on the shoulder, and

politely hint that he had taken, by mistake, our sword and buckler. But we are willing to hope that times are mended ; and that a better spirit, a generous love of truth, has descended among our generation, and that we may safely argue our cause, without danger of exciting any unworthy feelings. Let us then gird up our loins, and contend together in a friendly spirit.

Nothing can be more clear, as we before explained, than that, in the Established Church, there has been a series of learned divines whose opinions approximated greatly to those of Catholics ; who thought that the Reformation, however necessary, overdid its work. They have regretted the licentiousness of religious opinion which it introduced, by removing the wholesome and necessary restraint of a dogmatic authority in the Church. But is it fair to identify the opinions of these men, however learned, with the Establishment to which they belonged ? Were they, in the first place, ever considered otherwise than as a party, or, if you prefer it, a *part* of the Anglican Church ? Were there not always many who opposed them in their views ? Can it even be said that the great bulk of the flock followed them in their doctrines, and claimed not, rather in their despite, the privilege of individual judgment ? And has not the growing increase of sectarianism proved that the body of their Church insists on this right, and exercises it to the utmost ? And, in the second place, is not the very complaint, so constantly uttered by this party, of too much having been done at the Reformation, the regret that outward pomp of worship, and many religious institutions were then abolished, a sufficient proof that they represent not those who caused and accomplished that unhappy revolution ?

No one, we believe, save themselves, will maintain

that they represent the English Church, such as the Reformation intended it to appear, in harsh and unyielding contrast to the Catholic doctrine on the subject. But let us proceed in our examination. It is supposed, then, that the Church of England, as conceived by these divines, holds and maintains an authority in matters of faith. Several important questions immediately arise.

First, we would ask, where does this definitive power reside? The Catholic not only believes that his Church possesses such an authority, but at once unhesitatingly declares where it is deposited. He holds that the pastors of the Church, in council assembled, are assisted by the Holy Spirit to a certainty of decision. The case is contemplated and provided for; he can tell you who may call such an assembly—who must preside at it—by whom its decrees must be ratified—how they are to be promulgated—what extent of obligation they may impose. All is as clear, as definite, as regular, as the provisions of the statute-book for the legislative functions of our national council. The dogma is complete, and it is carried fearlessly, like every other Catholic principle, to its furthest consequences. But if the Protestant English Church has authority, in whose hands is it placed? Suppose that a serious controversy arose within it;—suppose that these its zealous members wished to pronounce judgment upon Dr. Hampden's opinions, whose duty would it become? Would the convocation meet for the purpose; or would each University have dogmatical authority? Would the Archbishop of Canterbury be justified by precedent, or by usage, or by inherent right, to call a council of the English Church, and at its head pronounce an authoritative decision? Surely, if their doctrine were that of their Church, there would have been proper pro-

vision made in its articles for it; and a Protestant child would be able to tell you, as a Catholic one can, where the authority of his Church reposes. Instead of this, we have a vague clause in the 20th Article, that it has authority in matters of faith. But this very clause is most probably spurious and interpolated; and its power is completely annulled by its contradictory restrictions.'

In the next place, we would ask, how is this power to be exercised? If it exists, or is believed to exist, God knows there have been plenty of occasions in our days to call it into activity. We cannot, indeed, imagine more urgent cases for its application, than many which have arisen. Socinianism has stalked abroad in open day, and in the high places of the Church; fanaticism and self-sufficiency have rent vast masses from its communion into sectarianism; latitudinarianism has crept like a subtle poison through its ranks; and yet we never see, and never have seen, this Church arouse itself to exercise its privilege of dispelling error, and sealing with its sanction the orthodox faith. Nay, it has been even cogently urged: how came it that Dr. Hampden, after delivering his "theory of rationalism" in the Bampton Lectures, was successively made principal of St. Mary's Hall, doctor of divinity, and professor of moral theology? If the Church take cognizance of opinions, or claim the right of condemning erroneous doctrines, either it is sadly inefficient for its purpose, or it must wait very extreme cases for the exercise of

¶ See the Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, by N. Wiseman, D.D., now publishing, Lect. ii. p. 29, note.

¶ *Ib.* pp. 29, 30.

¶ Letter, p. 5. [And since, bishop of Hereford.]

its power. Then what is the form in which its decisions are issued? Are they merely declarations of its own belief, or are they positive definitions in the name of God, and with the supposed guidance of His Spirit? Would they be decisions binding on the consciences of men, or only motives to be weighed by them in coming, in their private judgment, to a right conclusion? These again are all matters which a Catholic well understands, simply because his Church claims and exercises a right of deciding in matters of faith; and they would be as explicit in the Church of England, did it pretend to a similar power.

After this, we would ask, how is this right, if exercised, to be enforced? For, as a wise old poet writes,—

“The laws live, only where the law doth breed
Obedience to the works it binds us to.”

Do those who have signed the Corpus declaration or report, imagine that the body of Churchmen are aware of a deposit of principles being in their hands, “inherited from ancestors in the faith,” which alone are available for Scripture-proof, and Scripture-interpretation; so that all will bow implicitly, upon some one endowed with proper authority—who we know not—coming forward and stating, in a dogmatical tone, that such only is the true doctrine, *because* it is that of the Church? Would not such a decision be as the apple of discord among their ranks, and raise the war-cry of Popery against them?

How different the case is in the Catholic Church, the experience of our own times may abundantly declare. It is not long since a bold and mighty genius,[†] after having fought and conquered the rampant infidelity of the last age, and indifference, its

[†] [The Abbé de la Mennais.]

baneful progeny, in this, had gathered around him a band of fresh and youthful minds, free from either taint, panting after what is pure and holy, and eager to be led, under his banner, to the sacred war. In an ill-fated hour, he swerved, like Tertullian, from the very principles by which he had so often confuted error; and suffered the suggestions of an enthusiastic imagination to prevail over the former convictions of his mind. The Head of the Church pronounced his award of disapprobation—he yielded not; but he has ever since stood like a scathed and shattered oak, which the lightning hath touched, the energies of his mind exhausted, the intellectual sap dried up; and of all those whom he trained and cherished, not one has followed him in his disobedience; they have all wept and mourned over his fall, but their principles have been stronger than their affections, and they have remained banded together, but under the best and only sure guide—the Church itself which they defend.*

Another, and a more remarkable instance, has occurred. At Strasbourg, the love of philosophizing in religion, precisely the fault found with Dr. Hampden, had led away into rash opinions one whose learning and virtues were an ornament to the clergy; and as one great star may draw after it a third part of the host of heaven, so had he brought into the same dangerous opinions others of a kindred spirit. His bishop condemned and expostulated, and the authority invested in him soon triumphed. On the 18th of last November, the erring parties signed a declaration, wherein they virtually renounced their opinions, and this was next day published by the bishop to his flock, for their edification. The most striking circumstance,

* It is this hopeful phalanx, in great part, which has undertaken the publication of the new journal, entitled the *Université Catholique*.

however, is that the chief of this party was a convert, at a rather advanced period of life, from Protestantism; his mind had not been accustomed from infancy to habitual respect for such authority; but so essential must this feeling appear to any one that embraces Catholicity, and so fast does it seize upon his mind, that its power becomes superior to every other influence, and secures him against its action. And to the Catholic, the man who could thus sacrifice every selfish idea and feeling of pride to this beautiful and most sacred principle, is greater in mind and soul, than all the glories of a brilliant philosophy could ever make its founder.*

Here then is manifestly a Church which claims to rule by authority and power. The entire system of its construction shows this vital principle; but try to trace the necessary organs for a corresponding action in the Anglican Church, which some effect to think lives by a similar power, and you will blunt your dissecting-knife in vain. You will not discover any means, or any force, requisite for such a principle. In fact, nothing, we believe, is generally considered more clear, than that this belief or theory is an opinion *in*, and not *of*, the English Church; nay, that it goes greatly to overthrow, or weaken, the fundamental principles of the Reformation.

It is, indeed, easy, and, we will add, distressing, to see how carefully the terms used by Catholics on these subjects are shunned; there seems to be a fear of too plainly betraying the esoteric doctrines of the sect; nay more, a dread of fairly looking them in the face, lest they should seem to resemble Popery. It is

* [The ecclesiastic here alluded to now occupies a high position in the clergy of Paris, and his principal disciple is bishop of a French see.]

manifest, that if the principles of these learned collegians were boldly pushed forward to their last and consistent consequences, the establishment of the Catholic doctrine must necessarily ensue. Divines of this class, whether living or dead, have been more than once subservient to the spread of Catholicity. The late Mr. Vaughan, of Leicester, was ever most assiduous in preaching to his Protestant flock, on the High Church doctrine of authority in matters of faith, on the sin of dissent, and the unsafety of those who submitted and adhered not to the Church; and the consequence was, that several of his congregation, convinced by his arguments, but following them up to their real conclusions, passed over to the Catholic faith, and became zealous members of our holy religion. We had the pleasure of being acquainted with one who for years had exercised the ministry in the Establishment, but became a convert to the truth, and, in his old age, took orders in the Church.⁷ We asked him, on one occasion, by what course he had been brought to embrace our religion, with so many sacrifices. He informed us, that he had always been a zealous High Churchman, and had studied and held the opinions of the old English divines. He had thus firmly upheld the authority of the Church; he had believed in the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Blessed Eucharist; he had regretted the destruction of ceremony and religious symbols in worship; and had fully satisfied himself, on the authority of his leaders, that many Catholic practices, usually much decried, were blameless, and might be even salutary. His religious principles being thus formed upon the doctrines of that school, he could not avoid noticing that, practically, they were not held by the

⁷ [The late Rev. Sir Harry Trelawney.]

Church in which he had learnt them; he looked around him for some place where they might be found, and, to his astonishment, discovered, that among Catholics alone his theory of Christianity existed, in a perfect and harmonious scheme. He had little or nothing to change; he merely transferred his allegiance from a party to a Church, and became a Catholic, that he might remain a consistent Anglican!

Dr. Hampden, in his inaugural discourse, seems to us no less confused and fearful of boldly facing his opinions, regarding the relative value of Scripture, and of authority. He obviously wishes to give a certain weight to the latter; and, did our space permit us, we should be glad to analyze his consequences, mutually contrasted. It would be found, that the authority attributed to the Church is so vague and ill-defined, as to amount to a mere name; that it is but an interpretative authority, which resides no one can tell where, and is to be exercised nobody knows how.*

A similar contradiction is discoverable in his professions on the Blessed Eucharist. On this subject he thus writes:—

“Our Church, indeed, has rejected the fond notion of transubstantiation; but does not, therefore, the less hold a *real vital presence* of Christ in the sacrament. The Church forbids our holding the doctrine of a *corporal* presence, and yet does not presume to overlook the strong words of Christ, declaring, ‘this is my body,’ ‘this is my blood,’ ‘and he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him;’ and will not, therefore, incur the impiety of emptying this holy sacrament of its gifted treasure of grace. And thus, it is asserted in the Catechism, that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.”—P. 14.

Our Blessed Saviour yet exists in the body; at the right hand of the Father He sits with our glorified

* See his Inaug. Lecture, p. 18.

flesh, from which He is no more to be severed. To say that He is *really* present, and yet not *bodily* present, is a new mystery, involving delicate points of sublime theology, nowhere revealed in Scripture. Dr. H. admits the force, not only of the instituting formula, but even of the long-contested sixth chapter of St. John, which he here applies towards proving that the sacrament is not a mere symbol, but contains the *real* presence of our Saviour. But surely so accurate a distinction between one sort of presence and another should have been drawn in the New Testament; and to conclude, inductively of the Eucharist, "*here is the body of Christ,*" when He said, "*This is my body,*"—and reject as *fond* the doctrine which takes the latter proposition quite literally, is a strange perversion of all logical propriety. For, are the words to be taken literally, so as to include a real presence? Then transubstantiation, which so takes them, is no *fond* notion. Are they to be interpreted figuratively? Then there is no farther ground for Dr. Hampden's *real, vital* presence. To say they shall be taken literally so far and no farther, is drawing a line of which we require a demonstration. Moreover, if, according to the learned doctor, the *real* presence is evinced by a passage which tells us that Christ's *flesh* and *blood* are received, it is not easy to see how such an expression, at the same time, condemns a *corporal* presence. It would be difficult more positively to express this than by its constituents, *flesh* and *blood*. There is another error in this paragraph. We are told that the "English Church forbids our holding the doctrine of a corporal presence;" and yet the Catechism is quoted to prove that the body and blood of Christ are really taken. Now, we believe that it is pretty well ascertained, that the Catechism was so framed upon this head, as to

allow, by the wideness of its meshes, Catholics to enter into the net: that the doctrine of the Eucharist, in it, was purposely kept so vague, as to be reconcilable with our belief; and that, therefore, the cited words were purposely intended to *include*, and not to forbid the Catholic dogma of a corporal presence. The entire Catechism offends more by omission than by actual error, at least if we except one answer, which, after all, is equivocal. We allude to the number of sacraments, as there stated: "Two only, *as generally necessary for salvation*, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord." This may be so interpreted as not to exclude the other five, but only to declare those which are necessary for all; and in this sense the answer is correct.

It is time, however, for us to conclude. Of Dr. Hampden we say once more, that whatever discrepancy there may be between his former doctrines and the Church articles, or the opinions of his opponents, it should not be laid to his charge, where latitude of opinion has been always considered a privilege and a right. The Government has been severely blamed for appointing him to a chair, after the University had conferred three successive dignities on him, since his ill-starred Lectures. This censure we think likewise unjust. We believe that, had the Government appointed any of those who signed the Report, or appealed to His Grace of Canterbury, they would have sanctioned a wider departure from the acknowledged principles of Anglicanism than they can possibly have sanctioned now. For the doctrines which that party maintain, however they approximate nearer to what we hold for truth, are as widely dissentient from the very basis of Protestantism, as those of the new Professor.

Do we mean then to join in the clamour which has been raised against them? Assuredly not. We gladly close our eyes to all consideration of personal motives or feelings which have been thought to prevail in this controversy, and we are willing to look upon it solely as a struggle of contending principles. For we believe that sincere regret has been felt by this party, at what they consider the exaltation of opinions hostile to their views of the Church and of its doctrines. But if they would look steadily at their own position, now rendered more manifest by the issue of the contest, they would feel that they are vainly trying to raise their Church to the standard of influence and power which their affections have devised. They would feel that they are only one small section of it, tending to dissent from its essential principles. We can sympathize with their feelings, we can well conceive the painful disappointment which an ardent spirit must suffer, when having fixed its eagerest ambition upon the establishment of a favourite theory, it finds a clog upon its efforts in the very cause it has espoused. We can well imagine a youthful mind, after having lived, in spirit, amidst the heroes of ancient Christianity, after having studied, in the conduct of an Athanasius, how the Church may clothe her arm with thunder, when heresy assails her, after having satisfied himself that the Bible never was the rule of faith, but the Church its teacher,* try to apply in practice these lessons and convictions, and sigh to discover that the machinery is broken in pieces, and the springs all relaxed, which then seemed to act with such mighty force. We can conceive the inward regrets of one who has picked out, with beautiful skill, and woven into a golden chain, the few grains of poetic feeling which the torrent of the Reformation

* See the Arians of the Fourth Century, pp. 49 *et seq.*

tore from the ancient Church, and has preserved in the dry and sandy desolation of its "Christian year;" upon seeing how much matter fit for a muse like his, has been indiscriminately and unfeelingly swept away, how much nobler and more moving themes he would have possessed, had that touch been gentler which broke off the flowers, when it pretended but to prune the plant.

But only let these ideas be indulged to the utmost; let those who reason, and those who feel upon religion, only boldly pursue their respective trains of thought unto their ends. Let them construct, in mind, "the Church which would realize their conceptions, the religion which would embody their ideas of perfection," and there can be little doubt what the result would be. They would pass from the dreams of theory to a reality which would satisfy their warmest longings, and fill up the measure of their just desires.

“TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.”

PART I.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1838.

“TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.”

ART. II.—*Tracts for the Times*. 3 vols. London: 1833-6.

THE times, Heaven knows, are sufficiently bad. It is a work of charity to try to mend them. The collection of Tracts, some very short, others of considerable length, which forms the three volumes before us, was published for this purpose. As a well-intentioned attempt, it deserves our sympathy. It is a proof of great zeal, of considerable intrepidity, and of some research. The Tracts are the production of a well-known knot of divines at or from Oxford, the determined foes of dissent, the inconsistent adversaries of Catholicity, and the blind admirers of the Anglican Church. In other words, they are written by stanch asserters of High Church principles.

Will they succeed in their work? We firmly believe they will: nay, strange to say, we hope so. As to patching up, by their prescriptions, the worn-out constitution of the poor old English Church, it is beyond human power. “Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata” (Jer. li. 9), will be their discovery in the end. It is no longer a matter of rafters and partition-walls; the foundations have given way, the main buttresses are rent; and we are not sure but that one who has been, for three centuries, almost deprived of sight, and kept toiling in bondage, not at, but under the grinding wheel, has his hands upon the great pillars that support it, and having roused himself in his strength, may be

about to give them a fearful shake. We speak only of moral power, but it is of the immense moral power of truth.

How, then, will they succeed? Not by their attempts to heal, but by their blows to wound. Their spear may be like that in Grecian fable, which inflicted a gash, but let out an ulcer. They strike boldly and deeply into the very body of dissent, and the morbid humours of Protestantism will be drained out. Let this be done, and Catholic vitality will circulate in their place. They show no mercy to those who venture to break unity in their Church; and like all unmerciful judges, they must expect no mercy. Why did *you* separate from the Roman Church? is a question that every reader of these volumes will ask twenty times. He will find, it is true, what is intended for an answer given him as often; but he will be an easily-satisfied inquirer, if any of these answers prove sufficient for him.

The scope of these Tracts seems to us twofold. First, they endeavour to revive, in the Anglican Church, a love of ancient principles and practices, by showing on how many points it has departed from them, and how wholesome it would be to return to them. Secondly, they endeavour to place their Church upon the foundation of apostolical succession, enforcing their claims to authority upon the laity, and pressing the clergy to a maintenance of it as a right. Antiquity and authority are their watchwords. They consequently maintain that the English Church has suffered great change during the last century, in having become too Protestant (No. 38.) The Fathers of the Reformation, as they are called, are said by them to have kept close to primitive practices, and consequently to have separated less (this they are obliged to own) from the

Romish—that is, the Catholic Church — than their successors. The Anglican Church, therefore, already stands in need of another reformation (No. 38), which shall lead it back to what those Fathers made it. There must have been a sting in this confession. But still it is made boldly—with profession, however, that such an approach to Catholicity, would only be so inasmuch as we have better preserved primitive forms.

The two heads which we have just rehearsed, as embracing the subject-matter of these books, often run into one another, and it is not always easy to separate them. For authority, based upon apostolical succession, is necessarily a part of antiquity; and ancient practices and doctrines are upheld by an appeal to authority. Wishing, as we do, to treat of these two matters distinctly, we shall endeavour to examine each upon its own peculiar merits; and perhaps we shall better succeed in keeping them distinct, by making each the subject of a separate paper. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves at present to the desire of bringing back the Anglican Church to ancient practices.

The inquiry into this sentiment presents itself to our minds under the form of a very simple question. What was gained by the Reformation, considered as these authors would have it, that is, as a purgation of such malpractices and errors as time had introduced into primitive usages and belief and a return to the purity of the early ages? Two things should seem to have been necessary to authorize the naming a religious change by such a title. First, all that was really abuse should have been skilfully removed, yet so as to leave all that was ancient and good. If a surgeon, in cutting away a gangrene, cut off a sound limb, he would be said rather to destroy than to heal. Secondly,

such measures should have been taken, as that similar or worse abuses should not again return. If it had required a thousand years to deform the Church so as to call for a first Reformation, this would have proved, too, a sorry work, if, in a couple of hundred more, things were to become as bad again. Still worse it would be, if the very Reformation itself should open a door to similar, or worse, abuses.

It will be a curious and unexpected result of such mighty convulsions in the religious and political world as the *Reformation* caused, that the great safeguards of revealed truth should have been pulled down; the stable foundation of divinely appointed regiment in the Church plucked up; rites and ceremonies coeval with Christianity abolished; practices come down from the first ages discontinued and discountenanced; and ordinances, believed of old to have been apostolical, abrogated and condemned. And yet all this must be called a "godly work of reformation," that same "Reformation" signifying a repriming of primitive Christianity! But will it not be stranger, to see the old religion, which needed such an operation, preserving all these good things intact, to the jealousy of the Reformed; in such wise that when this one should wish to return to purer or perfecter forms, it must needs seek its models in the other? Shall we upon examination find things so? Let us see.

1. Episcopal authority is justly considered by the tract writers as the foundation of Church government. Of its present state in their Church they write as follows, having quoted passages from St. Clement of Rome, and St. Ignatius Martyr:—

"With these and other strong passages in apostolical Fathers, how can we permit ourselves in our present *practical* disregard of episcopal authority? Are not we apt to obey only so far as the law

obliges us? Do we support the bishop, and strive to move all along with him as our bond of union and head? Or is it not our everyday conduct, as if, except with respect to certain periodical forms and customs, we were each independent in his own parish?"—No. 3, p. 8.

"We who believe the Nicene Creed, must acknowledge it a high privilege, that we belong to the Apostolic Church. How is it that so many of us are, almost avowedly, so cold and indifferent in our thoughts of this privilege? . . . Scripture at first sight is express" (in favour of the divine ministerial commission). . . . "*The primitive Christians read it accordingly: and cherished with all affectionate reverence the privilege which they thought they found there. Why are we so unlike them?*"—No. 4, p. 1.

"I readily allow, that this view of our calling has something in it too high and mysterious to be fully understood by unlearned Christians. But the learned, surely, are just as unequal to it. It is part of that ineffable mystery, called in our creed the communion of saints, &c. . . . Why should we despair of obtaining, in time, an influence far more legitimate, and less dangerously exciting," (than that obtained by the upholders of the holy discipline,) "but equally searching and extensive, by the diligent inculcation of our *true* and *Scriptural* claim? For it is obvious that, among other results of the primitive doctrine of the apostolical succession, thoroughly considered and followed up, it would make the relation of pastor and parishioner far more engaging, as well as more awful, than it is usually considered at present."—P. 76.

It is certain that all here desired existed in the English Church down to the time of the Reformation; it is certain that it exists in all countries that have remained Catholic; it is certain that it exists among those who have clung to the old faith in these islands. What, then, was gained by the Reformation on this score? Had you remained a Catholic, you would have had no "practical disregard of episcopal authority," nor would each clergyman have acted "as if independent" of his bishop. Had you remained Catholic, you would have found no difficulty in causing this article of the Nicene Creed to be heartily believed and followed up; nor would you have found yourselves so "unlike the primitive Christians" in your feelings and

conduct respecting it. You would have had no need of treating as a matter not desperate, the prospect of one day acquiring the influence over your flocks which unepiscopal teachers have acquired. A reformed, apostolic Church not to *despair* of acquiring an influence which it possessed before it was *reformed*! If, in regard to episcopal authority and its practical influence, the Reformation did no good, did it do any harm? Clearly so. For if this authority was practically lost only after the Reformation, and only where the Reformation was adopted, this must evidently be charged with having caused the practical abandonment of one of the articles of the Nicene Creed, and produced a great dissimilarity between its followers and the primitive Christians. We unreformed have continued to resemble them. How obstinate of us not to embrace the Reformation!

2. The sad effects of this loss of practical authority in the episcopacy are even more awful than the cause itself. This authority, it is often repeated through these volumes, is not so clearly contained in Scripture as might, *a priori*, have been expected. Men are thus easily led to reject, or, at least, to despise it. This, of course, they would not, if they laid a proper stress on tradition. The consequence of this departure from traditional teaching, in one respect, leads to a similar departure in more important ones: for instance, regarding the doctrines of the blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Consider well what follows.

“What shall we say, when we consider that a case of doctrine, necessary doctrine, doctrine the very highest and most sacred, may be produced, where the argument lies as little on the surface of Scripture—where the proof, though *most conclusive*, is as indirect and circuitous as that for episcopacy, viz. the doctrine of the Trinity? Where is this solemn and comfortable mystery formally stated in the Scriptures as we find it in the creeds? Why is it not? Let a man

consider whether all the objections which he urges against episcopacy may not be turned against his own belief in the Trinity. It is a happy thing for themselves, that men are inconsistent: yet it is miserable to advocate and establish a *principle*, which, not in their own case indeed, but in the case of others who learn it of them, leads to Socinianism. This being considered, can we any longer wonder at the awful fact, that the descendants of Calvin, the first Presbyterian, are at the present day in the number of those who have denied the Lord who bought them?"—No. 45, p. 5.

"For the present, referring to that ineffable mystery (the Incarnation), from which, on this day especially, all our devout thoughts should begin, and in which they should end, I would only ask one question:—*What will be the feelings of a Christian, particularly of a Christian pastor, should he find hereafter, that, in slighting or discouraging apostolical claims and views (be the temptation what it may), he has really been helping the evil spirit to unsettle man's faith in THE INCARNATION OF THE SON OF GOD?*"—No. 54, p. 12.

These are, indeed, awful consequences of the unsettling of men's minds caused by the Reformation. And they are clearly traceable and imputable to that event. For be the doctrine of Anglicanism what it may, respecting Scripture and tradition, it is evident that in it, as in all Protestant communions, exclusively, could exist this haggling about proofs, because not clear in the written Word. This is manifest; that among Catholics it is not usual for the faithful, still less for pastors, to question, or to "slight, or to discourage, apostolical claims and views:" nor has any one, so far as we know, contended that the dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation have been perilled amongst us, through insufficient views of Church polity. These, therefore, are peculiar blessings introduced by the godly Reformation. In the English reformed Church a door has been opened to Socinianism, which was close barred before it became reformed; and which the unreformed Catholics still contrive to keep well shut. With such confessions, is it strange that we should not be enamoured of the *Reformation?*

3. The constitutional weakness of the body episcopal could not but be followed by the enervation of its right arm. It has long ceased to wield the thunder-bolt of ecclesiastical reproof and public censure against incorrigible sinners or open apostates.

“CHURCH REFORM.—All parts of Christendom have much to confess and reform. We have our sins as well as the rest. Oh that ~~we~~ would take the lead in the renovation of the Church Catholic on Scripture principles.

“Our greatest sin, perhaps, is the disuse of a ‘godly discipline.’ Let the reader consider—

“1. The command.—‘Put away from yourselves the wicked person.’ ‘A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.’ ‘Mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them.’

“2. The example, viz. in the primitive Church.—‘The persons or objects of ecclesiastical censure were all such delinquents as fell into great and scandalous crimes after baptism, whether men or women, priests or people, rich or poor, princes or subjects.’—Bingham, *Antiq.* xvi. 3.

“3. The warning.—‘Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.’”—No. 8, p. 4.

Until the Reformation, this godly discipline was in use. Even as yet, in Catholic countries and in our own, ecclesiastical censures are in force, and may be incurred by the violation of the ecclesiastical law. Sometimes they are inflicted by special decree, and are held in the greatest awe by priests and people. We have seen, on the Continent, excommunication taken off before a vast concourse of people, with all the solemn ceremonial of the ancient Church. The king-queller Napoleon felt the power of the Pontiff’s arm, and staggered beneath the blow of his excommunication. Not long ago the present Pope pronounced it in general terms against all the participators in an outrage upon his authority; and numbers, conscience-

stricken, secretly entreated for absolution.* The "godly discipline" was lost at, and by, the godly Reformation: the Church of England went back from "the example of the primitive Church," when it pretended to return to primitive Christianity: it soon forgot the divine "command," in its eagerness to combat the supposed human commands which it imputed to the Catholic Church. And the latter, which pertinaciously opposed this strange return to primitive Christianity, somehow or other has contrived to keep to this example of the early Church.

4. Another great departure from primitive Christianity, caused by the Reformation, was, according to the Tract-writers, the curtailment of the Church services:—"The services of our Church," they write, "as they now stand, are but a very small portion of the ancient Christian worship: and, though people nowadays think them too long, there can be no doubt that the primitive believers would have thought them too short." (No. 9.) The writer then explains himself farther, by observing that the early Christians, taking literally the scriptural invitation to praise God seven times a day, instituted the canonical hours. "Throughout the Churches which used the Latin tongue," he adds, "the same services were used with very little variation: and in Roman Catholic countries they continue in use, with only a few modern interpolations, even to this day" (p. 2). Here, then, is a plain confession. The first Christians, in conformity to scriptural suggestion, instituted a certain form of prayer, divided into seven portions, and of considerable length. This was in actual use at the time of the Reformation, with very little variation. Well, the

* [Gregory XVI. excommunicated such persons as had taken part in an insurrection, &c., at Ancona.]

restorers of ancient practices, the purgers of all modern abuses, sweep away the whole system: the unyielding Catholics keep hold of it, and possess it till this day. Which was right?—or what good did the Reformation do here?

Towards the end of the paper we have quoted, there are several statements respecting these offices which need emendation. It is pretended that already before the Reformation the offices of the Church had been compressed into two groups, called matins and vespers, and the spirit which had ordered them in their primitive form had been lost. That consequently, “conscious of the incongruities of primitive forms and modern feelings, the reformers undertook to construct a service more in accordance with the spirit of their age. They adopted the English language; they curtailed the already compressed ritual of the early Christians, &c.”

As to the first part of these reflections, we observe, that it is by no means common in religious communities, to group the offices together as stated. Matins are generally sung alone, by many orders at midnight, by some over-night, by others early in the morning. Prime is sung at daybreak, and the shorter canonical hours later, with mass interposed, often a solemn mass between every two. Vespers and complin are also performed separately. In collegiate churches, where the canons reside at some distance from the church, the offices are more brought together. It may be said that the writer of the Tract spoke only of the state of things at the Reformation. If so, we have not the means at hand to verify his assertion. But we will take it as well grounded; what follows? Why, that the Catholic Church contrived to correct

abuses then existing, without abolishing the ordinances which they effected. That she, at least, knew the difference between destruction and reformation. Why could not the Protestants do the same? In their zeal to return to primitive practices, why did they abolish them? Surely the Catholic Church proved, that it was not necessary to humour modern feelings by such sacrifices. Which, then, is the true lover, follower, or restorer of early Christian observances?

On the latter part of our extract we frankly own, that when first we perused it, we were quite mistaken. We fancied that the writer meant to cast some censure on the adoption of the English language, in preference to that uniform speech, "which had reversed the curse of Babel." By Dr. Pusey's vindication of the Tracts, we learn that such was not the author's meaning; but that the passage in question was favourable to the change of language. (Vol. iii. p. 17.) We think any dispassionate reader would not have so understood it. However, it is plain that if the reformers found it necessary to abridge the services of the Church, in compliance with the spirit of the age, it could not have been the spirit of a *papistical* age, as Dr. Pusey there explains it. For our Church, which he thus designates, has found no need of cur-tailing, or of farther compression, but rather found means to correct abuses.

But this matter of ancient Church offices lost at the Reformation, is treated more at length in the 75th, and following, Tracts. In these, the entire office for Sunday, for the dead, and for several festivals, is given by way of specimens. But the sentences introductory to the explanation there premised of these offices, are

unmatched in controversial assurance. They are as follows:—

“There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that, were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Romanistic controversialists as the book of devotions received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour, if he were ignorant of the circumstances of the case, and but ordinarily candid and unprejudiced. To meet this danger is one principal object of these pages; in which whatever is good and true in those devotions will be claimed, and on reasonable grounds, for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose real claim above other Churches is that of having adopted into the service certain additions and novelties, ascertainable to be such in history, as well as being corruptions doctrinally. In a word, it will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hands; who have in this, as in many instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs; and then, in our attempt to recover it, accuse us of borrowing what we have but lost through inadvertence.”

The only real claim of our Church above other Churches (*e. g.* the Anglican) consists in having made some addition to the Breviary! The having known how to appreciate it, and having kept it, go for nothing. Suppose a case in point.

Two brothers are in joint possession of a noble estate, descended to them from their remote ancestors. The younger, prodigal-like, considers it not worth having, abandons it with contempt, and by public deed, takes instead of it a new paltry patch of uncultivated ground. After 300 years, his descendant comes out, and says to the other's heir, “Sir, I will thank you to understand that your fine ancestral mansion and broad domains are mine quite as much as yours. It is exceedingly impertinent of you to call your own what once belonged to my family as well as to yours. I claim it ‘on reasonable grounds,’ for my ancestors lost it ‘through inadvertence.’ Nothing is yours except certain additional buildings, which it was a great

presumption in you to erect." "This is indeed a strange claim," the other might reply; "I was by no means prepared for it. But surely, sir, you will allow that three centuries of undisputed and exclusive possession, and no small labour and expense in cultivating and preserving it, give *some* little superiority of right to the property, over that of former coproprietorship, 'inadvertently' (that means, I suppose, *very foolishly*) cast away, by one who publicly chose a substitute for it?" "None upon earth, my dear sir," the claimant rejoins; "none upon earth, as you must clearly see. It is true, that if *you* had not kept it uninterruptedly in your family so long, and if your fathers had not bestowed great pains upon it, *I* should not have now known where to put my hands upon it. But that only makes it a matter of greater convenience for *me*; it can give no right to *you*. Now that I choose to have the property again, I shall be extremely obliged to you, if you will no longer call it yours. As for your additional buildings, I shall take them down at the earliest opportunity."

Such is the reasoning which these grave divines pursue to wrest from us the Breviary of which they are jealous. Every single *reformed* country, through "inadvertence," lost this collection of offices. We have never heard of an Anglican, German, Swedish, Danish, or Dutch, Breviary. Had all Europe followed the example of reformation, it is clear that the Breviary would have been now known only from manuscripts, or a few black-letter editions. Virtually it would have been lost in the Church. Yet it is a service which "seems to have continued more or less, in the same constituent parts, though not in order or system, from apostolic times" (p. 3). Now, the dear old obstinate Roman Church could not be brought into the strange

inadvertency of reforming itself, by casting away this apostolic institution. She tried another plan. The Council of Trent passed measures for its correction. St. Pius V. carried them into effect, and subsequent pontiffs completed the work. Every ecclesiastic in the Catholic Church is bound to the daily recital of the Breviary. In fact, the writer in the Tracts cannot give it any intelligible name but that of the "*Roman Breviary.*" And yet it is no more ours than theirs who no longer possess it!

However, we are not disposed to quarrel seriously about our rights on this head. Let it first be restored, and practically enforced, in their Anglican Church. Let us first learn that in all the collegiate churches it is daily sung with the punctuality that it is in those of France or Italy. Let us see published a "*Breviarium Anglicanum ad usum Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis,*" as we have one for St. Peter's Church at Rome, or Notre-Dame in Paris. Let us be informed that each portly dignitary has furnished himself with a Planinian quarto, and that every curate pockets, on leaving home, a Norwich duodecimo. Put yourselves upon a footing of equality with us in point of *possession*, and it will be quite time enough to discuss the question of *right* to the property.

5. Intimately connected with this matter, which, perhaps, we have too lengthily examined, is another, —the loss of daily service.

"Since the Reformation, the same gradual change in the prevailing notions of prayer, has worked its way silently but generally. The services, as they were left by the Reformers, were, as they had been from the first ages, *daily services*: they are now *weekly services*. Are they not in a fair way to become *monthly*?"—No. 9, p. 3.

If, at the sixteenth century, there was a tendency to shorten and diminish the services, this tendency

was completely stopped in all *Catholic* countries, and only went on "working its way" in *Protestant*. Which gained on this score, those who reformed, or those who refused to do so? Again, the services of the Catholic Church yet remain what they then were, daily services. Every cathedral, collegiate, and generally every conventual, church, all over Catholic Christendom, has daily performed in it the divine office, with a numerous attendance of the members of its chapter or community. Besides this, every church and chapel is open daily to the devotion of the faithful, and the divine Eucharistic sacrifice is daily offered in each. We, therefore, are in no danger of seeing *our* offices become monthly, or even weekly. The *25th Tract* contains an extract from a sermon of Bishop Beveridge, in which this neglect of daily prayer is condemned as a breach of duty. After quoting the rubrics concerning this matter, the bishop thus urges it on the clergy:—"But notwithstanding this great care that our Church hath taken to have *daily Prayers* in every parish, we see, by sad experience, they are shamefully neglected, all the kingdom over; there being very few places where they have any Public Prayers upon the week-days, except, perhaps, upon Wednesdays and Fridays; because it is expressly commanded that both Morning and Evening Prayers be read *every day* in the week, as the Litany upon those. And why this commandment should be neglected more than the other, for my part I can see no reason. But I see plain enough that it is a great fault, a plain breach of the known laws of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and particularly of that part of it which, by his blessing, settled among us." We leave it to the sensible reader to conclude whether the Reformation did good or harm in this part of Chris-

tian duty. We will trust him also with the decision, as to which Church has stuck closest to the primitive practice.

6. Besides the performance of daily service, the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper was appointed at the Reformation, with the practice of daily, and still more, weekly, communion. It is allowed, that when the Reformation was introduced, these practices were followed in England. For, another extract from the same bishop, published in the 26th Tract, acknowledges this. "Where we may observe, first, that in those days there was daily communion in cathedral churches, and other places, as there used to be in the primitive Church" (p. 9). Proof is then given of this practice in St. Paul's. "From whence it is plain, that the communion was then celebrated in that church every day. And so it was even in parish churches." Of which likewise proof is given. The loss of this primitive practice, is called in capital letters, "A SIN OF THE CHURCH" (Tr. 6, p. 4), that is, of the Anglican. For it is the practice solemnly to celebrate the Eucharistic rite, or, as we express it, to say Mass, every day, in every Catholic church over the world, as it was in England when the Reformation took place. And as this custom is acknowledged to have been primitive and apostolic, we presume it will be granted that, in this respect, as in the preceding, the unreformed have been more successful than the reformed.

7. Let us proceed with rites or practices belonging to this Blessed Sacrament. And first, take a less important one:—

"A poor woman mentioned, with much respect, her father's practice never to taste food before receiving the Lord's Supper, adhering unconsciously to the practice of the Church in its better days, and, indeed, of our own in Bishop Taylor's time."—Tr. 66, p. 11.

These better days were the earliest ages. The abuses introduced into the Church of Corinth are groundedly supposed to have led to the practice here mentioned. Tertullian describes the Eucharist as that which was received "ante omnem cibum,"—before every other food. Thus has another primitive observance, held in England till the Reformation, and even continued for some time after, through the impulse of preceding better principles, been completely lost. So much for the efficacy of the Reformation in retaining primitive practices. What shall we say of its ability to return to them? We need not add, that this practice is rigidly followed in the Catholic Church, just as it was in "better days."

8. When the spirit of reformation invaded England, the country was in possession of a liturgy, precisely that which we Catholics now use. On this, let us have the opinion of the Tract writers:—"All liturgies now existing, except those in use in Protestant countries, profess to be derived from very remote antiquity." (No. 63, p. 1.) After this preliminary sentence, the writer proceeds to show, from a comparison of the different liturgies, the justice of their claim. He thus speaks of ours:—"Another liturgy, which can be traced back with tolerable certainty to very remote time, is the Roman Missal." Manuscripts are then referred to, which prove the Mass to have been essentially the same when revised by Pope St. Gregory the Great in 590, and a century earlier by Gelasius, and even under Pope St. Leo the Great. "It also deserves to be noticed, that, at the time when the Roman Liturgy was undergoing these successive revisals, a tradition all along prevailed attributing to one part of it an apostolic origin, and that this part does not appear to have undergone any change whatever. Vir-

gilius, who was Pope between the times of Gelasius and Gregory, tells us, that the 'canonical prayers,' or what is now called the 'Canon of the Mass,' had been handed down as an apostolical tradition. And much earlier we hear the same from Pope Innocent, who adds, that the apostle from whom they derived it was St. Peter" (p. 5).

On this precious deposit of apostolical tradition, received from St. Gregory by the English Church, on its conversion, the Anglican reformers laid their sacrilegious hands. These worthy champions of primitive usages, these pious vindicators of the early ages, these zealous restorers of apostolic piety, recklessly (shall we say "through inadvertence?") rejected and abolished this venerable monument of antiquity, and substituted a patch-work liturgy, or "communion service," in which hardly a rite or a prayer is observed that existed in the old. In pages 8 and 9 of the cited Tract, are tables to prove this. The four principal ancient liturgies are compared together, viz. St. Peter's or the Roman, St. James's or the Oriental, St. Mark's or the Egyptian, and St. John's or the Ephesian and Mozarabic. The result is, that in *eleven* points connected with the consecration and communion, they all wonderfully agree. This number might have been probably increased; but we are content to take the statement of the Tract. The communion service discards *five* of these points, alters and mutilates some of the remainder, and arranges the little it has preserved in a different order from any. The statement of this modification is coolly introduced by these words: "The English Reformers prefer an order different from any of these" (p. 8). We will not enter into any discussion about their right to do so. Oh, no! It would have been quite a pity, if, by any chance, they had

preserved in a modern religion practices of such venerable antiquity. But, at any rate, do not call such men *Reformers*. If you will, do not tell us that the purpose of the Reformation was only to clear away modern abuses, and to retain and restore all that was primitive and apostolical! You yourselves say, "it may perhaps be said without exaggeration, that next to the Holy Scriptures, they [the ancient liturgies] possess the greatest claim to our veneration and study" (p. 16). Yet they whom you call your Fathers, made no scruple of abolishing or completely disfiguring them.

On the other side, we need hardly remind our readers, that the Catholic Liturgy or Mass, as now used, and translated in pocket missals, is nearly word for word identical with that of Gelasius, referred to in our Tract. This subject, however, deserves a fuller discussion than we can at present afford it.

9. Among the points excluded from the Liturgy at the Reformation, one is thus specified: "And likewise another prayer (which has been excluded from the English Ritual) 'for the rest and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear,' concluding with a prayer for communion with them" (p. 7). On this subject Dr. Pusey enlarges in a letter, now prefixed to the third volume of the Tracts. He allows that this prayer was excluded from the Anglican Liturgy, by "yielding to the judgment of foreign ultra-reformers." We need not observe that Catholics have retained the practice and the words. Nor should we find it difficult, in a proper place, to disprove Dr. Pusey's assertions, respecting the object of these prayers in the ancient Church, and to show that it was the same as Catholics now propose to themselves.

10. When the most solemn of all Christian rites was thus rudely and irreverently treated, it must not

surprise us to find others, less important, handled in like manner. Dr. Pusey has divided into three Tracts (67-69) a long treatise on "Scriptural views of Holy Baptism." It deserves, in many respects, our highest praise; and we freely give it. At pages 266 and following, he presents, in parallel columns, those baptismal rites which were very generally, if not universally, observed in the ancient Church, and which we have retained. The Anglicans, too, kept them for a time. But naturally they could not understand their worth, and sacrificed them to the good pleasure of Bucer. Dr. Pusey thus laments the loss of those primitive observances:—"We have lost by all those omissions. Men are impressed by these visible actions, far more than they are aware, or wish to acknowledge. Two points especially were thereby visibly inculcated, which men seem now almost wholly to have lost sight of—the power of our enemy Satan, and the might of our Blessed Redeemer" (p. 242). Thus we see what a practical influence on faith these omissions may have. Again: "It has undoubtedly been a device of Satan, to persuade men that this expulsion of himself (by the exorcisms prefixed to our baptism) was unnecessary;"^b he has thereby secured a more undisputed possession. Whether the rite can be again restored in our Church, without greater evil, God only knoweth; or whether it

^b [What an acknowledgment. Part of the Anglican rite of baptism, in other words, part of the administration of a sacrament, is a device of Satan; for prayers mutilated by him cannot be God's work, or have his approval. What wonder that a system, which has been so far cursed as to be permitted to have God and man's enemy allowed to tamper with its sacramental rites, should have lost all true sense of the doctrine connected with them? Belief in baptismal regeneration may well have disappeared from an establishment, where Satan has had a hand in reforming the form of baptismal administration.]

be not irrevocably forfeited ; but this is certain, that until it be restored, we shall have much more occasion to warn our flocks of the devices and power of him against whom they have to contend" (p. 243).

Hence, in another Tract, these authors feelingly deplore the loss, or better to speak, the rejection, of the Catholic Ritual. After quoting passages from the Fathers, upon the origin of many ceremonies still retained by us, they conclude, "that, as a whole, the Catholic Ritual was a precious possession ; and if we, who have escaped from Popery, have lost not only the possession, but the sense of its value, it is a serious question whether we are not like men who recover from some serious illness, with the loss or injury of their sight or hearing ; whether we are not like the Jews returned from captivity, who could never find the rod of Aaron or the Ark of the Covenant, which, indeed, had ever been hid from the world, but then was removed from the temple itself." (No. 34.)

These are grievous lamentations. Thank God, *we* have no reason to make them. The deposit of traditional practices, which we received from our forefathers, we have kept inviolate. We have rejected no rite, we have hardly admitted one, in the administration of the sacraments, since the days of Gelasius or Gregory.

11. Another primitive practice avowedly neglected in the English Church, is that of fasting, and other austerities. Dr. Pusey has written several tracts upon the subject. In one he says : "I would fain hope that there will not long be this variance between our principles and our practice." (No. 18, p. 21.) Again : "The other fasts of the Church require the less to be dwelt upon, either because, as in Lent, her authority is in some degree recognised, although it be

very imperfectly and capriciously obeyed," &c. (p. 23). In this tract, as in many others, a captious spirit, in relation to Catholics, is observable. We lament it. It is but little creditable to the writer. "To urge," he writes, "that fasts were abused by the latter Romish Church, is but to assert that they are a means of grace committed to men, &c. It was then among the instances of calm judgment in the Reformers of our Prayer-book" (we have seen specimens of this calm judgment), "that, cutting off the abuses which before prevailed, the vain distinctions of meats, the luxurious abstinences, the lucrative dispensations, they still prescribed fasting. . . . The Reformers omitted that which might be a snare to men's consciences: they left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he would fast, but they prescribed the days upon which he should fast, both in order to obtain a unity of feeling and devotion in the members of Christ's body, and to preclude the temptation to the neglect of the duty altogether" (p. 7). Yet, on the whole, the duty, as a general one, *is* neglected. The Common-prayer book prescribes as days of fasting or abstinence, "All the Fridays in the year, except Christmas day." Is this observed in the Anglican Church? The forty days of Lent; are they observed? The Ember days; are they observed? Yet among Catholics, in England as on the continent, all these days are strictly observed; all Fridays by abstinence, and all the rest by fasts. The appointment of days, then, was not sufficient. The Reformers, with all their calm judgment, went wrong in not prescribing *how* men are to fast. But, in reality, they rooted up, in the Church, all the principles by which alone fasting could be practically preserved in it. There is something, therefore, to say the least, ungenerous and

unhandsome in praising the Reformers at the expense of the Catholics, for "cutting off abuses which before prevailed," when this amputation was so clumsily performed, as to lead to the total destruction of the thing itself. And this unhandsomeness is doubled by the consideration, that if these abuses existed till then, Catholics were able to correct them without any such violent effects. For if dispensations were then lucrative, they certainly are not so now, either in this country or abroad. There is a heavy penalty in Italy, renewed every year, not only upon every ecclesiastical authority receiving a fee for giving a dispensation from abstinence during Lent, but upon any medical man demanding it, for a certificate of weak health, intended for obtaining such dispensation. The difference, then, between our Church and the Anglican has been this: that, *supposing* dispensations till the sixteenth century to have been lucrative, *we* wisely removed the lucre, but kept the necessity of dispensation by ecclesiastical authority, and thereby preserved the practice itself. The Anglicans, retaining the ecclesiastical precept of fasting on stated days, with what Dr. Pusey considers "calm judgment," vested in each individual the dispensing power, lest it should be lucrative to pastors; and of course lost all ecclesiastical power of enforcing an ecclesiastical precept. When each man is constituted his own judge, when selfishness is made the supreme umpire between the appetite, and an irksome, painful duty, it is easy to foresee the decision. We are sure that a Protestant clergyman would be astonished, if one of his parishioners called upon him at the commencement of Lent, or in an Ember week, to ask his permission, as a pastor and organ of his Church, not to fast. He would probably be more astonished to

find that he had a parishioner who thought about fasting at all. Indeed, we have little doubt that Dr. Pusey and his friends would be very glad to place the duty of fasting once more under the safeguard of the Church's jurisdiction; by bringing men to the practical conviction that, whatever the Church has enjoined, no faithful son ought to neglect, without a reason which she herself has approved. Did every one fast, who had not obtained this approbation of his neglect, the precept of the Church would not be a dead letter.

Then as to "vain distinctions of meats," surely Dr. Pusey is fully aware that, in the primitive Church, pretty nearly the same distinctions existed as do now among Catholics. St. Chrysostom (*3rd Hom. to the People of Antioch*), St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. 4*), St. Basil (*1st Hom. on Fasting*), and Hermes, an apostolic Father (*Pastor. l. iii.*), not to quote many decrees of councils and other authorities, tell us that flesh-meat was forbidden on all fast-days. St. John Baptist did not consider distinction of meats vain, when he chose locusts and wild honey for his diet; nor did God when he instituted the old law. The rule for the English Church St. Gregory gave to our apostle St. Augustine, the same as is found in canon law. "We abstain from flesh-meat, and from all things which come from flesh, as milk, cheese, and eggs."

What is meant by "luxurious abstinences?" That the rich will often turn into a luxury what is meant for humiliation, must not surely be cast as a reproach upon the duty, nor alleged as a sufficient motive for its abolition. Because the voluptuous, who loll upon velvet cushions in well-fitted pews, are better at ease when kneeling in church, than the poor are in their

hard beds at home, should the custom of kneeling at worship be abolished? If occasionally conviviality is more indulged on a day of abstinence than becomes it, to the generality it is truly a day of restraint and penance. A Catholic can seldom invite a friend, certainly not a Protestant, to his table on those days, and is generally precluded from accepting an invitation from others. We know Catholics not a few, who, so far from considering fish a delicacy, from being obliged to confine themselves to the use of it on certain days, will not allow it on others to be served on their tables. And many, too, we know who, week after week, find pain in complying with the duty of abstinence. In fact, so generally has this been felt, that within these few years, the Holy See has assented to the petition of the British and Irish Catholics, for the abolition of the abstinence on Saturdays. And the dispensation thus granted, though on such a great scale, was not a "lucrative" one; for it did not put a stiver into the papal treasury.

Dr. Pusey's own Tracts afford us sufficient proof of the vast wisdom in his Church, when she "left it to every man's Christian prudence and experience *how* he should fast." The natural consequence has been, that those who wish to do it, know not how. The Tract 66 is in answer to a letter by a clergyman (mark that!), who, through the *British Magazine*, desired many illustrations of No. 18. Among his queries are, — "In what is the abstinence of fasting to consist?" "Is there any difference between abstinence and fasting?" The answer to this question is in these hesitating terms, — "Not, I imagine, in our Church." Now, all this uncertainty, or rather ignorance, proceeds from the Anglican Church not having thought it proper to define *how* men were to fast. A

very indifferently instructed Catholic would be ashamed to ask such questions—much more a clergyman.

In conclusion, Dr. Pusey finds himself obliged to answer the objection that “fasting is Popish.” Of course, he denies it. He is right. It may belong to any one who chooses to practise it. Is it Anglican?

12. To the practice of fasting is joined that of other works of mortification, such as “hard lodging, uneasy garments” (hair shirts?), “laborious posture in prayer, sufferance of cold,” &c. ; and it is called “part of the foolish wisdom of the day to despise these small things, and disguise its impatience of restraint under some such general maxim as—‘that God has no pleasure in self-torture or mortification.’” (No. 66, p. 9.) These sentiments hardly call for a commentary. Few Protestants will read them without pronouncing them popish; no Catholic without admitting their general truth.

We pass over other points of less importance, in which the defection of the Anglican Church from primitive practices is openly or tacitly acknowledged. There are one or two matters, however, which we think it right to notice, before coming to our concluding remarks.

In the first place, there is constantly a desire manifested to bring the rite of ordination as nearly as possible within the definition of a sacramental institution. Thus, we are told that “ordination, though it does not precisely come within our” (*i. e.* the Anglican) “definition of a sacrament, is, nevertheless, a rite partaking, in a high degree, of the sacramental character, and it is by reference to the proper sacraments that its nature can be most satisfactorily illustrated.” (No. 5, p. 10.) The difference seems to be made by the circumstance, that in the other.

sacraments the essence lies in the words or form, while in ordination it is placed in the imposition of hands, or outward rite. (No. 1, p. 3.) This is rather a bungling view of the sacramental theory, and leads to important consequences respecting the Eucharist. Of these we shall find a proper place to speak. Dr. Pusey, in his vindication of the Tracts, goes even further; and shows that, according to St. Augustine's definition, ordination might well have been numbered among the sacraments. This definition is no other than that of our Church,—“a visible sign of invisible grace.” (Vol. iii. p. 11.) On the whole, we should conclude, that the Anglican Church would have done better to have kept St. Augustine's definition. It would have acted in conformity with antiquity, and it would have better preserved the dignity of its supposed priesthood.

Secondly. The retention of ancient doctrines and rites by Catholics is clearly acknowledged. Thus, speaking of the visible Church, we have what follows:—

“Now, the Papists have retained it; and so they have the advantage of possessing an instrument, which is, in the first place, suited to the needs of human nature; and next, is a special gift of Christ, and so has a blessing with it. Accordingly, we see that in its measure success follows their zealous use of it. They act with great force upon the imaginations of men. The vaunted antiquity, the universality, the unanimity of their Church, put them above the varying fashions of the world, and the religious novelties of the day. And truly, when one surveys the grandeur of their system, a sigh arises in the thoughtful mind, to think we should be separated from them. ‘Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!’ But, alas, A UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy: we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. *They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed,—it cannot be reformed.*”—No. 20, p. 3.

This last phrase we hail with a mixed feeling of pity and satisfaction. Of pity for those who possess not the same stability as ourselves; of satisfaction at here finding a plain and manly declaration of the attitude in which we mutually stand. To us is left the blessed hope of bringing others into unity with us by gentle arts of persuasive argument; to themselves they reserve, as an *only* resource, the ungracious work of destruction.

Thirdly. The spiritual and devotional character of the Catholic worship and religion is openly avowed. Of the approaching contest between the English Church and ours, it is said:—

“The same feelings which carry men now to dissent will carry them to Romanism—novelty being an essential stimulant of popular devotion; and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character. And farther, there will ever be a number of refined and affectionate minds, who, disappointed in finding full matter for their devotional feelings in the English system, as at present conducted, betake themselves, through human frailty, to Rome.”—No. 71, p. 4.

Let us now apply ourselves to drawing general conclusions from the view which we have given of these Tracts. Observe, we have only treated of their proposed return to ancient practices, now lost among the Anglicans. We resume, then, the query proposed at the beginning of our article. What has been gained by the Reformation, considered as an attempted return to primitive purity? We have here a clear confession that, upon a dozen points, affecting nothing less than the constitution of the Church, and the authority of its hierarchy, the grounds upon which the most solemn dogmas rest, the public offices of the Church, the frequent use of the Eucharistic sacrament, the performance of daily service, the observance

of fasting, and other great moral precepts, the Anglican Church, under the mask of a reformation, contrived to place things in a worse state than they were before, and than they now exist in the Catholic Church. What title can be established to the name of reformation in all these particulars ?

But we fear lest, in often repeating this query, we may have been guilty of a mistake, small in itself, but more important in its results. We have spoken of our Church as the unreformed, in opposition to the Anglican, as *professing* to be reformed. By applying to ourselves the negative epithet, we only meant to speak of such reformation as led to the deplorable effects acknowledged in the Tracts to have taken place in Anglicanism. We disavow any reform amongst us, wrought on the principle it adopted, of destroying, or abolishing, all in which there was abuse real or pretended. No Catholic will deny that, in many matters of Church discipline, relaxation had crept into religious practices before the Reformation. The Church, in many ways, through Papal constitutions, particular synods, and chiefly by the Council of Trent, issued decrees of reform. Whoever opens the statutes of the Council, will see in every sheet "Decretum de reformatione." The Catholic Church, however, went to work upon principles totally different from the Anglican. The religious orders were supposed to be lax in discipline, and open to abuses. England suppressed them, seized their revenues, turned upon the world thousands of inoffensive men and women who had long abandoned it, and abolished the ascetic life, which the Tracts, after Bingham, acknowledge to have existed in the primitive Church. (*Records of the Church*, No. XI. p. 3.) The Catholic Church inquired into the abuses, framed the wisest regulations for their

correction and prevention, and only suppressed where, as in the case of the Humiliati, real crime or gross degeneracy could be established on proof. The education of clergy was a matter much neglected in many dioceses. The English reformers took not a single step towards establishing a system of clerical education, unless it was the suppression of schools and chantries. The Catholic "reformers," at Trent, obliged every diocese to erect and maintain an ecclesiastical seminary; in which the young aspirants to the clerical state should live in community, dividing their time between study and spiritual exercises, under the watchful eye of the bishop, and persons deputed by him.

There had been grievous abuses complained of in the collation of benefices, from the pluralities accumulated on one individual, or their collation on absentees, such as officers of the papal court. The Anglicans have left all these evils, perhaps have aggravated them. They allow many benefices, with cure of souls, to devolve on one man's head; and Cheltenham, and Leamington, and Brighton, will bear testimony to the Irish rectories and vicarages; which allow their incumbents to live beyond the reach of their flocks' complaints. Since the council of Trent, those abuses have been completely cut off in the Catholic Church; and pluralities, with cure of souls, are totally unknown among us.

We could run on through some hundred such comparisons, to show the opposite characters of our two reforms. Ours was a *conservative reform*; we pruned away the decayed part; we placed the vessel in the furnace, and, the dross being melted off, we drew it out bright and pure. Yours was *radical* to the extreme; you tore up entire plants by the roots, because you

said there was a blight on some one branch ; you threw the whole vessel into the fire, and made merry at its blaze. Now that you go to look for it again, you find nothing but ashes. And you are surprised at this !

Gladly, too, would we institute a comparison between the instruments of our respective reformations. We would put St. Charles Borromeo against Cranmer, or Bartholomew de Martyrilius against Bucer ; the first as agents, the latter as auxiliaries. It has often appeared to us, that Divine Providence was graciously pleased to give the lie to those who, under pretence of grievous abuses and errors, caused schism in the Church, by raising from its bosom, at that very moment, and soon after, such men as no Reformed Church can boast of. The tree might have been known by its fruits ; an evil tree could not have brought forth such worthy fruits of charity, of pastoral zeal, of penitential spirit, as then came to adorn the Catholic Church. And two things strike us principally in this matter. First, that they flourished exactly after the western continental Church is supposed by these Anglican writers to have set on itself the seal of reprobation, by sanctioning heresy at the Council of Trent. Nay, some among them, as St. Charles, were the most active promoters of its decisions. Secondly, that these extraordinary men were all distinguished for their attachment to this Church, and made it their glory that they belonged to it. We meet in their writings with no regrets at a single step it had taken, no intimation of a thought that it had inadvertently let slip a particle of primitive truth.

They were really a crown, aye, a crown of gold, to their mother ; not as the fading garlands of Ephraim, put on the head in a moment of intoxication ; they were heroes, whose names, after three centuries, are

fresh in the mouths of men. Who, among the ordinary class of Anglicans, speaks of Parker, or Jewel, or Bancroft, or Cranmer, or Bramhall, as of men whose good deeds have descended in blessings on generations, or whose wise sayings are as maxims of life upon the lips of children? But such are the memories of a Francis de Sales, and a Vincent of Paul, a Philip Neri, and an Ignatius Loyola. Cities, provinces, and kingdoms, publicly testify their veneration for their memories, and their gratitude for the benefits they conferred. Children, who owe their early knowledge of God and of good letters, to the gratuitous education of the continent, lisp with tender affection the names of a Joseph Calasanctius, or a Jerom Emilian. Thousands of sick, whose pillows are watched with kindness by self-devoted, unpaid attendants, pronounce blessings on a Camillus de Lellis, or a John of God, or a Vincent of Paul, who inspired their successors with such charity. Has any diocese of England raised a statue to its bishop like the colossus of Arona? Has any of its cities ever honoured one of its priests, as Rome has done Philip Neri, with the title of its apostle?

But this comparison between the English and the true Church, at the time when the former boasts of having risen into primitive splendour, and left the other buried in error and corruption, becomes still more striking, when made with reference to the spiritual life. Never in any period of the Church was it illustrated by persons more deeply enamoured of the cross, more versed in the science of the inward life, or more sublimely occupied in contemplation, than the Catholic, at the very moment when England thought proper to abandon its unity. The writings of St. Theresa, and St. John of the Cross, not to mention the lives of such men as Felix à Cantalicio, Peter of

Alcantarâ, Pascal Baylon, and innumerable others, are enough to have added glory to the true Church, in the brightest period of its history. One would have supposed, that a young and vigorous establishment, the phoenix-church of England, springing forth into a new life from the funeral pile where she had consumed the decayed elements of her previous existence, would have flown upwards with a steady gaze upon the Sun of justice, and given proof of her renewed vigour, by her eagle flights towards the regions of heaven. Instead of this, she fell heavily on the ground, scorched in plumage and shorn of wing, and condemned to walk or creep upon the earth's surface, and to seek her food, with dimmed eye, in its stagnant, lifeless pools. At the same time, the spirit of God seemed restless and prolific in the heart of her rival, bringing forth thoughts and aspirations which rose up heavenwards, as to their proper home, unclouded by the smallest stain that would show them to have risen from a bosom tainted by heresy and corruption.*

If, then, nothing was gained by the Protestant Reformation on behalf of good discipline, the salutary use of the sacraments, and other such-like holy practices, nothing surely was gained in deep spirituality, and the perfection of the inward life. And if, on the other hand, the Catholic reform of the Church cleared away abuses by time introduced, leaving the good intact, so did it, at the same time, witness within it a marvellous development of the principles of divine contemplation and close union of the soul with God. That Christianity could hope for no advantage in this

* "And to what else" (than the practice of rigorous fasting) "can one attribute it, that so many men in the French Church, amid all the disadvantages of a corrupt religion, attained a degree of spirituality rare among ourselves?"—Tracts for the Times, No. 66, p. 16.

respect from the Reformation, is acknowledged by a late writer, whose sentiments on the German department of that awful revolution we hope on some future occasion to lay before our readers. Speaking of the ruin which it caused to the German empire, Menzel observes:—"At so high a price as this, the small gains of this measure were too dearly bought. For, whatever improvements the new Church might boast of, whatever errors and malpractices she could charge her mother or elder sister with, never will she be able to deny her the merit of having preserved and disseminated the light of divine truth and of human learning; never will she have it in her power to make out a case of necessity, or to form another path to salvation, than that on which Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and Fenelon, have found the right way."^a

We shall of course be told, that the separation from the Church of Rome took place in consequence of doctrinal errors; or, according to the theory of the Tracts, that, by sanctioning those errors, she separated herself from the reforming Anglican Church. Much that is connected with this question hangs upon the important one of apostolical succession, and the existence of schism in that Church. That must be laid aside for the present. But we look at the matter under another aspect.

We are told, then, that the Catholic Church had departed in matters of faith from primitive truth, and had enslaved the hearts of men to error. The charge was twofold. The Catholic Church was accused of having corrupted faith, and loaded the practices of the Church with human and superstitious usages. The Reformation attacked both. It cut off many doctrines

^a Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen von der Reformation*. Breslau, 1826, vol. i. p. 7.

then believed by all the Church, saying: "These are not warranted by primitive belief." It abolished almost the entire liturgy, and other services in the Church, the rites used in the administration of sacraments, and many other observances, saying: "These are human inventions."

Well, the work was done, and, God knows, thoroughly done. Nearly three hundred years roll on, the minds of men gradually cool, and they begin to discover that almost every one of the rites, ceremonies, and practices, abolished at the Reformation as superstitious additions to the primitive simplicity of worship, were, and are, most venerable, and even traceable to apostolic origin! What becomes of the other half? "Oh, there we do not yield an inch. Our reformers were certainly too hasty in dealing with outward observances. They allowed themselves to be misled. But in matters of faith, in which they condemned Rome, you must not touch them. There all was done deliberately and wisely." — Gently, good sirs: you yourselves have yielded much. You have certainly betrayed a lurking desire that ordination should be considered a sacrament. You yourselves acknowledge "that the English Church has committed mistakes in the practical working of its system; nay, that it is *incomplete* even in its formal doctrine and discipline." (No. 71, p. 27.) You concede, that "though your own revolution" (here you have for once hit upon the right name) "of opinion and practice was slower and more carefully considered than those of your neighbours, yet it was too much influenced by secular interests, sudden external events, and the will of individuals, to carry with it any vouchers for the perfection and entireness of the religious system thence emerging." You have confessed that "the hurry and confusion of

the times led to a settlement of religion incomplete and defective" (p. 30). You allow that your "doctrine on the Blessed Eucharist, though, on the whole, protected safe through a dangerous time by the cautious Ridley, yet, in one or two places, was clouded by the interpolations of Bucer" (p. 32).

In other words, you allow the godly work of Reformation to have been but an incomplete and ill-digested work. You see in it errors and omissions in every part; but not a fault of commission will you acknowledge. Not a single positive definition was mistaken. You have drawn a nice limit: you have traced very minutely the boundary-mark. On one side you see palpable imperfections, inconsiderate rejections, unnecessary changes, excessive innovations, unwarranted interferences of the civil power, unlucky concessions to the pressure of circumstances, and, by consequence, "a system of religion incomplete and defective." But on the other side of the boundary, these same men, under the very same circumstances, without any new light, did not commit a single error. Oh no, there they were impeccable. They were repeatedly deceived when the question was about omissions—never when they adopted. They fell into constant oversights when they rejected—never once when they defined. Wonderful sagacity! Incomprehensible—far beyond the gift of infallibility, which you are so careful to disclaim for your Church! (p. 27).

But we fancy that a prudent inquirer will ask for some better proof of this wonderful preservation, than the mere assertion of these gentlemen, that their own Church "kept the nearest of any to the complete truth" (p. 29). When you acknowledge so many false steps, and allow that you have no security against others, surely men have a right to doubt

whether you *have* escaped them. The Catholic Church is consistent. She says, "I am gifted with infallibility, therefore I have fallen into no errors." The Anglican rejects infallibility, but claims an equal obedience.

The argument, however, may be urged more home as thus: It will be acknowledged, and by none more consistently than by the authors of the Tracts, that outward forms are great safeguards of doctrine, and that the abandonment of rites or observances of very remote antiquity will often endanger some point of doctrine, in connection with them. Who can doubt that the neglect of ecclesiastical censures has led to the enfeebling of Church authority among the Anglicans? Have we not heard Dr. Pusey complain, that the abandonment of the exorcisms in baptism has much contributed to make men in his Church forget the power of Satan, and the might of our Redeemer? Now, to apply these principles, let us take an instance which lately struck us, on occasion of the Christmas solemnity. Let us suppose that one of the clergymen who conduct these Tracts, admiring, as he professes, the Roman Breviary, had induced several of his brethren and friends to recite its Matins together on Christmas-eve, as was usual in the ancient Church. They would find nothing objectionable in the office, but rather much possessing a sweet solemnity. For we will imagine them to omit the *Ave Maria* at the beginning, and the *Alma Redemptoris* at the end. These are their two principal stumbling-blocks. Arrived at the third Nocturn, one proceeds to read the Homily of St. Gregory upon the Gospel, as follows:— "Quia, largiente Domino, Missarum solemnities ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de Evangelio non possumus." (*Hom. 8 in Evang.*)—

“ Since, through the divine favour, we shall this day thrice celebrate solemn Mass, we cannot speak at length on the Gospel.” These admirers of primitive antiquity would have been a little staggered at such a declaration of St. Gregory’s. Now, if one of them had started an objection, that such words were nonsense in the mouth of a Protestant clergyman, and that he could not feel justified in claiming anything common with a Pope who spoke such Popish language, what reply would the director make? “ It is true,” he would have to reply, “ that appearances are against us. We must acknowledge that the Communion service at the time of St. Gregory, and even much earlier, was called the Mass. When we restored primitive Christianity at the Reformation, we wisely abolished the name. It is true that the Mass recited at that time, and even in the age of Gelasius or St. Leo, was, prayer for prayer, and ceremony for ceremony, the same as that of the Popish Missal. On the same blessed occasion, we considerably suppressed it, though probably coming from the Apostles, and substituted something better of our own. It is true that, on Christmas-day, this identical Popish Mass was then celebrated three times, precisely as it will be between to-night and to-morrow at the Catholic chapel, and by comparing the Ordo Romanus with the modern Missals, it is evident that the three masses were the same as now. For the homily we are reading is upon the Gospel, still said by the Papists at their first Mass, and cannot apply to the one Gospel preserved in our beautiful service, from the third. This practice, though so ancient, it was the office of our godly Reformation to destroy. But what matter all these things? We have lost nothing with them. Our Communion, which we shall perform

to-morrow (if a sufficient number of communicants can be got together), is the true inheritor of all these services. The Papists have been most careful to preserve the Mass just as St. Gregory celebrated it,—they have been sticklers for every word and ceremony, for the very terms and titles then used. But our Articles teach us, that all such ‘sacrifices of masses . . . were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.’ After such a declaration, can you doubt, but that the holy Pontiff, if he again appeared on earth, would refuse to have any part in the Popish Mass, and admire and approve our beautiful communion service? Would he not say, ‘It is much more probable that the Papists (as they are called in derision for their attachment to my See), who have jealously preserved every tittle of the Liturgy I sent into Britain by the hands of Augustine, — who still keep up the practices we followed in my pontificate, — have lost the true doctrine we considered embodied in that liturgy respecting the blessed Sacrament, than that the Protestants should not have retained or regained it, when they rejected almost every particle of the words and forms instituted to secure it?’ ”

This would really be the sort of answer to which a Protestant might be driven on such an occasion. But every Catholic, priest or layman, who read or heard those words in the Christmas office, took them in their most literal and natural sense, and saw no incongruity, no unfitness in the recital of them after 1,200 years. Perhaps some pastors commenced their sermon in the very same words, and their flocks did not see reason to consider them a quotation from any older authority.

If the curious wish came over them to ascertain whether the *things*, as much as the *names*, agree, they

would open the works of Tommasi or Assemani, and find what is there given as the Mass of St. Gelasius, to be precisely the same as they heard in their own church. Could they require a stronger security that they inherited the faith of those ages, than in this cautious jealousy of their Church, preserving from destruction or alteration, the prayers, rites, and system of worship, in which this faith was deposited, recorded, and professed? Would they be reasonable, if they suspected that they alone had carefully kept the one, who had scornfully and profanely rejected the other?

But the question, how far the Reformation was a gain in religion, rises to a much higher level, when considered with reference to the grounds whereby it is justified. There are curious materials in the volumes before us, for this investigation; but they are of too great importance to be thrown together at the conclusion of this paper. We have pledged ourselves to discuss the claims of the Anglican Church to apostolical succession. After that, we shall find leisure for examining the respective positions which we and these Anglicans now hold in the controversial warfare.

Enough has been said to abate the pretended claims of the Reformation to our esteem or admiration as a re-pristination of pure Christianity, a return to the practices and doctrines of antiquity. We, of course, are unable to comprehend the love and reverence with which these well-intentioned, but ill-guided, men look upon that awful revolution. They seem to speak of it as of some wisely-devised plan of improvement; for they are repeatedly praising the calm judgment or the wisdom of the Reformers, or the "Fathers of the

Reformation." Contradictions, it is true, are to be found in what they write on this subject. But on the whole, they consider it as a work directed by the Providence of God, through the agency of holy men. To our minds, it presents a series of shocks and convulsions, regulated by no law but the passions of men. Like the ocean broken over its ordinary limits, the revolutionary principle sent forth wave after wave, each to destroy the sand-heap which its predecessor had raised, till, by their successive exertions, a level was at last obtained, but a level, alas! measured by "the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness." (Isaiah xxxiv. 11, Prot. vers.) Every political ruler, King, Protector, or Queen, laid his irreverent hand upon the ill-fated Church, and fashioned its plastic clergy after his own will; every divine who gained influence, changed and remodelled its services and articles according to the system he had learnt on the continent, or invented at home. It was the creature of accidents, but of accidents entirely destructive; not one came to fill up a breach in its walls, or to set up what another had plucked down. Devastation came upon devastation, and destruction swallowed up the traces of destruction. "*Residuum eruce comedit locusta, et residuum locustæ comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit rubigo.*" (Joel i. 4.) So long as there was a sound place left in the Church on which a blow could be struck, they laid them on, and spared not. It was not till every limb, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, had been disfigured, and no more soundness was in her, that they desisted. And now, because her wounds are healed over, and the breath of life is still in her nostrils, we are called to consider

and pronounce her fair and perfect, as in the days of her youth! Because, through a special mercy, every trace of good religion was not entirely consumed,—because the desolation was not utter, as Sodom and Gomorrhah's—we are invited to hail as a blessing the storm that ravaged it, and the plague that scourged it!

Sincerely must every Catholic deplore the infatuation of such as think and act in this manner. But they have a claim upon other and better feelings than those of idle sympathy. Few more pernicious sacrifices have been made to the false divinities worshipped by the age, than that of denying the spirit of proselytism to be inherent in Catholicity. In the odious sense of the word, as an intermeddling, intrusive spirit, we disown it; but as a steady, unceasing desire to bring others to the possession of the same truth as we hold, a prudent yet zealous endeavour to recommend that truth by word and action, it is an essential portion of the Christian spirit of charity. Our faith, though it may remove mountains, is naught without it. Ever since these words were uttered, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write . . . Come and see," (John i. 45), it has been the very essence of the apostolic, and, consequently of the Christian, spirit. For our own parts, we have no disguise. We wish for no veil over our conduct. It is our desire, and shall be, to turn the attention of our Catholic brethren to the new forms of our controversy with Protestants, in the anxious hope that they will devote their energies to its study, and push the spiritual warfare into the heart of our adversary's country. That in some directions this is begun, we are able to assert. There are not want-

ing those who feel the insufficiency of our controversial endeavours in the past, to meet the exigencies of the present moment. And we are confident that all our excellent seminaries, at home and abroad, will use every diligence for repairing their defects. There is much that weighs heavily upon our breasts in connection with this subject. Time, and, still more, the Divine blessing, will, we trust, enable us to develop our meaning, and to effect our designs.

FROUDE'S REMAINS.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for May, 1839.

FROUDE'S REMAINS.

ART. V.—*Remains of the late Reverend Richard H. Froude, M.A.,
Fellow of Oriol College, Oxford.* Vol. ii. London: 1838.

It is not often that the leaders of opinions let the public into a view of their secret counsels and feelings; but when they do, we think it does credit to the uprightness and sincerity of their intentions. It shows that they wish us to be acquainted with the hidden springs of their actions, and even to peer behind the veil which generally conceals the man from our sight, while we are viewing only his productions. Nay, the more unreservedly the human weaknesses of the individuals are revealed, and the more the feeling is expressed, that with their exposure, or in spite of it, their cause will succeed, the more highly we shall estimate their confidence in the correctness of their views, and the disinterestedness of their zeal in propagating them. These reflections have been suggested to us by the perusal of Mr. Froude's remains. He was, while living, one of the most enthusiastic members of the theological school, from which the *Tracts for the Times* have emanated. He died in 1836, having attained only the age of thirty-three; and was thus prevented from arriving at that full maturity of religious ideas which was evidently preparing in his mind, and bearing him onward towards the perception of many Catholic truths. His surviving friends have thought it expedient to collect his *Remains*, and give

them to the world in two volumes. As the second of these consists principally of sermons, in which, though there is much to commend, there is nothing sufficiently interesting to detain us, we will confine ourselves entirely to the first, which contains his journals, private thoughts, and letters to friends.

A preface of twenty-two pages betrays the editors' anxiety to repel a twofold charge; one against themselves, the other against their deceased friend. In the first place, they seem to fear lest considerable censure may be cast upon them for the publication of Mr. Froude's crude theories, and trivial self-accusations, as something approaching to a sacrilegious violation of the rights of friendship. We are not disposed to take our place either among the reprovers, or among the applauders, of the act. We cannot but feel that we should have scarcely ventured to deal as they have done, with any one who had tranquilly looked up to us with a confiding heart, and the peace of whose memory we should have wished to consult. When one, whose noble and public proofs of great virtue far outweigh the errors of youth, or whose public reputation makes his example, when evil, a warning, and when repentant, a reparation and an encouragement:—when one, in short, like St. Augustine, boldly, but humbly, reveals to the eyes of the Church the wretchedness of his early sinful life, we admire in awe the strange manifestation of a sublime spirit of Christian virtue, and we bless the Divine wisdom that has caused it to be vouchsafed to us. But the struggles of one who has not compensated for his weaknesses by any noble results, who withdraws from our sight a combatant, and not a conqueror, who only presents us the spectacle of a frail nature, such as we all may have, wrestling with daily and anxious trials,

and not overcoming them ; these struggles, not spontaneously exhibited, but transferred from the closet to the public stage, have neither the grandeur, nor the instruction, of the other lesson. Still, there may be reasons, unknown to us, to justify, certainly in the eyes of the editors, this sacrifice of private feeling to a sense of public utility. Some, they have given in the preface (pp. vi.—ix.), and it is for the public to judge of them ;—we think, in fact, that they would have materially strengthened their reasoning by the following passage in Mr. Froude's Letters to Friends :—

“There was a passage in a letter I have just received from my father, that made me feel so infinitely dismal, that I must write to you about it. He says you have written to him to learn something about me, and to ask what to do with my money. *It really made me feel as if I was dead, and you were sweeping up my remains ; and, by the by, if I was dead, why should I be cut off from the privilege of helping on the good cause ?* I don't know what money I have left—little enough, I suspect ; but, whatever it was, I am superstitious enough to think that any good it could do *in honorem ‘Dei et sacrosanctæ matris ecclesiæ,’* would have done something too ‘*in salutem animæ meæ.*’”—Vol. i. p. 388.

From these words, it appears that the author did contemplate his power of doing good to the cause wherein he was so ardently engaged, even after his death.

The censure of their friends, which the editors foresee, and which forms their bugbear in all their theological researches, is that of approaching too near Catholic, or, as they call it, Romanist, doctrine. They are therefore careful to distinguish between two meanings attached to the term ; which may mean “either a predilection for the actual system of the Church of Rome, as distinguished from other parts of Christendom, and particularly for the English

Church,* or an overweening value for outward religion, for sacraments, Church polity, public worship, &c." (p. x.) With the first definition of Romanism in view, the editors proceed to prove that Mr. Froude could not have this laid to his charge. To this we assent. That there must have, unfortunately, been some barrier between him and the Catholic Church, every one will imagine, who knows that he died without its pale. But we must express our conviction, that the editors have not done credit to their friend, by the manner in which they have endeavoured to shield his memory from the charge. It consists in a careful collection of some of his most hasty, unhand-some, and decidedly unreasonable, judgments and opinions, respecting chiefly what he saw in his travels. We consider the dilemma worth illustrating, that either they were so much at a loss for a set-off against his noble avowal of many Catholic truths, as to be content with the worst specimens of his reasoning powers; or else the wall of separation between him and the Catholic Church, as well as the cords which bound him to his own sect, were too flimsy and weak, as being mere matters of prejudice and false feeling, to have long resisted the evidence of truth. In either case, he presents a melancholy instance of how small a grain of prepossession is thought sufficient to over-balance a solid weight of good arguments. For instance, take the following proof of the author's not being a Romanist:—

"How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, *Popery*, Infidelity; they have it all now, and good luck to them!"—Pref. p. xi.

* If the reprehensible system, misnamed by these gentlemen Ro-

Truly this sentence betrays alienation enough from our religion; but we do not think it does much honour to the writer's good sense, to wedge Catholicism between the various broods of the Reformation. And it is evidence of a political, hot-brained antagonism, rather than of a sober, rational judgment. Again: "I have seen the priest laughing when at the confessional; and, indeed, it is plain that, unless they made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated" (p. xiii.). Really, is this passage worthy of being pressed into the editors' service? Had Mr. Froude ever witnessed disrespectful behaviour in his own Church? If he ever had, would he have allowed of the generalization to all his establishment, implied in the quotation against our hierarchy! Mr. Froude had no evidence that a confession was actually going on, when he saw the priest at Naples laugh; for persons often go to the confessional, to speak to the priest on other matters. But we think we have further to complain of the editors, for leaving us to understand, by the form of their quotation, that Mr. Froude witnessed some terrible scenes of gross immorality, involving three-fourths of a population of 300,000 souls. On the contrary, the sentence which follows the passage quoted, but which in this extract is concealed under a few unmeaning dots, would have at once opened the eyes of the sensible reader to the character of the scenes of gross immorality intimated; scenes in which, perhaps, he has himself joined, without being conscious that he ought to be excommuni-

manism, consists of all those parts of the Catholic religion which differ from the English Church, how comes it that so many of its practices, disciplines, and even dogmas, are objects of envy and covetous desire to these very writers and their friend Mr. Froude?

cated. The hiatus should be supplied as follows :—
 “I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints, and honouring the Virgin, images, &c.; these things may be idolatrous—I cannot make up mind about it; but, to my mind, *it is the carnival*, which is real, practical idolatry; as it is written, ‘the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play’” (p. 294). We might ask, are all the English who frequent a fair, or a theatre, or a ball, to be accounted idolaters? Why not, if the poor Neapolitans are, for their carnival sports? But, before he left Naples, he corrected what he had so unreflectingly written concerning the character of the priests, saying that he “could not be quite confident of his information, as it affected them.” We think not; and further acquaintance with them, or inquiries concerning them, would have still further diminished his confidence in it. He even owns that his opinion concerning the idolatry of the Italians is an opinion, grounded upon “a generalization, for which he has not sufficient data” (p. xiv.).

We think we are justified in saying that proofs of Mr. Froude’s disinclination to Catholicity must have been very scarce, for the editors to have been induced to bring together these superficial observations, made during a brief residence in a Catholic city, not generally reputed one of the most edifying. These, however, will not bear comparison with the growing and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic; and we cannot help feeling, as we peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. Our readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The “Extracts from Journal” present us a picture,

at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, and the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honourable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one, that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences, which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave colour and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit, these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we have considerable doubt; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us, of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which Mr. Froude gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described, and prescribed for, by the numerous writers whom we possess upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribula-

tion,—many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity ; but they have not at least the additional horrors, and darkness, of night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted like Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusive phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good—snares cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of their interior perfection, and the rigour of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order : these are gradually increased, with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, or even a self-imposed, but well-observed, method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practised for its own sake ; or if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or

a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has ever been practised by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings from time to time, for future perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which would naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (pp. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

“I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaster, nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd’s; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup, and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy” (p. 30). “Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six” (p. 44).

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which, with youthful eagerness, he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigour of thought, and closer intimacy with sound spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This

discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals ; for instance :—

“ Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day ; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray : I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel's reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought.”—P. 34.

“ I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials ; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with great vigour ; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. *Nov.* 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way ; abstinences and self-mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance ; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance ; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another ; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for anything. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention : mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But, while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge.”—Pp. 49, 50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus, he writes to Mr. Keble :—“ The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer ; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and

then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency" (p. 204). This will be the inevitable results of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works; those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigour to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the colour of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—P. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestantism of that strong principle of docility and obedience, which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends appear to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from their pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do God service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, that it will measure this rather than our success. What snatches there are of prayer,

bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious—the work of God and His religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to which Mr. Froude unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. We see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which have been based upon them. We certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless way of speaking of others, that must give an unfavourable impression regarding his character; for we have every reason to believe that he was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If we have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that we considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and

seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death, from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*; but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends farther than they had ventured to go; and we think he was prepared to proceed to the extreme of logical deductions. But we must methodize our observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so-called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

“*Sept.* 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth’s time: it is shocking indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans*? I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopalians did not claim ‘*jus divinum*’; indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power.”—P. 325.

When at Barbadoes, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controversialists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

“Imprimis, as to —’s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass ‘your cursed paltrier service;’ laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.^b He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a ‘phantasia of Mr. Harding’s.’^c He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and

^b Def. of Apol. pp. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611.

^c Ib. p. 208.

correction,^d and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting, that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;'^e justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;^f ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance*.^g I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—P. 339.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

"As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hicke and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—P. 379.

The following is two months later:—

"When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοκροφήτης* of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast, and woman too, which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—P. 389.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honour his own university has been proposing to erect a church.^h

^d Ib. 149, 153.

^e Ib. 151.

^f Ib. 152, 155.

^g Ib. 210, 212.

^h [As "a martyrs' memorial."]

“Also, why do you praise Ridley?” [in the *Tracts for the Times*, we presume, when he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] “Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N.B. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist ‘the Lord’s Supper;’ nor God’s priests ‘ministers of the word;’ or the altar ‘the Lord’s table,’ &c. &c.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, *as a Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us.”—P. 394.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832:—

“I have been very idle lately; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Bulteel line; whether the Catholicism of their formulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth’s minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the *ἥθος* of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita*; and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it.”—P. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from dispelling these innocent doubts concerning

those men, and how very much more daring his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices. General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents: "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them" (p. 254). The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favourably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call on us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ἥθος*; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a *disproof*, if they would do anything."— P. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the Blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and attributing to the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone claims. The following is in 1833:—

"Sept. 16. — has sent me your resolutions for our association,

which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles: it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due application of the sacrament.'"—P. 326.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become, and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ" (p. 363). In 1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

"I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism."—P. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

"Next as to the Christian year. In the [hymn for the] fifth of November.....'there present in the heart, not in the hands,' &c. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, 'not in the hands?' Also [in the hymn] on the Communion.....you seem cramped by Protestantism."—P. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that, in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very

little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies "are a deathblow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence." The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbadoes, he says:—

"For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to —, for the obnoxious phrase 'mass-book.'"ⁱ—P. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns*. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the wants of a large population . . . I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the

ⁱ Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbadoes "the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary."—P. 365.

true fold ; there are many about, I am sure ; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards" (p. 323). Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise ! If an Anglican think that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believe it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-trying and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, we see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed our minds, and been a subject of our earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them ; living together under a mild but steady rule ; who should extend their labours over the whole country ; appears to us the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervour where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all our ideas upon this matter is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning, and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing.* It

* [When this was written, I little thought how soon the desire expressed would be satisfied. In p. 307 of the *Remains*, will be found an account of what remains marked, with gratitude in my mind, as an epoch in my life,—the visit which Mr. Froude unexpectedly paid me, in company with one, who never afterwards departed from my

seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it. We utter not only our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many, more experienced in the missionary life, and the judgment of long attention to results attained, when we say that no greater blessing could be granted us than a body of priests devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labours, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means, we have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and "that odious Protestantism," which "sticks in people's gizzards," be thence salu-

thoughts, and whose eloquent pleadings for the faith have endeared him to every Catholic heart. For many years it had been a promise of my affection to St. Philip, that I would endeavour, should opportunity be afforded me, to introduce his beautiful Institute into England. But little could I foresee, that when I received that most welcome visit, I was in company with its future founder. From that hour, however, I watched with intense interest and love the movement of which I then caught the first glimpse. My studies changed their course, the bent of my mind was altered, in the strong desire to co-operate with the new mercies of Providence. It is a consolation, amidst anxieties and misunderstandings elsewhere, to look back to that first thought of hope and expectancy, and to feel that, on the one hand, it was not misplaced, and, on the other, that it never after departed, varied, or wavered. Tried, and painfully, it may have been; but even shaken my humble confidence never was. And when I felt rewarded, my early promise was not forgotten: and I record it, in gratitude and not for glory, that, without violence or forwardness, my feelings respecting the modern "Apostle of Rome," led possibly to the first suggestion of what was soon spontaneously adopted, the introduction of the Oratory into England.]

briously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Flaget has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favour of the *Œuvre de la Propagation*: and, though his tour has been limited, we have it on authority, that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. We have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of moveable missionaries, established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before His face, during His own lifetime, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of earth; and subsequently practised by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to preach the Gospel to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties, some suggested by timidity, others by prudence, may, we are aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation, that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, where are the instruments, and the means, for such an undertaking? the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? We answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be

ever carried on, — let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution, — and we will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan, based upon experience and approved methods, for propagating truth, and combating error. While the Anglicans would have everything to prepare, and even to design, before they could set on foot such a system as Mr. Froude proposes, we *have* much already in train, and should require but little for immediate execution. It would even appear that the Mendicant orders were the favourite scheme of Mr. Froude and his friends.¹ We defy Protestantism to institute or support them.

We come now to the great doctrine of the *Tracts for the Times*, — ecclesiastical authority, in matters both of jurisdiction and of teaching; and it will be easy to show how evidently dissatisfied Mr. Froude was with the principles and arguments of his party, and what he thought of the inconsistency of staying where they were, and of the logical extension which their arguments would naturally bear. In 1834, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newman:—

“Does not the archbishop of Canterbury claim patriarchal authority (*qualem qualem*) over as large a portion of the globe as ever the bishop of Rome did? and are not the colonial bishops just as much exonerated from their oath of canonical obedience, by proving that there is no universal bishop recognised in Scripture, as ever Cranmer was?”—Pp. 339, 340.

This is certainly a just argument, retorted upon his

¹ “Your old project about the Mendicant Orders was the sort of thing; though, perhaps, something connected with later times would tell more, just at present” (p. 397). See also, on celibacy and religious orders, the same page (another letter), and p. 408.

friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury considers himself the primate of the East and West Indian Churches, as well as of those of our North American colonies. The arguments whereby the Reformers justified their separation from Rome, would as well disprove this assumed superiority. Our next quotation must be a long one; it is from a letter to Mr. Keble, written in 1835, just a year after the former, and objects to the reasoning of the tracts respecting the Anglican claims to authority in their church. It will require no commentary from us:—

“And first, I shall attack you for the expression, ‘the Church teaches so and so,’ which I observe is in the Tract equivalent to ‘the Prayer-Book, &c., teaches us so and so.’ Now suppose a conscientious layman to inquire on what grounds the Prayer-Book, &c., are called the teaching of the Church, how shall we answer him? Shall we tell him that they are embodied in an act of parliament? So is the Spoliation Bill. Shall we tell him that they were formerly enacted by convocation in the reign of Charles II.? But what especial claim had this convocation, &c., to monopolize the name and authority of the Church? Shall we tell him that all the clergy assented to them ever since their enactment? But to what interpretation of them have all, or even the major part, of the clergy assented? For if it is the assent of the clergy that makes the Prayer-Book, &c. the teaching of the Church, the Church teaches only that interpretation of them to which all, or at least the majority of the clergy, have assented; and, in order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to inquire, not for what may seem to the inquirer to be their real meaning, but for the meaning which the majority of the clergy have, in fact, attached to them. It will be necessary to poll the Hoadeians, Puritans, and Laudians, and to be determined by most votes. Again, supposing him to have ascertained these, another question occurs: Why is the opinion of the English clergy, since the enactment of the Prayer-Book, entitled to be called the teaching of the Church, more than that of the clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, than the clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c. &c.? I can see no other [*sic*] claim which the Prayer-Book has on a layman’s deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. I know you will snub me for this, and put in lots of *ἐνοχλάσεις*, some of which I could anticipate and

answer; but it would take too much room, and I dare say you can augur the answers as well as I can the objections.

"Next, the Tracts tell a great deal about the clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely, no teaching nowadays is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was, except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean, that if his lordship of — taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? or do you give the preference to ordained persons, *cæteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling; the latter does not come to much."—Pp. 401—403.

"And now I will have another go at you, about your rule of faith in *fundamentals*. This is a supposed dialogue between you and the A.

"*Romanist*. I maintain that the doctrine of the Eucharist is a fundamental.—*You*. I deny it.—*E*. Why?—*You*. Because it cannot be proved from Scripture.—*R*. Supposing it granted, do you think that no doctrine is fundamental, which cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. Yes.—*E*. Supposing I can show that the early Christians (say of the second and third centuries) regarded the doctrine of the Eucharist as fundamental, should you still say that it was not so, because it cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. No; in that case I should admit that it was fundamental; but you cannot show it.—*R*. Then you admit your real reason for denying that this doctrine is fundamental, is not that it is not proved from Scripture, but that it was not held such by the early Christians.—*You*. My reason for denying that it is fundamental, is, that it is not proved from Scripture.—*E*. But, in spite of this reason, you would think it fundamental, if the Fathers thought so; that is, you admit your own reason to be inconclusive: that, even after you had shown that it cannot be proved from Scripture, you would also have to show that the Fathers did not think it fundamental.—*You*. I admit this; but still adhere to my original proposition.—*R*. You have admitted that it is not enough to show that a doctrine *cannot* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove it *not* fundamental. Do you think it enough to

show that it *can* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove that it is fundamental?—*You*. No; I do not think that.—*R*. Then you have proposed, as a test of fundamentality, one which, being answered, does not prove doctrines fundamental; and not answered, does not prove them not so.

“I will not write any more about this, as I suspect you will skip.”—Pp. 417, 418.

A few days later, he reverts to the subject, in writing to the same friend; for he asks (July 30):—“What does the article mean by ‘doctrines necessary to salvation?’ No doctrine is necessary to salvation, to those who have not rejected it wilfully; and to those that do reject wilfully, every true doctrine is necessary to salvation” (p. 419). Two months after this, he returns to his former controversy, and evidently shows his sense of the insufficiency of the grounds on which he and his friends stood, regarding authority; for, Sept. 3, he writes thus:—

“As to our controversies, you are now taking fresh ground, without owning, as you ought, that on our first basis I dished you. Of course, if the Fathers maintain ‘that nothing not deducible from Scripture ought to be insisted on as terms of communion,’ I have nothing more to say. But again, if you allow tradition an interpretative authority, I cannot see what is gained. For surely the doctrines of the priesthood and the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, interpreted by tradition; and if so, what is to hinder our insisting on them as terms of communion? I don’t mean, of course, that this will bear out the Romanists, which is, perhaps, your only point; but it certainly would bear out our *party* in excommunicating Protestants.”—Pp. 419, 420.

It is evident that his mind was busily engaged with this most important topic; and that every day showed him more and more the perplexity of the views taken by his colleagues, and the necessity of coming to a clearer understanding, than they had, of the extent of their principles, which, pushed one step farther, would be driven into Catholicity. A letter written to another

correspondent, in November following, is evidence of this.

“Nov. 27.....I have been over and over again N[ewman]’s arguments from the Fathers, that tradition, in order to be authoritative, must be in form interpretative, and can get no farther than that it is a convenient reason for [the Church’s] tolerating the (I forget which) article. No reason why the Apostles should have confined their oral teaching to comments on Scripture, seems apparent; and why their oral teaching should have been more likely to be corrupted, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*.”—P. 423.

His mortal course was now, however, drawing to a close; but the last fragment published of his, attests how anxiously, how candidly, and how powerfully, his mind was at work with this great subject,—the hinge on which the differences between us and these new divines may be justly said to turn. This piece is a letter, dated Jan. 27, 1836, a month before his death; and as his last illness was of some weeks’ duration, this document may be considered as his theological will and testament, the last declaration of his yet unbroken mind. It will clearly prove how far he had advanced beyond his fellows towards the boundary-line of Catholic truth. In order the better to understand it, we must recall to our readers’ attention our former article in No. X. on the *Tracts for the Times*, in which we examined the very passages alluded to in the following extract, which had not then come under our observation. We there cited the very example, as Mr. Froude does, of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in proof that the patriarchal rights of churches, even though unjustly acquired, were in course of time respected, and held inviolable (p. 293).^m We also

^m [In newly arranging these essays for republication in the present collection, this paper, which appeared in the *Review* for October, 1838, and consequently preceded that on Froude, has been placed after it. It forms the fifth number of this series, and the passage referred to will be found below, at p. 175.]

proved the canon of Ephesus, there quoted in defence of the independence of the Anglican Church, to speak only of *new* assumptions of jurisdiction by one bishop or patriarch, over sees in which no right had previously been admitted (p. 295).^a The same view we find one of their own most zealous partisans and contributors to have spontaneously taken; — nay, we see him, in the concluding passage of his writings, using severer language to his friend Mr. Newman than we presumed to employ. The following are his words:—

“The other day accidentally put in my way the Tract on the *Apostolical Succession in the English Church*; and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οικονομία* and *φενακισμός*, have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one ‘from the first;’ but neighbouring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon [of Ephesus] is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent.”— Pp. 425, 426.

After this, what more can we desire in proof of what we asserted, at the beginning of this article, that these *Remains* prove Mr. Froude’s mind to have been gradually discovering more extensive and more accurate views of religious truths and the principles of faith, with such steady and constant growth, as gives us every reason to believe, that longer life alone was wanting for him to have taken the salutary resolve, to adopt the conclusions of his theories, to their fullest legitimate extent? While the writings of the new divines seem to represent these theories as perfectly formed, and their views as quite fixed, the

^a [Below, p. 178.]

extracts we have just made show them to be but the shifting and unsettled opinions of men, who are yet discovering errors in what they have formerly believed, and seeking farther evidence of what they shall from henceforth hold. Our concluding extract will give fuller evidence of this fact; it is a letter to Mr. Newman, dated All Saints' Day, 1835.

"Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of — [against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do?—and I call it uncharitable to an excess. *How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!* Surely you should reserve 'blasphemous,' 'impious,' &c., for denial of the articles of faith."—P. 422.

With this passage we close Mr. Froude's *Remains*. Peace be to him! is our parting salutation. The hope which an Ambrose expressed for a Valentinian, who died yet a Catechumen, we willingly will hold of him. His ardent desires were with the truth; his heart was not a stranger to its love. He was one, we firmly believe, whom no sordid views, nor fear of men's tongues, would have deterred from avowing his full convictions, and embracing their consequences, had time and opportunity been vouchsafed him for a longer and closer search. He is another instance of that same mysterious Providence, which guided a Grotius and a Leibnitz to the threshold of truth, but allowed them not the time to step within it, into the hallowed precincts of God's visible Church.^o

^o We are authorized to correct an error, arising from some misapprehension, which occurs in p. 307. It is in an account of a conference between the author, accompanied by a friend, and the head of a college in Rome. The latter is made to say, that "the doctrine of the mass" was not fixed, but remained indeterminate, till settled at the Council of Trent. This statement is inaccurate, though, no doubt, unintentionally so. The gentleman alluded to never made any such admission, in the sense which it appears to bear in the narrative.

THE
HIGH CHURCH THEORY
OF
DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1887.

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ART. III.—1. *Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture*; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Visitation of the Most Worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese, Sept. 27, 1836. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Second edition. London: Rivingtons. 1837.

2. *The British Critic*, No. XL. (Oct. 1836.)

It is ever our desire to treat religious subjects with becoming seriousness; and to meet all controversial antagonists in a meek, and consequently in a courteous, spirit. There may be apparent exceptions to this rule. Sometimes the rudeness or effrontery of those who assail us is far more remarkable than their arguments; and it becomes our duty to disarm them of the advantages which these qualities unfortunately confer on men who appeal to public passion or vulgar prejudice. On other occasions they have endeavoured to take an unfair advantage, and thought to disgust, or terrify us from the field, by shaking before our eyes some Gorgon shape, which they affect to hold up as the likeness of our religion, instead of brandishing the keen and polished blade of honourable warfare. As in the first case duty has compelled us to deal with

our adversaries as a knight of old would have done with a churl that assailed him with base, ungentle weapons, so have we in the second acted as he would have done with a necromancer that sought to prevail by philtres and poisoned charms; and in either case, have made our onslaught, without admitting our opponents to participation in the rights of controversial chivalry.

But there are others, whom, though engaged on the same side, we would not willingly treat in like manner. If the conventional law of such lists as we now enter, allow us not to lift up our vizors, and declare who we are; if the cognizance which we at present bear be that of an order, of our religious community, rather than of an individual; not the less do we claim credit for personal sincerity when we say, that we take the field without a particle of any feeling that could cloud the purity of devotion to the truth. We have no desire of any triumph over *the men* whose principles we are about to examine—we shall regret if a word escape us that could reach their feelings with pain; and we shall even endeavour to harden our own against the ruffling impressions, which allusions, phrases, and charges, wherein they occasionally indulge, are apt to make upon them.

That a sermon delivered on a solemn occasion by a distinguished clergyman of the Anglican Church on "primitive tradition" should excite our attention, and call forth our remarks, will not be matter of surprise. But we may be asked, upon what grounds we unite it, in a common article, with the miscellaneous contents of a critical journal? Though we might plead the privilege of our caste, as reviewers, to have no law but our good will for heading our articles, we waive this plea, and are willing to descend to an

explanation of our motives. We have ourselves been too lately sinned against by the unwarrantable attribution of our articles to individuals, who have been made responsible for their contents,^a not to be anxious

^a Dr. Whittaker, for instance, has thought proper to make Dr. Wiseman responsible for an article on Catholic Versions of Scripture in our second number. "I cannot pretend to follow you," he says, addressing this gentleman, "through the account which you have thought proper to give in your second Lecture, and in the last (second) number of the *Dublin Review*, of the Versions of Scripture." (A series of Letters to the Rev. N. Wiseman, D.D., Letter II. p. 170.) After analyzing the statements of this article regarding one or two versions, he draws from them conclusions intended to be ruinous to Dr. Wiseman's character as a scholar. "The specimens which I have given are quite sufficient to fix your character for ever as a man of patient and faithful research" (p. 179). "In the account which you have given of Brucioli's bible, there is not one particle of truth, with the exception of the date of the *editio princeps*. I am convinced you never saw the book, &c. This is not a scholar-like mode of proceeding; and for myself, I can only say, that after this specimen of your biblical researches, I would not trust to your accuracy in any one particular, without references to the original authorities" (p. 175). "You will, however, permit me to remark, that, after having detected your very remarkable (not to say singular and somewhat extraordinary) dealing with Brucioli's version, I do not exactly see what right you have to speak disrespectfully of Mr. H. Horne." (Here follows a quotation from Dr. Wiseman's acknowledged Lectures.) "Truly, Sir, I think you may apply your own petulant censure of Mr. Horne to yourself with abundant propriety" (p. 180). All these solemn and uncourteous charges want only one ingredient to make them really serious—they are totally destitute of their necessary foundation. Dr. Whittaker did not think it necessary to ascertain whether Dr. Wiseman was the author of the paper so unmercifully censured. As the rev. gentleman is more than 1,000 miles from the scene of accusation, and may not think it worth while to confute Dr. Whittaker's voluminous letters in a separate form, we beg to declare that he was not the author of that paper, nor of any part thereof, and that he is noways answerable for its contents. Not that we mean by this removal of responsibility to admit the accuracy of the rev. vicar's conclusions, or of his charges against the author of the paper, whoever he may be; but we feel it a duty

to avoid a similar injustice with regard to others. We do not intend to consider Mr. Keble as personally concerned in the opinions which we may quote from the 40th number of the *British Critic*, though we do not suppose that we shall make a single extract from it that he would disavow. But this being the organ of the Church party to which he conspicuously belongs, we think it will be in our power to illustrate the doctrines, and correct the statements, which his interesting discourse contains, through the fuller developments to be found in the article referred to.

The article in the Review, which we have specially in our eye, is the sixth, headed, "Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church." These Lectures have been examined with more or less severity in various publications; and, should it be the author's intention to reply systematically to them all, we may appear to step in between him and his just quarrel, by prematurely singling this criticism for our present observations. Such, however, is not our intention. We mean not to attack its contents, as Dr. Wiseman's champions, but only to discuss it as a manifesto of the principles, and a vindication of the claims, maintained by the party that consider themselves the true upholders and representatives of the English Church. And as the method by them pursued involves necessarily a manifold charge of misrepresentation against the author whom they review, we flatter ourselves that we may justly step somewhat aside, to vindicate

to oppose this disingenuous and "unscholarlike" conduct of attempting to ruin a clergyman's character for accuracy, by falsely assuming what first required proof—his being the author of what is impugned. This specimen may be perhaps "sufficient to fix Dr. Whittaker's character for ever as a man of *candid* and faithful research."

his character, whenever that of our religion shall seem assailed through his side.

The fearless and uncompromising revival of High Church principles by a small body of youthful, learned, and as far as we have opportunity of knowing, amiable clergymen, in the face of much unpopular feeling, of great alienation from their brethren, and of little encouragement from their superiors, does credit to their sincerity and to their zeal. They have placed themselves in a prominent position, and in the post of honourable danger. They have endeavoured to throw outworks beyond the acknowledged precincts of their Church's walls, to protest against the encroaching lines of dissent; and they have manned them, we think in forlorn hope, determined to keep the pressure of the attack at a greater distance. We indeed, on our side, complain, and their more immediate adversaries—their rebels as they consider them—agree, that they have seized, for this purpose, a territory, not their own, but of our legitimate possession. They disclaim the charge, and affirm that they stand in a middle position—between “Romanism,” as they choose to call it, and dissent. But, when they speak thus, it is not as a school, or a party; they boldly profess to declare the real sentiments of their Church, “the Anglican,” as they style it, considering it a part of the Catholic, or universal, Church of Christ dispersed over the world. Of this Church, “the Roman” is acknowledged to be a part, though they think it has not preserved purity of doctrine. But we must specify more in detail the principles of this school, and we trust we shall be found to do so with perfect impartiality.

First, then, “in the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture is not, on Anglican

principles, the Rule of Faith.”^b It is, however, “its only standard, test, or depository.”^c There is, consequently, “a guide, though not an infallible one, but subordinate to Scripture. English theology considers that Scripture is not an easy book, and, as so considering, believes that Almighty God has been pleased to provide a guide. The twentieth article declares that the Church ‘hath authority in controversies of faith.’”^d

Secondly, “the English doctrine does not encourage private judgment in matters of (necessary) faith, but maintains the Church’s authority.”^e In this respect the Anglican doctrine is “as distinct from Catholicism,^f as from common Protestantism. The Catholic gives to the existing *Church* the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith; the Ultra-Protestant to the *individual*; and the Anglican to *antiquity*, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity among us.”^g The authority of the Church is, however, “subordinate to Scripture,” inasmuch as she “may indeed pronounce doctrines as *true*, which are not in Scrip-

^b British Critic, p. 388. ^c P. 385. ^d P. 377. ^e P. 378.

^f Where we write “Catholic” or its derivatives, the *Critic* has “Romanist” and “Romanism.” It is evident that these terms are not used in scorn; but our ears are not accustomed to hear them employed in any other way, and we trust we shall be excused if we refuse to admit them, and decline every other appellation but our own, simply “*Catholics*.” By this substitution we feel we are doing an act of justice to the *British Critic* and its party. For any of our readers who found in our extracts the term “*Romanists*,” and had not read the entire article, would confound its writer with that common herd of Protestant controversialists, who think there is an argument in a nickname. We use the term “Anglican,” because it is that adopted by the critic himself, when speaking of his own Church.

^g Page 384.

ture, so that they are not against it; but she may not declare points to be necessary to salvation, and act accordingly, unless she professes to derive them from Scripture. Her decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*.”^h All this, nevertheless, is not to be understood of any particular Church, but gives as its results, “that the whole Church, all over the world, will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true.”ⁱ

Furthermore, the Church of England—being an “independent apostolic Church, a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ,”^k she “claims the spiritual allegiance of the people, to the exclusion of *all rival claims* ;” “the duty of communion with her is founded upon reasons derived from absolute religious obligation ;” and hence we Catholics, “of these countries, are very justly charged with schism ;”^l while “Wesley was a heresiarch.”^m

Such we believe to be an accurate summary of the doctrines maintained by the party whose organ is the *British Critic*, concerning the Rule of Faith. We have woven into our account the very expressions of that journal, because it seems so excessively jealous of any mistake about its principles; and reproaches Dr. Wiseman repeatedly for drawing his ideas on the subject from authorities which its friends reject. Before, however, analyzing, as we intend, this scheme of Church authority, we must be allowed to dwell at some length upon Mr. Keble’s sermon.

Its text is 2 Tim. i. 14,—“That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.” Before he closes with the real

^h P. 379.ⁱ P. 380.^k P. 434.^l P. 435.^m P. 402.

subject of his discourse, the Professor endeavours to establish a parallel between the circumstances of Timothy, when addressed in these words, and the clergy of the Anglican Church in these its calamitous times. He then divides his discourse into three parts, proposing these inquiries : *first*, What is the deposit or charge committed to Timothy ; *secondly*, Are the English clergy at present partakers of it ? *thirdly*, Have they the Holy Ghost dwelling in them for a faithful discharge of duty ?

After some interesting remarks upon the word used for "deposit," in the text, and the probability of its being a conventional, ecclesiastical term, Mr. Keble concludes that the committed treasure consisted of *doctrine* (p. 17). This interpretation he further confirms by the testimonies of the ancient fathers. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "we may assume with some confidence, that the good thing left in Timothy's charge, thus absolutely to be kept at all events, was the treasure of apostolical doctrines and Church rules ; the rules and doctrines which made up the character of Christ's kingdom" (p. 20).

2. Is a similar deposit yet in the hands of Christian ministers ? "Some," says Mr. Keble, "will reply to this question at once,—We have the Holy Scriptures, and we know for certain that they contain all that is important in Timothy's charge." He then asks, "Can this be proved ? Must it not be owned, on fair consideration, that Timothy's deposit did comprise matter independent and distinct from the truths which are directly scriptural ?" (p. 21). In answer, we will give the preacher's own words, when he urges the reflection that the New Testament was not written at the date of this epistle.

"The holy writings themselves intimate that the persons to whom

they were addressed were in possession of a body of truth and duty totally distinct from themselves, and independent of them. Timothy, for instance, a few verses after the text, is enjoined to take measures for the transmission, not of Holy Scripture, but of things which he had heard of St. Paul among many witnesses. The Thessalonians had been exhorted to hold the traditions which they had received, whether by word or apostolic letter."—P. 22.

Here follow other texts urged by Catholics, after which Mr. Keble proceeds as follows :—

"If the words, the commandments, the tradition which the latest of these holy writers severally commend in these and similar passages meant only or chiefly the Scriptures before written, would there not appear a more significant mention of those Scriptures; something nearer to the tone of our own divines, when they are delivering precepts on the rule of faith? As it is, the phraseology of the Epistles exactly concurs with what we should be led to expect, that the Church would be already in possession of the substance of saving truth, in a sufficiently systematic form, by the sole teaching of the Apostles. As long as that teaching itself, or the accurate recollection of it, remained in the world, it must have constituted a standard or measure of Christian knowledge, though it had never seemed good to the Almighty to confer on us the additional boon of the books of the New Testament."—P. 23.

The sentiments of the Fathers are then appealed to, as confirmatory of this opinion. "Do they not employ Church tradition," asks Mr. Keble, "as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it? and consequently as fixing the interpretation of disputed texts, not simply by the judgment of the Church, but by the authority of that Holy Spirit which inspires the oral teaching itself, of which such tradition is the record."^a Again: "If we will be impartial, we cannot hide it from ourselves, that this *unwritten* word, if it can be anyhow authenticated, must necessarily demand the same reverence from us" (as the written must have done from the early Christians, when they ascertained

^a Page 24.

it), "and for exactly the same reason—*because it is his word.*"^o

But here the learned professor introduces a limitation, necessary to prevent a last step over the Rubicon of Protestantism. When the Scriptures were thus written, they were so written as to "contain every fundamental point of doctrine;" so that now "nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith necessary to salvation, but what is contained in, or may be proved by, canonical Scripture."^p This second part of the discourse then closes, by reducing to three classes the objects for which apostolical tradition is a rule. 1. "The systems and arrangement of fundamental articles;" 2. "Interpretation of Scripture;" and 3. "Discipline, formularies, and rites of the Church."

This outline will leave in our readers no room for astonishment, that Mr. Keble's sermon should have been openly charged with Catholicism, or "Romanism." Now, we declare that, to a very great extent, the charge is well-grounded. Strike out a few sentences, in which he tacks his theory to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the sermon might have been preached in St. Peter's at Rome. Whether these few passages neutralize the body of the discourse, we leave it to the members of his Church to decide. How far his opinions are ours, that is, Catholic, we have a right to judge; how far they are, at the same time, those of his professed religion, let others see. But, in the mean time, we will offer our remarks, to aid the passing of a rightful judgment.

Mr. Keble acknowledges that tradition preceded

^o The words in *italics* throughout these quotations are so in the original.

Scripture, and attested its canon (p. 28). The authority, too, of that tradition, was divine; it was based upon the commission given to the apostles to teach, "He that heareth you heareth me" (p. 32). The tradition itself was God's "*unwritten* word." This authority, then, was paramount, for it had no co-ordinate: it was sole. Nay, more, it was all-sufficient; for it was the only "standard and measure of Christian knowledge." After a considerable lapse of time, according to the learned professor, "in the interval between Clement and Ignatius on the one hand, and Irenæus and Tertullian on the other; that is, after about TWO HUNDRED YEARS after Christ, "the canon of the New Testament had first become fixed and notorious;"^a and then tradition lost its prerogatives, and Scripture became the sole standard. We ask, on what authority the assertion rests, or how is its subsistence justified? Was the divine commission or authority withdrawn from the pastors, whose teaching, till now, had been the test or standard of truth? Had it been said, "He that heareth you, heareth me, till a New Testament be written, after which your delivering of a doctrine will cease to be a ground for believing?" A right clearly conferred, and not limited by, or made dependent on, contingent events, requires a plain abrogation before it ceases. Traditional, authoritative teaching, *was* clearly appointed; the substitution of Scripture *never* was; how then can this have abrogated, or even limited the other?

But, further, Mr. Keble himself allows that "the all-sufficiency of Scripture is nowhere expressly affirmed in Scripture itself."^b Where, then, *is* it affirmed? If in tradition, let it be shown. Let us have passages sufficient to verify the rule, *quod semper, quod ab*

^a Page 30.

^b See note E, p. 59.

^c Page 20.

omnibus, quod ubique, declaratory that the Church despoiled herself, or considered herself despoiled, of that *complete* authority and *supreme* place which she had occupied in teaching truth, according to Mr. Keble's admission, previously to the decision of the Scriptural canon. If no such passages, either many or few, can be quoted, as we are sure they cannot, we have nowhere any limitation made to the first authority, nor any ground at all for the all-sufficiency of the Scripture in dogmatical teaching. Let us balance the admissions of this sermon—on the one hand, that originally, tradition, or a body of doctrines held in deposit by the Church, was the appointed and sufficient standard of faith, with a divine sanction—and on the other, that Scripture never claims all-sufficiency, or declares the cessation of the previous commission to teach; and we leave it to a candid reader to judge, whether the acknowledged rights of the earlier method of preserving truth can have been superseded by the introduction of the second. But if, as Mr. Keble intimates (p. 31), this substitution of Scripture for tradition, as the sufficient standard of dogma, is to be gathered from tradition itself; and if this doctrine of the Articles is to be considered matter of faith, or rather the foundation of all Protestant faith; then we have an instance of a point of faith “not contained in, nor proved by, canonical Scripture,” but based upon tradition alone. In a word, we have the all-important assumption of Protestantism, that Catholics err by preserving to tradition its original virtue, made to rest upon this very tradition! For, we repeat it, it is acknowledged that, in Scripture, its own all-sufficiency is nowhere expressly declared.

We affirm, that the method pursued by the reverend professor in this part of his argument, will not bear

a strict investigation. In fact, it is by inuendoes, assumptions, and surmises, rather than by close reasoning, that he attempts to engraft his Church's opinions concerning Scripture, as exclusively dogmatical authority, upon his theory of "primitive tradition." It is an ill-jointed piece of work: it is new wine in an old bottle, which can ill stand such fellowship. The following is the passage in which the task is performed; we note by *italics* the expressions to which we beg to direct attention.

"On the other hand, *it is no less evident*, that Scripture, being once ascertained, became, in its turn, a test for everything claiming to be of apostolical tradition. But on this part of the subject *there is less occasion to dwell, it being, I suppose, allowed on all hands. . . .* The character which our article justly assigns to the Bible, of so 'containing all things necessary to salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' This character the Bible could not, from the very force of the terms, acquire, until a sufficient portion of its contents had appeared, to include in one place or another, every one of such fundamentals. *Nor are we sure* of this condition having been fulfilled, until the appearance of St. John's gospel and epistle. This consideration *may serve to account* for the comparative rareness of quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the first century."

Here follow some proofs of this scarcity, and of the appearance of more frequent appeals to Scripture in Tertullian and St. Irenæus; after which the author continues:—

"*From all this I gather*, that in the interval . . . the canon of the New Testament had first been fixed and notorious, and that the fact had been observed which is stated in our article . . . that every fundamental point of doctrine is contained in the unquestioned books of that canon, taken along with the Hebrew Scriptures. And this observation *being once made, would of course immediately suggest* that golden rule, not of the Anglican only, but of the Catholic Church, that nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith, &c. *At any rate, it is unquestionable*, that by the time of Irenæus, *i. e.* towards the end

of the second century, the fact had been universally recognised, and the maxim thoroughly grounded and incorporated into the system of the Catholic Church."†—Pp. 28—31.

If the Church of England is willing that this should stand for its demonstration of its Article, on the exclusive dogmatic authority of Scripture, we heartily congratulate it on the state of its foundations. Let the argument be inculcated in church and school, let it be urged upon the laity, and recommended to the clergy; and we Catholics may fold our arms, and

† In a note on this passage (F, p. 60), the author develops this appeal to St. Irenæus. First, he quotes a passage which speaks only of two ways of studying Scripture, but applies in no way to dogmatical teaching, or the grounds of faith. He then refers to the well-known passage of St. Irenæus, given by himself in the sermon (p. 24). St. Irenæus asks: "What if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures?" &c.; upon which Professor Keble thus reasons: "The mere question, If we had not the Scriptures, must we not follow tradition? implies that, having the Scriptures, we have the substance of truth, necessary to salvation, and, so far, depend not at all on tradition." Perhaps it might have been so, had St. Irenæus shown that he meant to draw this consequence, and not exactly the contrary. For he puts the question in order to prove that "it is easy to receive truth *from the Church*,"—not from Scripture; and that, even in his time, "whoever willed might receive from her the waters of life, since therein, as in a rich depositary, the Apostles did most abundantly lodge all things appertaining to truth" (p. 24). Surely this does not prove that St. Irenæus imagined the Scripture to have impaired the Church's rights as the depositary of truth. It can hardly be considered fair to draw inferences from a writer's words, as though he had not himself done it; it can be still less fair to draw one exactly at variance from the one he draws. Nor, after all, could Mr. Keble's argument be, under any circumstances, correct, for St. Irenæus says nothing at all about "the substance of truth necessary to salvation;" and if his words proved the substitution of Scripture for Church authority, there is nothing to restrict them to this one object, but they would imply the complete abrogation of *all* traditional teaching, which it is not the professor's desire to admit. He had no right to introduce any such restriction, and the context gives no sanction to it. St. Irenæus is the only father whom he quotes.

patiently wait its effects. Let it be preached in every Anglican congregation, that originally, for nearly two hundred years, the very rule of faith propounded by us was the only one, the Church being the sole depositary of truth, and tradition its only standard; and that these were fully guaranteed by divine sanction: but, that *we may gather*, from the growing abundance of scriptural quotation in writers of the second century, that a certain fact (which, be it remarked, is by them nowhere recorded or alluded to) had been observed, to wit, that Scripture contained all the essential doctrines of religion;—further, that *such an observation being made*,—of which there is no evidence,—*would of course suggest* the golden rule of the 20th Article;—finally, that the result would be a transfer of the dogmatical deposit from divinely sanctioned tradition to Scripture, which nowhere declares itself all-sufficient,—which transfer takes place about the time of St. Irenæus, though no ecclesiastical act or declaration, no historical record, no voice of attesting witnesses, has preserved a note of such an important revolution! Grant all this—grant our rule two centuries of undisturbed, authorized possession, and then we may safely allow such a tissue of unsupported assumptions and conjectures to deprive it of its rights—if they can!^u

^u [Let us suppose that a writer on Roman jurisprudence were to assert that the application of this science was based upon traditionary teaching until the Theodosian code incorporated the traditions in a written system, we should naturally expect that this would be proved by the laws themselves, or by competent authorities. There would be a line of demarcation between the practical application of the two systems. Now would Mr. Keble show that the Fathers, in dealing with errors, act on two principles before, and after, the supposed recognition of Scripture? Would it not be a new and startling theory to Protestants that the Catholic rule and practice as to dogma

With the third division of Professor Keble's sermon we deal not, at present; nor do we know that we shall ever revert to it. Whether it is right or not in the ministers of the Anglican Church to consider themselves gifted with the Holy Ghost, and with a grace "altogether supernatural" (p. 43), is indeed a solemn consideration, pregnant, to them and their flocks, with awful results. If they have always believed themselves so divinely aided, we suppose they must always have taught their subjects to reverence their words, as became their high calling. But then we would ask, if the imposition of hands, which is an "outward and visible sign," confers a grace distinct from "the preventing or assisting grace common to all Christian persons" (p. 43), is it not a sacrament according to the definition of the Anglican Catechism? For Mr. Keble and his friends will not deny Christ's institution, upon the supposition of which their entire argument respecting Church authority rests. Yet it will not be said that their Church has ever taught Order to be a sacrament. Either their theory leads to contradiction of the doctrine usually, or rather universally, taught in their church respecting the binary number of the sacraments, or else the definition which it gives excludes Order from the number; in which case, as the outward sign certainly exists, either the inward grace or the divine institution must be wanting. Now, the absence of either is fatal to Mr. Keble's doctrine, as applied to his Church or her ministers.

It is time now for us to return to the declarations of the *British Critic*. What we have said, however, of Mr. Keble's sermon must not be considered entirely a digression. We have treated the subject of tradition existed alone for two centuries, and that then (no one knows how) the Anglican intervened, and expelled it?]

somewhat at length, because the correctness or the inconsistency of the High Church party's opinions concerning it, must materially affect their theory of Church authority. If they can establish what the reverend professor desires, a middle view between the Bible alone, in each man's hands, and a deposit of dogmatical truth, distinct from it, yet enduring in the Church, as the real Anglican doctrine, they will have some chance of success in proving the existence of a middle state between individual judgments and infallible definitions, and between the anarchy of sectarianism and the universal unity of Catholicism.

In looking over the theory of Church authority, set forth in the passages which, higher up, we wove together from the *British Critic*, and which indeed on many other occasions are proclaimed by that journal and its friends, two things particularly strike us; *first*, the attempt which they make to palm their peculiar and unauthorized sentiments upon the Anglican Church; and *secondly*, the utter inconsistency and fallacy of the scheme of Church authority which they claim in its behalf. We will offer a few obvious remarks upon these two points.

I. A great portion of the article to which we principally call attention is taken up with an attempt to prove that Dr. Wiseman has been unjust towards the English Church, by confounding her principles respecting the Bible and the rule of faith, with those maintained by all other Protestants. He is charged with "misunderstanding its doctrine;" and the reviewer is "indeed surprised that so well-read a man should not have recollected more of the divinity of Anglican standard authors, than to assert that the fundamental principle of Protestantism, as *recognised in the English Church*, is 'that the Word of God

alone is the true standard of faith.'"^x This is but one passage out of many wherein the same reproach is uttered.

Before the present inquiry can be satisfactorily solved, it is necessary to have some criterion, by which the avowed principles of a religion can be known, in contradistinction to the opinions tolerated within its pale. Now we apprehend that the fairest and surest test is universality of consent, or diversity of opinion, in teaching, concerning it. If the symbolical documents of a Church, that is, its avowed definitions, or authorized expositions, of faith, decide, or seem to decide, a belief, and the great body of its pastors or teachers agree in one interpretation of that definition, and allow none other to be taught, that we hold to be the doctrine of that Church. If it allow two most different, or even contradictory, sentiments to be publicly taught, the holders of neither have a right to call theirs more than opinions *in* the Church. We can illustrate this rule either from the Catholic, or from the Anglican, Church.

The Catholic Church holds a dogma often proclaimed, that in defining matters of faith she is infallible. No one would be allowed by her to teach any other doctrine; whoever does, ceases practically to be a Catholic; and if he be a pastor, and prove obstinate in his error, must be removed from his office. At the same time, while all agree that this infallibility resides in the unanimous suffrage of the Church, whether united in council or dispersed over the world, the Italian doctrine extends it to the plenitude of authority residing in its head, and makes his dogmatical decrees of force antecedently to the expressed consent, or implied acquiescence, of the other pastors.

^x Page 384.

The Gallican denies this, and maintains that time must be given for the Church to assent or dissent; and only in the case of assent considers the decree binding. Practically, as experience has proved, either opinion leads to the same results; but manifestly the assertors of neither can demand that their peculiar theory be received by others, as the defined or acknowledged principle of the Church, neither think we that they could reasonably charge with "misunderstanding their *Church's doctrines*," such as would not so receive it. But let us take an example from the English Church.

Her 22nd article "at one fell swoop" pounces upon purgatory, indulgences, veneration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, and utterly condemns them all, most irremissibly. The 30th article asserts the use of the cup to be of equal importance, by divine institution, with the receiving of the other element in the Lord's Supper. The 28th, that transubstantiation is opposed to God's word. Few articles probably are subscribed with greater unanimity and heartiness, by churchmen, than these; never have we heard of a single bold spirit among them flying in the face of their letter, and presuming to deliver in church a word in favour of what these condemn. Were any one of them to preach on the existence of purgatory, or the right of administering the Eucharist under the form of bread alone, we have no doubt but his diocesan would soon reprove him, and, should he turn out obstinate, remove him from his situation. The contrary opinions then to these points are articles of belief of the Anglican Church, on which no difference of opinion is tolerated in any of her ministers. But take on the other hand justification, election, and predestination, and you will find them, according as they belong to the evangelical or high-church "con-

nection," holding and teaching the most conflicting doctrines, to neighbouring flocks, without being removed, or even chid for either set of opinions which they may have chosen to embrace. It is true that the former points are but as "mint and cummin" compared to these "weightier things of the law;" but it is no less true that the Church of England allows a latitude of doctrine respecting them, which forbids us to admit the holders of either opinion as exclusively in possession of its declared sentiments. In like manner, *supposing* that Church to have defined that it "hath authority in matters of faith," and yet to allow the public teaching of two opinions within its bosom, by its legitimate ministers, one to the extent of the *British Critic's* assertions, the other to the extent of a total denial of them; we must, even in charity as in good sense, refer this matter to those on which diversity of opinion is tolerated, and refuse to accept either as the doctrine of the Church. Each can pretend only to be a doctrine taught *within* it.

There are two ways of ascertaining this variety of opinions, upon this, as upon any other point; by the examination of its living teachers, and by the appeal to more ancient testimonies. We are willing to take either test.

And first, as to the state of opinion on this subject in the present Church, we have evidence within reach. We open once more Mr. Keble's sermon, and see the following dedication:—"To the worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Winton, and to the Reverend the Clergy of the Deaneries meeting at Winchester, this sermon is respectfully inscribed, *having been preached before them, and being now published in deference to their expressed wish, of examining at their leisure the statements therein con-*

tained." Surely had the learned professor preached only what the Church of England avowedly teaches, and what its clergy have received as her doctrines; had there been nothing *new*, or at least *uncommon* in the "statements" of his sermon, a body of dignified clergymen would not have expressed a wish to see them in print, that they might examine them at their leisure. Had he preached a tirade against "image worship" or such anticatholic statements as form the charges of a Burgess or a Philpotts, we hardly fancy that such leisurely examination, such a subjection of the sermon to the scrutiny of the "faithful eyes," would have been deemed necessary. *We* could not conceive such a demand to be made by the assembled clergy of one of our dioceses, if the preacher had only delivered the acknowledged doctrines of our Church.

These suspicions have been more than strengthened by the reception of the discourse itself among many members of the Church. The Rev. Arthur T. Russell, of St. John's, Cambridge, and Vicar of Caxton, hesitates not to call it "*an heterogeneous mixture of popery and protestantism* ; as inconsistent with the existence of the latter, as were the errors against which St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians were written, inconsistent with the profession of Christianity."† This probably is an extreme opinion ; and, therefore, between it and the approval of the Professor's theory as sound Anglicanism, there are innumerable degrees of reproof, harsher and milder, which the sermon has undergone. Mr. Russell, a little later, upon quoting Mr. Keble's argument in favour of tradition, "because it is God's (unwritten) word,"

† Remarks on the Rev. Professor Keble's Visitation Sermon, &c. Cambridge, 1837, p. 5.

remarks, "This is the very form in which the Romanist puts his argument for the equal authority of tradition in the Scripture. True, it may be replied, but Professor Keble rejects Romanist tradition. I ask not what kind of traditions he rejects; but *if any traditions are to be revered as the unwritten word of God, the principle* is conceded to the Romanists, let the application of the principle in points of detail be what it may." Surely it would be discreditable to the Church itself to admit that upon matters of faith, graduates of the two Universities could differ so widely in opinion; though, to speak the truth, we can hardly comprehend, in any manner, so vague a system of doctrine, that a Master of Arts of Oxford should uphold, as defined by a Church article, what a Bachelor of Laws of Cambridge should denounce as "inconsistent with the profession of Christianity."

Be this as it may, it is clear that *the Church* does not receive the doctrines of the High Churchmen as part of its defined code. And in fact what we alleged in our first number upon the Hampden case, and in what we quoted in our third, from Dr. Maude, Mr. Bickersteth, and others, goes towards establishing the same point. Indeed the Hampden case, we think, proved the Oxford divines to be only a minority in the Church. But wherefore any need of proof, when, to use the *Critic's* expression, we have *confitentem reum*? In p. 384, he finds it necessary to explain his denial that the Bible alone is admitted by the Anglican Church as the rule of faith. "Now let us understand here," so he writes, "we know full well that this is a popular mode of speaking at this day; we know well it is an opinion *in* our Church; but it is by no means universally received, much less a principle.

And Dr. Wiseman, as a *well-read* divine, ought to recollect this." This reserve and caution of expression, for which we give that journal sincere credit; this serious protestation that the opinion contrary to its own is *not* universal; this acknowledgment that nevertheless it is "popular," is more than sufficient to prove that its own theory is not that of the Church, but one among conflicting systems permitted to live and contend, yet nestle together in her easy bosom.

But the writer in the *British Critic* enforces his charge against Dr. Wiseman by an appeal to existing facts. He asks if the assertions it has combated can be "truly, nay fairly," made, not "by a well-read divine, but by an intelligent observer of the English Church for the last twenty years? Is Dr. W. a stranger to the continual and violent charges brought against far the larger portion of the Church, of its making the Prayer-Book a 'safeguard' to the Bible? Has not the body of the Church opposed the Bible Society on this ground?" (p. 385). These questions regard us as much as Dr. Wiseman, and therefore we may answer them. To the first we reply that we Catholics should feel rather ashamed of any advocate who advanced no better proof that *our Church* held the doctrine of authority, than that she had a missal and a breviary, as well as a Bible. Even conjointly with others, we should consider such an argument equivalent to a betrayal of the cause. But, if making a prayer-book a safeguard to the Bible prove the maintenance of Church authority, it can only prove it in favour of that "larger portion" who make it such, and not of the Church, which equally owns the smaller portion (*if* smaller) who do not; nor can Dr. W. be charged with injustice for not drawing his conclusions from a part to the whole.

But to the second query we reply, that at first it startled and astonished us. Our memory we feared might be treacherous, so we turned over the pages of the Bible Society Reports to refresh it, and we found as follows : The society was established in 1805, and its first report gives us as Vice-Presidents, the Lords Bishops of London, Durham, Exeter, and St. David's, with four laymen. In 1808 the Archbishop of Cashel is added to their number. The following year is remarkable for the establishment of Auxiliary Societies, the first being under the patronage of the Bishop of Salisbury.^a In 1810 the list of Vice-Presidents includes the following: Archbishop of Cashel, Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, St. David's, Bristol, Cloyne, and Clogher. The Bishop of Bristol placed himself at the head of a branch society, and recommended the institute by a circular letter to his clergy. Moreover, the Committee record, with great pleasure, a donation of fifty guineas, unanimously voted by the same Bishop, the Master, and the Seniors of Trinity College, Cambridge.^b In 1813, we find among the Vice-Presidents, one Archbishop, ten Bishops, English and Irish, and the Dean of Westminster. In 1816, the number of Bishops had increased to twelve, with two Deans. All this showed the steady increase of patronage from the high places of the Church. But perhaps the opposition from the body of the Church began later. Passing over, at once, to the latest report within our reach, that of 1835, we find still enumerated at the head of the Vice-Presidents, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Norwich, Lichfield, Chester, Kildare, Sodor and Man, Calcutta and Madras, and the Deans of Bristol and Salisbury. And

^a Report for 1809, p. 220.

^b Sixth Report, pp. 296, 306.

glancing over the names of subscribers, we find that of the Most Rev. Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, upon collating the reports for half the duration of this society, we have ascertained that *fourteen* dioceses of England and Wales have been represented by their bishops, and *two* others by their deans, in the council of vice-presidents, who receive an annual vote of thanks for their *patronage*. If, then, Churchmen are to decide the maintenance or the rejection of the principle of authority, by the countenance or opposition shown by their superiors to the Bible Society, to what conclusion must they come? This generation must conclude, that in almost every part of England, they have been practically encouraged and exhorted, by the representatives of their Church, to support the Society, whose avowed object is "the circulation of Scripture without note or comment." And yet the claim to authority is to be deduced from exactly the contrary supposition!

After these two bold attacks in form of questions, the *Critic* makes "a thrust in tierce," which we think we can as easily parry before it reach Dr. Wiseman's side. It is as follows:—"Nay, to go higher, do we not read in our service, the Athanasian Creed, which, whether it allows private judgment or not, clearly propounds that *unless private judgment terminate in the reception of certain most definite statements of doctrine, it incurs the Church's direct and absolute anathema?* Considering the assaults conducted by individuals on this creed; considering the continued struggle against what is sometimes called the High Church party, for a series of years past, *on the ground of its enforcing one certain interpretation of the Word of God*, under what impression, or in what state of mind, does Dr. Wiseman take for granted that the

English Church consigns the Bible to each individual, and bids him draw his faith thence?"^c

The plain meaning of which is—"Display as much erudition as you please upon texts of Scripture; but recollect that you have a certain dogma to maintain, and that your erudition must finally, by some means or other, appear to establish it. Now, I would ask any one who feels the importance of religious truth, what kind of confidence can be placed in those who, on such principles, engage in the interpretation of the Word of God?" Reader, this commentary is not ours; it is from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Turton, Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and is intended as a severe rebuke upon an assertion of the same Dr. Wiseman, that the biblical researches of the Catholic must give results conformable to the definitions of the Church.^d This he seems to consider as a monstrous ultra-popish idea; his commentary on which, he reserved for his *bonne-bouche*, at the end of his book, as likely to startle good Protestants. Now, therefore, stripping his remarks of that personality with which the learned Doctor so abounds, we beg to place them as a target before Dr. Wiseman's breast. We cannot suppose that Oxford will reason with him on a principle as its own, which Cambridge denounces in him, as erroneous. Nay, he never went so far as to speak about "incurring the Church's direct and absolute anathemas."

We may, perhaps, be reproached by our readers, for extending this argument to such a length; if so, they must kindly bear with us a few moments more, while we discuss the appeal made from living witnesses

^c British Critic, p. 385.

^d "The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist considered." Cambridge, 1837, p. 387.

to the illustrious dead. The *British Critic* indeed discards the Hornes, the Tottenhams, and others; but it refers the question of Church authority to the Bulls, the Beveridges, the Lauds, the Jewels, and a few other ancient divines. They, at least, prove, by their testimony, that the Church maintains its claim to dogmatical authority. It takes the trouble of making considerable extracts from their works.

We do not deny that on many occasions they seem to speak a language eminently Catholic; but we say no less, that they stood in their generation as the Oxford knot do at present, as men of one way of thinking, amidst as many or more who maintained a different or even contradictory opinion. Laud was considered by many in the Church as little better than "a papist," and was suspected, whether truly we do not pretend to say, of hankering after the institutions, and dallying with the proffered dignities, of the Roman Church. Certain it is, that upon the episcopal bench of his time were found some to treat with the papal agents about a reconciliation with the Holy See.* Many other Anglican divines, the fear of the "Geneva discipline," and Presbyterian or Socinian opinions, drove to take shelter in tradition, and to claim rights for their Church, upon the authority of antiquity. At any rate, before we can admit these writers to be urged against us, as representatives of the true Anglican doctrine, we must be satisfied that the body of that Church considers them such. Of this we have as yet no proof. Furthermore, before we can allow that their opinions were the same as those held by the *Critic*, we must have some clearer evidence than its extracts. For we find Mr. Keble's antagonist stoutly asserting, and by quotations endeavouring to

* As Bishop Montague.

establish, that the Rev. Professor's doctrine is opposed to the sentiments of these very divines. For this purpose, he cites Jewel, Archbishop Sandys, Dr. Willet, Whitaker, Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Prideaux, Taylor, Allestree, and others.

Let Anglicans themselves clear up these points, and decide—first, *who* are their acknowledged theological authorities, and then *what* these teach, and we may allow them to charge us with unfairness for not drawing our statements exclusively from them. The *British Critic* is, indeed, hard to please upon these matters. If Dr. Wiseman quotes Baxter, who has received the commendations of Barrow, Wilkins, and other Anglican divines, or Jones, whom Dr. Maltby has praised,[†] it is an insult to Beveridge to place him in such company (p. 392). If Dr. Beveridge himself is cited, it happens to be a work written by him when a young man, and not published by himself (p. 390). As to the latter circumstance, people very seldom *do* publish their own "private thoughts," but rather leave them to be given after their deaths; and as to the first, we might allow the plea in matters of research or thought, but scarcely in treating of an acquaintance with the principle of faith held in one's own Church. Certes, St. Thomas Aquinas was not much, if at all, older when he composed many of his treatises; nor do we think that either Catholic or Protestant looks to the chronology of his works, when he quotes him as a testimony of what his Church teaches, and taught. And surely, that cannot be very clearly the principle of faith of the Anglican Church, which Beveridge,

[†] The Clarendon press, at which Jones's work was printed, is under the direction of persons appointed by the vice-chancellor of Oxford University.

about to take orders, did not know to be such, and only discovered by maturer studies.

We have various other remarks connected with this topic, which we must pass over at present. In concluding this subject, we will observe, that perhaps the reviewer may have some small right to complain of Dr. Wiseman, for not having made, in his Lectures, an exception in favour of the party to which he and his friends belong. But to blame him for not separating *the Church* of England from other Protestants; in his arguments on the Rule of Faith, is manifestly unreasonable. Let that Church, *as a Church*, detach itself from all other sectaries, in its reasoning against us, let it avow disapprobation of their principles, let it be as unanimous in its doctrines concerning tradition and Church authority—we will not say as we are, but as it is itself on the rejection of Transubstantiation—and then we will acknowledge its right to record a separate plea from the great body of Protestants, when the Catholic arraigns them together for a breach of religious unity.

Further, we will observe, that it is hard to make such a charge of injustice at this time of day. From Baily's^s to Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from Jewel's "Apology" to Burgess's "Charges," we meet no traces of this distinction between Anglican and Ultra-Protestant. The line of demarcation is clear and bold; "the Bible alone" on one side, "church authority" on the other, defines the challenge of the combatants; the Protestant never haggles about the terms, the Catholic never flinches from his ground. "With this sword" (Scripture), says Jewel, "did Christ put off the devil, when he was tempted of him; with

^s An End to Controversy. Doway, 1654.

these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance itself against God to be overthrown and conquered. 'For all Scripture,' saith St. Paul, 'that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable,' &c. Thus did the Holy Fathers always fight against the heretics, with none other force than with the holy Scriptures."^h Harding understands these words in the usual "popular" sense of the rejection of all *authority* but Scripture, and refutes them accordingly. Nor, if we remember right, does Jewel complain of misrepresentation. If he appeals to the Fathers, it is more as a question of fact than of right; he wishes to show that they are with Protestants, and not with Catholics; but he does not admit them as judges or umpires between the two.

But, after all, religion is a practical, and not merely a speculative, institution; and we think that the doctrines of a Church may best be learned from what its pastors generally teach, and its followers generally believe. And on this view, we are satisfied, that the Church of England, as it exists at present, must be enumerated under the general head of Protestantism, and cannot be placed in a distinct class. But its article, which declares that "the Church hath authority in matters of faith." To it we oppose, *first*, the doubtfulness of its authenticity, or rather the strong probability of its spuriousness, whereof *we* are nearly convinced. *Secondly*, the latitude of interpretation which we have already seen permitted in the Church,

^h On the contrary, Professor Keble writes as follows:—"As often as Tertullian and Irenæus have false teachers to reprove, or unevangelical corruptions to expose, do they not refer to the traditions of the whole Church, as to something independent of the written word, and sufficient, at that time, to confute heresy, even alone? Do they not employ Church tradition as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it?"—Sermon, p. 28.

and which allows the ultra-Protestant principle of private judgment to be publicly taught by its authorized ministers. *Thirdly*, the difficulties of the system to which it leads, as explained by the *British Critic*—difficulties which will not allow dogmatical authority to be the principle of the Anglican Church.

II. This last objection forms, if our readers remember, the second head of our general animadversions upon the system presented by the periodical organ of the High Church party. Our first exception to it arises from its evident obscurity, in the mind of its expositor himself. Take the two following passages:—

“Will he (Dr. W.) reply, that the Roman Church does *not* grant that it can decree things *contrary* to Scripture? True, but it claims to decree points of faith *beyond* Scripture. And this is the authority which we deny it.”—P. 378.

* * * * *

“We consider that her [the Church’s] decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled, indeed, to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*. This distinction is made at the end of the twentieth Article:—‘As it [the Church] ought not to *decree* anything against the same, so *besides* the same ought it not to *enforce* anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.’ The Church must not enforce beyond Scripture; *it may decree*, i.e. *pronounce*, *beyond it*, but *not against it*.”—P. 379.

And yet in the same breath we have been told that this is the very authority which is denied to the Catholic Church. The writer would, perhaps, reply, that it is the *authority* which is denied to us, and is not claimed by the Anglican Church. But, to a simple, unsophisticated reader, such a distinction will hardly occur; and we confess that we read over the paragraph repeatedly, with the conviction, that its termination flatly contradicted its beginning. And even now it leaves upon our mind the conviction, that the writer has not very clear notions of what he should deny to

the Catholic Church, and what he should claim for his own.

Nor is this perplexity imaginary. The Church may *decree*, but it may not *enforce*. What, if its decrees be disregarded? What, if men, as did the Presbyterians under Elizabeth and James, overlooking the distinction, pronounce that to be contrary to Scripture which the Church decrees as only beyond it? Must it stop short? Is it powerless in *enforcing* the observance of its injunctions? If so, then is that reasoning not unjust, of which the *Critic* so loudly complains, that "each one has to judge for himself, whether the Church be contradicting the express doctrines of Scripture; and that, consequently, each person is thus constituted judge over the decisions of his Church."¹ Has the Church the right of enforcing upon the individuals? Then is the *Critic's* distinction futile and vain.

In fact, the idea of a Church, or any other governing authority, possessed of a power to *decree* more extensive than its power to *enforce*, is self-repugnant. It may *recommend* or exhort to an extent beyond its authority to put in execution, but it must not talk of enacting or *decreeing*.

This obscurity of the system may be further evinced from the heaviness of the commentary which overloads the simplicity of the text. The article, if genuine, simply says, that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." This is vague enough, heaven knows; and gives little scope for practical inferences, but abundant for theories. Professor Keble engrafts upon it all his doctrine of tradition, and the threefold order of truths to be derived from it, and the necessity of studying diligently the writings of the Fathers. The *British Critic* builds upon it a more massive

¹ Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, p. 80.

theory of the Anglican Church's referring "the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith to antiquity, giving authority to the Church, as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity amongst us" (p. 384). This "limitation," or rather amplification, of the article, is to be drawn from one of the canons of convocation (p. 379). Be it so; but the canon would have done well to tell us, when, where, and by whom this appeal to antiquity, or rather this summons of attention to its yet speaking voice, is to be made: the *Critic* might have shown us how the Church makes it at the present day, in order to the confutation and overthrow of those rampant errors which have long torn her in pieces.

For this we think a still weightier objection, to the system, that it is theory, and nothing but theory. It has no life, no vigour, no active existence. We may weary our readers by insisting so often upon this idea; but it is one never to be lost sight of, in controversy with this party. The Church which they describe, and which they idolize, is imaginary, and exists only upon paper. Perhaps in its beginning it may have exhibited its vital powers, by stoutly combating, and, with the aid of the secular arm, repressing, the innovations of seceders from its pale; but long has it given proof that such a vigour was external and adventitious, depending upon the interest which the State felt in its exercise of influence. Since it has been left to itself, although within it and around it, through dissent and dissension, its Articles have been impugned, its discipline decried, its usefulness disputed, its ministrations contemned; no voice of authority has been raised within it, no outstretching of its arm has been witnessed; never once has it assumed that attribute of dignity, that imposing mien of command, which the

imagined depositary of an apostolic teaching, and an establishment of heaven-guided ministers, might be supposed entitled to assume.

Has it been so with the Catholic Church. Was Jansenism, not half so perilous or so pernicious as Arianism, allowed by wily arts to seduce the faithful, while no one spoke? On the contrary, although but little more than a century before the Church had lost a large portion of her dominion, through the unhappy Reformation, and she seemed ill able to afford another defection, she did not hesitate to trace out the hidden error, and out away, with steady hand, the cancer which had stretched its subtle roots through a part of her otherwise healthy frame. It was an operation, indeed, more painful and more difficult than the previous cutting off of a useless and diseased limb; but she shrank not from the performance of her stern duty. Though the sectaries were anxious not to break communion with the Universal Church, though they successively retreated from plea to plea, the Holy See, supported by the bishops of the Catholic world, tore off every disguise under which they sought to lurk, and overthrew every pretence for resistance, till the evil was removed, and, without loss to the Church, clean destroyed. When attempts were made by Ricci and the Pistoians, to revive in Italy what had been foiled in France, Pius VI., by his noble constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, vindicated the dignity of the Apostolic See, and united the suffrages of the whole Church in their condemnation. And that condemnation was the destruction of the dangerous novelty.

Such are, indeed, practical and vigorous proofs, not merely of a system of authoritative teaching in the Church, but of its healthy action. And such was the method pursued in that antiquity, which we are told

yet raises its voice in the Anglican Church. For it was not then deemed sufficient to frame a symbol or code of articles, and then leave it to its fate, and pursue the detection and repression of error no further; but every new heresy was met by a new remedy, every poisonous invention led to the publication of a new antidote; and singly was each starting error beaten down, and in general effectually. Nay, the symbols of the Church were never mere "articles for the avoiding of diversities of opinion;" they were not acts for settling the basis of belief and government, but they were occasional exercises of authority called forth by the rise of new and unheard-of opinions. Even in the case of national churches, the same in a subordinate degree was their practice. The Donatists of Africa were energetically attacked and condemned, in the first instance, by the authoritative decisions of the Church in that country. If then Anglicanism holds the same principles, why does it not, as well as Catholicism, continue to act upon the same system? God knows that it cannot have been from want of opportunity or necessity. Authority is an active instrument; it requires exercise for its maintenance; it is as a bow, which, if for ages left unstrung, will snap whenever the attempt be made again to bend it. If the English Church have all along believed herself possessed of so rich a deposit as this apostolic power to teach, how will she answer for having folded it up in a napkin, and buried it so long in the earth? If not, whence has a new light burst upon her now, or upon some of her divines, and convinced them she has always possessed the treasure?

How comes it, too, that never in her Articles is allusion made to the manner of exercising this authority, or to the places or circumstances under which

the exercise should be made? We should rejoice, indeed, by way of experiment, to see such a trial made as the *Critic* somewhere proposes, of an Anglican national synod. We should like to see the Church condemn Calvinistic and semi-Arian principles, and deprive all ministers who teach them; endeavour to introduce the practices commended in the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," order such a reformation as would restore the cathedral service to its original forms, binding the wealthy canons to residence, and cutting down pluralities; then openly denounce, with the *Critic*, Wesley as "a heresiarch," and consequently his followers as heretics, and boldly pronounce that anathema of the Church which the Review now mutters, against such as believe and profess not, in accordance with the Athanasian Creed. Let all this, we say, be done by a national council of the Anglican Church; and let its decrees be based upon "primitive tradition, as well as Scripture, and her authority claimed as a rightful inheritance ever held by her since apostolic times;" and then we shall indeed see, whether her own children will justify her wisdom, or whether the attempted blow will not be rather considered as the "telum imbelles sine ictu,"^k of one who sinks in venerable dotage at the foot of his vanquished domestic altar.

But the practical inutility of this speculative system of authority is far from ending here. Whoever claims a right to control others, whether in judgment or in action, must offer at least some advantage in return. The Protestant has an obvious right to ask the ministers of the Anglican Church, "If I surrender my opinions and reasonings into your hands; if I abandon my conventicle, and embrace your formu-

^k *Æneid* ii. 544.

laries of worship, what certainty have I gained that I am securer of the truth than I was before?" Now the answer, if honest and explicit, should, according to the principles of the *British Critic*, be as follows:— "The Anglican Church is a part of the true Church; she is a national independent branch thereof. She pretends not, however, even collectively, to immunity from error. For it is one of her articles, that 'as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred,' and as 'also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . in matters of faith,'¹ so the Anglican, which pretends to no more infallibility than she allows to them, may err no less in matters of faith. But then this immense advantage will result from your joining the national Church, that though it, as a particular Church, may fail, and teach what is erroneous in faith, yet '*the whole Church all over the world* will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true.'"^m

Now, we ask any unprejudiced mind, whether this is not like toying with men's consciences and good sense at once? In fact, we have not gone far enough in the concessions of this imaginary, but consistent, answer. For, some Anglican divines hold the Church to be of a revolutionary character — not in the political, but in the scientific, sense of the word—moveable, like the Jewish tabernacle, from one place to another; and England is allowed by them to have had her turn, and to be probably on the point of losing it. Thus writes Dr. Daubeny, though we cannot be sure that he is on the *Critic's* list of the orthodox, and whether we may not be charged, as Dr. Wiseman has been, with unfairness in presuming to quote him, as an authority in the Church, whose champion he stands forth.ⁿ

¹ Art. xix.

^m *British Critic*, p. 880.

ⁿ Dr. Daubeny indeed attacks boldly the sin of schism in all who

“Though this Church, from the days of its first settlement, hath been passing from country to country, as the inhabitants of each became respectively unworthy of its longer continuance among them; yet for our comfort we are assured that the gates of hell shall not completely prevail against it. In one part of the world or another, it will be found to the end of time. How long it may be in the counsel of God to continue it in this country he only knows. But the present divided state of Christians, so much lamented by all sound members of the Church, together with that too general indifference for all religious opinions, which, under the fallacious term of *liberality of sentiment*, now prevails, holds out to us no very promising prospect.”^o Therefore, not only *may* the Anglican Church fail, but it is highly probable that it *will*. But what matters it to the individual, that the Church all over the world will not concur in teaching error, so long as in this circumstance he has no pledge that the particular branch of it, which he is called upon to join, is secure from failure? Or what claim can the latter establish, by the proof of this universal security, to a particular confidence? Could men be compelled as a solemn duty to carry their disputes before any given court of judicature, upon the ground that all

separate themselves from the law-established Church. But we find that in his concluding discourse, he is anxious that each one should be guided to it by the use of his individual judgment exercised upon the Bible, which he puts into his readers' hands, that, like the Bereans, they *may search and examine*. He is anxious not “to lead them blindfold; on the contrary, he is desirous that they should see for themselves, and see clearly.” (Guide to the Church, 1804, vol. i. p. 222.) This proves how little Anglican divines are any more aware than Dr. Wiseman, that their Church rejects the exercise of individual private judgment upon the Bible, as the guide in matters of faith.

^o Ibid. p. 159.

the courts throughout the world could not concur in an unjust decision? It is *personal* security, his *own* safety, that each one is bound to seek, in matters of faith; and to *exact* submission and obedience in judgment and deed, as a duty strictly binding where that equivalent professedly is not given, is not only tyrannical but contradictory.

The only way in which this duty of adhesion to an insecure Church, on the ground that the body, whereof it is a corruptible member, is itself incorruptible, can be justified, appears to be this: That the universal Church of Christ, being indefectible, every particular Church which *actually* forms a part of it must be considered safe; and thus the communion with the fallible becomes a participation in the universal security of the infallible. Such we suppose to be the reasoning of the reviewer, when he insists upon the Anglican Church's being a branch of the Catholic or universal Church. But where is the proof that the Church of England is in communion with any other Churches in the world, except its own colonies, and perhaps the Episcopalians of North America? It has no more to say to the Greek, or Armenian, or Syriac, Church, than it has to the French or Italian. There is neither common belief nor common discipline to cement it into unity with them. There is no acknowledgment of communion, there is no interchange of friendly offices, there is no intercourse of epistolary communication. There is no sympathy in distress, no common joy in prosperity, no acquaintance with one another's state and feelings. Take, if it please you, Dr. Isaac Barrow's utopian "Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church," and apply his enumeration of the duties of this unity, and see if from them it can possibly result that the Anglican Church is in posses-

sion of a single link connecting it with the rest of Christ's Church. "If anywhere any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it . . . especially the *pastors of the churches* are obliged with one consent to oppose it . . . Thus did the bishops of several churches meet to suppress the heresy of Pope [*Paul?*] Samosatenus. This was the ground of most synods."^p When has the Anglican Church joined any such confederacy with any other churches, for the suppression of error or infidelity?

"If any dissension or faction doth arise in any church, *other churches*, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it." Is there any church that would, under such circumstances, ask for aid from the Anglican, or accept its proffered assistance?

"All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in *communion of the Eucharist, &c.* St. Polycarp being at Rome, did communicate with Pope Anicetus."^q Where is the *Episcopal* church which would admit an English Protestant bishop to officiate at the altar, or to participate in its Eucharist, knowing him to reject, as fond and superstitious, so much of its belief and practice?

"If dissension arise between divers churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria. If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, to the common danger of truth and piety, his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and if he should not reform,

^p Barrow's Works, Tillotson's ed. vol. i. p. 766. ^q Page 767.

might deprive him of communion." Does the Anglican Church admit in "any neighbour bishops" this right of interference, or does she pretend to it herself, or has she ever thought of using it? Would she expose herself to the certain rebuff she would receive, upon endeavouring to interpose as a mediatrix, between any two foreign churches?

"In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for advice, and any Church should yield it." Is there any example, or any chance, of such confidence existing between the Anglican, and any other, Church?

Such are pretty nearly his proofs of unity between different establishments supposed to form collectively "the Catholic Church;"^r and, therefore, did we call Dr. Barrow's treatise Utopian, because believing, as we suppose, his Church to be one of such establishments, he gravely proposes tests of her pretensions which can only exist in imagination, and must show her to have no pretensions to a real place in this universal community. The Dissenter, then,—for we must be allowed to smile when the *Critic* or Dr. Barrow has the simplicity to call *us* schismatics,—the Dissenter is solemnly urged, under grievous peril of his soul, to join the Anglican Church, not because she is safe from error, but because the entire Church is, of which she forms a part. And if he calls for proofs that she *is* a part of the Universal Church, characteristics are proposed to him, as criterions of her claim, not one of which exists in her; or rather the absence of which proves that she is *not* in communion with this Universal Church wherever it is to be found. The unsuc-

^r Be it remembered, that the *Critic* approves of Dr. Barrow's conclusion drawn from this very treatise, that Catholics are to be considered as schismatics.—P. 434.

cessful tampering of old with the Greek Church, through Cyril Lucaris, will prove, to the scholar, that our commentary upon Dr. Barrow's text has good foundation.

But if a Dissenter, thus staggered, not to say shocked, at the boldness of the system which asked so much, and gave him in return so little, were desirous to look about him elsewhere for something of what is here described, he would not be long in discovering a Church, composed of many national churches, possessed individually of rights and liberties, and forming complete governing communities; but so cemented together in steadfast unity of faith and discipline, as to verify what Dr. Barrow has written of religious unity. In our Church, he would find in practice and in truth, what, spoken of the Anglican Church by one of her own divines, must sound as a cruel jest. The Churches of France and Ireland, of Italy and South America, of Germany and Syria, of Spain and Poland, of Belgium and Cochin China, are in full enjoyment of almost every characteristic^a of religious unity which we have transcribed; the subjects of any one could communicate, the clergy could celebrate at the altar of any other among them. The pastors could meet as brethren, and sit at one council-board; they *do* consult one another in cases of difficulty; they assist and receive one another in distress, and sympathize with their respective sufferings.^b But the sects or Churches

^a We, of course, except such acts of high jurisdiction as *no* Church nowadays could pretend to in respect of another; such as the deposition of bishops in another country, &c. Such extraordinary power is only vested in the sovereign pontiff. But would the Anglican, under any circumstance, allow the American bishops to interfere in England to such an extent?

^b A beautiful example of this truly Catholic feeling has lately taken place. Some of the new States of South America had, during their

that are not within this pale—and the Anglican is one—have and can have no participation in these advantages of communion with them, nor do they affect any among themselves. The Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of Moscow, would be greatly astonished if the Convocation consulted them about the Thirty-nine Articles, or if his Grace of Canterbury, travelling in their parts, should ask to read the communion service in one of their churches.

But we are not sure that we should make the insecurity, of such as obey the Church of England's summons to join her, end here. For even this imaginary connection, which she cannot prove, with the Universal Church, ought, according to her principles, to be no guaranty. In her twenty-first article, she says, that "general councils," that is, assemblies of the bishops of the *whole* Church, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, *may err*, and sometimes *have erred*, even in things appertaining unto God." The *Critic*, indeed, says, that this article speaks only "historically of professed and pretended general councils." But, with due deference, we beg to dissent from this interpretation. For though the clause, "and *have erred*," may be only historically added, yet the

contest with their mother country, banished all Spaniards from their territories, not excepting clergymen. Since they have been freed from all alarm, they have zealously set about restoring their religious establishments, and particularly the regular orders. For this purpose, agents, with large sums at their disposal, have been sent to Italy, to procure members of these orders to cross the Atlantic. They have been instructed to give preference to Spaniards who have been ejected from their religious houses by the present Spanish Government. And whenever any of them have sought an asylum in the new States, they have been received with marked kindness and hospitality. Thus has the Catholic spirit triumphed over obstinate national prejudices.

definition that "they *may* err" is an enunciation of a belief or general principle, inasmuch as it is based upon the circumstance, that all the individuals composing a general council are not guided by the word and Spirit of God. Now, as this will apply to every possible general council, as well as to any actual one since that of Jerusalem, we must conclude that the Church of England does not attribute security from error, even to the entire Church of Christ in council assembled. How much less then can union with her be an imperative duty, on the ground, that thereby the individual is secure through union with the Universal Church ?

There is another inconsistency in this new scheme of Church authority. The Church in general is allowed to be indefectible, upon the strength of that text, in which our Saviour promises to be with His apostles to the end of the world (p. 395), and other similar passages. When He says, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;" the consequence is, that the Church to which these words are addressed is at all times to be listened to, as the living voice of Christ; and thus it is indefectible. Yet, upon these very texts, the High Church party claim authority for the particular pastors of their Church, as legitimate successors of the apostles. But how shall these texts, addressed to one only body, be it what it may, confer two perfectly dissimilar things, on two distinct classes of persons; to wit, indefectibility to the collective, universal Church, and authority to each component part thereof? If the Anglican hierarchy lay claim to one of the gifts, they have as much right to the other. But this is not our present question. We ask on what ground are these texts thus made to cut two ways, to answer two

different purposes, without any warranty for the distinction in the texts themselves? Whatever Church is declared to be indefectible, is invested with authority, and none other; and as the Anglican Church does not pretend to the one quality, it can have no claim to the other. If the indefectibility which is the consequence of Christ's teaching through the pastors, be not distributable among particular churches, how is it proved that authority in faith, which is that very teaching, is so distributable? But if the two reside united in the same body, as in consistency they ought, then we say the result is INFALLIBILITY. For indefectibility secures the existence of *objective* truth in the Church at all times; and authority to teach, in conjunction, secures *subjective* truth. In other words, the latter obliges each individual to believe whatever it teaches, while the former assures him that it can never fall into error.

In fact, infallibility is the active manifestation of indefectibility through authority. Where the fund of wisdom and truth is imperishable and incorruptible, its outward communication must be so too. If the Church is to be heard because Christ teaches in it, the Church is *infallible*,—even as Christ is. All this is in exact harmony with Catholic truth. In this there is no disjunction of what God hath ordained; no drawing of authority for individual churches, and of indefectibility for the Universal Church, from one indivisible text. Both, indeed, are proved; but both in favour of one—of the Catholic Universal Church: and with these the natural result of the two conjoined—*dogmatical infallibility*. In their pastors, the flock recognise the connecting link between them and this great community; they are ruled and taught by them, in strict harmonious unity with the entire Church.

But the Anglican Church can show, as we have

already observed, no connection with any other Church, to prove that it forms a part of any larger religious communion. Either she alone is the Universal Catholic Church, or she is out of its pale. If the first, she should claim indefectibility; if the second, she must renounce authority.

By way of conclusion, let us transfer the inquiry to another country. We were at first inclined to choose Ireland or Italy; but particular exceptions might be taken against both these points of comparison; therefore, we will place the controversy in France. The French Church has a hierarchy, less interrupted in apostolic succession, than the Anglican can possibly pretend to be. The bishops of Gaul may be traced to the second century, or even to the immediate disciples of the apostles; whereas the Anglicans do not pretend to trace their succession further back than the Roman mission under St. Gregory the Great. The succession too in France has no awkward passage to explain in its history, such as the turning out of all the bishops by civil persecution, and tacking to the succession a new set, who pretended to inherit the sees, while they rejected the religion, of those before them. But putting aside all these odious comparisons, we will only assume, that the Church of France has as good a right at least to claim apostolic succession, with all its prerogatives of authority and obedience, as the Church of England. We ask, therefore, are not the French Protestants chargeable with schism, since they "separate themselves from the Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops?" (p. 435). Are they not "bound," as much as, according to the *Critic*, the English Catholics are, "to unite themselves to the French Church?" (p. 434).

^a The *Critic*, p. 434, applies to the Irish and English Catholics

It will not be said that the French Church does not maintain its independence as a national Church, or that by its submission to the supremacy of the Holy See, she has forfeited her rights over all separatists within her dominions. For Barrow expressly writes : " Yet those churches, which by voluntary consent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman Church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from the communion of charity or peace ; for in that they do but use their liberty."* Now the French Church is not bound certainly by any compulsion to the Roman See ; and, therefore, the French Protestants cannot refuse it obedience on this score. But then, perhaps, the French Church " maintains impious errors," or " prescribes naughty practices,"—which the learned doctor adds as a sufficient reason for treating a Church as " heretical or schismatical." And who is to pronounce this judgment for the French Protestant ? He himself individually ? Then we have private judgment set up against, and above, the decision of the national Church : and thus is the Dissenter's plea made good against the Anglican Church. The body of Christians to which he is attached ? Then must similar bodies in England have the same right ; and Catholics cannot be schismatics who use this right, and proclaim the Anglican Church to teach " impious errors," and therefore to be itself " heretical and schismatical." Some foreign Church, as the Anglican ? Then may the English Catholic be equally guided by the decisions of far more numerous foreign churches. And, moreover, according

what Barrow says only of the English. The question of the Irish Catholics is more intimately connected with that of the Anglican Episcopacy, and therefore must not be lightly touched on here.

* Ubi supra, p. 783.

to the theory of independent national churches, each has a right to command full obedience from its own immediate subjects, free from foreign control. But, says the *Critic*, "The Romish Church *generally* is regarded as schismatical in exacting as terms of communion and articles of faith, doctrines which are of uncertain authority" (p. 435). By whom is it so generally regarded? *By the Anglican Church!* And is this then an infallible Church, which has a right to set up its decision against the combined decisions of so many other certainly *no less* apostolic churches, which concur in not considering those articles as of uncertain authority, and in condemning the Anglican as heretical? Or are Protestants in Catholic countries bound to recognise in her an authority to rule their belief, against the decisions of the hierarchy in them, while the Catholics or Dissenters in England have no similar resource in any other country? If so, the Anglican Church comes within the gripe of Barrow's conclusion,—that if churches be "turbulent and violent, trying by all means *to subdue and enslave other churches* to their will or their dictates; in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical and schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings."

One of two things. Either it must be left to the individual to decide whether a church proposes or not "doctrines of uncertain authority," and then his private reason is constituted superior to the Church, and a judge over her decision; or else the decision of any foreign Episcopal Church has as much right to control the individual judgment of each person, and then Protestants in Catholic countries are acknowledged to be heretics. In the first supposition, Dissenters are not heretics nor schismatics with regard to the Established

Church; in the second, the French Protestants are bound to subscribe to their belief in Purgatory and Transubstantiation, which the Anglican Articles condemn. In either, the writer in the *Critic* has, we imagine, a hard alternative. To use his own words, "we differ from him in logic, as much as in divinity" (p. 397).

Let us place the question under another aspect. These High Church divines say, that their Church draws its explanations of Scripture from antiquity, of which it is the witness and depository. It builds therefore upon this testimony its belief in the Eucharist, and its interpretation of the words employed by our Lord in its institution. But the Catholic Church, that is, the union of many other churches, appeals to precisely the same authority and test, for *its* interpretation and belief. This is not a question of first principles, as whether anything is to be enforced or not which is not clearly proved from Scripture: it is a matter of application of a rule equally admitted. The Zwinglian maintains the Eucharist to be a naked symbol, a merely commemorative rite. The Catholic and the Anglican contradict him; the former says that tradition has ever taught in his Church, a real and corporeal presence of Christ in that sacrament; the Anglican that his Church has learned from the same source to believe in a *real* but not a *corporeal* presence. Who is to decide between the two? Is it the duty of the individual to unravel the mystery for himself, and trace out the testimony of tradition through the first ages? Then private judgment again comes in, and again is exalted as the umpire between conflicting churches! Shall the Anglican Church have the preference? But she renounces all claim to infallibility. And what other plea can she urge, which shall not assume her being the only true Church, and her

principle of faith being the only correct one,—which is the very matter of inquiry?

The fact is, that there is no middle point between private judgment and the infallible authority of a living Church, which, being universal, can command particular churches as well as individuals. We would willingly exclude the name of Mr. Blanco White from our pages; but he seems to us at this moment to be a “sign,” though not a “wonder,” — a monumental record of this principle, practically illustrated in his double apostasy. He seems to us to have satisfactorily demonstrated, that on the march from Catholicity to Socinianism, and the unlimited use of private judgment, the Church of England presents no resting-place. It may indeed be passed through on the road, and its curious imitations of the place just left may detain the wanderer’s and outcast’s attention for a brief space, as it did Mr. White’s; but on he must go, if he be borne forward by a consistent principle, till he reach the other extreme.⁷

Many observations which have come before our minds we have been compelled to omit, for really there is no end to the incoherences and impracticabilities of the High Church scheme. It presents one inextricable confusion of rights belonging to the Universal Church with those of particular parts or national establishments. The Church is ever spoken of as indefectible — as the depositary of truth — the voice of antiquity—and all this is said of the Universal Church. But when we come to the deference due to it in consequence of these prerogatives, by a process of logical jugglery, the Anglican contrives to step in, to receive it as its right. If these divines

⁷ See his “Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy,” p. 7.

would keep the two distinct in their argument, they would find it miserably lame.

We were not a little surprised to see the popular mis-statement repeated in the *Critic's* pages, that Catholics believe their Church empowered to *create* articles of faith (p. 383). They claim for her no more authority than she exercised in the early ages, that of defining what had been believed within her from the beginning, and thus *declaring* articles of faith. The symbols of the ancient councils, as we have before observed, were only framed against heresies as they arose; and certain points were thus defined and proposed, for the first time, in clear formal terms, to the acceptance of the faithful. Other matters, such as the Eucharist, grace, justification, were omitted, because on them there was no error. Had any existed, the doctrine regarding them would have been as clearly laid down. And there can be no doubt but that a new obligation would thus have fallen upon all Christians, to believe definitively with the Church, on points whereon, before the definition, they could not be so well instructed, nor so accurately know the faith of the Church dispersed. Hence it is not an uncommon remark of judicious and primitive writers, that the Fathers spoke more loosely upon certain subjects before they had been clearly defined by the Church. If this declaration of matters, ever believed, but not before defined, be called a *creation* of new articles, we have no objection to the *Critic's* phrase. But if by this term is signified that, according to Catholics, their Church may propose that to be believed, which before was not believed, it is a gross inaccuracy to apply it to us.

In fact, we believe the Church, in regard to her authority, to have no past and no future. She is

always one; and whatever she had ever a right to do after the Apostles' time, she has a right to do at present. When the *Critic*, or Mr. Keble, sends us back to antiquity as the rule of faith, joined to Scripture, and thereby means the doctrine of the three or four first centuries, we beg to remind him, that these times were once *the present* of the Church. The faithful of those days did not, could not, look to "antiquity," which then was not, but to the *living* church. What was their rule of faith is ours; three hundred years, or eighteen hundred, from the time of Christ, cannot make a difference in a principle; it was nowhere appointed, or decreed, or foretold that for so many centuries the *existing* Church should teach, and that, after that time, she should lose her guaranty, and be only the witness to antiquity. Yet so much must the *Critic* pretend, by boasting that the Catholic "gives to the existing Church the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith . . . and the Anglican to antiquity, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice . . . of antiquity." What that antiquity held, we hold, for *it* could not acknowledge any authority but the *existing* Church.

Moreover, the High Church principle only removes the difficulties of Protestantism, or as these divines prefer calling it, of *ultra-Protestantism*, another step; but it does not obviate them completely. Antiquity, as deposited in the writings of the early ages, is a dead letter as much as the Bible: it requires a living interpreter, no less. It has its obscurities, its perplexities, its apparent contradictions as much; it requires a guide equally to conduct us through its mazes. It cannot step in and decide between conflicting opinions and rival claims; it can, at most, be a code which requires a judge to apply it. It is more voluminous,

more complex, more uncompact than Scripture; it needs more some methodizing and harmonizing, authoritative, expounder. If national churches can separately fulfil these offices, and sufficiently discharge these duties, they surely ought not to come to contradictory conclusions. Yet the Anglican stands in stark opposition to every other Episcopal Church throughout the world; its own daughter in America perhaps excepted.

And yet, narrow as are the limits of this Church, its principle of faith has not secured to it the blessing which should be its destined result,—a steadfast unity of belief among its members. We speak not merely of the prevalence of dissent, but of the vast differences which the controversies, treated of in this article, have shown to exist between the members of the Anglican Church. The *British Critic* proposes a synod of that Church, as the best means of settling its present difficulties. Once more we say; let it be called, and we shall see how the Kebles and the Russells, the Newmans and the Arnolds, the Puseys and the Bickersteths, will agree in defining the first principle of faith, the ground on which all other controversies should be decided.

At the same time, comprehensive, nay, vast as is the pale of Catholicity, and embracing, as it does, every zone, and every quarter of the globe, let a council be called of its pastors, and you would see how differently *its* rule has attained the end of its existence, in the universal harmony it has produced in belief and practice. There you might interrogate a bishop from New Spain, or a vicar-apostolic from Sweden, a professor of the Sorbonne, or a country curate from the Abruzzi; you might consult the catechism taught to the child in Ireland, or to the native convert in the

Philippine Islands, without discovering any wavering or hesitation on the question of church authority, or on any doctrine by it defined.

And by this comparison, it may be seen how in the Catholic Church the manifestation of the Son of Man, and the living Word of the Father, is, "as the lightning which cometh out of the east, and shineth even into the west," one single, indivisible and unsearchable blaze of light, pervading the entire heaven of human intelligence, from hemisphere to hemisphere. But if, on the one hand, when we are told, "Lo ! He is in the desert," in camp-meetings, and field-preachings, and revivals, amidst the mad exuberance of ultra-Protestant zeal, "we go not forth;" so, on the other, we hope to be pardoned if, on being modestly assured that "He is in the secret chambers" of one or two colleges in Oxford, where alone his doctrines may be had in their purity, "we believe it not."*

There is one point on which we fully agree with the *Critic*, and as it forms the beginning of his article, so it shall form the conclusion of ours. In common with many recent writers, he is of opinion that the controversies between our two Churches are only now fairly commencing. He thinks justly, that hitherto we have been assailed "rather by the power of the civil sword than by the arguments of divines" (p. 374). The privilege of even attacking has been till now all on the other side, and we have been condemned, as a caste, to the ignobler labours of apology and defence. The staff of the oppressor hath now, however, been broken, we stand upon more equal ground, and it is our own fault if we follow not up our advantages. If the battle, of reason, we mean, and argument, has now to be fought, we, at least, will not steal away from the

* Matt. xxiv. 24, 26.

field; our habits and feelings would suggest another course, and prompt us, like Tasso's shepherd, to seek seclusion from the war, in the humbler task of our own improvement, or of mere domestic duties. But there are times when every citizen is a soldier, in the spiritual as in civil warfare; and a crisis like this is one. The course which we shall pursue shall be consistent and persevering. We seek not the wealth of our Anglican neighbours, nor their establishment, nor their political power, nor their usurped influence. All these things we esteem as dross. But we covet their brotherhood in the faith, and their participation in our security of belief, and their being bound to us in cords of love, through religious unity. For these things, we will contend, unceasingly, and to the utmost of our power; and GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT!

“TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.”

PART II.

ANGLICAN CLAIMS
OF
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Oct. 1838.

ANGLICAN CLAIMS

OF

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

ART. I.—*Tracts for the Times*. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1833-36.

IN our first article upon the "*Tracts for the Times*,"^a we reserved for future discussion the momentous question, how far the claim advanced in them, on behalf of the Anglican Church, to the rights and privileges of apostolical succession, is valid. To this task we now apply ourselves, with the full consciousness of our inability to do justice to the subject, in the confined limits of an article in a review. Gladly would we, therefore, hold back from the discussion, till leisure and circumstances gave us opportunity for a more finished, as well as a more extensive, examination of the foundations of the English Church. We do not express these sentiments from any regret at the pledge we have given, nor from any desire to retreat from its obligation; for we felt when we gave it even as we do now. But we were urged on by a sense of duty; and the pressure of that feeling continues yet. Not a moment's time, we seriously believe, is to be lost in fixing the attention of the Catholic mind, upon the true and novel position of our controversy, with the reviving ideas of the old Protestant theology; and if we can only point out the track upon which bolder genius

^a No. 2 of this series.

and deeper research than ours may follow up the attack, our duty as reviewers will have been amply discharged. For the periodical press attached to any great interest, should, we have always judged, act the part of sentinels or watchmen, giving notice of the first appearance of danger and of the approach of a new foe, to those whose office it is to man the bulwarks, and defend the walls, of their holy Sion.

The *Tracts for the Times* are for ever inculcating upon their readers, the belief that the Anglican Church possesses authority by apostolic descent. We will first establish this point by a few extracts, in addition to several quoted in our former article.

“We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave his spirit to his apostles; they, in their turn, laid their hands upon those who should succeed them; and these, again, on others: and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and, in some respects, their representatives.”—No. i. p. 2.

“We, who believe in the Nicene Creed, must acknowledge it a high privilege that we belong to the apostolic Church. How is it that most of us are, almost avowedly, so cold and indifferent in our thoughts of this privilege? . . . For many years we have been much in the habit of resting our claim on the general duties of submission to authority, of decency and order, of respecting precedents long established,—instead of appealing to that warrant which marks us *exclusively* for GOD’S AMBASSADORS.”—No. iv. p. 1.

Thus we see that, at the very outset of their publication, the tract writers are careful to inculcate this idea of the existence of a succession from the Apostles in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church, and of a consequent obligation on the part of the laity, to pay it submission and obedience. But the Tract No. 15 is entitled, “On the Apostolical Succession in the English Church.” It treats of the popular objection (and a well-grounded objection we could easily prove

it), that in assuming this privilege of apostolic succession, and its consequent rights, High Churchmen must recur to Rome as the fountain-head of their orders, which is inconsistent in men that reprobate "Popery." It proceeds to answer this objection, and then to give the grounds whereon the Church of England lays claim to the succession. As this tract will form the principal text whereupon we shall comment through this article, we will reserve our extracts for each part of our subject, as we shall want them. In the mean time, we will refer our readers, for farther evidence, if required, of this determination in the Oxford divines to claim all the rights of a Church legally descended from the Apostles, to the Tracts No. 5, p. 1, and No. 7, entitled, "The Episcopal Church Apostolical," to which, likewise, we may have occasion to refer.

It is our intention to discuss the question between us and the Anglican upon this subject, independently of all inquiry into the validity of their ordinations. And this determination is the result of much serious reflection. Before stating our reasons, however, we must be allowed to protect ourselves against any misrepresentation. Let it not for a moment be imagined, that in thus waiving the inquiry into the value of English ordinations, we are prepared to admit their validity. On the contrary, our sincere and earnest conviction is, that, independent of all historical questions, they are decidedly invalid and nothing worth. We do not, therefore, sacrifice one inch of 'vantage-ground to our opponents, when we agree to put aside, in this inquiry into their pretensions to apostolical descent and jurisdiction, the question of the validity of their ordinations. It is only for the following reasons that we do so :—

First, the question of fact regarding the first Anglican consecration has lately been matter of controversy between several Catholic writers; and those of no mean reputation on either side. We wish not at present to revive the dispute. But neither do we wish to combat with arguments, the validity of which might be questioned by some of our side. Secondly, the two inquiries, if united, would be very long; and, as each can be conducted independently of the other, we must choose one which most directly meets the theories of our adversaries. Thirdly, the ground will be more completely cut away from under their feet, if we prove that, even granting them, for argument's sake, that their ordinations are valid, or were at the beginning, still they have not, nor ever had, any part in the apostolical succession, but are a schismatical Church in the fullest sense of the word; so that the works of their ministry are wholly unprofitable, and their jurisdiction none. Such are our motives for dispensing ourselves at once from entering upon the question of English orders.

In the passages above quoted, and in all others which treat of this subject in our authors, it is assumed that ordination, or imposition of hands, transmits at once apostolical jurisdiction. It is considered sufficient, to admit that the bishops of the establishment have been validly consecrated, to conclude thence that they are possessed of authority in their respective sees. Let the reader peruse the seventh tract, where he will find the simple fact of succession in a see through lawful consecration, alleged as a sufficient ground for admitting the transmission of the apostolic succession. We shall, therefore, have to inquire into two points. First, does consecration, even though valid, confer jurisdiction? secondly, what will vitiate

the episcopacy of a see or province, or kingdom, so as to cut it off from all participation in the rights of apostolical succession and jurisdiction? As the divines with whom at present we deal possess the greatest respect for ecclesiastical antiquity, and, in fact, agree with us that it is the judge of appeal upon such questions as the present, whereon Scripture has left us no canon or rule, we shall make it the test of their pretensions, and judge their Church, as we are conscientiously convinced it would have been judged, by the fathers and councils of the first centuries.

The distinction between ordination and jurisdiction is so clearly expressed in ancient ecclesiastical regulations, that men so conversant in them as the Oxford divines cannot have overlooked it. For we read of bishops, acknowledged as such, who yet were not allowed to exercise any act of episcopal authority, not even to ordain. The council of Ephesus mentions bishops who had no churches nor any settled see; it calls them *απολιδες σχολαζοντες, και εκκλησιας μη εχοντες*.^b When Eustathius, metropolitan of Pamphylia, had resigned his bishopric, and another had been elected in his place, it was referred to the same synod what was to be done with him; and the fathers decided as follows:—"We define it to be right and proper, that, without any contradiction, he retain the name and honour and communion of a bishop; but on condition that he neither have the authority of ordaining, nor offer up sacrifice in any church by his own right; unless, for the sake of his assistance, or by way of concession through Christian love, some brother and fellow-bishop kindly permit him."^c

Sozomen mentions "Barses and Eulogius (monks),

^b In Relat. ad Cœlestin. Labb. tom. iii. col. 664.

^c Ibid. col. 805.

who afterwards were both bishops, not of any city, but for honour only, consecrated in their monastery to reward their good actions. In which manner also," he adds, "Lazarus, of whom I have spoken above, was also a bishop."^d It is no doubt true, that, in general, the Church did not approve of the appointment of bishops without a see,—a practice condemned by the council of Sardica. Still were they allowed to be bishops void of jurisdiction. In the conference of Carthage (*Collatio Carthaginiensis*), Petilianus the Donatist calls such bishops phantoms (*imagines*), as opposed to real bishops (*Cardinales, et authenticos episcopos*).^e The thirty-seventh canon of the Trullan Synod allowed bishops whose sees were in the hands of barbarians or others, and therefore inaccessible, to ordain and discharge all other episcopal functions. In commenting upon this canon, Zonaras observes, that there were other bishops, who, out of mere sloth or love of ease, would not reside, nor undergo the episcopal burden, yet retained the honour and character of bishops.^f The cases of Meletius and of the Donatist bishops confirm the same point of ancient ecclesiastical doctrine. Of the latter, we shall have to mention the case later. The former is as follows:—Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, deposed by St. Peter of Alexandria, went from place to place consecrating bishops, under pretence that he was vicar to the patriarch of Antioch. The council of Nicea took cognizance of the matter. It acknowledged the validity of the imposition of hands, but denied jurisdiction or place in the apostolical succession to such as had thus

^d H. E. lib. vi. cap. 34.

^e Ad calcem Oper. S. Optati, p. 277, ed. Dupin. See also Christianus Lupus. Ven. 1724, tom. ii. p. 73.

^f Apud Thomassinum, "Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina," t. i. p. 97.

received it. It, however, sanctioned that, upon the death of any legitimate bishop, one of those consecrated by Meletius might succeed, provided he were chosen by the people, and found qualified and approved by the patriarch of Alexandria; in other words, if to the valid but illegal consecration the institution required by the ecclesiastical law was added.[§] And speaking of the decrees of this great council, we must not omit the eighth canon, which regards the Cathari, or Novatians. It enacts, that upon renouncing their errors, they shall be reconciled to the Church, and allowed to remain among the clergy. Where one of the bishops returns, the Catholic bishop shall retain his authority, and the other either retain the title, though exercising the functions of a simple presbyter; or, should the bishop not approve of having him with him, he must provide for him a place as chorepiscopus, or as priest. But two bishops must not be in one city.^h It is not necessary to delay our readers with evidence that, on the other hand, episcopal jurisdiction was exercised by simple presbyters in former times, when deputed by proper authority, though, of course, they did not ordain, nor perform other offices requiring the episcopal character.ⁱ But what we have said is amply sufficient to prove, that the reasoning of the new divines is completely false, when they go about to persuade men, that if their bishops were truly consecrated by imposition of hands, they became inheritors of apostolical jurisdiction. For in all the instances above given, and in others that will later come under

[§] *Epistola Conc. Nicæni ad Eccles. Alex. apud Labbæum, tom. ii. col. 251.*

^h *Ibid. col. 32.*

ⁱ See Bolgeni, "*L' Episcopato, ossia della potestà di governar la Chiesa.*" Rome, 1789, pp. 151, seqq.

discussion, there was no question about the validity of the episcopal consecration, or the absolute power of the consecrators to confer orders; yet, still, it was denied to those consecrated by them, to exercise any acts of power, except by the accession of some new sanction. And this, as in the case of Eustathius, was not a deprivation, nor a punishment of crime, nor even proceeded from illegality in preceding acts, but from a clear sense that one portion of the episcopal office did not necessarily include the other. The tract-writers constantly mix up the power of validly consecrating the Eucharist with that of instructing or governing (No. xv. p. 2; No. iv. p. 2); which is quite at variance with ancient doctrine and practice. Supposing, therefore, that Barlow and the others consecrated Parker, and that all was validly done as to matter and form, it does not follow that he, or those who became seised of other episcopal sees in England and Ireland, and received a similar consecration, were the lawful holders thereof, or the legitimate successors of their first bishops. It may be a case like that of the Meletian bishops, or others of which we shall speak.

Thus far we have been engaged with our first inquiry, which in fact is only a preliminary to the second. We have seen that, in the ancient Church, consecration was not considered to confer necessarily the jurisdiction attached to apostolical succession. Our second inquiry is, "what will vitiate the episcopacy of a see, a province, or kingdom, so as to cut it off from all participation in the rights of apostolical succession and jurisdiction?"

We have seen the case of the Novatians, treated in the eighth canon of Nicea, and the decree regarding them is extremely valuable, as embodying principles acted upon most rigidly in the ancient Church. From

it we are necessarily led to the conclusion, that "any appointment to a bishopric, even by valid consecration, which is at variance with the canons actually in force in the Church, is unlawful, and leaves the bishop so appointed void of all jurisdiction and power; so that he is a usurper if he take possession of a see."

Novatian himself was without doubt validly consecrated by three real bishops; who are said by St. Cornelius to have performed the ceremony while in a state of intoxication, and not aware of what they were about.^k He thus set himself up against Pope Cornelius, whose ordination he denied, and claimed the see of Rome. But all his acts were considered invalid, and the fathers go so far as to declare that his episcopacy was null, and that he was not consecrated.^l St. Pacian, however, draws the exact line of distinction, when he calls him, "*sine consecratione legitima episcopum factum adeoque nec factum.*"^m The bare fact, therefore of his being duly consecrated a bishop was not sufficient, because he had not been lawfully constituted such.

The council of Nicea made the following canon: "This is generally manifest, that if any one shall have been made bishop without the consent of his metropolitan, the general council defines that he ought to be no bishop."ⁿ Pope Innocent I. renewed the decree of Pope Siricius, "*ut extra conscientiam metropolitani*

^k Epist. ad Fabium Alexand. ap. Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. cap. 43, ed. Valesii. The three bishops seem to have expressly consecrated Novatian to the see of Rome.

^l The council of Alexandria, anno 339, says he is no bishop.—Labbe, tom. ii. col. 542. St. Cyprian reckons him among those "*qui nemine episcopatum dante, episcopi sibi nomen assumunt.*"

^m Epist. ii. ad Sympronianum. He likewise describes him as one "*quem consecrante nullo linteata sedes accepit.*"

ⁿ Can. vi. ap. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 41.

episcopi nullus audeat ordinare episcopum."^o St. Leo the Great writes more explicitly, that such are not to be considered bishops, "who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor consecrated by the bishops of the province, with authority of the metropolitan."^p And Pope Hilarus, speaking of the consecration of Mamertus contrary to the canons, leaves it, after severe reproof, to the metropolitan to decide, whether or no he shall act as a bishop.^q

In these and other instances, as Bolgeni remarks, there is no question of removing or deposing; but such bishops were not supposed to have ever possessed any jurisdiction from the beginning, and consequently were not considered to be partakers of the apostolical authority transmitted by *legitimate* succession.^r Nor is this a mere inference of others, or his, but is borne out by the express testimony of ancient fathers, who clearly state that such nullity of episcopal nomination was the necessary consequence of violation of the canons in force. St. Leo, referring to the Nicene canons, says, "*infirmum atque irritum erit, quidquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus discreparit.*"^s St. Athanasius speaks of Gregory, who was intruded into the see of Alexandria in like manner; but we shall have to quote the passage later.

An important question meets us here, and one which the reasoning of the *Tracts for the Times* throws in our way. Do the canons, the infringement of which invalidates, so far as jurisdiction goes, episcopal conse-

^o Epist. ii. ad Vict. Rothomag. cap. iii. ap. Coust. Epist. Rom. Pont. tom. i. col. 696.

^p Epist. clxvii. ad Rustic. Narbon.

^q Epist. xi. ap. Labb. tom. iv. col. 1046.

^r Ubi supra, p. 168.

^s Epist. cxiv. al. lxxxviii. ad Synod. Chalced.

eration, form a fixed code ? in other words, was it only the violation of the Nicene decree that produced this effect, or the simple departure from the rules in force at any given time, such rules being variable ? We say that the *Tracts for the Times* oblige us to discuss this question here, though perhaps prematurely. For, to vindicate the English Church from the accusation of schism, they quote a decree of the council at Ephesus, which, having secured the liberties of the Church of Cyprus from the usurpation of the Antiochian patriarch, generalizes its principles, and orders, that “ *the rights of every province should be preserved pure and inviolate, which have always belonged to it, according to the usage which has always obtained.*” These words are thus emphatically printed by the writer, who proceeds to comment upon the canon as follows :—

“ Here we have a remarkable parallel to the dispute between Rome and us ; and we see what was the decision of the general Church upon it. It will be observed, the decree is passed *for all provinces in all future times*, as well as for the immediate exigency. Now this is a plain refutation of the Romanists on their own principles. They profess to hold the canons of the primitive Church ; the very line they take is to declare the Church to be one and the same in all ages. Here then they witness against themselves. The Pope *has* encroached on the rights of other churches, and violated the canon above cited. Herein is the difference between his relation to us, and that of any civil ruler, whose power was in its origin illegally acquired. Doubtless we are bound to obey the monarch under whom we are born, even though his ancestor were an usurper. Time legitimizes a conquest. But this is not the case in spiritual matters. The Church goes by *fixed laws* ; and this usurpation has all along been counter to one of her acknowledged standing ordinances, founded on reasons of universal application.”—Vol. i. No. xv. p. 8.

How far this canon will serve the writer's turn will in the sequel perhaps appear. At present we only wish to meet the false assertions upon which his argu-

ment is based. First. We would ask him, for it is more his affair than ours, does he or his Church hold that this decree is unalterable, or that the Church which made that canon may not vary its discipline at different times? If he allow that it may, then does this decree, securing to each province in perpetuity whatever rights it then possessed, prove nothing. If he maintain against us, as he seems to do, that the Church goes by *fixed laws*, and that no circumstance can sanction a variation in them, then we call upon him to be consistent, and take in the same invariable sense other canons of councils respecting bishops. Thus the general council of Nicea, in its fifteenth canon, expressly enacts that "no bishop, priest, or deacon, be translated from one city or see to another;" and that, "if, after the definition of this holy and great synod, any one shall attempt to make such translation, it shall be considered null and void, and the person must be restored to the church for which he was originally ordained bishop, priest, or deacon."^t Does the Anglican Church stand by this canon? Does the writer consider his Grace of Canterburyⁿ and Charles James of London unlawfully possessed of their sees, and their authority void, because, in the face of this canon of a general council, translated from other sees? Yet in it we find the very qualification on which the author lays so much stress on that of Ephesus, that it regards the future; and as the Church is

^t Ap. Labbe, tom. ii. St. Jerome gives us the motives of this canon, *the desire of bishops to pass from poor to rich sees*. "In Nicæna Synodo a Patribus est decretum, ne de alia ad aliam Ecclesiam Episcopus transferatur: ne virginalis pauperulæ societate contempta, ditionis adulteræ quærat amplexus."—Epist. lxxxiii. ad Ocean. The fathers often represent churches as the spouses of bishops, whose unions cannot be dissolved.

ⁿ [Dr. Howley.]

governed by *fixed laws*, they hold as yet. And, moreover, this canon was renewed and enforced by the council of Chalcedon in its fifth canon.* In like manner, the sixteenth canon of Nicea forbids the clergy to abandon their churches, that is, not to reside; and the seventeenth orders the deposition of all such as place their money at interest. Does the English hierarchy admit either of these canons to be binding?

The writer could not, surely, be serious when he maintained the unalterable nature of canons that regarded the rights of sees to independence; still less when he urged this maxim as maintained by Catholics. It is true that, writing for the laity, and consequently giving no references, such extracts with such a gloss will blind and perhaps captivate obedience; but one versed in antiquity could hardly have been ignorant, that even such usurpations as the council of Ephesus condemns, may become so established as to pass into laws, and be sanctioned by canons. If he be acquainted with the history of the see of Constantinople, he would have remembered, how that see, originally a suffragan of Heraclea, by a series of usurpations, obtained jurisdiction over the metropolitans of Pontus, Thrace, and Asia, which at length was approved by the general council of Chalcedon. And though, through the refusal of Pope Leo to sanction some of the canons of that synod, the arrogant pretensions of that see against the rights of other patriarchates were repressed, yet it is evident that its jurisdiction as a patriarchal see over the once *autocephalia*, or independent metropolitans above named, was from thenceforward admitted.†

* Ap. Labbe, tom. iii. col. 757.

† Thomassin, tom. i. p. 38. It must be observed too, that the independence of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia) was attributed to its

But if, on the one hand, the reasoning of the tract-writer be delusive and incorrect, when he argues from any general assertion of rights in an ancient, though œcumenical, council, that such rights are unalienable (of the particular application of this case to England we shall treat later), we on the other hand are justified in concluding from this example that any jurisdiction, even though it might have been originally unjust and usurped, which any patriarchate obtained, might, by long usage and willing submission, become legitimated, and so form a part of the ecclesiastical law. For the council of Chalcedon does not *grant* but *admit* rights as already existing: "Let not the privileges of Constantinople be lost." But if we search this important matter closer, for it brings us very near our final purpose, we shall come to still more specific conclusions. For, both from the instance just given, and from the very one quoted from the Tracts, it clearly follows that the subjection to, or exemption from, jurisdiction, so completely depended upon consuetude and the actual and tolerated exercise of power, that this acquired the force of canon law. For when the legates of the Holy See had protested against the subscriptions which they thought had been artfully extorted from the Pontic and Asiatic bishops during their absence from the synod, and insisted that the very canon of Nicea, quoted by the Tracts,^{*} should here prevail, as securing to these churches their independence, the fathers required that all who had signed the decrees in question, should say, whether they had been compelled to subscribe, or had done it of their own free will. In answering to this appeal, several of the bishops assign having been the see of John, and consequently was as old as the Church.

^{*} Ubi supra.

as their grounds for subjection to the patriarchal rights of Constantinople, that custom had sanctioned it. Thus Seleucus, bishop of Amasia, says, "Before me three bishops were consecrated by this see; and finding this series, I followed it, and now I have made it [the subscription] voluntarily, wishing to be under this see." Peter of Gangræ said, "Before me three were consecrated by the bishop of the imperial city, and I likewise after them. Therefore I have consented, having custom for it." Marinianus of Synnadi and Critænianus of Aphrodisia give the same reason. Eusebius of Dorylæum assigns as his motive, that the pope had approved of this practice in presence of some Constantinopolitan clergy. His words deserve to be quoted:—"Ἐκὼν ὑπέγραψα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ΤΟ'Ν ΚΑΝΟ'ΝΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπῃ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνέγγων, παρόντων τῶν κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπέδειξα τὸ αὐτόν." Eleutherius of Chalcedon said that the See of Constantinople held its superior authority by the canons and custom.* Now certainly the canons of Nicea and Ephesus denied this assumption; and thus we find the establishment of custom prevailing in the minds of these bishops against them; and the general council acquiescing in their opinion. For the claims of Constantinople were held good, and ever after prevailed. Indeed the *canon* mentioned by Eusebius of Dorylæum could mean no more than the *rule* introduced by custom, which had thus acquired canonical authority.

* Ap. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 813—815. In reality the only canons recited as bearing upon the point were that of Nicea securing the rights of churches, and one of the synod of Constantinople, under Nestorius, which expressly acknowledges the *ἀτροκεφαλία* of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. These certainly could not be the *canons* alluded to, and yet no other canon, properly so called, could be supposed to bear upon the point.—Ubi *suprà*, col. 811.

The instance quoted by the Tracts is still more to our purpose. The patriarch of Antioch claimed the right of ordaining the bishops of Cyprus, or of authorizing their ordination. These oppose his pretensions and appeal to the council of Ephesus. The fathers there assembled prudently investigate the patriarch's right to interference, which they do as follows. The holy synod said, "What does the bishop of Antioch wish?"—Evagrius of Sola: "He attempts to subject our island, and seize the right of ordaining, contrary to the *canons and custom which is now ancient.*" The holy synod: "Was the Bishop of Antioch ever known to consecrate a bishop in Constantia?"—Zeno of Curcium: "*From the apostles' time it cannot be shown that the patriarch of Antioch was present and ordained, OR EVER COMMUNICATED TO THE ISLAND THE GRACE OF ORDERS, nor yet any one else.*" The holy synod: "Let the holy synod remember the canon of the holy fathers, in Nicea assembled, which secures to each church its *pristine' dignity* . . . inform us, therefore, HAD NOT THE BISHOP OF ANTIOCH THE RIGHT OF ORDAINING YOU FROM ANCIENT CUSTOM?"—Zeno said: "We have already affirmed that he never was present, nor ordained either in the metropolis, or in any other city."^b After this interrogatory comes the decree given in the Tract.^c

Any unprejudiced reader, upon perusing this interrogatory, would we think conclude that, had the Cyprian bishops been unable to state, that till then the Antiochian patriarch had not ordained bishops in their island, such a decree would not have been granted. Twice the synod insists upon an explicit answer to this question, not to ascertain what right the patriarch put forward, nor how he supported it, but simply to learn

^b Ap. Labbe, tom. iii. col. 800.

^c Ib. col. 801.

whether or no an ancient custom prevailed, of the bishops of Antioch exerting patriarchal rights over the nomination of the Cyprian prelates. Moreover, canons and customs become ancient are put on a level, and the latter receive the same force as the former. The preamble to the decree, as given in the Tracts, confirms all that we have said; for it pronounces, "*Whereas it is against ancient usage that the bishop of Antioch should ordain in Cyprus, as has been proved to us in this council, both in words and in writing, by most orthodox men; we THEREFORE decree that the prelates of the Cyprian churches shall be suffered without let or hinderance to consecrate bishops by themselves, and moreover, that the same rule shall be observed also in other dioceses and provinces everywhere, so that no bishop shall interfere in another province, WHICH HAS NOT FROM THE VERY FIRST BEEN UNDER HIMSELF AND HIS PREDECESSORS.*" Is it not evident that the decree supposes that no patriarchal jurisdiction had existed *de facto* in that island; nay, that it sanctions the principle, that where such exercise of jurisdiction exists, it has the force of law?

The examples and authorities thus far recited, lead us to these conclusions. First, the Church has, from the beginning, held that a bishop, however validly consecrated, if placed in possession of a see contrary to the canons actually in force in the Church, or by means contrary to those regulations which it considers essential to legitimate nomination, acquired no jurisdiction in or over it, and did not enjoy a part in that apostolical succession, which can only be transmitted through legitimate occupation. Secondly, that the canons appointing the forms of such legitimate occupation, or the bars thereto, were not particularly those of Nicea, but generally such as the Church agreed in,

at a given time. Thirdly, that patriarchal jurisdiction is legitimated and determined by usage, and that this sanctions it with a force equal to that of canons.

Let us now come to the practical application of these principles to the case of English and Irish hierarchy. Our readers will have seen what liberal terms we have granted our adversaries, in this dispute. Till now, we have allowed them to assume what we could have justly denied—the validity of their orders. We are going to extend our concessions further still, *for the present*. For we are going to confine the rights of the sovereign pontiff in England to those of his patriarchate, excluding the consideration of his supremacy, to which we shall revert later. Nay, we are not unwilling even to go further still; and, if the inquiry could be thereby shortened, we would allow our antagonists the false plea of original usurpation on his part. For the cases of Constantinople, in the matter of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia, and of Cyprus *versus* Antioch, have established the principle, that possession and ancient usage constitute a right to patriarchal jurisdiction—all inquiry into its origin being waived.

Let us, therefore, suppose a general council having to decide by those *fixed laws* to which the Tracts appeal, upon the value of Anglican jurisdiction in the sees of England, and the right of the royal or parliamentary bishops to apostolical succession, denied to them by the See of Rome. Let the inquiry be conducted on the principles and in the forms used in ancient synods, such as Ephesus or Chalcedon. It might be as follows:—

THE ACCUSATION.—“The Apostolic See charges these who call themselves the archbishops and bishops of the Church established in England and Ireland, with being intruders, by favour of the civil power, into the

sees of those realms ; inasmuch as they and their predecessors took possession thereof in spite, and to the detriment of the patriarchal rights of that see, which, from the canons and immemorial usage, had been exercised in the nomination or approbation of all metropolitans and bishops. Up to the time of King Henry VIII. this right was perfectly acquiesced in ; when, by his statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, the nomination was reserved by letters missive to the king, all the authority of the Apostolic See being set aside. The bishops so ordained were removed by the authority of Queen Mary, as competent to interfere in such matters as the king her father. But, moreover, what she did was with the full concurrence and approbation of this Apostolic See, which reclaimed and resumed its rights, as before acknowledged, and therefore was in exact conformity to ecclesiastical law. After which Elizabeth expelled the bishops who were in peaceable possession of their sees, with the consent of the Holy See and of the Crown ; and so substituted, by her own private authority, other so-called bishops, from whom the present pretenders to apostolical succession follow and succeed.^d Such subversion of the rights

^d Whoever will take the trouble of running through Godwin's book, *De præsulibus Anglicanis*, see by see, will find the following results :—Succeeded by royal appointment to sees vacant, the archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor, Hereford,—eight. Succeeded by the expulsion of bishops in pacific and legal possession, never having before held the sees to which they were preferred, archbishop of York, bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Worcester, Rochester, St. David's, St. Asaph's, Durham, Peterborough, Carlisle, Chester,—sixteen. Retained in the see he occupied, bishop of Llandaff (*Fundi nostri calamitas*, Godw.),—one. Barlow, deposed from Bath and Wells, under Mary, was named bishop of Chichester ; and Scorey, formerly of Chichester, received Hereford : as if to disprove the bold assertion

long holden and admitted of this Apostolical See, and such assumption of a power never admitted in any part of the Church, were clear infringements of the canon, and constitute an act of usurpation and intrusion, which is null and void in all its consequences."

THE REJOINDER.—“The archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland reply to this charge by denying that the bishop of Rome, although he was ‘the first of the patriarchs in dignity,’ and ‘might be called the honorary primate of all Christendom,’ possessed any lawful jurisdiction in their countries. For they say, that in Scripture there is not a word to sanction the assumption on his part of such authority as he exercised for so many ages.* Hence, say they, at the Reformation ‘there was no new Church founded amongst us, but *the rights* and the doctrines of the ancient existing Church were asserted and re-established. In proof of this, we need only look at the history of the times. In the year 1534, the bishops and clergy of England assembled in their respective convocations of Canterbury and York, and signed a declaration, that the pope, or bishop of Rome, had no

of the Tracts, that, on the succession of Queen Elizabeth, “the true successors of the apostles in the English Church were reinstated in their rights!”—Tr. xv. p. 4. Not a single bishop was reinstated in a see of which he had been deprived. Compare Dodd, vol. ii. p. 7.

* There is an accountable inconsistency in the appeal made by the Tract-writer to ecclesiastical decisions, while the original separation from the Holy See proceeded exclusively on the grounds, which he also lays down, that *Scripture* gives to the bishop of Rome no more authority in England than it does to any other foreign bishop. The act of convocation of the province of Canterbury in 1534, the opinion of the University of Cambridge, and the king’s proclamation abolishing the supremacy, omit all mention of ecclesiastical usage, and only discuss the question of divine right as granted in Scripture.—Wilkins’ Concilia, 1738, tom. iii. pp. 769, 771, 772. Are these the grounds on which Ephesus or Chalcedon would have conducted the inquiry?

more jurisdiction in this country, by the Word of God, than any other foreign bishop.”^f

THE LAW AND PRECEDENTS.—We do not recollect a single instance in an œcumenical synod, where the decision as to the rights of the patriarch of Antioch or Alexandria to exercise jurisdiction over bishops of other countries,—as of Libya, Pentapolis, or Cyprus,—and to confirm or depose them, was based upon the inquiry whether he had more jurisdiction *by the Word of God* than any other foreign bishop. But we have found it to be the prevailing practice, when appeal was made to general councils in matters of disputed rights (as our Tract-writers here have made), for the fathers, before proceeding to examine the question of fact, to desire those canons and precedents to be recited, which could establish the rights of parties in the case before them. We might, therefore, reasonably suppose such to be the proceeding here. The *καθωσιωμένος μαγιστριανός και σηκηρηγάριος τοῦ θεοῦ κοιμιστῶριου*^g might be supposed to read as follows:—

1. “The decrees of the Great and Holy Councils. The celebrated rule of the First Nicene Council, A.D. 325. *Let the ancient usages prevail which are received in Egypt, &c., as they are observed in the case of the bishop of Rome.*”—Tr. *ibid.* p. 8.^h

^f It is lamentable to hear such men as compose these Tracts, admitting as free, deliberate acts of the clergy, what they tremblingly performed by King Henry’s stern command, with the fate of Fisher and More as the alternative of refusal, what formed the sequel of a series of measures taken by the tyrant to secure possession of the object of his lust, and what the most influential members of those convocations, including the royal creature Cranmer himself, afterwards retracted.

^g So the secretary is styled in the acts of the council.

^h On the interpretation of this canon, see De la Mennais, *Tradition de l’Eglise sur l’Institution des Evêques*, Liège, 1814, vol. ii. pp. 81

“The decree of Ephesus. ‘The same rule shall be observed also in other dioceses and provinces everywhere, so that no bishop shall interfere in other provinces, *which has not from the very first been under himself and his predecessors.*’”—Ib. p. 7.

2. “Proofs of the rights of patriarchs to ordain and confirm the metropolitans, and through them all the bishops of their patriarchate. St. Athanasius of Alexandria expressly tells us, that he exercised this right by ordaining many bishops.¹ The Council of Nicea expressly enjoined that for any of the Meletian bishops to be raised to a see, it was necessary to have canonical election by the clergy and people, and the confirmation of the patriarch of Alexandria.^k The general Council of Chalcedon decreed that the patriarch of Constantinople should have the power of consecrating the metropolitans of Pontus and Asia.¹ The celebrated epistle of Pope Innocent I. to Alexander, patriarch of Antioch, explains the canon of Nicea as admitting this right in patriarchs. ‘Whence we remark,’ he writes, ‘that this [patriarchal dignity] was given to Antioch not so much on account of the magnificence of the city, as because it is proved to have been the first see of the first apostle, where the Christian religion received its name, and was worthy of having a celebrated meeting of the apostles, and which would not be second to the See of Rome, but that it only enjoyed temporarily (*in transitu*) what this had the happiness to receive and fully to possess. Therefore, beloved brother, we think,

seqq.; the work by which alone it were well if its author could be known to posterity.

¹ Epist. ad Dracont. ap. Hallier. de Sacris Ordin. Paris, 1636, p. 771.

^k Epist. Conc. Nic. ad Eccles. Alex. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 251.

¹ Can. 28, ib. tom. iv. col. 769.

that as, by peculiar authority you ordain all metropolitans, so you should not allow other bishops to be appointed without your permission and approbation. On which matter this will be the proper course for you to take, that you should by letters authorize such as are at a great distance to be ordained by those who now do it by their own judgment, and those who are near, if you think right, you should bring to receive consecration at your own hands.^m This decree or letter assumes for its foundation the fact that the patriarch consecrated metropolitans in his jurisdiction.”

3. “Proofs that the nomination of bishops, without the sanction of their respective patriarchs, were null as to jurisdiction. Hitherto we have contented ourselves with concluding that the infringement of the canon law invalidated the legitimacy of consecration. Direct proofs are not wanting to show that the want of the patriarch’s assent produced a fatal flaw in the title to a see. Synesius writes that the ordinations of the bishops of Palœleisca and Hydrax were invalid, because they had not been confirmed by the patriarch of Alexandria.ⁿ Again, when the people of Olbium had elected a bishop, and three prelates, of whom Synesius was one, had given their assent, he writes to the patriarch that only his approbation was wanting to complete the work.^o In fine, to omit many other proofs, the eighth general council, the fourth of Constantinople, having recited the canon of Nicea, orders that *the ancient custom* be preserved, whereby the *patriarchs of Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem might summon to council, or visit and correct all metro-*

^m Epist. Innoc. I. ad Alex. ap. Coustant. Epist. R. P. col. 851.

ⁿ Epist. 67 ad Theophil. ap. Morinum, Exercitat. Eccles. et Bib. p. 84.

^o Ep. 76, ap. eund.

politans who are promoted by them, and, whether by imposition of hands or by gift of the pallium, RECEIVE VALIDITY IN THEIR EPISCOPAL DIGNITY."^p

4. "Proofs that the Roman pontiffs were patriarchs of the West, and exercised patriarchal rights over it, England included. St. Jerome says, 'Let them condemn me as a heretic with the WEST, as a heretic WITH EGYPT, that is, with Damasus (of Rome) and with Peter (of Alexandria).'^q That is, as the learned and most judicious De Marca observes, the pope is placed in the same relation to the entire West as the Alexandrian patriarch is to Egypt, that is, as its patriarch: having therefore precisely as much right to exercise jurisdiction in the nomination of his metropolitans; and consequently any of these is without jurisdiction, if uncanonically nominated against his will. When the emperor Justinian wished to honour with a high ecclesiastical dignity the bishop of Achridus, his native place, giving it the name of *Justiniana prima*, he applied to Pope Vigilius, who erected it into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, assigning it a province which he took from that of Thessalonica.^r And hence St. Gregory the Great expressly and directly confirms the nomination of John, elected to that see,

^p After reciting the Nicene canon, "Quâ pro causâ et hæc magna et sancta synodus tam in seniori et novâ Româ quam in sede Antiochiæ ac Hierosolymorum priscam consuetudinem decernit in omnibus conservari. Ita ut earum præsules universorum metropolitanorum qui ab ipsis promoventur et sive per manûs impositionem sive per pallii dationem episcopalis dignitatis firmitatem accipiunt, habeant potestatem, videlicet ad convocandum eos, urgente necessitate, ad synodalem conventum, vel etiam ad coercendum illos et colligendum," &c.—Conc. Labbe, tom. viii. col. 1135.

^q Epist. xv. Oper. S. Hier. tom. iv. par. ii. col. 21.

^r De Concord. Sacerd. et imper. lib. i. c. v. n. 2. Tradition de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 21.

^s Novell. cxxxi.

sending him the pallium in token thereof.[†] Again, when Perigenes had been ordained bishop of Petras, in 418, and the people had refused to admit him, he was elected to the *metropolitan* see of Corinth, his native city. The clergy and people sent a petition to Pope Boniface I., requesting him to confirm their choice. He first sent their memorial to his vicar, the archbishop of Thessalonica, with orders to inquire into the case, and make a report thereon. Upon receiving this, the pope confirmed the election, in terms demonstrative that such confirmation was necessary for the validity of the appointment.[‡] Socrates, who relates this event, says expressly that Perigenes was named bishop by command of the Holy See.[§]

For proofs that the pope exercised patriarchal authority over the other countries of the West, as France, Spain, Africa, and the rest, and the parts of Italy beyond the immediate province of Rome, we must refer our readers to the great writers on these points, or to the *Tradition de l'Eglise*, where they are admirably condensed.[¶] We pass on to precedents more immediately connected with our inquiry, which would be quoted in our supposed council.

The Church of Germany is an instance parallel to that of England, being a church formed in a country converted to the faith by missionaries from the See of Rome. St. Boniface, its first great apostle, had received episcopal consecration from Pope Gregory II. Gregory III. sent him the pallium, and empowered

[†] Epist. xxii. Oper. S. Greg. tom. ii. col. 585, ed. Bened.

[‡] "Cui [Perigeni] ad plenitudinem confirmationis episcopatus sui hoc solum residet quod nostros in honore suo necdum suscepti affatus."—Epist. v. Bonif. I. ap. Const. col. 1028.

[§] H. E. lib. vii. c. 36.

[¶] Vol. ii. from p. 78 to the end of the volume.

him to nominate and consecrate bishops "by the authority of the Apostolic See."^a He did so, and divided Bavaria into four bishoprics; and having founded others in Franconia and Thuringia, he wrote to the pope for letters of confirmation for each bishop, which the pope readily sent them.^a

We will content ourselves here with one single proof that England was considered a part of the Roman or Western patriarchate; others will be better introduced later. When Constantine Pogonatus wished to convene a general council, he wrote to Pope Donus requesting him to send three legates, or if those were not sufficient, as many more as he thought proper. Agatho, Donus's successor, replied, that there had been a delay in complying with the emperor's desire, from the extent of the provinces whereof his council was composed. For it must be observed that besides the papal legates, the emperor had requested a deputation, consisting of about twelve metropolitans and bishops, to attend the synod, as representatives of the council of Rome, that is, of the provinces more immediately subject to his jurisdiction. Now, among the subscriptions to the synod holden at Rome on this occasion, we find that of Wilfred, archbishop of York, as well as of Felix of Arles and other French bishops. Moreover, in their letter to the emperor, the bishops give as a reason for delay, that they had hoped to be joined by "Theodore, archbishop of the great island of Britain, and a philosopher, together with other bishops, dwelling in that island, and divers prelates of their council dispersed in different parts; that so their suggestions might be made by their entire council."^b

^a Concil. Labbe, tom. vi. coll. 1437—1468.

^a Tradit. de l'Eglise, p. 235.

^b Concil. Labbe, tom. vi. col. 685.

It is an ancient maxim of ecclesiastical law, as De Marca has observed, "Qui pertinent ad consecrationem, pertinent ad synodum;"^c that is, only those could be summoned to a synod over whom he who summons has right of consecration, the two rights, of commanding attendance and of consecrating, being commensurate. This is further proved by the canon above cited at length of the eighth general council (which even to those who do not allow it to be œcumenical, must have a weighty historical authority), in which it was stated that the *ancient custom*, which refers it to the decrees of the Nicene council, be observed, in virtue whereof the patriarch of Rome, like other patriarchs, might summon the metropolitans subject to him to a council. Seeing, therefore, that Theodore of Canterbury and other English were called and expected to attend this Roman or Western council, as forming part thereof, and that Wilfred of York being in Rome attended it, we may justly conclude that they were subject to the patriarchal authority of the Roman See, which summoned them. Such might be in an abridged form the recital of laws and precedents bearing upon the decision of the question.

THE INTERROGATORY.—In the ancient synods, the laws being read, the parties were interrogated, and of course expected to give their replies according to the truth of facts. We might, therefore, suppose such questions put as formed the inquiry into the claims of the patriarch of Antioch. The synod would interrogate, and the defenders of the Anglican Church reply.

The Synod.—"Who planted the Christian religion in your country?" *The Anglican Church.*—"The venerable Bede informs us, that Pope Eleutherius sent

^c De Concord. lib. i. c. vii. n. 3.

over missionaries to the Britons and converted them.^d And when the Pelagian heresy had infected the island, Pope Celestine sent St. Germanus to correct and purify it." *The Synod*.—"Who communicated to your island the grace of orders?"^e *The Anglican Church*.—"The holy Pope St. Gregory, who recon-verted our island under the Anglo-Saxons, and established in it the episcopacy which yet remains. For he appointed St. Augustine, archbishop of London (which see he transferred to Canterbury), sending him the pallium, with power to consecrate twelve bishops as his suffragans, and another at York, who should also consecrate twelve suffragans, receiving likewise the pallium, and enjoying the dignity of metropolitan. The pope also disposes, that during Augustine's lifetime, the archbishop of York should be subject to him; but, after the death of that apostle, enjoy independence. The two metropolitans were to have precedence according to seniority of consecration."^f *The Synod*.—"Did the bishop of Rome con-

^d *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. c. 4.

^e *Conc. Chalced. sup. cit.*

^f "Usum pallii tibi concedimus, ita ut per loca singula duodecim episcopos ordines qui tuæ ditioni subjaceant; quatenus Londinensis civitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propriâ debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac apostolicâ sede percipiat. Ad Eboracam verò civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, ut ipse quoque duodecim episcopos ordinet, ut metropolitani honore perfruatur, quia ei quoque pallium tribuere disponimus, quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere. Post obitum verò tuum ita episcopis quos ordinaverit præsit, ut Londoniensis Episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat. Sit verò inter Londoniæ et Eboracæ civitatis in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui primus fuerit ordinatus."—*Epist. lxx. lib. xi. Oper. S. Greg. tom. ii. col. 1163.* Here we have a similar expression to the one mentioned above; the synod or council of a *metropolitan* is evidently the collection of the bishops whom he has the right of consecrating.

tinue to exercise jurisdiction over the metropolitans of England and Ireland after their first establishment?" *The Anglican Church*.—"Most certainly; for Honorius I., writing to King Edwin, sends the pallium to the two archbishops, with special powers to either to name the other's successor, *in virtute of the authority of the Holy See*, in consideration of the great distance which separates England from Rome.^s Pope Adrian, acceding to the request of Offa, king of the Mercians, created the bishop of Lichfield primate, subjecting to him many of the suffragans of Canterbury. The archbishop of this see submitted, however reluctantly, to the dismemberment of his province, till Leo III., better informed, acceded to the petition of the bishops, and rescinded his predecessor's decree.^h During the long contests for superiority between the sees of Canterbury and York, the matter was constantly referred to Rome, and its legates presided at the British synods held concerning their respective claims. The alternate triumphs of the contending parties were due to papal decisions in favour of one or the other.ⁱ In Ireland it was the same. St. Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, because, as St. Bernard writes, '*metropoliticae sedi deerat adhuc et defuerat pallii usus, quod est plenitudo honoris*,' undertook a journey to Rome to obtain this distinction for himself, and for another new archiepiscopal see, the erection whereof he more-over desired to have confirmed by the Holy See.^k In 1151, Eugenius III. sent four palliums into Ireland,

^s Conc. Labbe, tom. v. col. 1688.

^h Matt. Westm. p. 276. William of Malmesb. p. 80.

ⁱ Those who wish to read a detailed narrative of these distressing disputes will find it in Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*, Par. i. lib. i. c. xxxvi. tom. i. pp. 121—126.

^k In vitâ Malachiae ap. Baron. ad an. 1187, et Thomass. ubi supra.

appointing four metropolitans, to each of whom five suffragans were to be subject. This, says Hoveden, was an infringement of the rights of Canterbury, 'from which the bishops of Ireland had used to ask and receive the blessing of consecration.'¹ We acknowledge, therefore, that the See of Rome did from the beginning order our hierarchy, such as it now exists, and transfer, divide, or otherwise vary, the jurisdiction of our metropolitans." *The Synod.* — "Was the bishop of Rome ever known to consecrate an archbishop of Canterbury? . . . Let the holy synod remember the canon of the holy fathers in Nicea assembled, which secures to *each* church its *pristine dignity* . . . Inform us, therefore, had not the bishop of Rome the *right* of ordaining you from ancient custom?"^m *The Anglican Church.* — "We cannot deny that the bishop of Rome has either by himself or others ordained and confirmed our metropolitans. After St. Augustine and his immediate successors, appointed in virtue of authority from the Apostolic See, other examples occur. Thus Egbert, king of Kent, and Oswi, of Northumbria, sent Wigard to Rome, as Venerable Bede informs us, to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalianus; but he dying at Rome, the holy pontiff named, consecrated, and sent over Theodore, in 668."ⁿ We have evidence also of confirmation in early times, as of Justus by Boniface V., who granted the archbishop

¹ Thomass. *ibid.* p. 125. We do not stay to inquire into the truth of this statement; we quote it only as a proof of the acknowledged jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.

^m Conc. Chalced. *supr.* cit.

ⁿ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 29. As we are treating this question on its lowest possible footing, we do not cite in the text the reason given by the two monarchs for wishing to have the archbishop consecrated at Rome, — "Quia Romana esset Catholica et apostolica ecclesia."

power to consecrate other bishops,^o and of St. Dunstan, whom Pope John confirmed and appointed his vicar.^p In later times there could be no doubt that such superior jurisdiction was exercised." *The Synod*.—"Was such jurisdiction willingly submitted to, or was it disturbed by protests, complaints, or otherwise?" *The Anglican Church*.—"Although the clergy constantly complained of papal provisions, whereby vacant benefices were filled up by the court of Rome with strangers, we never read of any denial of the pope's authority to confirm archbishops, by sending them the pallium, or of his jurisdiction over them, or of his having a legate in England, who took precedence, and judged their decisions. Till the time of Henry VIII. the patriarchal privileges and rights of the Holy See were never impugned or disputed."

THE DECREE.—After hearing the parties, a decree would have to be passed, based upon the canons and usages of the Church, as applied to the case under discussion. The preamble would have to state, "That the decrees of councils secure to each church its pristine dignity, and to the patriarchates their established jurisdiction; That ecclesiastical authority had ever held those episcopal nominations of no value, towards conferring apostolical succession or place in the hierarchy, which were made in contravention of the canons in force in the Church; That these canons, as established by *long usage*, gave to the Holy See the *right* of nominating or confirming the metropolitans of England; That the order of bishops now existing in England, even supposing the validity of their orders, were instituted and appointed, the bishop of Rome not only not consentient but repugnant thereto, and vehemently condemning the same, as an infringe-

^o Conc. Labbe, tom. v. col. 1658.

^p Eadmer. Hist. Nov. lib. iv.

ment of his immemorial rights, secured to him by the canons and customs become ancient." Therefore, the synod, unless it turned its back upon all former decisions of the Church, and all its standing laws, would be obliged to decide: "That the bishops, who now hold by authority of law the sees of England, have not, and never have had since the Reformation, any ecclesiastical, hierarchical, or apostolical succession, authority, or jurisdiction whatever, in matters religious or spiritual; That they are not the inheritors or successors of those who held the sees until that time; That consequently they are, in the eyes of the Church Catholic, intruders, usurpers, and illegitimate holders of the same."

Such must have been the decision of an ancient synod, had the validity of Anglican claims to apostolical succession or ecclesiastical authority, been proposed to it; and such is the judgment to which any one conversant with the principles of ecclesiastical antiquity and law, and willing to abide by them, must likewise come. Whatever pre-eminence, privilege, or jurisdiction, the civil legislature of the country can bestow upon its functionaries, and whatever, in such capacity, it may have bestowed upon the ministers of the English Church, we willingly allow and will pay them. Whether it be to frank a letter, or give probate to a will, to commit a poacher, or to vote in the House of Lords, let them enjoy it; we envy and grudge them not. But believe there is benediction in their blessing more than any other man's, order or consecration in the laying on of their hands more than of a layman's, we do not and cannot, without renouncing all respect for antiquity, and all veneration for our fathers in the faith.

After our clear exposition of our motives, we shall

not, of course, be suspected of having yielded too much, or placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. We have certainly given up much. We have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right rather than of divine; and have shown, that even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts for their church is null. But, in fact, it would be in our power to show, that such rights as the Apostolic See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the chair of Peter, as granted to it by our Lord Himself. This leads us to another and a much higher ground, on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church and its upholders to be an apostolical establishment, or "a branch," as they choose to call it, "of the Catholic Church:" a ground, too, which still dispenses with all inquiry into the validity of Anglican ordination. We mean, THE STATE OF SCHISM into which it put itself at the Reformation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers, withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the apostolical succession. This portion of our argument, with many other matters connected with this subject, we reserve for our third article upon the Tracts. We shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment.

But there is an argument, or objection, or insinuation, in the Tract so often alluded to, that calls for our notice before concluding this portion of our task. It consists in the remark quoted above, that the bishops appointed by Mary were usurpers, and that, "on the succession of Queen Elizabeth, the true

successors of the Apostles in the English Church were reinstated in their rights." As we are in our "granting vein" to-day, we are disposed, for argument's sake, to suppose that the bishops put into the English sees under Mary *were* intruded, though the canons in force in the Church and in England, till Henry violated them, were observed in their appointment. And even so we ask, WHO deposed them? WHO reinstated the others? WHO *were* reinstated? for these are matters requiring ample explanation, before any but the rude and simple will acquiesce in the assertion of the writer. WHO removed Mary's, or rather the Roman pontiff's, bishops? Did the English Church? Who formed this church if the sixteen deposed bishops did not? But what act was there that could be called an act of the English Church, removing one archbishop and fifteen bishops, leaving *one* in his see, omitting another (Coverdale) who had been deposed by Mary, and placing *two* others in sees which they had not before occupied? Parker, the new metropolitan, could not be said to reinstate, nor to form the hierarchy, not being himself consecrated. And if, as these writers pretend, at the Reformation a return was made to the ancient rules, and the Anglican Church only vindicated its rights as accorded to every church by the early councils, let them show us the canons whereby the deprivation of bishops, and the appointment of new ones by letters missive, are granted to the civil rulers. But we will easily show them those, whereby the election of a metropolitan is reserved to his synod or provincials; and we will prove to them that it was a mutual understanding between the Holy See and temporal princes, which granted to the latter, in modern times, the power of nomination, subject to confirmation from the former. Let them be, therefore,

consistent. If they allow the authority of Elizabeth to act as she did, let them admit that of Mary to act similarly; and, moreover, let them give us their warrant for such authority, in the ancient Church to which they appeal. If they consider it to have been a usurpation in Elizabeth “of the iron hand and of the iron maw,” as some of them have called her, then is their entire hierarchy based upon an unjustifiable and tyrannical act of power, and they who compose it are intruders. They are *not* shepherds who enter in by the door. It is precisely the case of Gregory, whom the emperor Constantius thrust into the see of Alexandria, the true bishop yet living; of whom St. Athanasius thus writes:—“His reason for thus acting was, that he was neither consecrated according to the ecclesiastical canon, nor called to be a bishop according to apostolical tradition; but sent from the palace with a military force and pomp, as though he had received a civil magistracy.”^a Such, if judged by the ancient laws of the Church, and in fact, were the Anglican prelates, named contrary to apostolical tradition, ordained contrary to the canons of the Church, nominees of the palace, thrust into the sees of bishops first imprisoned and deposed by the arm of secular power, and willing to receive episcopacy as though it had been a mere civil dignity. And so, in truth, it is;—they have received but a civil magistracy. And hence the Council of Sardica pronounced Gregory to be no true bishop, deposing him from the place to which the secular arm had raised him.^b We think it needless to urge our last question, WHO *were* reinstated? for the answer is plain,—NOT ONE. Kitchen of Llandaff was not,—for he had never been removed. Barlow and

^a Epist. ad Solitar. n. 14.

^b Epist. Synod. ad Eccles. Alex. ap. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 667.

Scorey were not,—for they never took possession of the sees in which alone they could have kept up succession. Parker and the new creation were not,—for they had never been bishops, nor held sees, before.

But let us follow up the inquiry into the matter, upon those principles which have guided us through this article—the laws of the Church as displayed in its conduct. Bassianus, having been consecrated bishop of Evazi, against his will, refused to proceed thither. Upon a vacancy in the see of his native city, Ephesus, he violently thrust himself into it, and kept peaceable possession of it for four years. After this period, Stephanus, a priest of the same church, assisted by a party, seized his person, and was elected bishop in his place, to all appearance by the consent of the province. The case, between these two claimants for the metropolitan see, was heard and decided by the Council of Chalcedon in its eleventh action. Bassianus was charged with irregularity, in having been translated from his former see. He replied, that he had never been lawfully appointed, and had never gone to it; and that Basil, successor to Memnon, who had violently consecrated him bishop, had recognised the illegality of the act, and restored him “the place and communion of a bishop;” another proof of episcopal rank without jurisdiction. He was then called on to state who gave him possession of his see. He acknowledged that only one bishop of the province was there; who, however, when appealed to, stated that he was compelled by a mob to give him institution. Here was a manifest irregularity, sufficient to vitiate the appointment, as he himself acknowledged. However, he had interposed a plea that he had been acknowledged and confirmed by

* Conc. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 687.

Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople. The judges ask the Constantinopolitan clergy there present, to inform the council if this were true. Theophilus, one of them, replied that it was; and that Proclus had communicated with Bassianus, as bishop of Ephesus. The tables now seemed turned; and Stephanus was called on to prove how Bassianus had been removed (*ἀποκινήθη*). We see, therefore, that the confirmation by the patriarch had the force of canonical institution, and even compensated irregularities and violations of the canons in the election. What authority, then, was greater even than this, and could reverse its decisions? *That of the Roman pontiff.* Stephanus thus replies:—"The matter was referred to the patriarch of Antioch by the emperor Theodosius of blessed memory, who wrote thither. Letters were likewise brought from the most blessed pope, the most holy bishop of Rome, that this man should not be a bishop: and the letters are evident."¹ This is certainly a strong proof of what we reserve for fuller demonstration in our next article, that the holy Roman see exercised control over the decisions of patriarchs in their own jurisdictions, without demur on their parts. The sentence of the pope was definitive, and again annulled the decision and confirmation of the patriarch.

Lucianus, bishop of Byzæ, and some other bishops, interposed in favour of Bassianus, urging once more that his nomination had been validated by the *confirmation* of Proclus (*βεβαιῶσαι τὴν τοῦτου ἐπισκοπήν*). The answer of Stephanus was short and pithy:—"The

¹ Ἐνηνέχθη παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πδλεως, τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως γράψαντος ἐκεῖ ἀνηνέχθη δὲ γράμματα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πάπα τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου, ὥστε τοῦτον μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον· καὶ φανερά ἐστι τὰ γράμματα.—Ibid. col. 694.

most holy Archbishop Leo of Rome deposed him because he was made contrary to the canons."^a

What was the result? That Bassianus was declared an intruder, and possessed of no right to the see of Ephesus. But was Stephanus on that account considered his lawful substitute, and allowed to retain the metropolitan chair? By no means. To have proved the person deposed a usurper, did not by any means justify his nomination, or heal any irregularities in it. *Upon the motion, therefore, of the papal legates, it was decided, that neither of these should keep possession of the see; but that a new election should be proceeded to, and a pension allowed from the revenues of the bishopric for the maintenance of the two deposed bishops, who should keep the title and communion of bishops.*^z In like manner, therefore, even if the Catholic bishops nominated under Mary could be proved intruders, no argument would result in favour of the Elizabethan creation; as the link is absolutely wanting which could alone give them any claim upon succession to those who, before such imaginary intrusion, held our metropolitan and episcopal sees.

^a Conc. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 698.

^z Ibid. col. 700.

“TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.”

PART III.

THE CATHOLIC

AND

ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for August, 1839.

THE
CATHOLIC
AND
ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

ART. VI.—*Tracts for the Times*. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1833-38.

WE must refer our readers back to our tenth number for the commencement of the subject we are about to continue.* In our former article we examined, by the light of antiquity, the claims advanced by the Oxford divines, in favour of apostolical succession in their church. In order to simplify the controversy, we made concessions till we almost feared we might have scandalized our brethren. We wished to take up the controversy upon the lowest imaginable grounds, and for this purpose we made the following liberal allowances.

First, we put aside all question respecting the validity or invalidity of ordination and consecration, in the Anglican Church.

Secondly, we entirely considered the case of this church as one to be investigated by canonical enactments, overlooking the great point of ecclesiastical and doctrinal union with the universal Church, which is essential, *jure divino*, for the legitimate existence, and exercise, of hierarchical authority.

Thirdly, we limited the rights of the Holy See, to be a party to the lawful appointment of bishops in Eng-

* No. 5 of this series.

land, to those of the patriarchate, instead of considering those of its supremacy.

Fourthly, we even imagined the hypothesis, that the rights exercised by the pope, as patriarch of England, had no better foundation than usurpation at the outset.

After making all these abatements in our just assumptions, we proved that the advocates of the Anglican Church could not sustain any claim on her part, to a share in apostolical succession. But it was not by any means our intention to leave the investigation there. On the contrary, we promised to raise the question to a higher level, and discuss our adversaries' pretensions, or rather repel them, upon considerations involving most serious consequences. The following extract from our former article will at once explain our actual position, and define the point from which the present starts:—

“ After our clear exposition of our motives, we shall not, of course, be suspected of having yielded too much, or placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. We have certainly given up much. We have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, rather than of divine; and have shown that, even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts for their church, is null. But, in fact, it would be in our power to show, that such rights as the Apostolical See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the chair of Peter, as granted to it by Our Lord himself. This leads us to another and a much higher ground, on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church, and its upholders, to be an ecclesiastical establishment, or ‘ a branch,’ as they choose to call it, ‘ of the Catholic Church,’ a ground, too, which still dispenses with all inquiry into the validity of Anglican ordination. We mean **THE STATE OF SCHISM** into which it put itself at the Reformation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers, —withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the apostolical succession. This portion of our argument, with many other matters connected with this sub-

ject, we reserve for our third article upon the Tracts. We shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment.”^b

We hardly consider it necessary, for the adversaries whom we are combating, to prove that a church, placed in a state of schism, at once forfeits all right to the lawful exercise of its hierarchical functions. All the examples quoted in our former article, and the abundant testimonies which we shall give in this, will sufficiently prove that, according to the principles of the ancient Church, a state of schism is a state of sin, of outlawry, and deprivation; and that, even where ecclesiastical functions might be *validly* exercised, they cannot be so, either lawfully or salutarily. The bishops of a schismatical church could not be admitted to vote or deliberate at a general council, nor be present, save as accused or accusing parties; they could not be allowed to communicate with other bishops, without first retracting their schismatical principles; and, upon returning to the unity of the Church, they would require to be formally reinstated into their sees, or would be removed to others, or remain suspended. In fine, it is only in the true Church of God that apostolical succession can be had; and any one, who, even maintaining the integrity of faith, held not to unity of communion, was anciently reckoned to be out of that Church. “*Nobiscum estis,*” writes St. Augustine, “*in baptismo, in symbolo, in cæteris Dominicis sacramentis: in spiritu autem unitatis, et in vinculo pacis, in ipsa denique Catholica Ecclesia nobiscum non estis.*”^c

^b *Supra*, p. 195.

^c “You are with us in baptism, in the creed, in the other sacraments of the Lord; but in the spirit of unity, in the bond of peace,—in fine, in the Catholic Church itself—you are not with us.”—*Ad Vincent. Rogat. Ep. xciii. al. xlviii.*

The paragraph which we have extracted from our former article pledges us to the painful duty of proving, that the Anglican Church is fundamentally and essentially a schismatical church, and, as such, has no right to a place in the apostolical succession. Now, though we thus advance to a closer position with our adversaries, than in our last argument, yet we are aware that we are by no means going to the extent to which we have a right. Is the English Church *only* schismatical? Is it not as truly heretical? We unhesitatingly reply, Yes. The one state cannot easily exist without the other. St. Jerome clearly distinguishes the two, but at the same time draws this conclusion, of how naturally one runs into the other. "Inter hæresim et schisma," he observes, "hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresim perversum dogma habet; schisma, propter episcopalem discessionem, ab ecclesia separatur. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur."^d And so, likewise, St. Augustine:—"Schisma [est] recens congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum diversitate dissensio; hæresis autem schisma inveteratum."^e That is to say, seldom will schism fail to justify its separation from the Church by departing from its doctrine, and so insisting that the supposed errors, which it abandoned, obliged it to separation. In this way does the Anglican Church plead doctrinal necessities for its schism,—and that very plea proves

^d In Epist. ad Tit. c. iii. "This they suppose to distinguish heresy from schism,—that erroneous doctrine constitutes heresy, while schism is a separation from the Church by the secession of bishops. However, no schism fails to frame some heresy, to justify its departure from the Church."

^e The same saint, writing against Gaudentius, says:—"Cum schismaticus sis sacrilega discessione, et hæreticus sacrilego dogmate."—Lib. ii. c. ix.

heresy. But in our argument on the subject of apostolical succession, we are willing to consider the separation as simply schismatical; in the same manner as we speak of the Greek Church, which is, in truth, heretical. The fact is, that we can fully attain our purpose with the more lenient charge for our basis, and therefore prefer it. The case of heresy in the Church of England, can, indeed, be summarily made out, on the simple ground of its having rejected the decrees of an œcumenical council. Still it might be considered necessary to go into details of doctrines, to establish the point to full satisfaction. At the same time the Fathers make no distinction between heresy and schism, as a ground of forfeiture of the rights belonging to the true Church, of which jurisdiction is one. Once more let us hear the great Doctor of the Western Church:—“*Credimus et sanctam ecclesiam, utique Catholicam. Nam et hæretici et schismatici congregationes suas ecclesias vocant: sed hæretici de Deo falsa pronuntiando, ipsam fidem violant; schismatici autem dissensionibus iniquis a fraterna charitate dissiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus. Quapropter nec hæretici pertinent ad Ecclesiam Catholicam quæ diligit Deum; nec schismatici, quoniam diligit proximum.*”^f

From the passages we have already given, it must sufficiently appear what is the distinction between the two states, the one supposing error in faith, the other separation from unity. Now, in investigating the

^f S. Aug. De Fide et Symb. c. x. tom. vi. p. 161. “We believe the holy, yea, the Catholic Church. For heretics likewise and schismatics call their congregations churches; but heretics, by speaking falsely of God, violate faith; and schismatics, by wicked dissensions, depart from fraternal charity, although they believe what we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God; nor schismatics, because she loves her neighbour.”

position of the Anglican Church, in regard to the latter, we wish strictly to adhere to the method we employed in our former article ; and so to examine it by the light of antiquity, and judge it entirely by the rules laid down and determined, by the fathers of the primitive Church. Such, in fact, is the standard by which the divines with whom we deal desire to be measured ; and it is a satisfaction to us to have this point, at least, of complete agreement. We shall, therefore, take a case from the history of the early Church, which we consider parallel, even to an extraordinary degree, with that of the English establishment ; from it we shall learn what were the criterions by which the fathers of the ancient Church judged of a case of schism, and what the manner in which they expressed their sentiments concerning it. We shall, moreover, hear the objections brought by the schismatics, and the answers given to them.

No schism longer, or more extensively, afflicted the Church, or gave rise to more interesting discussions, than that of the Donatists in Africa ; and we, therefore, select it, as an illustration of the controversy between us and the Anglicans.

The Donatists, although they received their name from Donatus, schismatical bishop of Carthage, yet dated from the intrusion of his predecessor, Majorinus, consecrated by several bishops, while Cæcilianus held the see ; on the ground that the latter was disqualified from holding it, because his consecrators had delivered up the sacred volumes to the persecutors. These Donatist bishops, seventy in number, assembled in council, at Carthage, with Secundus, of Tigisi, primate of Numidia, at their head, wrote to the churches of all Africa a synodical letter, in which they declared the consecration of Cæcilianus to be schismatical, and

refused to communicate with him.^s Here then we have a strong case, in the supposition that each national church has an independent existence. A large body of bishops, headed by the neighbouring primate, steps in to examine an election, charged with grievous irregularities, and pronounces a sentence, which is communicated to all the rest of the African Church. They consider Cæcilianus as an intruder, and appoint Majorinus in his place. A large portion of the African Church assent to their sentence, and from henceforth consider the latter as the legitimate archbishop, and refuse to hold communion with the former. On the other hand, many continue to consider Cæcilianus as true bishop of Carthage, and remain united with him in communion.

But, before examining how this complicated state of things was resolved, we must not omit to say a few words concerning the unhappy passions that led to this schism; the reader, we think, will be as struck as we have always been, with their exact resemblance to those that produced the separation of England from the communion of the Church. St. Optatus sums them up in these words:—"Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutritiv, avaritia roboravit."^h The first of these causes was the anger of a powerful woman, called Lucilla, who could not brook the discipline and reproofs of the true Church.ⁱ She thought it, therefore, advisable to

^s S. Aug. in Brevicul. Collationis, cap. xiv. Oper. tom. ix. p. 569. Auct. lib. cont. Fulgentium Donatist. cap. xxvi. Ibid. Append. p. 12.

^h St. Optatus de Schism. Donatist. lib. i. cap. xix. ed. Dupin, p. 18. "The schism, therefore, was at that time bred by the rage of a disgraced woman, was nourished by ambition, and strengthened by covetousness."

ⁱ Id. c. xvi. She had been reprehended by Cæcilianus for superstitious devotion to unauthenticated relics.

excite a schism, and with money and influence encouraged those bishops who were already inclined to cause one. Who does not here see a remarkable coincidence with the case of Anne Boleyn and her fautors,^k who seeing that the discipline of the Church would not admit of her impious designs, brought about, as the first cause, the king's awful separation? "irascenti et dolenti," as St. Optatus writes, "ne disciplinæ succumberet." The second cause of the schism was ambition; in Africa, that of some who sought to obtain the episcopal dignity; in England, that of Henry, who desired to possess the supremacy of the national church. The third was covetousness, in both cases, of the wealth of the Church. A considerable quantity of church plate and ornaments had been deposited in the hands of some leading men among the clergy and people, by the Deacon Felix, from fear of persecution. These they appropriated to themselves, and when called on by Cæcilianus to restore what was not theirs, preferred to become schismatics, so to retain possession of their ill-gotten wealth. A very similar desire to enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church, and appropriation of the accumulated wealth of ages, will easily be recognised as the chief corroborator, in powerful men among the laity and clergy, of their wish to depart from the unity of faith.

The foundations of the schism thus laid, it became every day more and more complicated in its operation. For the number of bishops who maintained it was very considerable, and spread over the whole of Christian Africa, to such an extent, that many dioceses were entirely in their hands, and the Catholics, in

^k "Cum omnibus suis potens et factiosa femina, communioni misceri noluit."—Ib. c. xviii.

some districts, were exceedingly few in number. The Donatists became so powerful as to take forcible possession of churches, and seize upon the property and persons of the Catholics. Hence the civil power found it necessary to interfere, and send deputies into Africa, to repress the extravagances, and chastise the excesses, of these desperate men. This only led to their having a new boast, that of confessors and martyrs, titles which they readily gave to all that suffered for crimes connected with the schism.¹ Many of the questions of fact, as we learn from St. Augustine, became, in course of time, involved in obscurity; such as the true case of Cæcilianus's consecration, and his real character; so that, in truth, it had become difficult for a simple individual to unravel the matter, or decide for himself, to which party he ought to belong. The Catholic pastors, therefore, exerted themselves by every means in their power, to point out such simple arguments as would at once convince the most illiterate, with whom they ought to side. These we shall proceed to present to our readers.

In the first place, they generally treat with the Donatists as with schismatics, and not heretics. It is a question, whether these men insisted upon the erroneous doctrine generally attributed to them, of having rebaptized those who had been baptized by heretics, whether such truly, or only in their judgment. St. Augustine quotes Tichonius, of whom we shall later speak, as assuring us that, in 330, a council of two hundred and seventy Donatist bishops condemned the practice; and as appealing to witnesses still living in

¹ See, for instance, the Acts of Marculus, written with all the pathos of those of the true martyrs, and those of Maximian and Isaac, first published by Mabillon, and republished in St. Optatus's Works, p. 198, seq. Macrobius was the Fox of the Donatists.

380.^m The same father acquits them of any error respecting the Trinity, although Donatus himself is supposed by him to have had some erroneous opinions concerning it. St. Optatus clearly acquits them of errors in faith, thus writing to Parmenianus :—“ Bene clausisti hortum hæreticis, bene revocasti claves ad Petrum, &c. . . . Vobis verò schismaticis, quamvis in Catholica non sitis, hæc negari non possunt, quia nobiscum vera et communia sacramenta traxistis. Quare cum hæc omnia hæreticis bene negentur, quid tibi visum est, hæc et vobis negare voluisse, quos schismaticos esse manifestum est? vos enim foras existis.”ⁿ Hence, this saint always calls Parmenianus by the title of brother; and when this was indignantly rejected, vindicates it at length in the opening of his fourth book. Once more he repeats, that the Donatists are brethren, because they possess the same sacraments.^o

2ndly. The Donatists, as well as their adversaries, claimed the title of the Catholic Church. The general body of them (for we shall see that an important modification of their principles on this head was later introduced among them) maintained that the Catholic, that is, the true, Church, only existed among themselves, and cut off from its pale all who were not

^m Ep. xxxix.

ⁿ Lib. i. c. xii. p. 12. “Rightly hast thou closed up the garden to heretics, rightly hast thou claimed the keys for Peter . . . But to you schismatics, although you are not in the Catholic Church, these things cannot be denied, because you have taken the true sacraments in common with us. Wherefore, since these are all rightly denied to heretics, why have you thought that there is any wish to deny them to you who are schismatics? For you have gone out.”

^o Cap. ii. p. 72. However, St. Augustine occasionally calls them heretics, as Cont. lit. Petil. lib. i. c. i., where he says, “Donatistarum hæreticorum.” He again argues the point more fully, Cont. Crescon. Gram. lib. ii. cap. iv.

in communion with them.^p At the celebrated Conference of Carthage, held by order of Honorius, in 411, between the Catholic and Donatist bishops, the former headed by St. Augustine, the latter by Petilianus, the schismatics were exceedingly indignant, that the title of *Catholic* should be exclusively claimed by, and given to, the other side. On the third day of the conference, when the moderator Marcellinus, called the orthodox by this name, Petilianus rose and said, "Only that side is the Catholic, which shall carry off the victory in this contest."^q But, throughout the conference, the Catholics strove in vain to bring their opponents to the point, as to who had a right to be considered the true Church; and it may be worth while to extract a few passages from the Acts to show how similar the mode of argument pursued on both sides is to what would be pursued in a modern debate, between Catholics and Protestants.

"Fortunatianus, bishop of the Catholic Church, said, 'Explain the grounds of your separation and dissension from the universal Church, spread over the entire world.' " After some tergiversation, being once more pressed by Fortunatianus, "Petilianus, bishop, said: 'That the Catholic Church is with me, our pure observance of the law, and your vices and crimes establish.' " He then goes off to other matters irrelevant to this question. Later, when Marcellinus once more gives the title of Catholic to the anti-Donatist side, Petilianus again demands that the Acts should give his party the same title. Marcellinus replies, that he gives that name to one party, because the imperial decree bestows it; and then Petilianus answers,

^p "Eam [Ecclesiam] tu frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti."—S. Opt. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 28.

^q Gesta Collat. Carthag. diei 3, cxlvi. ad calc. Oper. S. Opt. p. 305.

that till the present contest is decided, it will be to them but an empty name. "He shall obtain it," he adds, "who, at its conclusion, shall be found truly a Christian." Emeritus, another Donatist bishop, spoke in the same strain. St. Augustine had urged the necessity of being in communion with the Church, which the Scriptures proclaim must be diffused over the entire world, "whose communion," he adds, "we appear to hold, but which is falsely charged by you with grievous crimes." To this, Emeritus replied, that whoever is truly a Christian, he only is Catholic, and can claim the name, and, that though it is by a sort of prescription borne on the forehead by the other party, yet it should be placed between the two as the reward of the victors.* This speech of Emeritus contains another plea, presenting a curious resemblance to the reasoning of the Tracts, to which we may later allude.

3rdly. In addition to this desire to claim an equal right with their opponents to the name of Catholic, we must notice the desire on the part of the Donatists to disclaim *this* name,† or to fasten a similar one on the Catholics, just as that of "Romanists," or "Papists," is in vain applied to us by Protestants. Thus Petilianus, in the same conference, said :—"Donatistas nos appellandos esse credunt, cum si nominum paternorum

* Ibid. p. 299.

† "Quicumque justis legitimisque ex causis Christianus fuerit approbatus, ille meus est Catholicus, illi hoc nomen imponitur, ille debet sibi hanc regulam vindicare; quamvis ipsa Catholica, quæ nunc pro præscriptione partis adversæ quasi in fronte quadam rite adversum nos temperari cognoscitur, medium esse debet; et in judicio ita constitui, ut hoc nomen victor accipiat."—Ibid. p. 301.

‡ The Tracts disavow the title of Protestant as applied to the Anglican Church. Vol. iii. p. 32. See also Mr. Newman's "Letter to Dr. Faussett," 2nd edit.

ratio vertitur, et ego eos dicere possum, immò palam aperteque designo Mensuristas et Cæcilianistas esse.”^u

Let us now see how the fathers argued on the other side, and what broad, clear, and simple arguments they chose, to convict the Donatists of the crime of schism; to prove to them that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, that is, to the Catholic Church, but must be content to bear the title which at once designated them as separatists, and followers of men, and not of God.

I. The first, the most frequently, and the most earnestly urged of these arguments, is the fact of the Donatist Church, however numerous its bishops and its people, being excluded from communion by other churches, and not being admitted by them within the pale of the true Church. And this, as we shall see, is not an argument based upon right, but upon fact:—it does not require, in the opinion of the fathers, any previous examination into which party was right; the very fact of one’s being in communion with foreign churches, and the other’s not, was considered a decisive proof that the latter was necessarily in a state of schism. They lay down as principles that the true Church of Christ was to be dispersed over the entire world, and that consequently, no national church could claim for itself the distinction of being this only true Church. Thus reasons St. Optatus: “Ergo Ecclesia una est Hæc apud omnes hæreticos et schismaticos esse non potest. Restat ut uno loco sit. Eam tu, frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti

^u “They think that we ought to be called Donatists; whereas, if account has to be taken of parental names, I could call them, yea, I do openly and publicly call them, *Mensurians* and *Cæcilianists*.”—Ibid. p. 296.

Ergo ut in particula Africæ, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit; apud nos in alia parte Africæ non erit? In Hispaniis, in Gallia, in Italia, ubi vos non estis, non erit?"^x He then enumerates other countries in which the Church existed, that held not communion with the Donatists; and reasons upon the texts of Scripture, which promise the entire earth to Christ as His kingdom. Now, the reasoning here is twofold, and in two ways applicable to modern controversy. In the first place, it attacks the foolish presumption of those, who would maintain that the Anglican Church is the only apostolic one, the only true Church of God, in consequence of the corruption of every other in communion with the Holy See. This is a common boast, of which it can hardly be necessary to bring examples to any reader versed in controversy. The argument of Optatus, grounded upon Scripture testimony, denies at once the possibility of any national church being exclusively the true one, and those over the world that are in communion being false. Secondly, this reasoning strikes as much at the theory of the Tracts, and other High-Church writings, which would fain have us consider the Church of Christ as an aggregate of many churches, holding indeed different opinions and practices, and not actively communicating together; so that, the Anglican Church may be called "that branch of Christ's Church which is established amongst us," and the Church of Rome

^x "Therefore, the Church is one It cannot be with all heretics and schismatics. It must therefore be only in one place. Thou, brother Parmenianus, hast said, that it is with you alone. Therefore, as it may be with you in a small portion of Africa, in a little corner of the land, with us, in another part of Africa, it is not? In Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, where you are not, it is not?"—Lib. ii. cap. i. p. 28.

be allowed to be a portion (though a corrupt one) of the same Church of Christ. This system is directly at variance with the argument of St. Optatus : “ Restat ut uno loco sit.” He does not imagine the possibility of Donatists being considered a part of the true Church : if *they* constitute it, the rest of the world is excluded : if Spain, Gaul, and Italy, which are in mutual communion, — Donatist Africa is shut out from the pale.

St. Augustine’s reasoning on this subject is precisely the same. We think it needless to quote passages from him, wherein he maintains the universality of the Church, and, that only that can be the true Church, which is dispersed over the whole earth : because it would be difficult to read many pages of his writings against the Donatists, without meeting a commentary on one of these or similar texts :—“ In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.” “ I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance,” &c. “ He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the bounds of the earth.”

Upon these texts he insists against Parmenianus, against Petilianus, and against Cresconius, as sufficient to prove, that the churches in communion must be true, to the exclusion of all that stand in separation from them. However, the texts, which we shall have occasion to quote, will put the sentiments of this most learned doctor beyond all question. In fact, we must now see the pleas whereby the Donatists justified their state of separation from communion with the rest of the world ; and we shall see, how exactly they resemble those of Protestants, and how they were met by this great Father.

1. First, they argued that the corruptions of the Church were such as rendered it impossible for them

to keep in communion with it. This was the common plea of all schismatics. St. Jerome tells us, that a Luciferian, disputing with a Catholic, "asserted that the entire world belonged to the devil, and, as it is their wont to say, that the Church was become a house of wickedness."⁷ Parmenianus in like manner affirmed, "that the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Italians and their friends, by whom he must understand the entire world, resembled the African *Traditors* by participation in their crimes, and companionship in their guilt."⁸ "Hence," he concluded, "that the whole world had been contaminated by the crime of surrendering the sacred books, and other sacrileges."⁹ This language resembles not a little that of the book of Homilies, regarding the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation. But the resemblance between the ancient and modern schism is, on this point, still stronger. The Donatists went on to say that there came, at that time, godly men, who bore witness against the prevarications of the Church, and urged those certain provinces to purge out the foul abuses that had crept in, and separate themselves from those among them that adhered to them, and consequently from those foreign churches who kept communion with these. "Dicit enim legatione functos quosdam, sicut ipse asserit, fidelissimos testes ad easdem

⁷ "Asserebat quippe [Luciferianus] universum mundum esse diaboli, et, ut jam familiare est ipsis dicere, factum de Ecclesia lupanar."—Dialog. adv. Lucifer. cap. i. tom. ii. p. 173, ed. Vallars.

⁸ "Gallos, et Hispanos, et Italos, et eorum socios [quos ubique totum orbem vult intelligi] traditoribus Africanis commercio scele-
rum, et societate criminum dicit esse consimilem."—August. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. ii.

⁹ "Dicit Parmenianus hinc probari consceleratum fuisse orbem terrarum criminibus traditionis, et aliorum sacrilegiorum."—Ibid. cap. iii.

venisse provincias, deinde geminato adventu sanctissimorum, sicut ipse dicit, Domini sacerdotum, dilucide, plenius ac verius publicata esse quæ objiciunt.”^b “Frustra dicit Parmenianus ‘damnatos in Africa traditores in consortium damnationis acceptos a provinciis transmarinis.’”^c Now, the answer which the Fathers make to this excuse for separation, is such exactly as we make, and is perfectly applicable to the case between us and the Anglican Church. They put against it at once the promises of Scripture, that the universality of God’s Church should never fail, and made it a question between the authority of God and of men, whether those promises could fail, or not rather the testimony of men be false. “Homo putans sibi magis credi debere quam Deo,” St. Augustine calls the man who makes that argument. “Quid, quæso te,” he asks, “quid per ipsos fideles testes quos vultis Deo esse fideliores, quid publicatum est? An quia, per Afros traditores, semen Abrahamæ quod est Christus, non est permissum venire usque ad omnes gentes, et ibi exaruit quo pervenit? Dicite jam magis collegis vestris credendum esse quam Testamento Dei.”^d

^b “He says that most faithful witnesses, as he calls them, acted as ambassadors to those provinces, then by the repeated arrival of most holy priests of the Lord, as he says, these things which they object were clearly, more fully, and truly published.”—*Ib.* c. ii. The first witnesses may represent the foreign Reformers; the second class corresponds to Cranmer, Ridley, &c.

^c “In vain does Parmenianus say, that the Traditors condemned in Africa, were received into fellowship of condemnation by the provinces beyond the seas.”—*Ib.* cap. iv.

^d “A man who thinks he ought to be believed rather than God.” . . . “What, I ask you, what was published by these faithful witnesses, whom you make more worthy of credit than God himself? That, through the African traditors, the seed of Abraham, which is Christ, was not permitted to come to all nations, and was dried up

We would willingly extract the entire paragraph, which is most apposite and conclusive for our case. St. Jerome makes use of a similar argument from the Scripture promises. "If Christ has not a Church, or has it only in Sardinia, he has become too poor; and if Satan possess Britain, the Gauls, the people of India and barbarous nations, and the entire world, how have the trophies of the Cross been bestowed upon one corner of the whole earth?"^o

But the reasoning of the Fathers is sometimes closer and more to our purpose even than this. They propose to the Donatists the same dilemma as we, in our controversy, do to Protestants. Either the Church was so corrupted before your Reformers came, that it had ceased to be the Church of God, or not. If it was, then had Christ's promises failed, which secured perpetuity to His Church; if not, whence did those who separated from it derive their authority for this purpose, or how could any act or teaching of theirs make it cease to be what it was before? The following passage of St. Augustine is to this effect:—"Quod si erat etiam tunc Ecclesia, et hæreditas Christi non, interrupta, perierat, sed per omnes gentes augmenta accipiens permanebat, tutissima ratio est in eadem consuetudine permanere quæ tunc bonos et malos in una complexione portabat. Si autem tunc non erat Ecclesia, quia sacrilegi hæretici sine baptismo recipiebantur, et hoc universali consuetudine tenebatur; unde Donatus apparuit? de qua terra germinavit?

where it had reached? Say at once, that we must believe your colleagues more than God's Testament."—Ib. cap. ii.

^o "Si Ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel [*simul*] mundum possideat Satanas, quomodo ad angulum universæ terræ Crucis trophæa collata sunt?" —Ubi sup. No. 15, p. 186.

de quo mari emersit? de quo cœlo cecidit? Nos itaque, ut dicere cœperam, in ejus Ecclesiæ communionem securi sumus, per cujus universitatem id nunc agitur quod est ante Agrippinum, et inter Agrippinum et Cyprianum, per ejus universitatem similiter agebatur.”^f Here, then, it is taken for granted, that the very fact of any practice being followed or tolerated in the Church is a sufficient vindication of it; and, that, whenever a separation takes place from the body of the Church on the ground of such being corruptions, those are safe who adhere to the portion that perseveres in those practices, while the pretended reformers are at once to be rejected, as having no mission or commission, for their schismatical undertakings. The same Father uses the same argument on other occasions. For instance, in his treatise “De unico Baptismo,” he writes as follows:—“If that be true which these men assert, and by which they endeavour to maintain or excuse the cause of their separation, namely, that the fellowship of the wicked in the same sacraments defiles the good, and that, therefore, we must separate ourselves bodily from the contagion of the evil, lest all should together perish;” it clearly

^f “But, if the Church then was, and Christ’s inheritance had not perished by being interrupted, but, receiving increase through all nations, yet endured, it is the safest principle to persevere in the same practice which then united in one embrace the good and the evil. But, if at that time, there was no Church, because sacrilegious heretics were received without [repetition of] baptism, and this was the universal practice, whence did Donatus make his appearance? from what earth did he spring up? from what sea did he emerge? from what heavens did he fall? We, therefore, as I had begun to say, are secure in the communion of that Church, through the entire of which that is now practised, which, in like manner, was practised through it entire, before Agrippinus and between Agrippinus and Cyprian.”—*De Baptismo cont. Donatistas*, lib. iii. cap. ii.

^g How often do we see and hear applied to those in communion

follows, that at the time of Stephen and Cyprian, the Church had perished, nor was any left to posterity, in which Donatus himself could be spiritually born. But if they consider it impious to say this, for in truth, it *is* impious, then, as the Church remained from these times to the times of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, or of Donatus, . . . so could the Church remain after this latter period, which, increasing through the entire world, as had been foretold of her, the particular crimes of any traditors or other wicked men could not defile There was no reason, therefore, but it was an act of the greatest madness, for these men, as if to avoid the communion of the wicked, to have separated themselves from the unity of Christ, diffused over the entire world.”^b

The passages hardly require any comment; any reader of ordinary judgment, will see how St. Augustine must, upon his principles, have judged the case of the English Church, if it put in the plea of justification, which the great body of its defenders do, that the absolute corruptions of the foreign churches with

with the Catholic Church those words: “Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues.”—Rev. xviii. 4.

^b “Si ergo verum est quod isti dicunt, et unde causam suæ separationis asserere vel excusare conantur, in una communione sacramentorum mali maculant bonos, et ideo corporali disjunctione a malorum contagione recedendum est ne omnes pariter pereant; jam tunc Stephani et Cypriani temporibus constat periisse Ecclesiam, nec posteris derelictam, ubi Donatus spiritualiter nasceretur. Quod si dicere nefarium judicant, quia revera nefarium est, sicut mansit Ecclesia, ex illis temporibus usque ad tempora Cæciliani et Majorini, sive Donati, . . . sic potuit et deinceps Ecclesia permanere, quam toto, sicut de illa prædictum est, terrarum orbe crescentem nullo modo poterant quorumlibet traditorum ac facinorosorum aliena crimina maculare . . . Nulla igitur ratio fuit, sed maximus furor, quod isti velut malorum communionem caventes, se ab unitate Christi quæ toto orbe diffunditur separarunt.”—De unic. Bapt. cont. Petil. c. xiv.

which it had before been in communion, as well as of those at home, who resolved upon keeping up that communion, made it imperative on her to refuse communion without their reformation. For he takes it for granted ; first, that before such a call on them was made, these aggregated churches constituted the true unfailing Church of Christ ; secondly, that if a particular church, such as the African or the British, called upon them to make changes, or by making such, separated itself actually or virtually from their communion, they could not thereby lose their prerogative, but remained what they were before ; thirdly, that it was safe to remain in communion with these rather than with the separating church ; fourthly, that if Cyprian (still more, if Berengarius or Huss), with some, protested against a practice, held in his time by the great body of the Church,¹ it could not thereby cease to be what it was before, nor could any portion of the Church plead in excuse of its separation any such decision ; but such a portion at once became involved in the guilt of schism and all its entailed forfeitures. These principles, if applied to modern controversy, will go a great way towards deciding the respective positions of the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

2. But it may perhaps be said, that the case between us and Protestants is by no means so simple as that of the Donatists and the Catholics of their times, but that the decision as to a case of schism must depend upon the examination of the points of difference. Now to this we reply, that by the Fathers, who combated the Donatists, the question was essentially considered one of fact rather than of right ; that is to say, the

¹ "Multi cum illo [Stephano] quidam cum isto [Cypriano] sentiebant."—Ibid.

very circumstance of one particular church being out of the aggregation of other churches, constituted these judges over the other, and left no room for questioning the justice of the condemnation. St. Augustine has a golden sentence on this subject, which should be an axiom in theology. "Quapropter SECUREUS judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacumque parte orbis terrarum."^k This principle he repeats in fuller terms on another occasion: "Inconcussum igitur," he writes, "firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos, ab ea [Dei Ecclesia] se posse dividere; id est, nullos bonos, etiamsi cognitos sibi malos patiantur, ubicumque versantur, propter se a longe positos et incognitis bonis temerario schismatis sacrilegio separare; et in quacumque parte terrarum vel facta sunt ista, vel fiunt, *vel futura sunt*, ceteris terrarum partibus longe positos, et utrum facta sint, vel cur facta sint ignorantibus, et tamen cum orbe terrarum in unitatis vinculo permanentibus, ea ipsa sit firma securitas non hoc potuisse facere, nisi aut superbiæ tumore furiosos, aut invidentiæ livore vesanos, aut sæculari commoditate corruptos, aut carnali timore perversos."^l Here then is a general

^k "Wherefore, the entire world judges WITH SECURITY, that they are not good, who separate themselves from the entire world, in whatever part of the entire world."—Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. iii. cap. iii.

^l "Let us, therefore, hold it for an unshaken and stable principle, that no good men can separate themselves from it [the Church]: that is, that although they may have to endure evil men, known to themselves, no good men, wherever they may be, can, on their own account, separate, by the rash sacrilege of schism, from the good living far off and unknown to them. And, in whatever part of the world this has been done, or is done, *or shall be*, while the other distant parts of the earth are ignorant that it has been done, or wherefore it has been done, and yet continue in the bond of union with the rest of the world; let this be considered quite certain, that

rule applicable not merely to the Donatist case, but to all future possible divisions in the Church. Those cannot be possibly right, who have separated themselves from the communion of distant churches, which remain still connected in the bond of unity. Whatever plea may be set up, of corruptions or abuses, the true ground of separation will be one of those pointed out by the great St. Augustine. And, in truth, who does not acknowledge that the "haughty fury" of Henry VIII., the "worldly advantage" of his, and his son's "corrupt" nobility, and the "carnal fear" and time-serving policy of a "perverted," heartless clergy, who had not the courage to follow More and Fisher to the scaffold, produced and promoted the first schismatical separation of England from the communion of other churches dispersed over the world?

3. The principles thus far laid down, on the authority of the ancient Church, meet not only the reasoning of the ultra-Protestants, but also those of the High Church, or Oxford school. For they maintain, that, although throughout the middle ages, the Church in communion with Rome, was, in spite of her errors, the true Church, because she had not sanctioned them by any positive decree, yet she forfeited her title, and became heretical, when at the Council of Trent she did so.^m Now this was precisely the argu-

none can have so acted, unless they had been, either furious with swelling pride, or insane with livid envy, or corrupted by worldly advantage, or perverted by carnal fear."—Ib. cap. 5.

^m "True, Rome may be considered [heretical] now; but she was not considered heretical in the first ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. . . . Accordingly, acknowledging and deploring all the errors of the middle ages, yet we need not fear to maintain that, after all, they were but the errors of individuals, though of large numbers of Christians."—Tract xv. p. 10, where, in a note, the opinion of Gilpin is quoted, with approbation, that after

ment of the Donatists, which we have seen combated by St. Augustine. They allowed that, at the time of St. Cyprian, the Church in communion with Pope Stephen was true and orthodox, though the same evil principles and abuses existed which they so severely reprov'd; but no sooner did the body of foreign churches formally adopt and approve these mal-practices, and the erroneous maxims on which they were grounded, than they fell into a state of heresy and schism. Now we have seen St. Augustine put this case, and demonstrate that either the church failed in the first instance, and so was lost, and, with it, lawful sacraments and orders; or else that this could not be admitted in the second. We have seen how any one church, in one portion of the world, could not possibly be allowed to be right, while protesting against the union of other churches over the rest of the world. The very fact of its being in such a position, at once condemns it, and proves it to be in schism. Still it may be both interesting and instructive to pursue this inquiry still farther, and see this particular plea more closely examined. For it so happened that the Donatists, like the modern Anglicans, asserted that they were not the separatists, but that the other churches were. These are their words:—"Si vos tenere Catholicam dicitis, Catholicos illud est quod Græce dicitur unum sive totum. Ecce in toto non estis, quia in partem cessistis."^a To this St. Augustine, on this occasion, contents himself with

that epoch, "it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome." This is perfectly the Donatist view of the case.

^a "If you say that you have the Catholic Church, καθολικὸς is, in Greek, 'one,' or 'whole.' Behold, you do not constitute the whole, since you have seceded apart."—Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 38.

first explaining the meaning of the term "Catholic," to wit, that which is extended over all the world, and then by throwing ridicule on the extravagance of the assertion. "How can we be separatists," he asks, "whose communion is diffused over the entire world? But, as if you were to say to me, that I am Petilianus, I should not know how to refute you, except by laughing at you as in jest, or pitying you as insane;—I see no other course now. But as I do not think you were joking, you see what alternative remains."^o

On another occasion, the same holy Father gives a decisive criterion, whereby it may be determined who went forth from the Church, or who were, in other words, the violators of Catholic unity. It was not long before the Donatists split into innumerable sects; the usual consequence of departure from unity. But the account of this division is so well given by St. Augustine, and so accurately describes the vicissitudes of modern, as well as of ancient, schism, that we must be allowed to quote his words:—"*Eadem pars Donati in multa minutissima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutissimæ particulæ hanc unam multo grandiore in qua Primianus est, de recepto Maximianistarum baptismo reprehendunt, et singulæ conantur asserere apud se tantummodo verum baptismum remansisse, nec omnino esse alibi, neque in toto orbe terrarum, qua Ecclesia Catholica expanditur, nec in ipsa grandiore parte Donati, nec in ceteris præter se unam ex minutissimis particulis.*"^p If for the

^o "Sed quemadmodum, si mihi diceres quod ego sim Petilianus, non invenirem quomodo refellerem, nisi ut jocantem riderem, aut insanientem dolerem; hoc mihi nunc faciendum esse video; sed quia joculari te non video, vides quid restet."—Ibid.

^p "The very sect of Donatus is divided into many very minute parts, every one of which minute parts blames this much larger one, in which Primianus is, for having received the baptism of the Maxi-

“pars Donati” we substitute the Anglican Church, what a faithful picture we have of the minute subdivisions of separatism into which dissent from her has broken, every one of which denies to the others sound doctrine, — as the Donatists did baptism, — as well as to the original branch of which they are the boughs, and to the great trunk of Catholic and apostolical descent from which both it and they have been lopped off.

But to come to our point, which is, the criterion suggested by St. Augustine for determining who are the separatists and schismatics. It is this:—You have no difficulty in deciding that these different sects separated from you, and not you from them (as they pretend); because, while *primitive* Donatism is commensurate with them all, each of these prevails more in one, than in another, province: the Rogatenses, for instance, in Cæsarean Mauritania; the Urbanenses in some parts of Numidia; and so forth. This criterion would apply to the Anglican Church. For some parishes are comparatively free from dissent; and there is no portion of England, however occupied by it, in which that Church is not found: then some sects, as the Quakers, are unknown in some districts, while they are abundant in others; different classes of Methodism, Unitarianism, or Moravianism, have their favourite districts, in which their teachers and followers more abound. And as the Anglican Church occupies all the space subdivided among them all, we justly conclude that they all went forth from it, and

minianists; and each one endeavours to maintain that true baptism has remained in it alone, and is nowhere else, neither in the entire world, over which the Catholic Church is spread, nor in the larger sect itself of Donatus, nor in any other except itself, one of the said most minute parts.”—*De Baptis. cont. Donatistas*, lib. i. cap. ii.

not it from them. In like manner, observes this learned Father, we see one heresy infest one country, and another another; each sect has its own territory,—for where it has sprung up, there, being of its nature unprolific, it lies till it withers up. But the Catholic Church occupies the whole world, taking in the very countries in which the respective sects exist, surrounding and compenetrating them; and, therefore, by parity of argument, this is proved to be the true Church, from which all they are separatists and schismatics.¹ This argument is at once simple and conclusive. It supposes, what is of great importance in our controversy with the Oxford divines, the possibility,—nay, the necessity, of the Church Catholic having members, in countries under a schismatical hierarchy, who communicate with the rest of the Catholic world; a point on which we shall have later to speak: “Ipsa [Ecclesia] de qua præciduntur, etiam in eas terras extenditur ubi jacent illa quæque in sua

¹ “Contra universitatem vero Ecclesiæ, quia te inania repetere libuit, etiam hic tibi respondeo. Sicut in Africa pars Donati vos estis, a quibus apparet partem Maximiani schisma fecisse, quoniam non est per Africam, qua vos estis, vos autem et in regionibus in quibus illa est non deestis, nam et alia schismata facta sunt ex vobis, sicut Rogatenses in Mauritania Cæsariensi, Urbanenses in quadam Numidiæ particula, et alia nonnulla, sed ubi præcisa sunt ibi remanserunt. Et hinc enim apparet eos a vobis exiisse, non vos ab ipsis, quia vos etiam in his terris ubi ipsi sunt, illi autem quaquaversus vos estis non nisi forte peregrinantes inveniuntur. Sic Ecclesia Catholica, quæ, sicut ait Cyprianus, ‘ramos suos per universam terram copia ubertatis extendit,’ ubique sustinet scandala eorum qui ab illa, vitio maximæ superbix præciduntur, aliorum hic, aliorum alibi atque alibi. . . . Ubi enim cadunt, ibi remanent, et ubi separantur ibi arescunt, unde ipsa de qua præciduntur etiam in eas terras extenditur, ubi jacent illa in sua quæque regione fragmenta: in illa vero, singula, quacumque distenditur, non sunt, quamvis aliquando vix rarissima folia ex eorum ariditate ventus elationis in peregrina dispergat.”—Cont. Crescon. lib. iv. cap. 60.

regione fragmenta.” Let us, then, apply the argument to our times. We see the Lutherans occupying the northern parts of the European continent, the Calvinists Switzerland, the Presbyterians Scotland, the Anglicans England. Not one of these has a church, properly so called,^r in any other country; none in Spain, or Italy, or France, or Southern Germany, or South America, or Syria, or China. “Ubi cadunt, ibi remanent.” But we, that is, the Church wherewith we are in communion, extends over the whole of the world, occupying, extensively, several of these countries, and having large bodies of Christians in others. And even where those Protestant sects prevail, congregations and numerous flocks are found communicating with the one Church spread over the world. And what we have said of Protestant countries, we may extend, as St. Augustine does, beyond the Donatists, to other heresies, as the Nestorians and Eutychians in the East. For almost wherever these are, Catholics exist; but they are not to be found, except as strangers, *nisi forte peregrinantes*, in countries entirely Catholic. We see, then, how simple, and yet how efficacious, is the test proposed by St. Augustine, for deciding whether the English Church be a seceder, or not, from Catholic unity.

At the same time we cannot forbear quoting another criterion proposed by the other Father, whom we have already copiously cited,—St. Jerome. His words are strikingly applicable to our present case. We will give them in the original. “Poteram diem istiusmodi eloquio ducere, et omnes propositionum rivulos uno Ecclesiæ sole siccare. Verum quia jam multum

^r The small number of Protestants in France or Piedmont are not in communion with any other “fragment,” but form independent sects.

sermocinati sumus . . . brevem tibi apertamque animi mei sententiam proferam, in illa esse Ecclesia permanendum, quæ ab apostolis fundata usque ad diem hanc durat. Sic ubi audieris eos qui dicuntur Christi non a Domino Jesu Christo sed a quoquam alio nuncupari, ut puta Marcionitas, Valentinianos, Montenses, seu Campitas ;* scito non Ecclesiam Christi sed Antichristi esse synagogam. Ex hoc enim ipso quod postea instituti sunt, eos se esse indicant quos futuros Apostolus prænuñciavit. Nec sibi blandiantur, si de Scripturarum capitulis videntur sibi affirmare quod dicunt, cum et diabolus de Scriptura aliqua sit locutus, et Scripturæ non in legendo consistant sed in intelligendo.”† Now, though this criterion will, in most special wise, apply to those sects which bear the names of men, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wesleyans ; yet will it be found applicable no less to any, whose designation indicates a state of separation from the rest of the Church. For, the new Oxford school will not easily persuade

* These were the names by which the Donatists of Rome were distinguished.

† “I could occupy the entire day with this subject, and dry up all the driblets of [schismatical] propositions by the sun of the Church alone. But since our discourse has been long . . . I will briefly and clearly lay you down my opinion, that we must remain in that Church which, founded by the apostles, endures unto this day. Wherever you hear those who are called Christians, receive their name not from the Lord Christ Jesus, but from some one else ; as, for instance, the Marcionites, Valentinians, Montenses, or Campites, know that they are not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Antichrist. For, from the very fact of their being of later institution, they show themselves to be those whom the apostle foretold. Neither let them flatter themselves, if they appear to prove what they say, by texts of Scripture ; seeing that the devil cited passages from Scripture, and Scripture consists not in the reading, but in the understanding of it.”
—Ubi supr. *in fine*.

men that their Anglican Church forms no part of the great *Protestant* defection, a title which at once expresses separation and opposition to that greater aggregation of churches dispersed over the whole world, on which no efforts have succeeded in fixing any different title beyond that of the *Catholic*.

4. But the Donatists endeavoured to escape from the application of this test by another sophistry. You, they said, are no more universal or Catholic than we. A great part of the world is still heathen,^u and much is occupied by sects which you do not admit into the pale of the Church. Or rather sometimes the Donatists affected to believe that Catholics readily admitted the latter into communion with them, in order to enlarge their grounds to claim that title.^x To this St. Augustine replies, that heathen nations will gradually be converted, and that, to the end of the world, room will be left for the dilatation of religion, and the fulfilment of God's promises regarding the propagation of the faith. With regard to the other objection, he observes that we do not admit any who differ from us in faith into religious community; but that these, like the Donatists, are in different countries unprolific, and confined within certain limits, beyond which they have no power to spread, so as to put in a title to be considered the Church Catholic.^y We see here two

^u "Omitto gentium barbararum proprias regiones, Persarum ritus, sidera Chaldeorum, Ægyptiorum superstitiones."—Crescon. ap. Aug. cont. eumd. lib. iv. cap. 61.

^x "Non ergo nobis communicant sicut tu dicis, Novatiani, Ariani, Patripassiani, Valentini, &c.—Ibid.

^y "1. Unde necesse est, non solum fecunditate nascentis Ecclesiæ, verum etiam permixta multitudine inimicorum ejus, per quos pietas ejus exerceri et probari posset, usque in finem judiciarum separationis totus orbis impleatur . . . 2. Veruntamen ubicumque sunt isti [hæretici] illic Catholica, sicut in Africa, ita et vos: non autem ubicumque

important points decided; first, how the Catholicity of our Church is not hemmed in by the many unconverted nations yet remaining, inasmuch as they are rather a field on which the Catholic prerogative of propagation and fecundity is to be exercised till the end of time; and, secondly, how the Catholic Church, then, as now, sternly excluded from its communion all sects that differed from it, instead of making the Catholic Church consist, as the tract-writers would desire, of the heterogeneous amalgamation of various churches differing in doctrine; as the Greeks, Syrians, and Anglicans, with the many harmoniously united in communion with Rome.* On another occasion we find St. Augustine answering the other form of the second of the rehearsed objections; namely, that the number of sects not in communion with those that call themselves the Catholic Church, excluded this from that title: "Quomodo," asked Cresconius, "totus orbis communione vestra plenus est, ubi tam multæ sunt hæreses, quarum vobis nulla communicat?"^a To this the saint replies, as on the other occasion, tacitly acknowledging the fact of non-communication with heretics, but still maintaining the universality of the Catholic Church.

5. Only another subterfuge remains: it is, that to belong to the universal Church, it is not necessary to

Catholica est, aut vos estis aut hæresis quælibet illarum. Unde apparet quæ sit arbor ramos suos per universam terram extendens, et qui sint rami fracti non habentes vitam radicis, atque in suis cuique jacentes et arescentes locis."—Ibid.

* See, for example, Tr. viii. p. 4, where the churches of Rome, Holland, Scotland, Greece, and the acknowledgedly heretical churches of Asia, are enumerated as forming so many parts of the Church Catholic.

^a "How is all the world full of your communion, while there are so many heresies, not one of which communicates with you?"—Cont. Cresc. lib. iii. cap. 66.

be in *active* intercourse and communion with the different parts that compose it; so that the Anglican Church may be a portion of Christ's Church Catholic, although it has no actual badges to show of amity and harmony with other portions of the same Church in Europe, or the East. Cresconius, the Donatist, made use of precisely this principle, which is necessary to the establishment of the system maintained, on this subject, by the Oxford divines: "Non communicat Oriens Africæ, nec Africa Orienti."^b To this St. Augustine replies, that, "with the chaff, that is out of the Lord's barn-floor, the East does not indeed communicate, but with the Catholic wheat, and with the straw that is within, the East does communicate with Africa, and Africa with the East."^c The Donatists seem to have wished to maintain the independence of the African Church, as requiring no direct connection with the churches of Asia. Hence, on another occasion, where St. Augustine had a friendly conference with Fortunius, a Donatist bishop, the question, almost at its outset, turned upon this point. The learned Father asked him, which was the Church in which one must live well, "whether that which, according to the predictions of Holy Writ, was to be diffused over the entire world, or that which a small part of Africa, or of the Africans, contained? At first, he tried to assert, that his communion was over the whole world. I asked him whether he could give letters of communion, which we call *formatæ*, whithersoever I wished; and I affirmed what was clear to all, that by this test,

^b "The East does not communicate with Africa, nor does Africa with the East."—Ibid. cap. 67.

^c "Non sane sed in paleis hæreticis ab area Domini separatis: in frumentis autem Catholicis et interioribus paleis omnino communicat Oriens Africæ, et Africa Orienti."—Ibid.

the entire question could be brought to a close."^d But the Donatist soon ran off his ground, and turned to other matters. Now, if the courteous reader will take the trouble to turn over to the third volume of this Review (July, 1837),^e he will find us challenging the Anglicans to the same proof of the assertion, which they make in common with the Donatists, that they are a part, or a branch, of the Church Catholic, dispersed over the world. We took Barrow's criterions of religious unity, and showed how no prelate of the Anglican Church could safely attempt to apply them in practice to his Church.^f If he sent letters of communion to any foreign bishop (except perhaps in North America), they might be answered through courtesy, but the pledge of amity would not be accepted. We can challenge them therefore to the very same proof, as Augustine challenged Fortunius to; and the very fact of their not being able to submit to it, would decide the question, as it did then, that they are in a state of schism. The twenty-third canon of the African code prescribes, that if any bishop travel beyond the sea, he provide himself with *literæ formatae*, or letters of communion from his primate. This proves that an active communion was required between

^d "Deinde quærere cœpimus, quænam illa esset Ecclesia ubi vivere sic oporteret, utrum illa quæ, sicut sancta ante Scriptura prædixerat, se terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum, vel Africæ contineret. Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Quærebam utrum epistolas communicatorias quas formatas dicimus, posset quo vellem dare; et affirmabam, quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quæstionem."—Epist. ad Eleus. Glor. et Fal. tom. ii. Ep. xlv. vol. clxiii. cap. 2.

^e No. 4 of this series, p. 105.

^f Pp. 144, sqq. The criterions proposed by Dr. Barrow, are all *acts* of communion, not one of which would in practice be applicable to the English Church.

churches separated by the sea, so that any bishop bearing such letters, would be readily admitted into participation in all religious and ecclesiastical rites, with the bishops of the country in which he might travel. Would such letters from the English primate be heeded even in Europe? How much less in China, in India, or Syria? Yet, not only the letter of a Catholic primate, but that wherewith every bishop or vicar-apostolic usually furnishes any of his clergy, who have occasion to go abroad, is received with respect by every foreign bishop, and secures to its bearer all the rights of communion in belief and practice, and opens to him at once the gates of the sanctuary, and the hearts of his fellow-labourers in Christ. St. Augustine is careful to remove the impression, that when he wrote to any Donatist leaders, he thereby entered into communion of faith: and thus proves to us the difference between civility and charitable intercourse, and communion in religion: “Unde factum est,” he writes, “ut etiam ad nonnullos Donatistarum primarios scriberemus, *non communicatorias literas, quas jam olim, propter suam perversitatem, ab unitate Catholica, quæ toto orbe diffusa est, non accipiunt, sed tales privatas qualibus nobis uti etiam ad paganos licet.*”^s

If the case therefore of the Anglican Church had to be decided by the principles and the voice of antiquity, we do not see how any verdict but that of schism, could be pronounced against it. It is in a state of separation from the aggregate of churches dispersed over the world. It cannot make an excuse; it

^s “Whence it came, that we wrote to some of the chief men among the Donatists, not letters of communion, which they do not receive for a long time from the Catholic unity dispersed over all the world, on account of their perversity, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to send even to pagans.”—Ep. xliii. vol. clxii. cap. 1.

cannot raise a point either of fact or of right, in bar of judgment, which has not been already met by the judicious sagacity of the great supporter of the unity of the Church, when combating the cavils of the Donatists. But, we have yet a second and most important test provided for us by antiquity, whereby we must farther prove our point before we proceed to investigate the awful consequences in regard to apostolical succession and claims to authority, that result from this state of separation.

II. The second criterion of the true Church is closely allied to the first, though simpler in its application. According to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Church Catholic, and who are in a state of schism, by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome, and who are not. This test, as we just remarked, is nearly connected with the foregoing: inasmuch, as the Chair of Peter being the centre of the Catholic unity, all that communicated with it, knew at once that they were in communion with the rest of the Church dispersed over the world. To have kept up an active communication with all the sees, even with all the metropolitans of the world, would have been, for each bishop, a difficult, not to say, an impossible, undertaking. Nor could the faithful have easily discovered whether their own bishop preserved Catholic unity in this way. Let us then at once show the various ways in which this connection with the Apostolic See was applied to the preservation of unity, and the immediate detection of schism.

1. We have seen that communion was actively kept up by means of the *epistolæ formatae*. No doubt, on particular occasions, such as that mentioned by St. Augustine, any bishop writing to other sees, would

have received in reply letters of communion. But ordinarily this regular interchange of religious communion all centred in the Apostolic See. We will not here inquire whether the *formatæ* which it sent even to patriarchs, were not of a much higher character, and contained a confirmation of their election, without which it was not admitted. We think decidedly, that such was the case.^h But, as we have, throughout this discussion, desired and endeavoured to deal generously with our opponents, and have not insisted upon any point which we could waive in our argument, we are willing to act consistently in this matter too; and shall therefore suppose that the *formatæ* of the Holy See went no further than to acknowledge religious communion with the bishops to whom they were addressed. Still, this intercourse was considered essential to the maintenance of religious unity, and its absence was a clear indication of a state of schismatical separation. We have a remarkable proof of this communication carried on by distant churches through the medium of the Holy See, in an argument employed by St. Augustine. The Donatists, to prove that the rest of the Church had kept communion with them, asserted that the Council of Sardica had written a letter to Donatus of Carthage. To this the holy Father replies, that, supposing the synod to have been orthodox, it does not follow, that the Donatus mentioned was the bishop of Carthage, as the names of the sees are not cited in the letter. He then adds, “quod hinc maxime credibile est,

^h Pope Boniface I. informs us, that Theodosius, fearing lest the election of Nestorius to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate would be null,—“habere non existimans firmitatem,” because he (the pope) had not known of it, sent a deputation of courtiers and bishops, and “formatam huic a Sede Romana dirigi depoposcit, quæ ejus sacerdotium roboraret.”—Ap. Coustant. Epp. Rom. Pont. col. 1043.

quod ad Carthaginis episcopum, Romano prætermisso, nunquam orientalis Catholica scriberet."ⁱ But St. Optatus is the writer who uses this argument in the clearest manner, and proves the schism of the Donatists by the simple fact of their not communicating with the rest of the world, through him who sat in the Chair of Peter. After tracing the succession of pastors from St. Peter to Siricius, he adds, "who is in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined, in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formatæ*."^k

2. But this was by no means the highest ground on which communion with the See of Rome was required of all who wished to be considered within the pale of the Catholic Church. It was not for the convenience of mutual intercourse, but for the necessity of ecclesiastical unity, that the Chair of Peter and his successors had been made the centre, and received the headship, of the Church. St. Ambrose, writing to the emperors, calls the Holy City, "totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam . . . inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant."^l St. Optatus, however, lays the greatest stress upon this point. Again and again he presses the charge of schism upon the Donatists, because they are separated from the Chair of Peter. Having proved that the Catholic, or true Church, must be diffused over the entire world, he proceeds to point out more particular marks and ornaments whereby it may be more easily dis-

ⁱ "Which is the more credible, because the oriental Catholic Church never wrote to the bishop of Carthage, passing over the bishop of Rome."—Cont. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 34.

^k See the text quoted below.

^l "The Roman Church head of the entire Roman empire . . . for thence flow to all the rights of venerable communion."—Ep. ii. ad Grat. et Valent.

tinguished. The first of these is the *Cathedra* or episcopal chair. By this it is evident that he did not mean episcopacy in general, nor the succession of bishops validly ordained, as he allows the Donatists to have possessed these. He goes on therefore to explain his meaning and apply it. "We must see," he writes, "who sat first upon the chair, and where. If you are ignorant, learn: if you know it, blush; you cannot be charged with ignorance, therefore you must know it . . . Therefore you cannot deny that you know, that in the city of Rome, the episcopal chair was bestowed on Peter first, on which sat Peter, the head of all the apostles, whence he was called Cephas; in which ONE CHAIR unity was to be preserved by all, lest the rest of the apostles should stand up each one for a separate church; SO THAT HE SHOULD BE A SCHISMATIC AND A SINNER WHO SHOULD SET UP AGAINST THE ONE CHAIR, another."^m Before proceeding to the next words of the Father, we will indulge in one or two remarks. It is repugnant to the obvious purport of his argument to imagine, with Chillingworth or Mr. Poole, that he here speaks only of schism *within* the Roman Church, strictly so called, by the setting up of a Donatist bishop in the city of Rome, in oppo-

^m "Videndum est quis, et ubi prior cathedram sederit. Si ignoras, disce; si nosti, erubescas; ignorantia tibi adscribi non potest, restat ergo ut noveris . . . Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Roma, Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur; ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent: ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram, alteram collocaret."—De Schism. Donat. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 31. The learned author to whom we allude in the next page, reads *tibi* for *sibi* in the last sentence.—St. Cyprian Vindicated, p. 20. We follow Dupin's edition, which gives no various reading here. Of course the sense is precisely the same.

sition to the one in direct succession from St. Peter. For St. Optatus speaks of the Roman See as *one* and *singular*, in reference not to any rival pretensions that might be set up with it, but in reference to the sees erected by the other apostles. Unity was to be preserved in this chair, in such way, as that no other *apostolic* chair was to be set up against it, without incurring the guilt of schism. What could be the motive for introducing here the mention of other apostolic sees, if the object was only to lay the basis for an argument that he was a schismatic who erected a rival throne in the same see? A proposition so evident, that it certainly required no appeal to the respective positions of Peter and the other apostles. But St. Optatus well knew that there was a twofold form of schism, one by separation from the immediate bishop, who forms the first link with each one in the chain of unity, and the other, consequent on it, by separation from the centre at which the various chains are joined together. For otherwise, what can be the meaning of his thus addressing Parmenianus: “*Nec Cæcilianus recessit a Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani, sed Majorinus cujus tu cathedram sedes?*”ⁿ What, we ask, is the meaning of these words, unless a schism in Africa, at Carthage, was considered a separation not only from the see of that city, on which Cyprian had sat, but also from that of Rome? We therefore conclude, that St. Optatus, in declaring every one a sinful schismatic who sets up a rival chair to that of Peter, spoke not of those in Rome itself, but of any, who in distant countries established the independence of their sees.

ⁿ “Nor did Cæcilianus separate himself from the chair of Peter or of Cyprian; but Majorinus did, whose see you occupy.”—Lib. i. cap. x. p. 10.

The learned Father, having thus laid the foundation of his argument, proceeds to apply it to the Donatist controversy, in the following terms: "Therefore, the one chair, which is the first of the properties [of the Church,] Peter filled the first, to whom succeeded Linus; to Linus succeeded Clement" [here the saint enumerates all the pontiffs down to his time; then concludes,] "to Damasus, Siricius, who is now in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined, with us, in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formatæ*. You give an account of the origin of your chair, you who wish to claim to be the holy Church."^o It may be deemed necessary for us to reply to the cavils of the two above-named divines, upon this, as we have done on the preceding part of St. Optatus's text. We are, indeed, dispensed from the task, by the able manner in which we find it has just been done by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, who, by his answer to Mr. Boole, has added another to the many claims he already possessed, to the respect and gratitude of British Catholics, and has gained a new title to the character he so justly bears of a sound divine, a ready polemic, and a zealous ecclesiastic.^p We will content ourselves, therefore, with a very few remarks. In laying down the point which he intended to prove, that is, which church had the marks or properties of the Catholic,

^o "Ergo cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis, commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordat. Vestræ Cathedræ vos originem reddite qui vobis vultis sanctam Ecclesiam vindicare."—Lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 32.

^p "St. Cyprian Vindicated, against certain misrepresentations of his doctrine in a work by the Rev. G. A. Poole." Norwich, 1839, p. 64.

St. Optatus never once intimates that he had removed the question from Africa to Rome. For it is evident that he wrote his work for the conviction of the African Donatists, and naturally selected arguments applicable to them. So his marks of the Church are such as would apply in any country. Now, after he has given the argument we have just seen from the chair of Peter, he introduces, simply as an objection to the argument, the Donatists' assertion that they too had a church and a chair at Rome. "But you also say," he writes, "that you have some part in the city of Rome."¹ Surely this is not the way in which the main argument is likely to be introduced. It is evidently nothing more than an objection, which the writer thinks might be thrown in by the adversary, and which he deems it right to remove, before proceeding with the argument. Accordingly, the Father shows how little right the Donatists have, to consider their African bishop resident in Rome, as the true representative of the Apostolic See; and then concluding that Peter, the "Prince of the Catholics" (*nostrum Principem*), had alone the keys given him, he proceeds with the argument on general grounds, by no means applicable to Rome alone. Yet, throughout he continues to argue against the Donatist schism in general, as separated from the chair of Peter, and thereby at once condemned: "*Unde est ergo quod claves regni cœlorum vobis usurpare contenditis, qui contra cathedram Petri . . . sacrilegio militatis?*"² Nay, he even goes farther than this. He had pro-

¹ "*Sed et habere vos in urbe Romæ partem aliquam dicitis.*"—*Cap. iv.*

² "How is it that you should attempt to usurp the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who are engaged in sacrilegious war against the chair of Peter?"—*Cap. v.*

posed five marks of the true Church, whereby it could be distinguished from all schismatical congregations. The first is the one we have seen,—the chair, and he concludes that this is proved to be exclusively his side's, through the chair of Peter. “*Igitur de dotibus supradictis cathedra est, ut diximus, prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse.*”^a This surely could not be said, if, as Mr. Poole supposes,[†] the argument was only of use against Macrobius and his miserable handful of lurking sectarians in Rome. Then, what is still more important, St. Optatus hardly touches upon several of these marks, but contents himself with asserting that he has proved his church to possess them, through the chair of Peter: “*Et per cathedram Petri quæ nostra est, per ipsam et ceteras dotes apud nos esse.*”[‡] By proving, therefore, this one point, he considered the argument as satisfactory, as if he had fully demonstrated each of the other marks to belong exclusively to his church. Further, we will observe, that these characteristics of the true Church were not originally proposed by St. Optatus, but by his Donatist adversary.[‡] Now it is not probable that he should by “*cathedra*” have meant the local See of Rome, which they could not, without consummate impudence, pretend to claim; particularly, as we shall see that it was part of their tactics to keep the question on African ground, and decline all reference to the state of foreign churches. In fine, we find

^a “Therefore of the above-rehearsed properties, the chair is the first, which we have proved to be ours through Peter.”—Cap. vi.

[†] Ap. Husenbeth, *ubi sup.*

[‡] “And by the chair of Peter which is ours, by it the other properties are with us.”—Cap. ix. p. 38.

^x “*Videndum ubi sunt quinque dotes quas tu sex esse dixisti.*”—Lib. ii. cap. ii. St. Optatus afterwards tells us which he excluded to reduce them to five, which, consequently, he admitted.—Cap. viii.

St. Augustine employ the same argument from the succession in the Roman See, where certainly there can be no room for Chillingworth's exceptions. For this Father composed a rude poem, or psalm, which might be sung by the common people of Africa (for he always speaks of other churches under the title of transmarine), and in this he gives, as the principal evidence against the Donatists, the succession of bishops in the chair of Peter. These are his words :—

“ Venite fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite,
 Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.
 Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,
 Et in ordine illo Patrum quis cui successit videte.
 Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.”^y

3. It will not, therefore, be surprising to see how, in practice, this simple rule was adopted, for at once ascertaining who were the Catholics, and who the schismatics. St. Ambrose informs us that his brother Satyrus, not yet partaker of the sacred mysteries, being in imminent danger of shipwreck, tied the blessed Eucharist round his neck in an *orarium* or scarf, and fearlessly committed himself to the waves. Arrived on shore, and having experienced the efficacy of this great sacrament, when thus externally applied, he concluded how much more excellent its virtue must be, when actually received into the breast, and therefore ardently desired to be partaker of it. But the schism of Lucifer prevailed in that country; and, therefore,

^y “ Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine,
 It grieves us to see you thus lie cut off.
 Number the priests in the very chair of Peter,
 And see in that order of fathers who succeeded the other.
 This is the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not.”
 Contra partem Donati Psalmus, *versus fin.*

he resolved to be cautious how he communicated with the clergy. "He sent for the bishop, nor did he think there was any true grace save that of true faith. He asked of him whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is with the Roman Church." Such was the simple test, which one, not yet initiated in the mysteries of Christianity, had learnt; he did not inquire into the succession of that particular church or see, nor whether it taught all that is declared in the creeds, nor whether it was "an independent branch of the Church Catholic;" but simply whether the bishop who came to him kept, or not, communion with the Roman Church. Had Satyrus thus been cast in our days upon the shores of England or Ireland, he certainly would have rejected the ministry of the Establishment-bishops, who claim their rights upon the pretended grounds just rehearsed, and would have admitted the bishop, or vicar, or priest, who could alone have answered affirmatively to his one simple question. Another instance of the application of this easy test, we have in the life of St. Fulgentius, written by his disciple. As he was proceeding to the deserts of Thebais, to study virtue from its celebrated anchorites, the Bishop Eulalius thus addressed him: "You do right thus to aim at perfection; but you know that without faith it is impossible to please God. The countries which you desire to visit, a perfidious dissension hath separated from the communion of the B. Peter; all those monks, whose wonderful abstinence is celebrated, have not the sacrament of the altar in communion with you Return, my son, lest, for

* "Advocavit ad se episcopum, nec ullam veram putavit, nisi veræ fidei gratiam: percontatusque ex eo est, utrumnam cum episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret."—De Obitu Satyri Fratris.

the sake of perfection of life, you incur danger of right faith.”^a Thus we see, how, even in Egypt, communion with the See of Rome was at once a sufficient test of orthodoxy, and of participation in the communion of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary for us to cite the well-known words of St. Jerome, who, by the same process, resolves the complications of a manifold schism, and decides who is right. “*Hinc in tres partes divisa Ecclesia ad se rapere me festinat . . . Ego interim clamito: Si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur meus est: Meletius, Vitalis, et Paulinus tibi [the pope] hærerere se dicunt; possem credere si hoc unus assereret: nunc autem duo mentiuntur aut omnes.*”^b Nay, so well understood was this rule, that Eusebius gives an instance of its application by a heathen emperor. For, when Paul of Samosata had refused to obey the decree of deposition pronounced against him by the Council of Antioch, or yield his see to Domnus, the case being referred to Aurelian, he decided that he should be held the true bishop, who had letters (of communion) from the bishop of Rome.^c

4. This principle, however, was not merely adopted for convenience of application, as affording a rule, which rude and unenlightened minds could supply, but

^a “*Recta facis cupiens meliora sectari; sed scis quoniam Deo sine fide impossibile est placere. Terras ad quas pergere concupiscis a communione B. Petri perfida dissentio separavit; omnes illi monachi quorum prædicatur admirabilis abstinentia, non habent tecum altaris sacramenta communia . . . Revertere, fili, ne vitæ melioris intuitu periculum rectæ fidei patiaris.*”—Apud Bolland. 1 Jan. cap. 12.

^b “*Hence the Church, divided into three parts, strives to drag me, each to itself . . . In the mean time, I cry out, If any one is joined to the chair of Peter, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they cleave to you. I might believe it, if one said it; but now two of them, or all three, speak untruly.*”—Epist. tom. iv. p. 13, ed. Maur.

^c Ap. Euseb. H. E. lib. vii. cap. 30.

it was followed by the highest dignitaries of the Church on the most solemn occasions. The Council of Constantinople, under the patriarch Mennas, lays down this rule: "We follow and obey the Apostolic See; and those who are in communion with it, we hold in communion; those whom it condemns, we likewise condemn."^d We have another remarkable declaration of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who, writing to Pope Hormisdas, protests that he follows in all things the Apostolic See, and preaches all that it has decreed, and therefore hopes to be in one communion with that see, "in which is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion." Should any one assert that this is said only under the circumstance of the pope's being at that time acknowledged orthodox by the rest of the Church, and does not contain the maintenance of a principle applicable to all possible cases, we beg him to attend to the words which immediately follow: "Promising for the future, that whoever are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, THAT IS, WHO CONSENT NOT IN ALL THINGS WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE, their names shall not be recited in the sacred mysteries,"^e the ordinary mark of communion. This at once excludes all idea of the possibility of the See of Rome, or those in unity with it, being considered heretics or schismatics, as the *Tracts for the Times*, professing to deliver the doctrines of antiquity, would pretend is now the case. As we are treating of this

^d Ἡμεῖς γὰρ . . . τῷ ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ ἐξακολουθοῦμέν τε, καὶ κειθόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοῦ κοινωνικοὺς ἔχομεν, καὶ τοὺς ἰπ' αὐτοῦ κατακρίθéntας καὶ ἡμεῖς κατακρίνομεν.—Labbe, Conc. tom. v. col. 92.

^e "In qua est integra Christianæ religionis et perfecta soliditas . . . Promittentes in sequenti tempore, sequestratos a communione Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, id est, in omnibus non consentientes Sedi Apostolicæ, eorum nomina inter sacra non esse recitanda mysteria."—Ibid. tom. iv. col. 1487.

great pope, we cannot help turning the reader's attention to another letter, from the bishop of Nicopolis, to him, in which he holds even stronger language. But as it refers more to the jurisdiction of the pontiffs over the entire world, and to their infallible authority in teaching, than to the necessity of union with them, we will only refer to it in general terms.^f St. Gregory the Great has preserved the formulary signed by bishops reclaimed from schism. "I, bishop of . . . willingly and spontaneously have, by the divine grace, returned to the unity of the Apostolic See; and . . . I pledge myself, under pain of forfeiture of my order, and under the penalty of anathema I promise to thee, and through thee to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to his vicar, the blessed Gregory, or his successors, never to return to the schism . . . but always to remain in the unity of the holy Catholic Church, and the communion of the Roman pontiff."^g

We have thus seen the two grounds on which the ancient Church mainly supported an accusation of schism; the two rules which it gave to the faithful for deciding when they were to continue in communion with a body of Christians, however great, and however national, who claimed their obedience, or their communion. They had not to perplex themselves with

^f Ibid. col. 1438.

^g "Ego episcopus . . . prona et spontanea voluntate ad unitatem Sedis Apostolicæ, divina gratia duce, reversus sum . . . Et sub mei ordinis casu spondeo, et anathematis obligatione, atque promitto tibi, et per te S. Petro apostolorum principi, atque ejus vicario beatissimo Gregorio, vel successoribus ipsius . . . ad schisma . . . nunquam reversurum, sed semper me in unitate S. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, et communiōne Romani pontificis permansurum."—S. Gregorii M. Opera, tom. ii. p. 1300, ed. Maur. [This form of reconciliation to the Church is yet to be found in the Roman Pontifical, to be used when a bishop receives a convert into communion with the Church.]

doctrinal points, or controversial subtleties—they had simply to ascertain, *first*, whether or no these persons were held in communion by the rest of the Church, that is by the aggregate of churches dispersed over the world; and, *secondly*, whether they adhere to the Apostolic Roman See. Wherever they found these two conditions verified, there they were to join themselves: wherever they existed not, there was schism, and they were to have no part with those that formed it.^b Now let us apply these two tests to the Anglican Church. In our first article above referred to, we proved, that it can show no communion with the rest of the Christian episcopal world, even taking those criterions of that communion which its own approved divines have laid down. And as to the second condition, that of communion with the Roman See, we think there can be no hesitation what to decide, inasmuch as, by a formal act, the English Church, in 1534, disavowed all dependence upon it, and from that moment ceased to communicate with it. Certain it is, that *de facto* that church has, since that time (excepting the reign of Mary), held no unity or communication with either Rome or the rest of the Catholic world. And this has nothing to do with the question of doctrine, or any inquiry as to whether the body of the Catholic Church deviated from true faith at Trent, and rendered it imperative then to separate from it; an idea, however, incompatible with what we have already seen above, and much that we could add. For, the separa-

^b There is an interesting passage in St. Augustine, too long to quote (Cont. Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 125), in which he unites the two criterions of the Roman and the universal Church's communion, observing that the Church founded upon a rock, is not by reason of this foundation confined to one place, but is spread all over the world.

tion from unity took place before this, and had no reference to doctrine, further than the exclusion of the supremacy on Scriptural grounds.ⁱ The Anglican Church, therefore, spontaneously constituted itself in a state of schism.

At the outset of this article, we assumed, as a point on which our principal adversaries would agree with us, that a church, or portion of a church, thus constituted in schism, however valid its ordination, could have no part in the apostolical succession. For the satisfaction, however, of such readers as may not be so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, we will now say a few words on the subject.

1. Schism is pronounced by the Fathers a dreadful sin, whether in a Church or in individuals, who knowingly persevere in it. St. Augustine thus writes of it: "Quod autem vos a totius orbis communione separatos videmus (quod scelus et maximum, et manifestum, et omnium vestrum est), si exaggerare velim, tempus me sitius quam verba deficient."^k On another occasion, he calls it "sacrilegium schismatis, quod omnia scelera supergraditur."^l St. Fulgentius, in the strongest terms, excludes all schismatics from eternal salvation.^m

ⁱ "No event in the history of England is marked by circumstances so peculiar as those which attended *the separation of the national Church from the Romish communion.*"—British Critic, No. xlv. Oct. 1837, p. 300.

^k "That you should be found separated from the communion of the entire world (which is a wickedness most grievous, manifest, and chargeable on you all), if I wished to show its aggravation, time would fail me before words."—Cont. Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 8.

^l "The sacrilege of schism, which transcends all crimes."—Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 4.

^m "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites hæreticos atque schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam Catholicam præsentem finiunt vitam, in ignem æternum ituros."—De Fide, ad Pet. Biblioth. Vet. Par. tom. ix. p. 82, ed. Paris.

2. Farther, they do not admit a possible case that can justify such separation; as they consider the evil done to the Church by schism sufficient to counter-balance any imaginary good to be gained, and equal to any real or imaginary evil to be thereby avoided. St. Irenæus says, that such persons swallow a camel while they strain at a gnat, "for no correction can be made by them equal to the bane of schism."^a St. Augustine, speaking of converts made by the Donatists from heathenism, employs this severe language: "Itaque illos quos sanant a vulnere idolatriæ, gravior feriunt vulnere schismatis."^o We refrain from farther quotations, which we could multiply to any extent.

3. Though the valid exercise of the sacramental power was allowed to such schismatics as preserved the lawful forms, yet its legitimate exercise was never acknowledged. St. Augustine makes the distinction respecting baptism: "Item alia duo dicimus esse apud Donatistas, baptismum, non autem illic recte accipi."^p And, on other occasion, he says, of the same sacrament, that, in his opinion, when given under certain circumstances (not then cleared up by a general council), the sacrament would be valid, but "not profitable to life eternal, so long as they remained separated from the Catholic Church."^q Now, the same Father repeatedly compares the sacrament of orders with

^a "Nulla enim ab eis potest fieri tanta correctio, quanta est schismatis perniciës."—Lib. iv. cap. 33.

^o "Therefore those whom they cure of the wound of idolatry, they more grievously strike with the wound of schism."—De Baptismo, cont. Donat. lib. i. cap. 8.

^p "Likewise two other things we say are among the Donatists; baptism, but that it is not there rightly received."—Ibid. cap. 3. He had just said that in the Catholic Church, "et esse baptismum, et illic tantum recte accipi."

^q "Quamquam eis ad vitam æternam non prodesset, si charitate caruissent qua Catholicæ insererentur Ecclesiæ."—Ib. lib. vii. cap. 53.

that of baptism, illustrating the latter from the former: so that the same distinction between validity and lawfulness of exercise must be admitted. For instance, "Nam sicut redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent baptizati sunt; non rebaptizantur; ita redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent ordinati sunt, non utique rursus ordinantur, sed aut administrant quod administrabant, si hoc ecclesiæ utilitas postulat, aut si non administrant, SACRAMENTUM ordinationis tamen gerunt. . . . Nam neque SACRAMENTUM baptismi, nec SACRAMENTUM DANDI BAPTISMI Felicianus amisit." Ordination, here pronounced a sacrament (contrary to the doctrine of the Anglican Church), is put on the same footing with baptism, in reference to the effects exercised on it by schism, and therefore, however validly, cannot be lawfully or profitably conferred, in a church separated from the unity of faith and religious communion. There is another passage, still more beautiful, that illustrates the doctrine of baptism by that of order and other sacraments, which we cannot forbear quoting, on account of its likewise contradicting the Anglican, and confirming the Catholic, doctrine of the sacraments. It is the following: "Si ergo ad hoc valet quod dictum est in Evangelio, 'Deus peccatorem non audit,' ut per peccatorem *sacramenta* non celebrentur; quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus

† "For, as those that return, who, before they separated, had been baptized, are not rebaptized, so they that return, who before they separated had been ordained, are not again ordained, but either resume the ministry they had before, if the service of the Church require it, or if they minister not, yet bear *the sacrament* of orders. For neither the sacrament of baptism, nor *the sacrament of giving baptism*, did Felicianus lose."—Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 2.

imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas . . . etiam in ipsa intus Ecclesia. ‘Cum nemo dare possit quod non habet,’ *quomodo dat homicida Spiritum Sanctum?*” The distinction, therefore, holds good between the valid and the lawful exercise and bestowing of orders; so that the former may exist in a schismatical church; the latter *never can*.

4. Hence, St. Augustine has no hesitation in addressing the following strong language to the Donatist bishops: “If you ask me by what fruits we know you to be rather ravenous wolves, I object to you the crime of schism; which you will deny, but I will instantly prove; for you do not communicate with other nations, and with the churches founded by the labour of the apostles.”*

5. In fine, upon the return of any Donatist bishop

* “If, therefore, what is said in the Gospel, that ‘God hears not sinners,’ have this force, that a *sacrament* cannot be conferred by a sinner, how does he hear a murderer [one devoid of charity, as the Father explains it] praying either over the water of baptism, or over the oil [confirmation] or over the Eucharist, or over the heads of those on whom he lays hands [orders]? All which, however, are done, and are validly done even by murderers . . . even within the Church itself. Since no one can give that which he has not, *how can a murderer give the Holy Ghost?*”—Ibid. lib. v. cap. 20. From which we draw two conclusions opposed to the doctrines of the Tracts; first, that order, as well as confirmation, is a true sacrament, that gives the Holy Ghost; secondly, that it has a form of words, and does not differ from the true sacrament, by consisting only in the imposition of hands.—Cf. Tract No. i. p. 8; v. 10; and Dr. Pusey’s Lett. Tr. vol. iii. p. 11.

† “Si autem a me quæras quibus fructibus vos potius esse lupos rapaces cognoscamus, objicio schismatis crimen, quod tu negabis, ego autem statim probabo; neque enim communicas omnibus gentibus, et illis ecclesiis apostolico labore fundatis.”—Cont. Litteras Petil. lib. ii. cap. 16.

to the unity of faith, the Church sufficiently showed how far it was from admitting any right in him to a place in the apostolical succession. The third council of Carthage, in 397, decreed as follows : First, that what had been decreed in preceding councils be confirmed, “ ne quis Donatistarum cum honore suo recipiatur sed in numero laicorum ;” secondly, that an exception be made in favour of those who had never rebaptized, or who came over to the Catholic communion with their flocks. Thirdly, it was deemed advisable that this decree should not be finally confirmed till the judgment of the transmarine or Italian Church had been obtained.” This was similar treatment to that of the Meletians and Novatians, mentioned in our former article.^z

The voice of antiquity is, therefore, clear and loud upon the claims to apostolical succession of any church involved in schism, that is, which is not in communion with other churches, and especially with that of Rome. Implicated in a crime which no possible circumstances can justify ; exercising their functions, even when validly, still without profit to the souls of men ; styled wolves rather than shepherds ; admitted into the Church only as laymen,—can bishops so characterized have been considered by the ancient Church descendants and representatives of the apostles ?

^z Labbe, tom. iii. col. 1181. St. Augustine thus speaks of this matter, acknowledging the validity of Donatists’ orders,—not because hands are imposed, which the theory of the *Tracts* requires, but because a proper *form* of words was used. “ Et de episcopis quidem vel clericis recipiendis, alia quæstio est. Quamvis enim, cum apud vos ordinantur, non super eos invocetur nomen Donati sed Dei, tamen ita suscipiuntur ut videtur paci et utilitati Ecclesiæ convenire.”—Cont. Cresconium Grammat. lib. i. cap. 11.

^x No. 5 of this series, p. 168.

Our argument ought naturally to close here ; but the lessons furnished us by the Donatist schism are not ended. We will, therefore, beg our readers' farther indulgence, for several remarkable points of resemblance, not yet noted between the former schism, and that which unfortunately separates our country from the universal Church.

1. It is singular that, in process of time, there sprung up among the Donatists a High Church party, the most distinguished of whom seems to have been Ticonius. He saw the absurdity of excluding the numerous churches dispersed all over the world, from the pale of Christ's true Church, one of whose principal attributes he perceived was universality. This Ticonius demonstrated with great learning and acuteness ; but remained blind to the natural consequences to be drawn from his views, namely, that his own church was schismatical, and that it was his individual duty to abandon it, and become a Catholic. His fellow-churchmen, however, saw this — the Fausetts and Shuttleworths of their day — they were aware that his principles, pushed to their legitimate consequences, would necessarily lead to the abandoning of *Africanism*, and the embracing of Catholicity. Parmenianus was the champion, who undertook to chastise the audacity of this reformer ; and not content with writing a letter or pamphlet against him, he had him condemned by a council of his church. Parmenianus seriously warns him of the danger of maintaining, as he did, that foreign churches, in communion with Rome, formed part of the true Church of Christ. The Catholics, however, were not slow to step in between the disputants ; and giving due commendation to the learning and good intentions of Ticonius, took proper advantage of the truth he had discovered.

St. Augustine placed the shield of his vast genius over him, and defended him against Parmenianus.⁷

2. The High Church divines in England maintain that the Irish and English Catholics are schismatics, because they "separate themselves from the Anglican Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops."⁸ The answer to this assertion resolves itself into the inquiry, whether one is bound to prefer the communion of the universal Church out of one's own country, to that of bishops in it (all questions of doctrine being left aside), who are not in that communion. This was a case particularly applicable to England at the time of the Reformation, more than it is now. Well, St. Augustine seems to have had no doubt on the subject. He observes that Ticonius did not perceive the true consequence of his own principles:—but we must give the holy Father's own words: "*Non vidit quod consequenter videndum fuit, illos videlicet in Africa Christianos pertinere ad Ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam, qui utique non istis ab ejusdem orbis communionem atque unitate sejunctis, sed ipsi orbi terrarum per communionem connecterentur. Parmenianus autem cæterique Donatistæ viderunt hoc esse consequens.*"⁹ It is therefore our duty to preserve communion with the general Catholic Church, rather than with the particular church of our country, when that has separated itself from that communion.

⁷ Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 1.

⁸ British Critic, No. xl. p. 485; Dub. Rev. vol. iii. p. 78.

⁹ "He did not see what, as a consequence he should have seen, that those Christians in Africa belonged to the Church spread over the whole world, who, indeed, were not connected with those, who were separated from the communion and unity of that world, but were united by communion with the world itself. Parmenianus and the other Donatists saw this consequence."—Ibid.

3. The writers in the Tracts for the Times, seeing how the argument which they make against English Catholics can be well retorted against French Protestants, are anxious not to introduce, into the controversy at home, the question of foreign Catholics and separatists from them.^b We observe a similar solicitude in the Donatists of old. Emeritus, one of their bishops, thus expresses this feeling at the conference of Carthage:—"Intelligit præstantia tua nihil nobis de peregrinis, nihil nobis de longe positis præjudicare posse, cum inter Afros hoc negotium ventiletur."^c

4. The same Tracts consider the Catholic bishops as intruders, because sent where there were already bishops in quiet and legitimate possession.^d The same complaint was made by the Donatists, that the Catholics sent bishops into dioceses in their possession; which proves, that the Catholics then believed themselves to have the same rights as they have later exercised. Petilianus complains, that in the diocese of Milevis, they had erected three new bishoprics, and that, in his own, Delphinus had been appointed in opposition.^e At the same time, the Catholics severely reprov'd the Donatists for appointing one of their bishops to a see where there was already one in communion with the rest of the Church beyond the seas.^f This will apply to the Irish Protestant hierarchy, as

^b Tract iv. p. 6. "Neither do we desire to pass any sentence upon persons of other countries."

^c "Your excellency understands, that nothing from strangers, nothing from persons living far off, can prejudice us, since this cause is between Africans."—Gesta Collat. Dies 3, No. 99, ad calc. Op. S. Opt.

^d Tract 35.

^e Gesta Collat. Dies 1; ubi sup. p. 258.

^f St. Ang. contra Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 3.

the former principle will to the English. In the canonical code of the African Church, we have a decree of a provincial council that, dating from a certain period, the Catholic bishops had to claim jurisdiction over the dioceses held by the Donatists, whether converted to unity, or not.* This shows, in how little esteem was held a bishop's authority, who communicated not with the rest of the Church.

5. We have been struck how the Donatists, while they did not relish this name, had no objection to the national appellation of *Africans*,—the *African Church*, which is consequently often applied to their party by the Fathers, without any offensive meaning: at the same time that the latter gloried in bearing no other appellation but that of *Catholic*. In like manner, the denomination Anglican, is assumed by our High Churchmen, and we willingly accord it; at the same time, we repudiate every designation, save that of *Catholic*.

6. In fine, as from the great Donatist Church we have seen how many dissenting sects sprung up, and have therein traced no small resemblance to the fate of the Anglican, so have we a counterpart to our conduct towards this, in the conduct of the Fathers towards the former. For, the great body of the Donatists immediately treated those separatists as schismatics, and severely denounced against them the penalties of schism, precisely as the Tract writers deal with dissenters from the Anglican Church.^h St. Augustine thus retorts upon the Donatists what they said of their separatists: “Cui enim unquam schismatico suo pepercerunt, qui sibi ab orbe terrarum, cujus ipsi schismatici sunt, nimis impudenter parci

* Integer Codex Canonum Eccl. Afric. ap. Labbe, tom. iii. col. 1116.
See Tracts ii. p. 8; iv. p. 5; and xxix.

volunt? cum a vera sola ipsa unitate justissime schismata puniantur, si eo modo ista punienda sunt.”ⁱ This is a severe retort, but not more severe than we have a right to make in our days. The Council of Carthage, seeing the advantage which this argument gave the Catholics, decreed, that envoys should be sent among the Donatists, expressly to inculcate it; since, “by it is demonstrated, if they will but attend to it, that it was as wicked for them to be then cut off from the unity of the Church, as they now cry out that it was wicked in the Maximinianists to make a schism from them.”^k For Maximinianists, read Wesleyans, or Quakers, and you have an exact answer to the complaints in the Tracts. On another occasion, writing to some Donatists, he bids them contrast the great body of bishops from which they separated, with the small number from which *their* schismatics departed. “Mulum quidem interest et incomparabiliter distat vel auctoritate vel numero Africana Ecclesia [observe the name] si cum ceteris orbis partibus conferatur; et longè minor est, *etiamsi unitas hic esset*, longe omnino minor est comparata ceteris Christianis omnibus gentibus, quam pars Maximiani comparata parti Primiani.”^l Here is an

ⁱ “For what schismatic from themselves did they ever spare,—they who too impudently wish to be spared by the entire world, from which they are schismatics? whereas, only by the true unity, schisms are most justly punished; if, indeed, they are to be punished in that manner,”—that is, by appeal to the civil power, which this Father strongly blames in them. This constant eagerness for the exclusive support of the civil magistrate, might have formed another point of contrast between the African and Anglican churches.—Ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 13.

^k “Ubi eis demonstratur, si attendere velint, tam inique tunc illos ab Ecclesiæ unitate præcisos, quam inique nunc clamant a se Maximinianistas schisma fecisse.”—Conc. Carthag. Africæ Univ. ad calc. S. Opt. p. 211.

^l “There is much difference and an incomparable distance in num-

argument well fashioned to our hand to be wielded at pleasure against the arrogant pretensions of the Anglican High Churchmen; when they, on the one hand, charge others with the mote of schism from a national church, seeing not the beam of schism from the universal Church, which fearfully presses on their own cause. Truly, if we would but fill our quiver from the armoury of the Fathers, we should find no difficulty in piercing any mail of proof in which our adversaries may think proper to encase themselves. There is not an argument, a cavil, which they can use, that will not be found answered by anticipation, in the writings of the venerable lights of the ancient Church. Hence, we augur results most favourable to the cause of truth, from the publication of the Fathers, in a form accessible to ordinary readers.

There is one view of the apostolical succession, taken by the authors of the Tracts, which we most cordially admit, because conformable to the doctrine of antiquity. It is that explained in the fifty-fourth Tract, p. 4, in these words: "How had the right interpretation of Scripture been preserved in each of those places? [Rome, Corinth, &c.] By the succession of bishops, each in turn, handing over to the bishop that followed him, what he had himself learned of his predecessors." Thus, it appears that the apostolical succession, where it exists, is a guarantee to the faithful, that the same doctrine is taught which has been taught from the beginning. Now, if we apply this test to the Anglican Church, how certainly it

ber or authority between the African Church and the remaining parts of the world: and it is far smaller—*supposing unity to exist in it*—it is, indeed, far smaller, compared with all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus is, compared to that of Primianus."—Epist. xliii. ol. clxii. cap. 9.

must fail! For it is as clear as noonday, that the bishops, after the so-called Reformation, taught the doctrine *opposite* to that of their immediate predecessors. Cranmer, for instance, blasphemed transubstantiation under Edward, which had been taught in his see till his time. Where, then, is that evidence of such succession, which perseverance in the same doctrine ought to afford?

THE
CATHOLIC
AND
ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for August, 1841.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Tracts for the Times*, No. 90.
2. *The subject of Tract 90 examined.* By the Rev. F. Oakley, M.A.
 3. *The Thirty-nine Articles considered as the Standard and Test of the Doctrines of the Church of England.* By G. Faussett, D.D.
 4. *A Review of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times.* By the Rev. B. Prettyman, M.A.
 5. *A Few Words in support of No. 90.—A Few more Words, &c. (Appendix.)* By the Rev. W. G. Ward, M.A.
 6. *Observations suggested by A Few More Words.* By Robert Lowe, Esq.
 7. *The Articles treated on in Tract 90 considered.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.
 8. *Salutary Cautions against the Errors contained in the Oxford Tracts.* A Charge to his Clergy, delivered at St. Nicholas' Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Monday, Aug. 9, 1841. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

THE pamphlets here enumerated are but a small portion of those which have appeared within the last few months, on the subjects discussed in the eventful Tract No. 90. The Rev. Mr. Prettyman informs us, that between sending his work to press and its publication, twenty-six pamphlets on the subject had been put into his hands. To this extent of acquisition our situation has not allowed us to reach; but we are content with the fact, as evidence of the great interest

excited by that Tract; while we take it for granted that the few publications which have reached us contain the pith of the discussion, and present fair specimens of the reasonings and statements of the different sides. We are not going to step between the two, or to attempt the melancholy decision, whether the consciences of many will be best relieved, by subscribing the Articles with the dark conviction, that they are protesting against a church, which they have been taught to believe is, and has been for ages, unscriptural, anti-Christian, idolatrous, and apostatical, and condemning in one sentence its practices and its doctrines,—or by signing them in the thought that, though they may *seem* to be doing all this, and are considered by the great mass of members (perhaps by the rulers) of their church, to do it, yet they in their heart intend it not, because it is possible to interpret these un-Catholic Articles in a Catholic way, by explanations hardly thought of before, perhaps hardly contemplated by some of those who proclaim them, when *they* subscribed. We repeat, that we believe this to be a melancholy alternative proposed to future subscribers; and we lament that any should be placed in it, the more because we see a clear and straightforward way out of the dilemma, and, to our minds, the only one which will save many a youthful heart a pang of remorse;—to refuse subscription. This is a bold proposal; but we must not shrink from it. Let us, however, approach it cautiously.

The purport of Tract No. 90 we suppose our readers in general to be acquainted with. It is to prove, that the Thirty-nine Articles would be, or are, no bar to intercommunion, between the Church of England and at least the Western Church. Every clergyman of the former is obliged to subscribe the Articles,—every one

of the latter is pledged to the decisions of the Council of Trent. Ordinarily, these two standards of belief are considered incompatible one with the other; and it has not been understood that the subscriber of the Articles could hold the doctrines of the synod. Mr. Newman endeavours to prove that the Articles had not in view the doctrines of Trent, in what they declared;—first, because they were drawn up anterior to the council; secondly, because their very tenor and wording prove them to be directed against certain abuses prevalent in the Church, which the council itself in part condemned, and in no part approved. This, we believe, is a fair statement of his view; and we are far from regretting that he has taken it. On the contrary, we rejoice at it, for many reasons.

First, because it is an additional proof of the growing feeling, otherwise perhaps more clearly expressed, that the isolation of the Anglican Church is by no means a consoling, still less a boastful, circumstance.

Secondly, because it indicates an earnest desire to smoothen, if not to remove, the obstacles to restored intercommunion.

Thirdly, because it takes blame for the present state of things, instead of only casting it, as has been the usual practice in treating on these subjects.

Fourthly, because it indicates a practical look towards union with the proper quarter—the West, or Rome—rather than vaguer, perhaps chimerical, projects, of gaining strength by an alliance with Russians, Greeks, or Syrian Nestorians.

Fifthly, because earnestness in all these respects is manifested in express proportion to the pains taken, and the ingenuity employed, to bring the Articles into possible harmony with the definitions of Trent.

For these reasons and more, we are glad to see

a man like Mr. Newman anxious to disclaim condemnation of our doctrines, and to accustom men to judge them compatible with what they themselves consider (however erroneously) as entitled to reverence. Against the many things which both he, and some of his followers in the controversy, say of us, and of our practices, we own that we are weary of complaining. We are speaking now of the tone, and not of the substance ;—the latter is fair subject of debate, and may be touched upon later (so far at least as shall not trench upon individual pending controversies), but the other we begin to feel that we had best submit to without murmuring. We will say, “Strike, but listen :” there is, thank God, merit in humiliation under injustice (even when unintentional), and we will endeavour to acquire it : there is, on the other hand, danger of irritation, and of being tempted to retort, or answer harshly, if one dwells too earnestly upon such things. Moreover, we have so often protested and gained nothing, so gravely denied and not been allowed credit, so gently entreated and not prevailed, that we must make up our minds to endurance ; and if we cannot render our humanity—being but flesh—callous to the stings or lashes directed against us, we will endeavour to protect it by “the shield of that charity,” which “beareth all things, and endureth all things,” while it “thinketh no evil.”*

That Mr. Newman’s view of subscription would be variously appreciated, he of course must have foreseen. To many in the Church it has been acceptable as a boon, relieving their minds of a painful burden.

Mr. Ward, whom we quote with satisfaction, both as one who has suffered in consequence of his opinions,

* 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 7.

and as one whose tone and manner are more congenial to our feelings than many others,—thus opens his first pamphlet :—

“ Acquiescing as I do in the general principles advocated in Tract 90, and deeply grateful to its author for bringing forward in it a view of our formularies, full of comfort to myself and many others with whom I am acquainted, I am induced to say a few words with regard to Mr. Wilson’s recently published Letter; not as being unmindful of the great evils to which direct theological controversy, unless great care be used on both sides, is apt to lead, but still considering that in the present case a view of part of our Articles, new in great measure at least to the present generation, will hardly meet with general acceptance till after full and fair discussion, and that those who feel difficulties in that view have a fair claim on those who advocate it, that their objections shall at least be considered.”

The novelty of the interpretation proposed by Mr. Newman is here acknowledged, as far as regards at least the present generation of subscribers; and the writer of these lines must have subscribed before that interpretation had appeared. Supposing him, therefore, to be placed in circumstances where resubscription would be required, we may justly conclude that the principles on which he would give it, would be different from those on which he first subscribed. We put not this case personally: we mean to speak of any one to whom Mr. Newman’s new view is a source of comfort. If we may be allowed to draw a still further conclusion, we may say that subscription under the other alternative would now be considered by such a person the reverse of comfortable.

On the other hand, it is contended that the proposed construction of the Articles does them violence, is incompatible with straightforward honesty, and contradicts all received modes of interpreting such documents. They ought, therefore, to be taken in their more popular sense; as condemning, that is, not

merely some abuses, real or pretended, in the Church of Rome, but the very doctrines which she teaches.

Now, if we have to speak upon this subject, we own that we are somewhat embarrassed by one consideration. If we express ourselves opposed to the first of these views, it may appear as though we wished to cast those who hold it back upon the latter. Nothing, surely, can be further from our minds; for subscription to the Articles in their popular sense, as involving condemnation of our doctrines, we detest and abhor, as condemnation of the true doctrines of God's Church: whereas in subscription under the interpretation, "new to the present generation," we must regret and blame what appears like connivance at such condemnation. Eleazar would not eat lawful meats when dressed up, so that the people might consider them as forbidden;^b and we would not have reverend, and learned, and devoutly-minded men, subscribe *un-Catholic* articles, before their people, so as to appear to the world to pledge themselves to un-Catholic doctrines, because, in spite of this outward form, there is a secret overlaid meaning, which will allow the subscriber to understand them in a different sense, not necessarily condemnatory of Catholic doctrines.

Mr. Ward enters perhaps more fully than any other writer upon the question which here naturally meets the inquirer; where is the proper key for opening the true sense of the Articles? where their authoritative explanation? When one person makes oath, or subscribes conditions, or formularies prescribed by another, the ordinary and obvious principle is, that they are taken or subscribed, "*juxta animum imponentis*," according to the meaning or mind of the party requiring the subscription or oath. In ordinary circum-

^b 2 Machab. vi. 25.

stances of this character, the main point is to discover what is the "animus" or meaning of the "imponens:" who *this* is, usually appears at once. But, in the present case, it is by no means so. The difficulty lies in discovering who it is that enjoins subscription, with a right to be considered the "imponens." Mr. Ward proposes the following hypotheses, maintained by various parties :—

1. Are the original framers, Cranmer and others ?
2. Is the convocation of 1571 ?
3. Or that of 1662 ?
4. Is the State ?
5. Is the existing Church represented by its actual bishops ?

To all these claims Mr. Ward answers negatively.

1. It is not the first Reformers, because, "as well might a committee of the House of Commons, who are employed to draw up a bill, be imagined to be the 'imponens,' instead of the whole legislative body."—*A Few more Words*, p. 8.

2. The convocation of 1571 has no more authority than any other : *e. g.* that of 1662.

3. Nor has this any ; because what ceased to exist one hundred and fifty years ago, cannot be considered the present "imponens."

4. As to the State, Mr. Ward rather implies than expresses a denial, leaving this theory (once, to all appearance, held by Froude) to those who consider the Anglican Church Protestant.

5. Regarding the existing Church, he intimates perplexities and difficulties, whether it be understood that a person signing under this theory, pledge himself positively to whatever the actual bishops may happen to hold (Dr. Hey's shocking system), or that he merely bind himself to teach no interpretation

of the Articles, which the existing Church deems inadmissible.—P. 11.

We cannot help thinking, that after this exclusion of the framers, the past Church, the present Church, and the State, from the office of “imponens” of the Articles, when they are actually proposed to a candidate for orders, or any other state requiring subscription, most readers will feel perplexed as to what is assumed to hold that office: and we are tempted to indulge them in the opportunity of conjecturing, feeling pretty sure that they will not easily succeed. In fact, we believe that many will rather descend to particulars from the excluded generals, and suppose that the chancellor of the university into which subscription gives admission, or the bishop who confers orders, or who inducts into a benefice, may perhaps be considered the “imponens.” But while any one, so inclined, indulges in these speculations, we may be allowed, not boastfully but thankfully, to contrast our position under similar circumstances. When a Catholic receives a professorship, or takes a degree, or is consecrated a bishop, and indeed on many other occasions, he recites the Profession of Faith of Pope Pius IV. In this, after the Creed, he asserts his belief of the doctrines defined at Trent, the doctrines supposed to be *not* rejected by the Thirty-Nine Articles. Now, in order to subscribe this formulary “with comfort,” we do not suppose that any Catholic, whether in France, Italy, England, or Germany, ever thought of inquiring or discussing who was the “imponens,” whether the Fathers of the council, or the pope whose name it bears, or the commission who drew it up, or the present Church, general or national, or the bishop who receives it, or any one else. And why? Because he knows that all and every of these

different parties, past or present, distant or on the spot, thought and intended one and the same thing: their "animus" was the same; and he would be merely speculating, without benefit, upon a theoretical question, in no way affecting his practical conclusions. Whence comes this? Because, by a principle of unanimity and union, which knits together all times and places, and which he considers exclusively the characteristic of true *Catholicity*, all these parties *must* believe and think alike.

Now, though the visible results in the present Anglican Church be precisely the reverse of all this, as the brief outline which we have given of the theory of the "imponens" must show, Mr. Ward comes to the conclusion that this very spirit of *Catholicity* is the "imponens" of the Articles! The theory sounds to us so startling, so new, so,—shall we speak it?—so awful, that we must give it in his own words, and with his own italics:—

"6. Before doing this, let me beg the reader's careful attention to the following passage from Mr. Newman's Sermons, in which he expresses doctrine held by every Catholic:—'Christ by coming in the flesh provided an external or apparent unity, such as had been under the law. He formed His Apostles into a visible society. But, when He came again in the person of His Spirit, He made them all *in a real sense one*, not in name only. For they were no longer arranged merely in the form of unity, as the limbs of the dead may be, but they were *parts and organs of one unseen power*; they really depended upon, and were off-shoots of that which was One. . . . Christ came not to make us one, but to die for us: the Spirit came to make us one in Him who had died and was alive, *that is*, to form the Church. This then is the special glory of the Christian Church—that its members do not depend merely on what is visible, they are not mere stones of a building piled one on another and bound together from without, but they are one, and all the births and manifestations of one and the same unseen spiritual principle or power, '*living stones, internally connected as branches from a tree*, not as the parts of a heap. . . . Before (the Spirit came) God's servants were as

the dry bones of the Prophet's vision, connected by profession, not by inward principle; but since they are all the organs as *if of one invisible governing Soul*, the hands, or the tongues, or the feet, or the eyes of one and the same directing Mind. . . . Such is the Christian Church; a *living* body and *one*, not a mere framework artificially arranged to *look* like one.'^c

"Now, in proportion as we realize the full force of this great doctrine, we shall necessarily be compelled to consider every external development of any living branch of Christ's Church, as the language of that Holy Spirit who resides within her. If the expression be not irreverent, the 'imponens' of every statement which she is guided to put forth, *Whose* are really the words which she utters, *Who* quickens the forms which she ordains, is none other than *the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church*. Let it be observed, I am not deciding what amount of error a local Church might superadd to the faith without losing her life; much less what amount of *apparent* error she may present to the eye of a superficial observer, the memorial of past sin in her governors, and a heavy bondage restraining her activity and free development. I am saying only so much as this, that if we believe the Church to be the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, and to have been founded for the very purpose of bearing witness to 'the Faith, once (for all) delivered to the Saints' (and if we cease to believe this, we cease to be Catholics), we cannot but interpret every general and ambiguous expression in her formularies in accordance, so far as the wording will allow, with the body of doctrine, which, from the first, the Spirit as by His overruling power He had caused it to be contained as to essentials within the words of Holy Scripture, as also has openly declared through the instrumentality of His organ the Church Catholic. Nor am I at all sure that this is not the fairest statement of the practical way in which the author of the Letter alluded to would look at the subject. It is far indeed, of course, from making of little importance the existing bishops; on the contrary, the formal decision of the successors to the Apostles have, next to the Church's fixed formularies, the strongest claims on us, as the voice of the Holy Ghost. From the lowest to the highest, from the 'godly admonition' of the individual bishop to the private clergyman, up to the authoritative statements of the whole Episcopal Synod, each in its sphere and measure comes with God's delegated authority. Only, if this be the true way of regarding it, as, on the one hand, we interpret all and each of these decisions

^c Vol. iv. Serm. xi.

in the *most Catholic sense which their wording will admit*, so, on the other, we are exempt from the necessity, or duty, of looking for the opinions of individual bishops in any other quarter than in those formal decisions of theirs which may come with authority *to us*. They do *not* speak as organs of the Spirit residing in the Church, unless when they speak formally *as bishops*."—Pp. 11—16.

Before proceeding to examine the more general theory involved in this long but interesting extract, let us say a few words on the concluding passage. "The godly admonition of the individual bishop, . . . in its sphere and measure, comes with God's delegated authority"—it is "the voice of the Holy Ghost:" but for this purpose the bishops must "speak formally as bishops" so to become "the organs of the Spirit residing in the Church." Are we wrong in supposing that a bishop making a charge to his clergy "speaks formally as a bishop?" If not, we would ask, when or how does he so speak, or when does he address the "us" of the text, meaning, we suppose, the clergy subject to him? If he does, then let us turn to the Bishop of Durham's Charge. "And now," it says, ". . . . I must call your attention to the obligation which rests upon me, *your bishop*, on this our day of solemn meeting, *and to the manner in which you also are bound to act towards me*, who, however unworthily, am called upon thus personally, *and from this chair of office*, to address you" (p. 3). The bishop, then, is about to speak episcopally, *ex cathedra*, as his own words imply. In page 6, his lordship thus speaks:—"Strongly, then, must I repeat my regret, that with nothing like an appearance of stringent necessity, or the prospect of adequate advantage, *the writers of those tracts* should have come forward to disturb the peace of the Church." His condemnation of the doctrines of the Tracts we will not quote; because, on every point which Dr. Maltby thinks proper to con-

denn, our sympathies are with the tract-writers; we believe them to be right, and the "godly admonition" of the bishop to be so wrong, that we should shudder at the very idea of considering it as "the voice of the Spirit" of God, or in any "sphere" or in any "measure" as having "delegated authority from God." Moreover, when his lordship speaks of a private judgment, if aided by cultivation, "leading the mind to a clearer perception of the truth than all the volumes of all the Fathers, and still more than any dependence that can be placed on the fallacies or sophistries of tradition," — nay, when he condescends to the use of such expressions as "the stinking puddles of tradition, devised by men's imagination" (p. 8), we consider his teaching as positively heretical in its tendency; and regret so much the more that an amiable and good man like Mr. Ward should have allowed himself to be carried, by his enthusiasm, to the formation of a theory which may compel him either to give such teaching a certain divine authority, or to qualify his theory by new distinctions which may exclude it.

However, here it is: a bishop formally speaking as such from his chair of office, thus addresses his clergy: — "A laboured attempt has been made to *explain away the real meaning of our Articles*, and infuse into them a more kindly spirit of accommodation to the opinions and practices of the Church of Rome. Under these circumstances, however painful may be the task of animadverting upon opinions espoused by persons otherwise so respectable, I consider it incumbent upon me to *pronounce my deliberate judgment*" (p. 7).^d

^d Mr. Ward has contemplated the course which an individual clergyman might be compelled to pursue, should his bishop condemn the doctrine of the Tracts. "It is, I suppose, considered by some

We turn now to the main principle laid down by Mr. Ward in the extract we gave above. Perhaps we shall be thought to have employed strong words when we prefaced it: but our painful impressions were thus formed. We had been accustomed to hear the Articles called by Mr. Newman and others a chain and a heavy yoke, a prison (though with Christ, we know not how, for the keeper), as an imperfection, as the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, as inconsistent precedents, as a penalty for sins, as placing the Church in the body of death, &c. Now we own that it appears to us a serious, nay an awful, thing to consider and declare "*the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church,*" to be the "imponens" of things so characterized and described. We know that the writer was far from meaning any irreverence; in fact he expresses his caution on the subject; but to us it sounds painfully. The whole passage to which we more especially allude, the deductions, that is, from Mr. Newman's reasonings, has a boldness that jars with our usual feelings, in giving to the very acknowledged imperfections of the Anglican Church, a divine sanction which Catholics would with diffidence attribute to anything short of what faith or old traditional practice recommends; for the passage does not speak of a mere permissive dispensation of what is afflicting, but a positive exacting of what is so humanly imperfect. We think it certainly a distressing position for a young man, to have to believe all the severe things that he

that his lordship [the bishop of Oxford] decided *ex cathedra*, that such a mode of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles was inadmissible: the result of which course would be, that those who held preferment in the diocese of Oxford in virtue of subscription to them in such sense, would, to say the least, be in a most painful position, unless they threw up such preferment."—Appendix, p. 13.

has read lately of the Articles, and yet to subscribe them, with the feelings that they are "the language of that Holy Spirit who resides in the Church," that He is the "imponens" of that "statement which she has been guided to put forth."

But let us further inquire, how far the Anglican Church can be considered as acting as part of the Church Catholic in the subscription which she requires of the Articles.

The Catholic Church, according to the High-Church theory, is a collection of various churches, such as those in communion with Rome, the Greek, the Anglican, &c. For a declaration to be considered an emanation from this aggregate body, one would naturally expect to find in it conditions which, in some way, connected it with them or their avowed opinions, and gave it their implied sanction, if nothing more. The lowest terms whereon one might be disposed to receive it in this high character, would be a tacit approbation of it by the other churches; such as their acknowledging and accepting as brethren those who had adopted it. Perhaps there might be a lower form of reluctant acceptance, to the extent of not excluding those from communion who subscribed to its doctrines. But in the case of the Thirty-nine Articles, not a single church beyond the Anglican has admitted the holders of them to communion, or acknowledged that holding them was compatible with what it believes. In other words, the different churches have kept up a continual protest against the Articles, according to what they have ever heard of their meaning. How, then, can it be just to consider as the "imponens" of those Articles, that Catholic Church which, according to the same theory, consists of the union of those very churches?

It will indeed be said, that, till now, the various churches which have withheld communion from the Anglican, on the strength of the doctrines *supposed* to be taught by its Articles, have been mistaken as to the matter of fact, that those Articles contained declarations of doctrine, and pledged all subscribers to hold and maintain them; that consequently there has been an error of judgment, and that the Anglican Church must not be prejudiced thereby, but must be allowed to enumerate her formulary among those which the Church Catholic may admit as containing nothing contrary to her belief. Let us allow this error if we please; let us rejoice with all our hearts that the words of the Articles *may* be interpreted as Mr. Newman proposes (for we are not disputing the possibility of so interpreting them), still it is admitted that they have an uncatholic sound and appearance, that their *prima facie* signification is Protestant, that they are a "Protestant Confession." (Tract, p. 83.) And when, in the beginning of their adoption, other churches, upon these grounds, refused to hold communion with their subscribers, no interpretation was ever offered which could lead them to form a different estimate of their substance; so that if an error was committed, it was connived at, or even sanctioned, by the party whose duty it was to correct it. The Anglican Church, by taking no steps to correct the interpretation generally given to her Articles, seemed to acquiesce in it, and acknowledge it right. The explanations now given will be received with pleasure; but they come not with authority. They show the desire of those who offer them to come into harmony of thought with the Catholic Church; but surely they will not authorize any one to consider this as demanding

the subscriptions of Articles, which are "the offspring of an uncatholic age," or of being their "imponens."

Our impression, therefore, is, that an "imponens" of the Articles must be found in some person, or some thing, more tangible, and more sensibly in contact with the subscriber, than the Catholic Church, or the Spirit that rules her. If subscription be a condition—perhaps we may say an equivalent for anything else—surely the party complying with the conditions on the other side, or representing the interests yielded, or the advantages conferred, may have some right to be considered in that light. Let us put a case. No one can be admitted into the University of Oxford without subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. The practical consequence of this condition has manifestly been the exclusion of us Catholics from the advantages of that place of education. Several Catholics have obtained admission to Cambridge, none to Oxford; simply because subscription is not required in the former, and is required in the latter. Does not this university, therefore, confer certain benefits and advantages, such as education, &c., under a condition of signing a certain formulary; and has it not a right to be considered as its "imponens" on *that* specific occasion? And if so, has not its interpretation been defined, by that very result of its tendering that formulary, the exclusion of every Catholic who admits the Council of Trent, and its doctrinal definitions? For, will any one be prepared to say, that if a youth, educated in the Catholic faith, were to state openly and candidly to the head of a college at Oxford his belief in transubstantiation, in the devout use of images, in the invocation of saints, and purgatory, as defined by that council, and then ask to be allowed to subscribe, and enter the

university, under that interpretation of the Articles which considers them compatible with that belief, he would be admitted? If so, then we have been long unjustly deprived of what we might have enjoyed. If not, it must be concluded that the university claims the right of being at once the "imponens," and the interpreter, of the Articles.

We feel ourselves, however unwillingly, compelled to think that, consoling as the new views of the Articles may be to our feelings, they cannot justify subscription so long as the subscribers are *supposed* to bind themselves to an interpretation of them incompatible with what is held by Catholics. The time may indeed arrive, when Mr. Newman's explanations will become generally received in his church, and be authorized by its rulers, or at least accepted by them; and then the case will be altered. A further and a better step will not be distant when that time comes. Men will easily get rid of a thing which *all* agree in considering a burthen. But for the distressing position of many, in the mean time, we cannot help feeling, because we sincerely do not believe the proposed remedy effectual.

We are aware of the almost necessary consequences of any one's shrinking, with High-Church principles, from subscription under actual circumstances. He would be led to seek comfort in the bosom of the Church Catholic. To this step objections have been raised of a varied character, which we feel ourselves called upon to notice. Throughout the controversy on Tract 90, the Catholic Church has been severely spoken of, as corrupt, nay, as idolatrous, for a twofold purpose. First, the charge was made, in order to justify the Articles in their supposed condemnation of certain practices attributed to us. Then the same objection was repeated for the purpose of justifying separation

from us. The groundwork of both views is the same, the point of vision alone varies: the second is to us more interesting. It has been urged in a special manner, in an article in the last *British Critic*,—an article which, in many other respects, has pleased us, and in none more than this, that it candidly acknowledges a grievous disorder in the state of the Anglican Church, to which it wishes to place the charge against us as a set-off. The author of this remarkable article on "Private Judgment," allows that the isolation of the Anglican Church gives her a strong and painful appearance of schism. But if this tend to drive persons from her communion, they are met, he thinks, by such an appearance of idolatry, that they are once more driven back, and kept where they were. "If," he observes, "the note of schism on the one hand lies against England, an antagonist disgrace lies upon Rome,—the note of idolatry. Let us not be mistaken here: we are neither accusing Rome of idolatry, nor ourselves of schism; we think neither charge tenable; but still the Roman Church practises what is so like idolatry, and the English Church makes much of what is so very like schism, that without deciding what is the duty of a Roman Catholic towards the Church of England in her present state, we do seriously think that members of the English Church have a providential direction given them, how to comport themselves towards the Church of Rome, while she is what she is" (p. 123).

The reviewer collects his proofs from various sources—from Mr. Palmer, Mr. Ward, and Dr. Pusey. We will call our reader's attention to the more popular and striking illustrations or proofs selected by Dr. Pusey, of the idolatrous, or superstitious, or corrupt practices of the Roman Church. We believe that acts

generally convince more than words ; and, moreover, they are more easily remembered. Hence a reader of Dr. Pusey's pamphlet will far more easily retain, and more happily employ, in conversation, some of the wonderful stories which he has gathered together, and seriously set down as proof of no less a charge than idolatry, against *the* Apostolic Church, than he will a passage from St. Alphonsus Liguori. In pages 161 to 164 we have many such examples, the principal of which we will briefly notice.

We are there told of pictures which, carried in procession, stopped the plague and averted the cholera. That God *may* have made use of a pious representation for such a purpose, seems no more impossible than that by a brazen serpent looked upon, He should have stopped the plague of fiery serpents : whether He has done so in individual cases, must depend upon historical evidence. Only let us not overlook the fervour of supplication, the uplifted hands and hearts of thousands, who make up the procession in those cases,—the strong cry and tears which issue from the crowds of suppliants (we speak experienced) that go before and behind, nay, the prayers of the Church and its ministers who attend it ; and if, when these have been all set in action, whether by a representation of Christ or his Blessed Mother, or by the words of a living saint, violence is done to heaven, and the prayers of God's people are heard, let us not quarrel with names, and be astonished if men pay reverence to that which called forth the fervour of their prayers, by forming a rallying-point to their united supplications ; nay, if they thus symbolize and express their feeling, that Her prayers, whose image they accompanied, rather than their own, obtained for them what they asked. For, we suppose, no one ever imagined, that when wonderful effects of

this sort are attributed to any pictures of saints, carried in procession, they are to be considered apart from the feelings which they excite, and the prayers that accompany them. The same is to be said of the image of our Saviour as an infant, with which a priest blesses the people, under the pious belief, whether grounded or not we have no means of pronouncing, that it has pleased God to use it as an instrument of miracles, as he has done, on so many occasions, with other material objects. For our present purpose, it is sufficient that this persuasion should be sincere, even if mistaken; and that it is such we have every reason to judge.

The liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood comes next in Dr. Pusey's catalogue; and to it we only append our full conviction that there is no juggling, no deceit in that interesting occurrence. This is the lowest estimate which any well-informed Catholic would make of it: our own inquiries into it, by every means in our power (and they have been tolerably extensive), have long since satisfied us, in common with many others, that it is a true miraculous manifestation of God's power. Dr. Pusey fearlessly calls it "an imposture."

We now come to proof of tolerated superstition, which we could hardly trust our eyes in reading, in a work by so cautious and so learned a man as Dr. Pusey. It is related in the following words:—"In another church (at Naples) is a waxen figure of our Lord as an infant, to which the king and the court make an annual procession at Christmas, the king carrying scissors to cut the hair of the image, which, it is asserted, grows miraculously every year." By way of voucher for this precious statement, we have in a note,—“Statement of a traveller!” “Ab uno disce omnes.” The Church of Rome and the Catholic Church in communion with it, are to be pronounced

idolatrous upon the anonymous statement of a traveller. Upon reading this account, we lost no time in making inquiries respecting — not its truth (for of that we never dreamt) — but its origin. We thought it possible that some ceremony or practice in itself innocent, might have been distorted, by Protestant ingenuity, into a superstitious observance, or rather a wicked imposture. For we had long been accustomed to very curious and often amusing mistakes of this character in the “statements of travellers.” And though we have a shrewd guess who the traveller is on whom Dr. Pusey so much relies, and believe him to be a person incapable of wilful mis-statements, we must be allowed to attribute to him the usual faults of such well-intentioned travellers as are on the look-out for whatever can justify a condemnation of Rome. In this case, we have inquired from persons for many years resident at Naples, and moving in the circle of the court, whether they have ever heard of this its annual practice, or of the miraculous “Bambino;” and have been met only by expressions of surprise and astonishment at the tale. As one of the persons to whom we applied has expressly authorized us to make use of his statement, we will offer no apology for presenting our readers with the greater part of his letter. As he sufficiently describes himself to enable them to judge of his opportunities for accurate information, we will venture to consider him a better authority than the mere anonymous “traveller;” and we are sure that the honest warmth and indignation which he manifests, will be attributed to its proper motive—regret, that one for whom we know that he entertains a personal regard, should have lent himself to the propagation of a calumnious charge against so large a body of fellow-Christians.

The following is his letter :—

“ August 9, 1841.

“ I have been surprised and painfully impressed by Dr. Pusey’s assertion, given on ‘the statement of a traveller,’ with reference to the miraculous growth of hair, &c. ; and I can only add that I have passed several festivals of the Nativity at Naples, and never heard of such a ceremony as that described by Dr. Pusey ; for *his* description it is, until he chooses to publish the name of his ‘traveller.’

“ I have lived a good deal at Naples, both as a Protestant and as a Catholic. As a Protestant, I was in the habit of meeting *so* many of our countrymen of that creed ready to attend any ‘funzione’ (particularly if it offered the double attraction to them of contemplating royalty, and witnessing so satisfactory a proof as this would have been of *Popish superstition*), that I cannot suppose for a moment I should not have heard of such a ceremony, if it had existed.

“ Belonging to the British legation, I was constantly applied to by travellers to assist them in visiting ceremonies and sights of all kinds ; and I can only call to mind the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, as a regular miraculous ceremony attended by the king, and that only once, though the liquefaction occurs twice, in the year.

“ As a Catholic, I frequented at Naples most of the ceremonies which were likely to inspire me with any fresh admiration for the splendid beauties of the religion I had embraced, and moreover enjoyed the blessing of belonging to a family, the principal members of which were not likely to remain ignorant of *any* ceremony of the importance which would necessarily attach to one of the nature of that mentioned by Dr. Pusey ; but I repeat, I never heard of anything of the kind.

“ You are aware that at Christmas the churches at Naples are in the habit of being beautifully decorated, in compliance with the devotional fervour of the Neapolitan peasantry ; and generally a ‘presepio’ is exhibited, containing a figure, representing our new-born Saviour. The parish church of the royal palace, San Fernando, is famous for the splendour of its ornaments on this occasion ; and I have some recollection that the king does, at this season, pay his devotions at the chapel of San Fernando, which contains the ‘presepio ;’ but for the growing hair and the royal scissors, I cannot help thinking that Dr. Pusey will discover that he has been the dupe of some imaginative Protestant traveller, whose ‘wish was father’ to the hair-cutting part of the story, which he has trumped up because he could not, by sticking to the unvarnished truth, discern much idolatry or super-

stitution in a mere visit to, and a prayer before, a figurative cradle, performed by a king in pious commemoration perhaps of the adoration of the Child of Bethlehem by the wise men of the East, who tradition teaches us were also kings.

“ I had hoped, on witnessing the extent of Catholic belief to which Dr. Pusey and ——— had arrived, by dint of good faith united to deep and honest research, that a termination had been made at last to the innumerable calumnies and childish statements heaped upon us by ‘travellers,’ and never expected to find them received by either of the above-mentioned learned divines. . . .

“ Allow me to say, I consider that absurdity quite upon a par, as far as argument goes, with the lengthened quotations from *one* work of St. Alphonsus de Liguori, which Dr. Pusey has given to prove that a popular system among Roman Catholics is to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity. By only taking into consideration *this one* work, *The Glories of Mary*, destined to illustrate and excite to *one* point of Catholic devotion *only*, Dr. Pusey naturally conveys the idea to those amongst his readers who may not be conversant with the Saint’s innumerable treatises on other points of Catholic doctrine, that in the devotion to the Blessed Virgin consists the corner-stone, the alpha and the omega, of the Roman Catholic religion. Would it not have been fairer to make some mention at least of the *Practice of the Love of Jesus Christ*, and *Meditations on the Passion of our Lord*, by the same saintly author? No! by so doing, proof would be afforded that ours was the religion of Jesus Christ: that, whatever veneration and love may be recommended to be nourished towards the Blessed Mother, yet the Son was the aim of our devotion, the object of our adoration, and the only source of blessings now, and of salvation hereafter. This avowal would show that the doctrines of the Church of Rome had remained unaltered; whereas it must be proved, if possible, that Oxford, not Rome, is the centre of the true religion,—and that Rome must go back, not Oxford *go over*. By his mode of argument with reference to the *Glories of Mary*, Dr. Pusey, by quoting the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Augustine’s *Soliloquia* to persons unacquainted with the general context of the works of that Father, might prove that Roman Catholics were all predestinarians.

“ But I close my letter . . . and shall only add, that although I do not wish you to imitate Dr. Pusey’s readiness to avail himself of ‘a traveller’s statement,’ by contradicting him by means of mine, yet you are at liberty, until you can obtain more direct and official proof from Naples, to make what use you please of my recollections of the

religious ceremonies of that city,—to deny that such a miracle as the growth of a doll's hair, trimmed annually by the royal hand, is attempted to be palmed either upon the upper classes of the Neapolitan metropolis, remarkable for their cleverness and good sense, or upon the lower ones, who, if less enlightened, are nevertheless blessed with a fervent piety and simplicity of heart,—which last Christian quality, were it possessed by some of our traducers, would do more towards bringing about a union in the Church of Christ, than will all the volumes of controversy they may write for centuries to come."

So much for Naples : now let us return to Rome. "At Rome," continues Dr. Pusey, "is an image of the Virgin, which on one day of the year nods her head when she grants prayers : the church is thronged to see it." Here we have no authority : Dr. Pusey of course holds himself responsible for the statement. There is a little work published annually at Rome, under the title of *Diario Sacro*,—being a diary of all the functions and sacred observances of every church and chapel in the city. For years we have been in the habit of consulting it day by day, to discover what was to be visited, as either curious or devout. But, strange to say, we never happened to light on the day in which this annual exhibition takes place. Yet, if the church in which it occurs be thronged to see it, it must be very public and notorious, and not concealed from any one's eye. However, it would be easy, and certainly far more satisfactory, for Dr. Pusey to give the name of the church, and the day of the year, in which this singular occurrence takes place ; that so we may have better means of verifying his statement. In the mean time, we have no hesitation in giving it a direct contradiction, and expressing our astonishment that he could have admitted such an account into his pages.

As we proceed with Dr. Pusey's "statements," heaped up together from all manner of sources, we

literally lose our breath, so mingled with pain and astonishment, and almost indignation, is the perusal of every sentence. With the exception of one writer, the author of the celebrated articles on "Romanism," in the *Quarterly*, we never met a more fervent and rapid enumeration of false charges, than with melancholy and sickening heart we have found in the latter pages of Dr. Pusey's unhappy pamphlet. Statements of travellers, unvouched-for assertions, the fine arts at Munich, popular proverbs, condemned writings,* vague sayings of nameless persons, the bill of fare of cardinals, "common opinion," and many other such things, are thrown together in heedless confusion, to produce a cumulative impression, an overwhelming, suffocating argument, that shall cover us with shame and dismay. Exeter Hall has now indeed at hand a well-stored armoury, from which its skirmishers may draw sharp-pointed weapons; and, when asked for their authority for statements that go beyond any they have ventured to advance, they will tauntingly and triumphantly reply,—“Dr. Pusey: who will venture to suspect *him* of advancing such serious charges in such matters, without having fully verified his facts?” At any former assailants stating such things we could afford to smile; his character must excite a very different feeling.

“Who would but laugh, if such a man there be,
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he!”

We have not heart, we own it, to go into a detailed examination of all he brings forward. Such a passage as the following completely unmans us. “Amongst us, as (in the main) a moral, earnest people, confession is used as a check to sin; in Italy the obligation to it

* The treatise on the Scapular from which Dr. P. so liberally quotes, was long ago condemned by the archbishop of Dublin.

is made consistent with a state of society generally and openly charged with the grossest profligacy, tempting to it, and in itself almost implying the commission of 'adultery in the heart:' if common opinion be but partially grounded in truth, we must believe that adulterers and adulteresses receive absolution from the priest, and 'return to the vomit,' which they never proposed to quit" (p. 169). On reading this passage, our thoughts were at first painfully inclined to think there was too much in it of thanking, that *we* are not "as the rest of men, . . . adulterers," &c.; but they soon sought out a more pleasing scene. They beheld One mild and venerable, sinless and spotless, standing face to face with a convicted adulteress, and trusting in present repentance, bidding her "go, and sin no more."¹ Whether she "returned to the vomit" or no, it has not been recorded for us—the lesson of mercy and forgiveness was all that was necessary. And, if the Italian priest in his confessional may, through error, or even through over-indulgence, be deceived into pronouncing sentence of forgiveness upon one whose heart is not repentant, and who purposes no amendment, we leave him to His judgment who ever leaned towards tenderness and forgiveness. But that the practice of the confessional there or elsewhere in the Catholic Church is to admit those to absolution whose "purpose" to persevere in sin is known, we must beg leave utterly to deny.

Dr. Pusey proceeds:—"In Rome, which calls itself 'Mater Orbis,' the first bishop of the West presides over a government chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, and yet so corrupt, that it has passed into a proverb, that the sight of Rome is incompatible with faith, —'Roma veduta, fede perduta.'" Experience some-

¹ John vii. 11.

times gives the lie to proverbs: the number of conversions which take place in Rome, the still greater number of confirmations in, or returnings to, the Catholic faith which there occur, may suffice in the present instance.⁵ Moreover, proverbs may be made by enemies as well as friends, by the irreverent as well as by the religious. If a foreigner were to say that the Anglican Church is so corrupt, that it has passed into a proverb in the country, that "the nearer the church, the farther from God;" that its ministers are so sordid, as to have given rise to the proverb of "no penny, no pater noster," would any calm reasoner on such subjects admit the force of the argument; and not, at least, inquire whether the friends or foes of the Establishment made and have kept up the proverb? Rome has had its enemies, even such as speak the Italian language: she had them of old in Venice and in Florence; she has them still in all the Italian offspring of French impiety scattered over Europe, or yet lurking in fair Italy itself; quite enough to start and to perpetuate proverbs against her. Again, there is an historical or chronological view of popular sayings, which are often handed down, after the circumstances under which they rose have ceased. And so we may allow that the proverb which Dr. Pusey quotes may have been once applicable, without at all admitting its

⁵ One class alone may suffice to prove this point, that of German artists,—Overbeck, Feith of Frankfort, Roden, Müller of Düsseldorf, the two Rippenhausens, the two Schadows, Knapp, Tierlink, the younger Hauser, Keisermann, and many others, might be mentioned. Dr. Pusey, speaking of the school of Munich, says,—“In the new school of art in Munich, on the contrary, where religion is in a purer form” [than at Rome], &c. (p. 166). It may be observed that the Munich school is truly Roman. Its leading artists studied in Rome; Cornelius went to Rome to prepare his cartoons for his painting in the Ludwigskirche in Munich.

force at present.^b As to the Papal government, and the character of the ecclesiastics who compose it at present, we trust that an old proverb will not be considered sufficient to condemn them. Surely the dignitaries of such a Church are not to be pronounced "corrupt" on no better evidence.

Let us proceed. "In Rome, the very day of our Lord's passion (and that during the very hours when he was nailed to the cross for us) is uniformly, amid some outward distinctions of meats, made by cardinals a day of official entertainment, and a feast." Here we have a note, to authorize the charge; it is as follows:—"On Good Friday, Cardinal — received all the cardinals at dinner at two in the afternoon, with many Englishmen in uniform. The dinner consisted of soup, fish, cutlets, and every variety of dish, all made of fish, but undistinguishable, from the riches of the sauces, from any other dinner. This was annual." (MS. Journal.) We almost blush as we transcribe these words from the book of a grave and learned man, engaged in the solemn attempt to prove a charge of idolatry against the venerable Roman Church. Can it be less than blindness in such a one to overlook the heart-melting commemoration of our Saviour's passion in which those cardinals are engaged day after day, and through the entire day; the splendid services with which the Papal court does homage to the season; the kneeling at pilgrims' feet and washing them, in imitation of the divine example; and suppose that they who

^b A comparison of the proverb with the second Novella of the Decamerone will probably best prove to what period it owes its origin. There, however, the conclusion drawn is the reverse of Dr. Pusey's. A Jew, finding the conduct of ecclesiastics evil, and seeing that, notwithstanding this, their religion flourishes and increases, is brought to a conviction of its truth, and embraces it.

go through all this would select the very hour of our Lord's passion for a festive meeting and the pleasures of the table? For does not Dr. Pusey's narrative cruelly force one to conclude that the day and hour are chosen expressly, almost in mockery of the day?

Now let us see how the truth stands. The services of Holy Week are performed at the Vatican. They are long, and occupy both morning and afternoon on Thursday and Friday in Holy Week. There is but a short interval between the services, and it has been customary, on those two days, to have two repasts in the palace, one presided over by the secretary of state, the other by the maggiordomo. The first is for the higher, the second for the lower, order of persons engaged in the functions. The cardinal will probably invite foreign ambassadors, and some cardinals; the master of the palace, the gentlemen in waiting, masters of ceremonies, and clerks of the chapel, the officers on duty, and other official persons. Surely thus far seems nothing more than almost a duty: there would hardly be time for those engaged in the offices of the day to go to their homes from that remote quarter of the city, and return. The days are appointed because of necessity, not by choice. Now, as to the dinner. We have our doubts whether, when a duty of hospitality has to be discharged, it be not in better accordance with the precept "not to appear to men to fast," and to "wash our faces," and not to be, "as the hypocrites, sad," to prepare a table in accordance with the rank, and usages of the society, of your guests, observing the precepts of the Church regarding meats, and leaving it to each one (in that his only meal in the day) to regulate himself as he thinks right; rather than to place before them, what perhaps would be more becoming food at any time for

sinners, the dry fare of the anchorite's table. The choice is meagre enough on those days in Rome, — no flesh-meat, nor eggs, nor milk, nor butter, nor cheese; and whatever the sauces may have been, which probably, aided by the novelty of the entertainment to the journalist, seemed very "rich," fish, depend upon it, was the sole substance, and oil the only condiment, of the feast.¹ But let not the display of their ingenuity by Italian cooks, however misplaced, become a *locus theologicus* in our present controversies.

We are tired of following Dr. Pusey into this sort of detail; but we have several reasons for doing so. First, we find him particularly cautious about evidence which we adduce. "Romanist citations of the fathers," he says, "require to be sifted." (P. 115, note.) Now from one who thus writes, we have a just demand for authenticity in his facts. And if we are apt to be overcredulous in regard to what we deem manifestations of God's power in favour of His Church triumphant, is it less dangerous to be credulous regarding grievous charges, like idolatry, against His Church militant? Secondly, we think it right to call attention to the manner in which any evidence is taken up against us, however ungrounded, however trivial, or however painful. We cannot but trust that many minds of a generous cast will be more easily undeceived by exposure of this eagerness to condemn Rome, at

¹ We have tasted of these supposed feasts (which would almost deserved to be called Thyestian, if given in the spirit which Dr. P. seems to attribute to them), and can safely pronounce, that many of their recondite and fallacious dishes will better suit the *dura messorum ilia*, than those of "English gentlemen in uniform." There are several other secondary errors in Dr. Pusey's account. Formerly the cardinals all dined together semi-publicly; this has long been abolished. Very few, if any, unattached to the palace, dine there at all.

almost any rate, than by any controversial discussion. They will look with misgivings upon a position which requires them to charge her with idolatry, and to accept as sufficient, evidence like this. These reasons must plead our apology for what many readers may consider almost solemn trifling; and if we have expressed ourselves warmly, it has been more in sorrow than in anger, at seeing the name of one whom we have long honoured and esteemed, now set down as a voucher for assertions, which a few months ago would only have come from an opposite direction—from common adversaries.

We cannot better conclude our article, which, though prolonged beyond our original intention, has not touched on some important topics which we had intended to include in it, than in the words of Mr. Ward, with whom we part with feelings of regard and kindness.^k

“Many persons are very painfully affected when things are said in favour of the Roman Churches, without protests being also expressed against their corruptions. Now, on the other hand, several persons who fully believe in the existence of those corruptions, dislike this habit of always mentioning them; and this for three reasons;—1. It seems ungracious in a Church so faulty as our own to be continually ‘throwing stones’ at our neighbours, and seems almost to imply (though Mr. Newman nowhere does imply it) that we consider our own Church purer. 2. It tends to make persons forget the true character and claims of the Roman Church, as being a true Church ‘built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets,’ as having held up for imitation, certainly more than any other Church of

^k We ought to have noticed that in the case of University subscription, Mr. Ward allows the “imponens” of the Articles to be the University. We differ from him in two things therefore:—1. In thinking that the University has declared its “animus” by the practical exclusion of Catholics; 2. In taking the case of the University only as an illustration for deciding, by analogy, who is the “imponens” on other occasions of subscription.—P. 77.

modern times, patterns of evangelical sanctity; and having been, even in her worst time, on most points, a firm and consistent witness in act and word for orthodox doctrine, when in that respect it rather becomes us to imitate than to criticise. 8. It tends to make persons forget, what it is so important that they should remember, our own practical corruptions. Surely the faults of others concern us not so nearly as our own; and national churches, not less than individuals, bear the surest mark of their own condemnation, when they are loud in self-praise. Might not Rev. iii. 17, 18, afford at times a useful lesson to many of us English churchmen?"—*Few More Words*. p. 79.

THE
ANGLICAN SYSTEM.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Feb. 1842.

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9. *A Letter to a Protestant Catholic.* By W. PALMER, M.A.

IT requires a loving eye accurately to scan the signs of the heavens; an eye, that is, which dwells with pleasure upon Nature's face till every slight change that crosses it becomes familiar; which is not indifferent to a momentary cloud that obscures it, nor to the transient gleam that lights it up, nor to the mutual succession of both; which discovers shades of colour where others' duller sight has no discernment, — that can distinguish the fiery red which portends the storm, from the warm glow that shuts up day with an assurance of a brilliant morn, — that can nicely discriminate between the sullen mist that begins a gloomy day, and the morning veil of a cloudless noon. Yet, such an eye will be found in the simple shepherd's head far more probably than in the scholar's; in his who hath walked with nature from the begin-

ning, in her stillest hour and loneliest paths, and hath gazed and pondered with affectionate and unaffected interest upon her wayward but beautiful changes, till every sound has become articulate, and every look significant. But, if One, whose upbraiding is ever fearful, hath said, "Ye hypocrites, ye know then how to discern the face of the heaven and of the earth, but how is it that ye do not discern this time?" or, "the signs of the times?"* who will not study how he may best escape this reproach, in all that regards the symptoms of change, appearing daily in the religious condition of this country? And if so, how may this best be done? We can answer only for ourselves. We pretend to no deep theories upon the opinions afloat in the English Church, or on their causes; we have no skill in unravelling the motives which may actuate individuals. We are constantly perplexed at what we see and hear; we are sometimes amazed, sometimes delighted, sometimes humbled, sometimes dejected. Our fears are often on a sudden relieved, and our sorrow unexpectedly cheered; but then our hopes are as often dashed down, and our joy utterly quenched. Now all this does but encourage us. It shows us that we *love*. We cannot perhaps look deeply *into* things, but we can look *at* them affectionately. We are indifferent to nothing that has reference to the present religious crisis, as it is called,—to the *movement*, as one is obliged, unpleasantly, to style it. We take up a new pamphlet with quivering fingers; we turn over the leaves with a fluttering and a full heart; our breath thickens as we read, and we are elated, or depressed, at the author's good pleasure. When we have closed the book, our affections have been sensibly acted upon; were there such an instru-

* Luke xii. 56; Matt. xvi. 3.

ment as a *cardiometer* to measure them, it would have risen or fallen certain degrees.

We are willing, therefore, to trust somewhat to this feeling in presuming to exercise judgment upon the signs of the present time. Yes, we love the Church of Christ more, we hope, than Nature's warmest admirer can love *her*. The latter is of a sensible, material interest—it is of earth earthly; its skies are darkened by night, and its earth blighted by winter; it is perishable, and the very organ which can contemplate it, will grow dim and be extinguished. But the new heaven and new earth of the Lord's Kingdom upon earth, are imperishable and unfading; His Church is "wonderful in righteousness," like the king's daughter full of inward glory, yet having her golden raiment set forth with rich variety;^b hers is a sun that "knoweth no setting;"^c hers a blooming spring and a fruitful autumn that feel no winter. She is, moreover, our Mother in the spirit, our nurse, our loving carer and supporter. For all these things do we love her, or rather for one which comprehends them all, that she is loved of God, and has been made all this by Him for our sakes. And then she has her trials and vicissitudes. If she have no winter, she hath storms; if by right of inheritance she be rich, by men's injustice she is at times brought low. If she be a mother to all, many will not be her children. And all this makes us only love her the more; and watch with more filial jealousy over her dear interests, and study with tender earnestness her varying aspects and prospects.

Since last we touched upon the principal subject to

^b Ps. xlv. 14.

^c "Ille inquam Lucifer qui non novit occasum."—Rom. Liturg. Sab. S.

which the publications at the head of our article more directly point—the position of the Catholic Church with regard to Anglicanism, nothing has come under our notice of a doctrinal character (except, perhaps, the pamphlet on the Blessed Eucharist) at all comparable in interest with previous publications. The controversy on Tract 90 has died away, its author and principal upholders have been silent ; even the *British Critic* has offered nothing in the decided tone of foregoing numbers. The charges of the bishops have come to our ears like the last distant sound of a tired and now struggling battle, and the remarks on them like but fainter echoes. But new scenes of ardent contest, new fields for serious conflict of principles, have been opened in the national Establishment. The chair of poetry has lately been, like the body of Patroclus, an object of religious contention, not purely for its own sake, but more because of accidental circumstances. The chair of St. James at Jerusalem has most unexpectedly opened another controversy ; and both these events are undoubtedly “ signs of the times,” indices of feelings, forerunners of important results, to which we may have occasion to allude in this article, but which enter not into our principal present scope. For we are disposed rather to deal with more doctrinal matters, and to turn attention to points suggested by reading the various pamphlets before us, and others which have preceded them. The actual pause in theological discussion may be of use, if it allow reflecting minds to weigh certain wants, as they appear to us, in the controversial system of the day, which it would be important to remove.

The principal of these regards the terms in current use, through the Anglican publications of these latter

times. There is not a more dangerous cause of error in theological science, than an inaccurate or indefinite terminology. Vague terms beget vague ideas; and vague ideas soon lead to looseness of principle, and incorrectness of reasoning. Men satisfy themselves with a word, or a set phrase, or a commonplace that sounds like an axiom; and by using that, think that they are declaring something definite and certain, and excuse themselves from further inquiries. This is the besetting sin of all our public language. A man talks big about "constitutional principles," "rights of the subject," "the interest of the nation," "the cause of the people," "the public at large;" and is forthwith installed a patriot, and is cheered or chaired as such. Then another gets up, and is no less eloquent on "vested rights," "the prerogatives of the crown," "social interests," "venerable antiquity," "the wisdom of our forefathers," and is possibly hissed and hooted as a declared enemy to all improvement. Have the terms of either been understood? Probably not by one in a thousand of the hearers. Have they been understood by the speakers? Not beyond a certain loose and indefinite impression which the utterance of them makes upon their minds. Why, there is enough in any one of those phrases to set two Blackstones a-wrangling for a month, if commissioned to agree on a definition of it, and a limitation of its true extent and purport. Yet every one understands them all, both speakers and hearers, to the extent of seeing (the former sometimes feeling) the consequences of their use. That is, both know, that, however full of sound and empty of meaning, they are party watch-words; that the use of the first set proves the speaker a Liberal, that of the second a Conservative. Now woe to all sound theology, if similar party phraseology is

admitted into it ; woe still more to those who palm it (if maliciously) upon the public mind as a substitute for clear theological ideas ; nay, even to those who unwittingly adopt it ; for they will soon gather its evil fruit !

Some such danger we have long apprehended, and in part seen. We exclude from the minds of the writers whom we mean, all intentional error ; but we do think that they have easily contented themselves with phrases which have a satisfactory theological sound, without sufficient effort to define their import. We think, moreover, that having given a certain currency and hold on the public mind to such phrases, they proceed farther, and build arguments upon them, taking them for lemmas or axioms which no one disputes. In this way, we are convinced that they are often deceived, and lead others astray. We think our best course will be, at once to illustrate our meaning by examples. We will take some of these set phrases, and examine them, not indeed learnedly or profoundly, but *pro modulo nostro*, according to our small ability, and as far as we know how, in a popular manner. Our essay may lead others with more leisure, and ability, and learning, to go deeper into the matter, which we consider by no means unimportant. Moreover, we will only try our hand on a few instances, such as have crossed our eyes, and now cross our minds. We begin with

1. “The *Branch* of the Catholic Church existing in these realms ;” “the Anglican *Branch* of the Catholic Church ;” “our *Branch* of the Church ;”^d “our own reformed *Branch* of the Church ;”^e “the *Branches* of

^d Hope, on the Bishopric of the U. Ch. at Jerusalem, p. 62.

^e Bishop of Ripon’s Charge, p. 20.

the Church Catholic.”^f In like manner we often read of the “Roman *Branch*” of the Church, and of the Greek or Oriental “*Branch*.” In fine, the term *Branch* as applied to a Church, seems completely and indisputably admitted into possession; it has become a regular theological term in Anglican writings; it meets us in every page; and we are naturally anxious to attach to it an idea clear and definite, as every theological term ought to have.

Now of all slippery phrases in controversy, a metaphorical one is the most ungraspable; it is in fact, generally speaking, unfit for such a place. But at any rate it must bear the lowest of all tests of propriety, the simplest of all keys of interpretation,—comparison between the term and the object from which it is figuratively drawn. If we are told that the Church is “the pillar of truth,”^g we seize at once the entire idea—a column is a strong compact support; one single, solid mass, shaped in fair proportions, to combine strength and beauty; firm, unshaken, unbending, upright; it is based on earth, and it rears its head towards heaven; men may lean upon it, and it will not fail them; they may look upon it, and it will delight them; they may hang garlands upon it, and it will seem more comely;—but they are not part of it, they affect not its own proper beauty. Upon it rests truth, unfailing truth, pinnacled above the reach of men’s hands or men’s breath, unsoiled by their dust, immoveable by their most fantastic efforts; to be looked at, believed in, admired, loved, but not handled and played upon, moulded or mutilated at their will. Turn the figure in every way, it stands right; you

^f Dr. M’Caull’s Consecration Sermon, p. 14.

^g 1 Tim. iii. 15.

comprehend it, you see new beauties, new proprieties ; you can discover no flaw, no angle ; it is all—

“ Fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus ;”

like what it is drawn from.

But, this figure of the “*Branch*,” when applied to a Church, and of “*Branches*” when applied to Churches, sets us a-thinking, in order to discover, by a similar process, what theory of the Church it gives us, as that most current now in Anglican theology. A branch is a part of something else, of a plant—so we speculate with ourselves. Many different branches may be parts of one plant, but any number of them, however joined together, never can form a plant. They must branch out *from* something ; they must have A TRUNK ; as that trunk must have a *root*. For us to understand the theory of *Branch-churches*, we must have the history of the entire plant. *Of* what is the Anglican Church a branch ? Of the Church Catholic, we are told. What is that Church Catholic ? The union or aggregation of all apostolic, episcopal churches ; the Greek, the Roman, the Anglican, the American, &c. But these again are all branches ; whence do *they* spring ? Does the aggregate of branches compose the trunk or main stock ? Is the Anglican Church, when viewed alone, a *branch* of the Church Catholic, and when viewed with reference to the Greek Church, a *part of the trunk* from which this branches out ? Or is the “*Catholic Church*,” from which all of them grow, a mere abstract existence, a suppositious being, a body of doctrines and principles, or rather some unembodied essence of vitality, by which the particular branch-churches have life ? Surely not, or away go all the divine promises : these are made to THE CHURCH, not to its branches,

as Mr. Hope observes;^h and it is that, as distinguished from these, that we seek. Let us try, by the same obvious tests, the same figure, when made in that volume wherein all is perfect. Israel is compared by the Psalmist to a vine:—"Thou hast brought a vineyard [Ang. vers. *a vine*] out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the Gentiles, and planted it. Thou plantedst the ROOTS thereof, and IT filled the land. The shadow of it covered the hills; and the branches thereof the cedars of God. It stretched forth its BRANCHES unto the sea, and its BOUGHS unto the river."ⁱ Here we have every part complete; we have a vine sending forth "branches" to distant lands. But we are not at a loss to discover where these have their origin; the main stock and root remain firm and immoveable in the land in which they were planted. Israel in Palestine is the "trunk;" its colonies, or armies, or tributary provinces were its "branching honours." Or let us look at a far sublimer application of the same image:—"I am *the vine*, you *the branches*."^k Here again we have, in a few words, all that we can want to fill up the idea. Simple reference to the prototype explains every part of the image. We see how justly there can be branches, because we see from what they spring, and to what they are attached. Tell us that the Apostles, when they established themselves in different countries, became "branches" in another sense, the founders of branch-churches, and we have lost all the clear simplicity of our idea, because the counterpart is wanting;—we ask of what trunk?

But this figure, as employed by our Lord, suggests another question. How, at all, are these branches united into one Church of Christ? Our Blessed Saviour's alternative seems so obvious, that one can-

^h Ubi sup.ⁱ Ps. lxxix. 9 *seqq.*^k John xv. 5.

not help applying it. Branches receive no nourishment, no sap, no life from branches — it is from the main stem alone, which draws it from the root, and disseminates it over every part of the plant. A branch is either in connection with this trunk, or it is cut off, it is withered, it is wholly dead. “As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me. If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth *as a branch*, and shall wither, and they shall gather him up, and cast him into the fire, and he burneth.” “Aut vitis aut ignis,” writes a holy father; there is no alternative. To be only “as a branch” is the same as being “cast forth;” and therefore “branches of the Church Catholic,” which adhere not firmly, livingly, through circulation of inward sustaining sap, to THE Church Catholic, that is to something whereunto they are referable, as a branch is to its tree, are necessarily in that sad state.

Let us look at the point in another way. There is a Church in France, acknowledged to have all the essentials of a true and lawful Church. How shall we call it? Shall it be “the Gallican branch of the Church *Catholic*?” or shall it be “the Gallican branch of the *Roman* Church?” Surely it is as much entitled to the first of these names as the Anglican is to a similar one. But we are not particular on this point. If it be conceded, as we suppose it must be, we put the same question regarding the Spanish and Portuguese, and Austrian and Bavarian, and Italian Churches, to go no farther. Well, here we have so many branches of the Catholic Church, as much so as the Anglican. But these cohere, these communicate; they form one, and how? By union with a main stem, of which they all acknowledge themselves to be in

some sort branches. From the Roman Church they receive their bishops, one and all; they receive dispensations, favours, indulgences, decrees, rubrics, canonizations, definitions, and many other tokens of superior station, and richer juices, enough to pass from her, as from the stem, to all the branches. Or if you will call these only "branches of the *Roman* Church," which, united together, form "a branch of the Church Catholic," the *Roman* branch, as it is sometimes called, we have a singularly felicitous branch indeed, that can bear so many boughs, most of them equal to the Anglican in number of bishops, many far superior. But this will not do. Disguise it as you will, you have here the figure carried out to the letter, you have subordination of co-ordinate parts to one that binds and sustains them in living union, in participation of religious gifts, derived through it, as through a kindly nutritious stem, from the only *root* that it acknowledges, the Lord and Saviour, who is the basis and foundation that supports it, the only source of its life and nourishment. Yes, here we have the figure complete; we care not how many branches there may be, nor how far they go — "to the sea and to the river," — we care not whether they be old or new, gnarled or tender, we know of what they *are* branches; of that venerable and time-honoured stem, which Peter watered, yet a weakly sapling, with his blood; which emperors hacked and hewed with axe and sword for ages, and modern kings of earth thought to trim and weaken with their crooked pruning-hooks; but it waxed in strength, and height, and thickness, adding every age a new circle of solid substance to its mass, and giving every generation proof of its unabated prolific vigour. Root, stem, and branches — all is complete. But with *this* perfect system, the Anglican

“branch” has no connection. As far as regards *it*, this is a cast-off branch.¹

How natural, on the other hand, does the image appear in the words of Mr. Sibthorp.

“When I viewed it [the English Church] at any subsequent period down to the commencement of the sixteenth century, I met with the same unaltered character; and though the Catholic body had been lopped of some of its limbs, by the severing strokes of heresy or schism, it still flourished a vigorous, stately, wide-expanded *tree*, the same in every essential, almost in every private particular, which it had been, when *the English branch* first grew from out its sustaining, fostering *trunk*. The Catholic Church in communion with the See of Rome, stood forth, in my view, the close and perfect anti-type of the Church under the New Testament. She had still a *branch* unsheltered, yet growing—feeble, yet full of hidden life—despised, yet fruitful—in my native land; and in joining myself to it, I felt that I should join myself to the Church of the whole earth.”—P. 13.

Here all is consistent and intelligible; the branch has a trunk on which to grow. But, although this language is beautiful and most apt as an illustration, it would be by no means adequate as the expression of a theological idea; these terms which we would freely use in this manner, we would not adopt as foundations for such theories as we shall see that the Anglicans build upon them. According to our view, the Catholic Church is one and indivisible, one spirit animating one body, giving to it all one life, discernible not merely by similarity of outward and visible operations, but by intercommunion of inward principles, the assent to one doctrine, based upon one authority, guaranteed by one infallibility, secured by one bond of love, strengthened by one hope. One food nourishes it all; one breath

¹ [In New Zealand the name for a Catholic is *Picopo*, from *Episcopopus*, a bishop, the French being called *Picopo oui oui*; the term for a Protestant means a “cut-off branch.” A Catholic priest, meeting a native convert, asked him his religion, and was answered, in all simplicity, “I am a cut-off branch.”]

animates it; one vital spirit quickens it. If its heart beat, the thrilling impulse reaches, by wonderful channels, the furthest extremity; if one of these be but slightly wounded, the very citadel of life is shaken. But lately, bishops and priests, and laymen, suffered glorious martyrdom for Christ's sake, in Tonkin and China. Did the Anglican prelates condole, did their Church sympathize with the sufferers? Was it to it as though a limb of the body to which it belonged had been cruelly mangled? Was there the slightest emotion produced? And could the two then belong to one body, or be acted upon by one spirit? In other words, can they form part of one Church Catholic? Surely a limb cut off could not be more dead to the sufferings of a body. But with us it is not so. Catholicity is the spirit that animates the entire framework of the Church. You might as well talk of the branch of the soul, which is in the hand or the eye, as of the "branch of the Church" which is in England, or France, or any other country. Cut off the one, pluck out the other, because it scandalizeth the body,^m and that limb must perforce perish, as no longer animated by the one soul; and yet does not this suffer diminution or restriction, by the loss of such valuable limbs or organs.

We might put this form of speech to a further test—the usage of antiquity; as the theological school wherein it is in use appeals to this as to its standard. We shall no doubt find the Christian religion or the Catholic Church spoken of as a ramifying body, but it will be only for the express purpose of including in this figure, the idea of perfect, vital cohesion of all its parts, in unity of belief, affections, and communion. We shall hear the Fathers say, "Solis multi radii, sed

^m Matt. v. 30.

lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum, tenaci radice fundatum. Ab arbore frange ramum, fractus germinare non poterit.”^a And this immediately after having said, “Hanc Ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui Ecclesiæ renittitur et resistit, qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?”^o and before saying a little later, “Individua, copulata, connexa” (Christi vestis inconsutilis), “ostendit populi nostri concordiam cohærentem.”^p And again, “Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia ejus, et fides una, et plebs una, in solidam corporis unitatem concordie glutino copulata.”^q But we cannot imagine them, for one moment, speaking of the branch of the Church Catholic in Africa as quite unconnected with the Roman or Gallican branch, refusing all communion with it, nay, treating of the sinfulness of joining it; and yet declaring that they formed together part of one, of *the* one Catholic Church.

Perhaps it may be said that while national churches form the branches, Christ himself is the stem in which they are all centred and united. But this cannot be so, any more than that He can be the body whereof He is the head. He is not the Church; and if these

^a “The sun’s rays are many, but the light one; and the branches of a tree are many, but the trunk one, fast rooted in the ground. . . . Break a branch from the tree, and broken it can bud no more.”—S. Cyprian de Ecc. Unit. p. 195, ed. Maur.

^o “Can he who holds not to this unity of the Church, believe that he holds the faith? Can he trust that he is in the Church, who opposes and resists the Church, who deserts the see of Peter, on whom the Church was founded?”—Ibid.

^p Christ’s seamless garment, “single, united, close-knit together, shows forth the perfect concord of our people.”—P. *seq.*

^q “God is one, and Christ one, and one His Church; and faith is one, and the people one, joined by the cement of concord, into the compact unity of a body.”—P. 202.

are branches of the Church, they are branches of something distinct from Him. He is the root, the source of all nourishment and life, and we want to discover what receives these things from Him and transmits them to what are considered *only* branches.

Or it may be reasoned, that figurative expressions are not to be pressed in this way; that they serve as familiar phrases for illustration, but are not intended to be definite theological terms. To this we assent; yet on this very account we quarrel with them: and herein there is no paradox. Let us speak of branches of Christ's Church as men speak of the various "branches of natural science," without intending to insinuate that they all spring from one single stock; though even these "communi quodam societatis vinculo inter se conjunguntur," and would not be called so but for a close intercommunion and harmony existing among them. Let men, we again say, speak thus only illustrating, or popularly, and we shall say nothing about it. But unfortunately, upon this idea they build weighty theological, nay moral arguments; and there we may not let it pass. For instance, Mr. Dodsworth, in his sermon on "Allegiance to the Church," preached on occasion of Mr. Sibthorp's admission to Catholic communion, talks of "allegiance to that branch of the Catholic Church which has given them [Anglicans] new birth," as an insuperable barrier to their going over to the Roman branch, which, according to the rev. gentleman, cannot be done without a sinful exercise of private judgment.^r So likewise Dr. Hook tells us of certain of his younger brethren, who may be represented, according to his views, as ultra-High Church, who "regard the Church of England as a *branch* of the Catholic Church, from which, without

^r Page 9, *seq.*

peril to their souls, they may not secede.”* Here then we have moral obligations deduced from the supposition of a ramified Church, the branches of which are so far from having a bond of connection, that it is sinful to pass from one to the other. This is a serious conclusion, and we are naturally led to ask for the warrant, either in Scripture or tradition, for a classification of Churches, so formidably separated, yet without any taint of schism on either side—both being parts of Christ’s one true Church, yet separated by so deep a trench as sin. Show us, we repeat, the authority for a phrase on which such a grievous consequence is built, and let us know exactly what constitutes a branch-church, and where is its peculiar charter of rights to be found.

2. “A Church—THE Church.” Our last inquiry leads us to another, nearly connected with it. What exactly constitutes the difference between these two terms? We ask the question because we think they are often confounded in the sort of works of which we are speaking. For example: Mr. Dodsworth, in the sermon just referred to, speaks of the allegiance due to the branch of the Church which gave his hearers new birth; and he puts the following reasoning into the mouth of a sound Anglican, as an effectual antidote against joining us. “I belong to the Church of England, because (under Christ) she gave me new birth; and therefore I can as little think of leaving her, as of forsaking my own mother.” Are not the prerogatives of “THE Church,” and of “A Church,” here strangely confounded? We have been accustomed to read, from St. Augustine down to the present time, that it is *the* Church of Christ, and not any national or special

* Reasons for contributing towards the support of an English bishop at Jerusalem.

Church into and by which we are born again. We never heard of a person receiving new birth from the Gallican, or Roman, or African Church, *as such*, but from the Catholic Church. We always have understood, that wherever, and by whomsoever baptized, the child is baptized in the faith of *the* Church,—“*fide universæ societatis sanctorum*,” as St. Augustine writes;† and does not become a member of any special Church, but of the universal Church. Instead of baptism’s being the badge of unity, it thus becomes a principle of separation; there may be indeed one God, one faith, and one hope of our calling, but not one baptism. This solemn rite and holy sacrament is to be a bar to communion; for Mr. Dodsworth’s plea, according to his own explanation, is independent of all supposed abuses or superstitions in our Church; nay, it holds good, he tells us, supposing “that Rome was most pure, and that the English Church were the least so, amongst all *the branches* of the Church of Christ.”” Were all the other causes of separation removed, nationality of baptism would thus still remain an insuperable obstacle to perfect communion!

The Rev. W. Palmer, speaking of a Russian lady, who has aggregated herself to the Anglican Church, says that “no efforts have been spared to convince her—that the Church of England is a Catholic Church,” and that her relations have in vain endeavoured “to ascertain from the clergy and authorities of the English Church, whether they profess to preside over a Catholic Church, or a Protestant persuasion.”” In another place he speaks of “*Catholic Churches* and Protestant persuasions.”” This talking of more than one Catholic Church — “A Catholic Church,” or

† Enchir. c. 42; Catec. Rom. p. ii. cap. ii.

” Page 13

” Aids to Reflection, p. 62.

” Ib. p. 77.

“Catholic Churches,” certainly sounds harsh and unnatural in our ears. It destroys even, to our minds at least, the very plausibility of the first phrase on which we have commented. These supposed branch churches, which, united together (however inconsistently), formed the one Catholic Church; here we have a multiplicity of such Catholic Churches. Can such language be correct?

Our reason for directing attention to this form of expression is, that, like the former one, it is often made the basis of practical error. It is that which pervades the sermon above alluded to. The reverend preacher takes for his text, 1 Cor. xii. 20:—“Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.” We are not surprised that he should not have proceeded to the next words:—“*Wast thou called a bondman? care not for it.*” But really we cannot but feel pained, when from such a text he deduces the doctrine, that it is sinful to quit the national communion. Yet so it is; he tells us that this conclusion is comprised in those words.* For this error we will venture to propose a remedy. Let Scripture and tradition be carefully examined, and let all the texts and authorities which relate to the Church be sifted. First of all, see what is the allegiance due to the Church of Christ, considered as the depository of His promises; and having put these aside, collect those which define the rights of, and prescribe the duties towards, particular churches, independently of their being in close union with the former; and we venture to predict, that the claims to our allegiance to THE one Church of Christ will swallow up every pretended right in A Church of any sort. In other words, our first duty is to the *Universal Church*; our

* Page 10.

second, to the *Particular* one. The term *national* we abhor, when applied to His institution who knows no difference between Greek and barbarian. If the particular Church bring, and join us, to the former, we must seek unity through it; if not, we must seek it without it. The branch is of use to us only so long as it unites us to the stem: if it be broken off, we must cleave to this. The Church Catholic is our mother—the particular Church the nurse. If the latter forget her place, and usurp parental rights, we know whither we must flee.

3. "Apostolical Succession." This phrase may be said to form the very keystone of the Anglican High-Church system; and we may be considered rash in classifying it among those which have not a sufficiently definite signification. We do so, however, with no invidious meaning—only to draw attention to one or more points, which have satisfied our minds, that a vague impression, and no more, is produced by it; and that the term is anything but clear. The Anglican Church is made to rest her claims, by her modern defenders, upon a succession, real or supposed, in her episcopacy, from the apostles. At the same time we find this succession traced to the apostles, through the see of Rome. Thus Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College:—"More than 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.*"^a Again, the Tracts for the Times:—"Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present metropolitan."^b In other words, the present succession in the see of Canterbury is supposed to be engrafted upon the Roman Apostolic Church, at the

^a Treatise of the Church, vol. i. p. 212, 2nd ed.

^b No. 7.

period of St. Austin and Pope Gregory the Great. At the same time, we are often told that this apostolical succession is transmitted entirely by the imposition of hands, or ordination; and that the bishop of Rome has no right or jurisdiction of any sort in the appointing of bishops or archbishops in England. No one is more resolute in this view of things than Mr. Palmer himself—the consecration alone gives the jurisdiction in the see, according to his view.^c Yet St. Austin was not consecrated by the pope, but by the archbishop of Arles;^d and consequently the succession in the see of Canterbury does not join into the truly apostolic succession of the Roman Church in the sixth century; at most, it joins the secondary succession of Arles, and must find its way to the apostles through its channel. This is, supposing all else to be right in the present see of Canterbury; which of course we do not allow.

It may be asked what does it matter, through what Church, or see, the succession is traced? We answer, it is not to this point that we now wish to call attention, but rather to the indefiniteness of a phrase in such daily use in modern theology. It should be clearly understood in what way “apostolic succession” is transmitted, that we may know exactly what is meant by it. If that of Canterbury abuts in that of Rome in the sixth century, it is not by ordination, but by commission or appointment; which is an important point gained. If it be by ordination alone, then the tracing of the English Church to the apostles, in the off-hand way in which it is usually done, by engrafting it on the papal succession in St. Gregory’s time, will not answer.

^c The Apostolical jurisdiction and succession of the Episcopacy in the British Churches vindicated, sec. ii.

^d Ven. Bede, Hist. lib. i. c. xxvii.

Our ideas, likewise, on the meaning of "apostolical succession," as used in the English theology of the day, are still farther unsettled by a most strange theory started in the consecration sermon of Dr. Alexander, preached by Dr. M'Caull, and "published at the request of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury." We there meet the following strange passage: "But that prelate [the present Greek patriarch of Jerusalem] does not pretend to be an apostle of the circumcision, and, therefore, *cannot be the representative of St. James of Jerusalem.* The patriarchate is not of primitive institution, but an erection of the fifth century, and *the patriarchs nothing more than successors of the Gentile bishops of Ælia Capitolina*; which so far from laying claim to the rights of the mother Church, as the Church of St. James certainly was, was itself for centuries subordinate to the metropolitan Church of Cæsarea. Should, therefore, by God's blessing, a Jewish Church arise in Jerusalem, and a church and bishopric of the circumcision be permanently restored, it would not, by any means, interfere with the rights or the duties of the Greek patriarch, *whose episcopate is Gentile, more than the apostleship of St. Peter was an intrusion upon that of the preacher to the Gentiles.*"^o We do not quote these words to advert to the implied, and almost positive, heresy which they contain, but only to notice the peculiarly clear and modest notions which they convey on our present subject. St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, has had no successor (or representative) till now: Dr. Alexander is the first, we suppose. At any rate there is a chasm in the succession of bishops since the fifth century in the "apostolic succession" of that see, which the archbishop of Canterbury has just filled

^o Consecration Sermon, p. 18.

up, rehooking the chain thus broken by the "Gentile" bishops of *Ælia Capitolina*, who have so unreasonably interloped between the first Jewish bishop and Dr. A. St. Peter likewise was "an apostle," nay, "*the* apostle of the circumcision," and the popes have been for many centuries "Gentiles;" so we take it for granted that, according to this theory, he has had no representatives, and has none yet!

Further, we have another difficulty on this head. We do not remember this constant appeal to "apostolical succession," in the modern sense, among ancient writers. Many heretics and schismatics possessed it, having their own bishops in possession of sees more easily and directly traceable to the apostles, than that of Canterbury. Nor was there a dispute about the validity of their orders. Yet the apostolicity of their Churches was denied; and on what ground? That they were not in communion with truly *apostolic* Churches; that is to say, with Churches whose episcopacy came in right line from the apostles. Our reader, if conversant with the "Tracts," will be acquainted with the well-known passages from Tertullian, St. Irenæus, and others, in which heretics are challenged to competition on the point of apostolicity. No question is made as to whether their historical succession can be traced into an apostolic Church, but first, the essence of apostolicity is made to consist in union with primary apostolic Churches; and secondly, its proof is rested entirely on the succession in such Churches. We will only refer to Tertullian's words on both these points, as translated in the eighteenth Tract, which we willingly quote.

"From these [the Churches founded by the apostles] in turn the faith has been, and still is, propagated continually, for the creation of new Churches, which, as well as the first founded, are called apostolic,

as being the offspring of those which are really such. Every family must be referred to its first original; therefore these Churches, many though they be and flourishing, yet are but one, that one original which the apostles established, and from which they all spring. So they are all original, *and all apostolic, all being one. That oneness is evidenced by their loving intercommunion, and the name of brotherhood, and the interchange of hospitality*; and these common rights are secured solely by their unanimous tradition of one and the same sacred covenant."—P. 2.

"Let them [heretics] then show the rise of their Churches; let them unroll the line of their bishops, *so running down by successions from the beginning, that their first bishop may have had for his authority and predecessor some one of the apostles*, or such apostolic men as continued to hold with the apostles. *For in this manner the apostolic Churches deduce their lines*; as the Church of the Smyrnæans produces Polycarp, appointed by John; *as that of the Romans, Clement, in like manner ordained by Peter*; and as the others, in like manner, point to those who were appointed as bishops by the apostles, to deliver down for them the apostolic seed. . . . Come now you that wish to turn this restlessness to profit in the search after salvation; run over the apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still hold place of honour, in which the very letters they wrote are recited, re-echoing the voice and imagining the person of each of them. Is Achaia nearest to you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. If you can reach Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you are in the neighbourhood of Italy, you have Rome, whence we also draw our own authority. How happy is that Church! Where the apostles poured forth their whole doctrine together with their blood; where Peter is likened in suffering to the Lord; where Paul is crowned with an end like the Baptist's; where the Apostle John, having been plunged in heated oil and suffered nothing, was banished to his island. Let us see what this Church has learned, what she has taught, what tokens she has sent of doctrine to the African Churches."—P. 5.

We therefore suggest, that the bare fact of apostolical succession, as thrown out in favour of the Anglican Church (supposing that fact correct), does not constitute the argument which it is meant to supply in its favour. There, and there alone, is

apostolic succession, where there is intercommunion with the Apostolic See.

4. The "Rule of Faith." This is another expression to which we would gladly see a clear definition attached. We do not wish exclusively to blame modern Anglican writers for want of clearness. The expression is vague in more ancient writers. The heading of the Tract just alluded to, distinguishes two separate significations given to the phrase by Tertullian. But at the present moment we want exceedingly a determination of the question what is the Anglican "Rule of Faith?" According to both the Rev. Messrs. W. Palmer, we Catholics are here in a state of schism, and it is our duty to unite ourselves with the Anglican Church. When such a proposal is made to one, he has a right to ask, what is the formula or Rule of Faith by which he has to be guided, the moment that he gives up that clear and definite profession to which he has till now been accustomed. It is not Scripture, we have been told again and again: this is the "standard, test, or depositary" of faith, not its rule.^f It is not to be found in the Articles:—the late controversies have decided that point; these are merely negative and contradictory, they define and prescribe nothing. Is it then in Scripture and tradition? But where has the Church of England embodied the points of the latter which it sanctions and commands us to hold? It surely cannot expect each one to exercise his own judgment on the body of tradition as amassed in the Fathers and Acts of Councils? Is it then in the Prayer-book, and Catechism joined to the Articles? But these again will only lead us into new controversies. For instance: we consider Confirmation a sacrament. If we wished

^f British Critic, No. xl.

to know what is expected to be believed by Anglicans on this subject, we look at the Prayer-book in vain for light. May we then retain our view of the sacramental character of Confirmation? Certainly, many will reply; for clear intimation is given in late writings that such an opinion may be held in the Anglican Church. But we are at once baffled and beaten back by the fact that, if so, it is not validly administered, even supposing no defect in its minister. For the imposition of hands is surely an essential of this rite, if it be sacramental, without which it is invalid, the form having no matter. Yet the bishop of Ripon tells us that "the growth of population, in some quarters especially, since this rubric [ordering the separate imposition of hands] was framed, has rendered the compliance with it almost, if not altogether, a physical impossibility. For my own part," he adds, "I would say that nothing but this vast numerical increase would reconcile me to a deviation from the prescribed order."^s Surely this reasoning on the part of a bishop of the Church, and the avowal (we take it for granted a true one) that the sacramental rite necessary for valid administration is made to bend to convenience, and is practically abandoned, would leave us no alternative but to conclude, either

^s Charge, p. 17. What would the bishop say to the confirmations in Belgium or Ireland, where the entire day is sometimes occupied by the bishop in one confirmation, and where yet the unction, with its accompanying words, is performed on each individual? [A letter was written by the secretary of Dr. Longley, and inserted in the following number of the Review, stating that his lordship's expression referred to the recital of the form with each candidate, not to the touching of each one's head. The expressions of the text must, therefore, be so far modified, as to refer to the omission of the words, not of the act, in each confirmation. The charge of invalidity will not be in reality much altered.]

that this ordinance is not considered a sacrament by the English Church, or that we must make up our minds to join a Church, which makes no scruple of administering it invalidly. In like manner, having been accustomed to clear and definite decisions upon the most practical subject of ministerial absolution, preceded by humble and full confession, we should naturally expect to find something specific as to what our new duties would be, were we at all inclined to follow either of the Messrs. Palmer's suggestion. Surely it will not be said that the entire doctrine of confession and absolution, with all their conditions and adjuncts, are to be deduced from a rubric relating to the special case of a dying man. And similarly we should feel ourselves called upon to reason on other points, were we seriously to entertain for a moment the extraordinary theory of these gentlemen, respecting the Catholic communion in this country. Shall we then conclude, that the three Creeds contain the sole and entire Rule of Faith of the Anglican Church? For this, likewise, seems to be popularly taught in our days. But even this will not do—What shall we believe on the Eucharist, on the power of the keys, on works, and many other subjects?

But if we are to be guided by the practice of antiquity, we shall find that the symbols did not constitute alone the Rule of Faith; because, in addition to them, profession of belief was exacted, under rigid penalty, of whatever other points the Church had defined, subsequent to their being drawn up. St. Isidore of Seville is a clear testimony to this fact. In his admirable and most interesting Treatise on Ecclesiastical Offices (including all, whether ritual or personal), he goes minutely into the preparation of candidates for baptism. He gives us a chapter "De

Symbolo," on the Creed which the catechumen had to learn; but this is followed by another, "*De Regula Fidei*,"—On the Rule of Faith. It begins with these words: "Hæc est autem post symbolum apostolorum certissima fides, quam doctores nostri tradiderunt." He then enumerates various doctrines, defined at different times, or universally held by the Church; such as, that virginity is to be preferred to marriage; that baptism must not be repeated; that we can do no good without grace, &c. After this he thus concludes: "Hæc est Catholicæ traditionis Fidei vera integritas, de qua si unum quodlibet respuat, tota fidei credulitas amittitur."^h A similar method to this the Catholic Church now follows, of adding to the Creed, in her Profession of Faith, the traditional definitions of the Church, especially those of the last General Council.

We therefore must conclude, that it would be of serious importance in the present controversy, which, beyond any other of modern times, has occupied and interested the public mind, to have a distinct understanding of what constitutes "the Rule of Faith" of the Anglican Church. Several other expressions are yet upon our list which we would have gladly discussed. But we refrain, partly because we have not noticed their occurrence so much in later publications; partly because they would probably lead us much farther than the preceding ones have done.

But the subject on which we have last treated, seems to call our thoughts to another view of its application, not unpleasant for us to advert to. There is obviously a diversity of opinion among those who uphold the High-Church views, as to the duty of Catholics. Some now leave our position unnoticed,

^h De Officiis, lib. ii. cap. xxiv. tom. vi. p. 465, ed. Azev.

and silently show no wish that we should change it. With these we have no desire to quarrel — we wish not to urge them into controversy. They are more engaged in thinking on their own state and their own duties ; and we would gladly leave them to the working of their own thoughts. We believe that they would waive all question of whose place it is to move, provided we could all come together. They would have unity by force of mutual attraction ; and so long as we embrace, will not calculate who made the first step. But there are others of more ticklish sensibilities on the subject. Mr. Palmer of Magdalene, and others with him, would have a more indirect course. He undoubtedly desires to see his Church in communion with all other episcopal Churches over the world. He has said so in ardent and decisive terms in his “ Letter to Mr. Golightly ;” and we regard and esteem him for the sentiment, and for the frankness and heartiness with which it was uttered. But at the same time, he would first have his Church swallow all of us up. According to his theory, we are schismatics from Anglicanism ; and we must get into this, before we can hope for any good. In other words, we are happily in communion with the rest of the world, we are owned by all the West, our doctrines and discipline are in accordance with its Churches, and those of the East in communion with them ; our bishops are received by theirs as brethren, and receive letters communicatory from them ; our clergy are admitted to officiate at their altars, to preach in their pulpits ; our laity are able to join in their worship and communion. At the same time, our orders are recognised as valid by all, even by separated Churches, and no one would venture to dispute our consecration, or sacramental power. This no doubt is a desirable state ; one

to which these gentlemen would gladly bring their Church. But we must forego it. We must needs give up our present Catholicity, enter into the womb of the Anglican Church, *to take our chance* of being born again to Catholicity, should she ever have this happiness. We have no business to be standing on the shore, towards which she is labouring to steer, through rocks and shoals, and buffeting waves, and repelling surfs. She may appear to us to be leaky, and ill-appointed, without guiding card, or heaven-directed breeze, without authorized command, or seaworthy bulwarks; and there may be no hope that she will ever reach the secure haven, in whose shelter we are. Yet we are told, we must leave this, and creep back into her inhospitable hold, to share her fortunes, and be lost or tempest-tossed, as she may fare. No, no, this will not do. We must have more than Mr. Palmer's word for such a duty, before we can think of it.¹ The *Orbis terrarum* comes before the particular Church (supposing it to be a Church otherwise not defective), and to have to go out of the former into the latter, in hopes of getting back through it, would indeed be a strange way of securing what, by God's mercy, we possess. Had St. Gregory the Great, and his missionary St. Austin, disagreed and separated (which we deem of course impossible), we should have cleaved to the former; and now, if we must have the successor of only one of them with us, we prefer the master's to the disciple's line. The

¹ [Not long ago, after the Gorham decision, the idea of seceding from the Establishment, by the formation of a new non-juring *petite église*, was being discussed, when the matter was cut short by one, who was universally esteemed, wittily saying: "No no; we have already got out of the ship into the boat, let us not think of getting out of the boat into the tub." He has since had the happiness of returning to the ship of Peter.]

sixteenth Gregory represents the former to our minds perfectly, as his heir in place, in doctrine, in episcopacy, in supremacy, no less than in name; Dr. Howley (we mean not personally) gives us no sign of family descent, by anything save actual occupancy. But independent of this difference, if we can have allegiance only *either* to Rome or Canterbury, to the mother or the daughter, to the trunk or the offshoot, to the apostolic, or to the episcopal, see, we yield it willingly, lovingly, and irrevocably to the former. Let Canterbury do its duty; let it seek and obtain communion from the chair of St. Peter, and from the great body of bishops throughout the world, and we will bow ourselves before the primatial chair, lower than the lowest, and reverently kiss the jewelled hand of its occupier, and promise him all canonical obedience; but so long as he and his suffragans are not recognised by the Church Catholic, as an actual, living, communicating portion thereof, we recognise and know them not, we have no part in them or with them; we must beg to be Catholics, at the expense of not being Anglicans.

In fact, there is something so startlingly new in the name *Anglo-Catholic*, or *Anglican Catholic*, that it would render us uneasy to bear it. There is a "general-particular" sound in the term, a neutralizing combination of *plus* and *minus* quantities, a conflict of positive and negative forces in it, which render it equal to *zero* in final value. Such compound appellations convey the idea of a new race, composed of two naturally distinct ones. *Anglo-Saxon*, *Anglo-Norman*, *Syro-Chaldean*, *Gallo-Grecian*, are intelligible factitious terms, which tell their own history, that two different tribes coalesced into one nation. And if we apply this to religion, we have the glorious

example of the *Luthero-Calvinistic* union lately effected in Prussia, and perhaps we might add the *Evangelico-Anglican* bishopric of Jerusalem. But the term *Anglo-Catholic* will not admit of such an interpretation. It supposes no union between parties represented by the two members of the word, but, as we have already observed, these two members are contradictory, and reciprocally eliminating. The one word is descriptive of insularity, the other of universality; the one confines, the other breaks down all barriers; the one tells us of communion denied, the other of it granted by other Churches beyond the seas; the one identifies the limits of religious intercourse with those of the jurisdiction of our laws, or the prowess of our armies, blends the sacred with the profane power, makes the Church, like the constitution or the army, *national*; the other levels all distinctions, knows no banner but the cross, and claims for its territory whatever this has redeemed—the entire earth. We might as well talk of our parliament being *the* “Anglo-European” legislature, as of the Establishment being the Anglo-Catholic Church. It is as monstrous as the “*callida junctura*” of “Protestant-Catholic.” But even supposing it a matter of doubt, supposing that there were some grounds for balancing between duty to the Catholic (that is universal) or to the Anglican Church, we surely could not hesitate one moment, as to which our natural feelings would prefer.

The wants and wretchednesses of the English Church have been too well exposed to us in modern times, for any danger to remain of her alluring us into her arms. We no longer hear men descant upon the noble simplicity of her worship, upon the severe spirituality of her devotions, upon her freedom from the slavery of

outward observances, upon her purity from mere human institutions, that act on the senses and feelings, to the detriment of reason's sterner claims: No: all these former boasts have become the theme of melancholy lamentation, as losses not easily to be compensated. She presents none of the array of the King's daughter, none of the winning graces of the spouse of the Lamb; she dwells in a solitude of her own making; her ways mourn, because none come to her festivals; she is a tributary, a captive. She has no retreats in which holy contemplatives pray in silence, no safe anchorages of religious solitude, into which the care-tossed mind, the penitent heart, the timid conscience, can fly for shelter. She has no peaceful cloisters, where virgins sacred to God walk in sisterly community, to sing His praises, like their mates in heaven, or to minister to His little ones and poor. She has no seven-fold hour of prayer, no midnight vigils, no daily awakening, at mystical intervals, of the joyful hymn and solemn psalm. The vaults of her deserted churches would startle at the unusual peal of a multitude's voice. She retains no note of times and seasons; the days of penitential humiliation, and those of spiritual exultation, are equal in her blank calendar and ritual: no soothing strains, to each peculiar; no variation of outward garb; no solemn office commemorative of each mystery of redemption, each institution of love; no lively representation of the most glorious scenes. A dull and chill monotony is in her service, suited neither to the Easter *Alleluja*, nor to the Lenten *Miserere*. Her churches, if modern, are without consecration; no holy chrism anoints their walls; no mystic rites inscribe on their area the symbol of universal communion; no majestic procession introduces into them the remains of ancient saints. Upon

her altars (if they may bear that name) no oil of gladness hath been poured, no symbolical frankincense burnt, no form of ancient prayer recited. No martyr's bones repose beneath them, to break forth thence, one day, in glorious resurrection; but the shrines that once adorned them have been demolished, and their treasures (we mean not the gold that perisheth) burnt, and scattered to the winds. The cross of Christ hath been plucked down, the holy images of Himself and His saints ignominiously destroyed, a mean and inglorious table hath usurped the place of all. The tabernacle hath been swept away, and with it all its tributary ornaments and perennial lamps; and still more, the all-holy gift which it contained. The eye, the sun, the soul of the temple is extinguished,—and shall not the entire body be darksome?

But if these appear only secondary institutions, we feel still more that her very sacramental ordinances (such few as exist in her) have been pared down to the quick, and deeper. At baptism she has foregone all right to command and rebuke the powers of darkness; she has forfeited the twofold unction, the "salt of wisdom" (the sacrament of catechumens as it was anciently called), the white robe and the burning lamp, with all the venerable prayers that accompany their application. And even in the performance of the essential rite, such unseemly negligence has grown up, so slight an application of the matter of the sacrament is permitted, as to leave serious doubt of its validity.

Of confirmation we have already spoken: not only is the sacred anointing gone, but the very individual administration has been dispensed with. There is but the shadow, not even the avowal of a sacrament.

Then when we come to the most solemn act of

worship, what a sadly maimed Liturgy does she present to us! On ordinary days only a fragment of even this; the primary and essential portion of the Christian service, the holy Eucharist, being systematically omitted. And when this rite is administered, we find wanting important practices, which the ancient Church considered of apostolical institution,—the mingling of the water in the chalice, the commemoration of the departed and of the saints in glory, the prayer of consecration. No sacred vesture, no lights, no incense, no chant, no subordinate ministers distinguish this from the cold didactic performance of her ordinary service. Protestants lay great stress on what they are pleased to call the mutilation of the sacrament, by the withholding of the cup from the laity; but they do not much think of the entire withdrawal of it from the greater part of men, which their present system has virtually induced. Except on those stated days when custom sanctions its administration, the soul might languish in vain for the food of life, if the Anglican Church possessed it. When inward trial afflicts, and the heart wishes to lean upon this staff of life, when aspirations of love visit it, and it longs to fly whither they would lead; when we feelingly desire to be with Magdalene at the feet, or with John on the bosom, of Jesus, we should go in vain to the bare chancel-rail of the parochial or collegiate church, and cast in vain a supplicating look towards its desolate and cold communion-table. It is, indeed, a table without food, inhospitable, cheerless; no symbol of family union, no rallying-point for the Church's children to grow around, like green and youthful olives. No: we cannot afford to forego our daily bread, nor the happy home in which it is always ready for us; cheerless will be our toiling, if the bitterness of the

day be not sweetened by this morning manna. Surely many feeling hearts, that are not of the happy household, must sometimes exclaim, “*Quanti mercenarii in domo Patris mei abundant panibus; et ego hic fame pereo!*”^k

Again, look, to what is the Anglican ordination service reduced! All the ancient degrees of preparation, the training almost from infancy in the sanctuary, like the youthful Samuel’s, the rising from one to another of its steps, till we stand at the altar, have been abolished. None of that singular solemnity which attends the Catholic form has been preserved, no consecration of the priestly hands, no delivery of the instruments of their ministry, no commission to offer the tremendous sacrifice. And here to one view presents itself to our minds, sufficient of itself to overthrow all Mr. Palmer’s pretensions in favour of his Church. The sacraments are institutions dependent entirely upon the will of Christ. The defect of anything essential, appointed by Him, invalidates their efficacy; no virtue or holiness can supply it. Be it the matter, or the form, or the lawful minister, it is all one—no sacrament is administered. Hence the language of all theologians on this point is consentient; no doubtfulness, which can be prevented, may be permitted; “*tutior pars est eligenda;*” we must not proceed on probabilities, however strong, where security may be obtained. Now see how this stands with the case of our respective ordinations. *Ours* every Church admits; no one has ever ventured to re-ordain, even conditionally, any apostate priest (for such God has permitted some to be) from our body. If there be orders anywhere on earth, here they surely are. *Ours* then are secure. But how is it with the

^k Luc. xv. 17.

Anglicans? They, we suppose, feel satisfied: but no one else admits their orders. Not one portion of the Western Church considers them less than doubtful, not the Greek, either united or separated, Church, nor any of the Asiatic Churches. Does not this hesitation to allow their orders make strong odds against them, when compared with ours? Is not that, by far, the *tutior pars* which *all men* agree is *tuta*, rather than that of which *all*, save the interested party, say that it is not so? Ought it not therefore to be preferred, where it is sinful, and may be fatal, not to choose the *tutior pars*? In an individual case, it is clear. However certain we might personally feel of the validity of our own orders (we speak as *one*), were we to learn from many bishops of various countries, and particularly from him who holds the Apostolic See, that they have strong grounds for doubting their validity, owing to knowledge which they possess, we certainly should not rest content with our actual position, but should humbly entreat that all necessary steps might be taken to put us into a state of security. We could not bear, nor venture, to administer the sacraments, at the smallest risk of their invalidity, nor under the uncertainty which such a doubt in those persons would create. In like manner, we would reason concerning the orders of the English Church. It seems to us clearly the duty of those who think themselves called to bestow sacramental graces upon God's people, to see that they have secured themselves against every danger of invalidity, by having the highest attainable security of their ministerial power.

And this estimate of respective security must surely weigh much with all; but with us must be a source of sincere joy and thankfulness towards God, as well as a sufficient defence against the light opinions of some

Anglican neighbours, respecting our position here. For we certainly are not likely to be tempted to run after a ministry, not confident even of its own power, which dares not call men authoritatively to its tribunal to receive an absolution, the validity of which is but slightly believed in by a few. But further, hastening over many other things, what has the poor Anglican Church left herself or her children, of comfort when it is most truly needed—at the close of life? How few of them ever get that small share of ministerial assistance which she offers; how seldom do the consolations of religion visit the workhouse or the hospital in this country! how seldom do we hear of even the better-instructed, nay, clergymen themselves, receiving the Lord's Supper as their Viaticum! Where does this Church present us the spectacle of a solemn procession visiting, as in Catholic countries, the poor man's hovel or garret, swelled as it proceeds, by devout crowds; while the hand-bell and chant bring adorers to every casement, as the Lord of Glory is borne along to visit one of His poorest children? How that humble abode is cheered and lighted up by the gladdening presence, the meanest tenement changed into a palace, nay, a temple, while the priest of God, surrounded by inferior ministers, bestows the last communion on his resigned and hopeful child; and the multitude kneeling without the chamber-door (for all have freely followed into the house), pray aloud, in unison for their departing brother. And after this what farther consolations the Catholic Church has in store, which the Anglican has lost! From that moment, with us, our tender mother redoubles her solicitude, and enlarges her bounty, bringing forth from her stores fresh blessings, for every hour, and its new wants and trials. That healing, and

soothing, and bracing unction which comes so seasonably to strengthen the Christian athlete in his final conflict; that sublime commendation of the parting spirit into the hands of God and His angels, wherein the Church of earth seems to bear the soul committed to its care to the very threshold of the eternal gates, and there, with equal solemnity, met by its triumphant brotherhood, deliver it over to their safer watchfulness; that last blessing wherein the Church of God should seem to give her expiring son the final pledge of her indulgent pardon, to imprint upon his brow the seal of her recognition, in her last parental kiss, and to receive this back upon the image of Christ crucified which is pressed to his lips; surely these are advantages for which one has a right to ask where are the equivalents, in that Church which sets up a claim to be our mother, and to have our allegiance and our love?

But these pretensions were once so beautifully decided by one who could well appreciate them, that we must give her sentence. She was a person of a powerful and cultivated mind, whom the grace of God brought into the one fold, at its very centre, as if to die within its pale. For shortly afterwards declining in health, she came to need and to receive all those heavenly appliances, which smooth the bed of the dying Catholic. Observing that the curate, after his first visit, had left his stole, according to usage, across the foot of the bed, she desired it to be carefully put by, thinking that it had been left through forgetfulness. Her spiritual father explained the circumstance to her, telling her that this was the badge of parochial jurisdiction, and a sign, that from thenceforth her holy mother the Church took her under her special protection, and would never lose

sight of her, till safely conducted to the confines of eternity. She remained for some time wrapped in thought; then, after to all appearance contrasting this proof of motherhood with those which her former religion could offer, broke out into these words: "How beautiful indeed! Yes, give *her* the child, *she* is the mother thereof!"¹

But our attachments to her, or our painful contrasts with her vaunting rival, end not even there. The grave may be warm or cold, bright or gloomy, according to the hopes wherewith, as with flowers, we strew it. We could not endure to think that a dark convoy of silent, hired weepers, without a symbol of our faith and hope in Christ, without a prayer for mercy, will bear our earthly tabernacle to its kindred dust. We should almost shudder at the thought of a mere instruction to the living — a lecture of morality over our clay, forming our last connection with our dear and holy mother the Church. We should shrink in sorrowful anticipation from that hour, which would sever us for ever from the commemoration of our surviving brethren, exclude us from all part in their daily sacrifice, and not allow us to ask (as Monica did) from those most dear to us, to be mindful of us when standing at God's altar. No; let us be laid in our shroud, with that cross, at which evil spirits tremble, grasped in our hands; let the poor brethren of some pious gild bear us, with psalms of penance mournfully sung as for a brother, to our common place of rest, "the holy field,"^m consecrated by most solemn rites; let the standard of Christ be borne before us, as the emblem of victory over the grave; let the Church recite over us her touching prayers for our deliverance and rest; and the very earth which, sprinkled with

¹ 3 Reg. iii. 27.

^m Il Campo Santo.

blessed water, falls heavy upon our coffin, shall seem rich with her benedictions, embalming our remains, beyond Egypt's skill, for a glorious resurrection.

There are other things in the Anglican Church which can leave us well content to be "Romish recusants," as Mr. Palmer would fain call us,ⁿ or to be schismatics, according to his mode of speech, from that unhappy establishment. We will mention but one, and with it conclude. We would rather cut off our right hand, than subscribe, or have anything to do with, its Thirty-nine Articles, — those "FORTY STRIPES SAVE ONE,"^o with which it has so cruelly tortured the body of the Apostolic Church; but the lash of which has now turned back as a scourge upon itself. The perplexities of this formulary, which every day more strikingly brings out, its knotty embarrassments, its sinuous involutions, its humiliating captivity, make its character too plain, as a snare to the simple of heart. In its meshes we sincerely thank God that our feet are not entangled; and we say to Mr. Palmer, that "a net is spread in vain before the eyes of them that have wings."^p And of those who have not received the mercy of being so preserved, we heartily and lovingly hope, that the time will soon come, when they may sing: "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus."^q

ⁿ Letter to Mr. Golightly, p. 10.

^p Prov. i. 17.

^o 2 Cor. xi. 24.

^q Ps. cxxiii. 7.

PROTESTANTISM
OF THE
ANGLICAN CHURCH.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for May, 1842.

PROTESTANTISM

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- ART. X.—1. *A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, at the Consecration of the Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.* By the Rev. A. M'CAUL, D.D. Published at the request of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
2. *Statement of Proceedings relating to the Establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland.* Published by Authority.
 3. *The Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, considered in a Letter to a Friend.* By JAMES R. HOPE, B.C.L.
 4. *Aids to Reflection on the seemingly Double Character of the Established Church with reference to the Foundation of a "Protestant Bishopric" at Jerusalem.* By W. PALMER, M.A.
 5. *Tract 42 (of the Catholic Institute), Protestantism and the Churches in the East.*
 6. *Reasons for Contributing towards the Support of an English Bishop at Jerusalem.* By WALTER F. HOOK, D.D.
 7. *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer.* By F. D. MAURICE, A.M.
 8. *Three Sermons on the Church, preached in the Parish Church of St. James, during Lent, 1842.* By CHARLES JAMES, Lord Bishop of London.
 9. *The Apostolical Succession, a Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, Feb. 27, 1842, at the Consecration of the Right Rev. Ashurst Turner, Lord Bishop of Chichester.* By EDWARD HAWKINS, D.D., Provost of Oriol College. Printed at the command of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 10. *The Church. A Discourse delivered in the first Congregational Unitarian Church of Philadelphia.* By W. E. CHANNING.

Is the Anglican Church, by law established, a portion of the Church *Catholic*; or is it one of the *Protestant* communities which occupy parts of Europe;

or, finally, is it neither one nor the other, but a middle state, detached from the latter, yet not united to the former, floating and drifting between the two, now nearer the one and now the other; nay, by one salient angle approaching this, and, at the same time, by another, well nigh touching that? Surely these are important queries; surely too they cannot be incapable of solution. And yet, though to the importance of the inquiry all will assent, on the facility of satisfying it many will differ. We hardly hope to succeed; but we think that the works before us will afford us many data for putting the true question somewhat tangibly before our readers.

But first let us ask ourselves, whence arises this great difficulty of deciding? Entirely, we reply, from those whom the inquiry most concerns. Ask every one in communion with Rome, if he be or be not a *Catholic*? If he answer "No," he is none of ours; he virtually excommunicates himself, he is an apostate at once. Ask each of the first hundred members of the Establishment whom you may meet coming out of a parish church, if he be a *Protestant*, and a hundred to one he answers "Yes," and glories in the name. Rise in the scale of your interrogated. Go into the universities or learned assemblies of the two communions:—to similar interrogatories put to ours, you receive the same unvarying answer. Every one that you ask confesses himself a Catholic. Try the other side, the chances have increased in favour of variety of replies. Some at once reject the name of *Protestant* with scorn, and will bear only that of *Catholic*. Others still glory in the more common designation, and consider the title of "*Protestant*" a watchword of their Church. A third class are willing to compound the matter; and hence the monstrous chimera of "*Protestant-Catho-*

lic," to which, among other portents, the prolific energy of modern religion has given birth. Presume, if you please, to ascend higher; on the one side all is unanimity; every bishop enjoying the "grace and communion of the Apostolic See" is Catholic in outward profession and inward conviction; poll the entire body, and you will not find one exception. Will our Anglican neighbours agree to do the same? Or will they abide by the result? The majority of the bishops of their establishment would avowedly accept the epithet "Protestant;" their charges and other demonstrations of opinion will justify this conclusion.

At first sight, or under ordinary circumstances, we might appear to possess, in these facts, if correct, the elements necessary for answering our queries. The body of the members of the Church established consider themselves Protestants; the bench of its bishops is considered, without protest against the imputation, to be almost entirely such. Of the intermediate class, a certain portion are for rejecting the name; an equal, if not a larger number, willingly adopt it. Surely a Church so constituted can be justly considered and treated as Protestant. But against this mode of reasoning we know that a loud outcry would be raised by some,—a calmer protest entered by others. Authentic acts alone are held by them to bind the Church: neither the voice of the multitude, nor the individual declaration of bishops, is held sufficient. When brought to this point, we naturally ask, "What manner of acts shall be deemed the authentic expositors of the Church's belief?" "By what sort of declaration shall she be considered bound?" Shall we be answered, "By a synodical decision?" If so, we assent; but ask still farther, "By nothing short of

this?" Is it to be understood that a Church professing to be a "branch of the Catholic," and if so, endued with apostolic vigour, with apostolic strength and boldness, may be so fettered, hand and foot, by the civil power, as to be absolutely deprived of every means of fulfilling her commission to teach all truth? Is her mouth closed, and is a seal set upon her lips, as well as a chain fastened round her limbs? If the Church is kept dispersed, and no convocation permitted, does she cease to be the public instructor; has she forfeited, or may she dispense herself from, the duty of warning her subjects authoritatively, of condemning heretical or erroneous doctrines, of checking refractory or schismatical conduct? Surely not; the "*Ecclesia dispersa*," even speaking of national or provincial Churches, has essentially the privileges of the "*Ecclesia congregata*." It is not the place in which bishops meet that gives them their authority; this is inherent in the episcopate; and, if they unite in declaration of doctrine, even without coming together, there is the voice of the Church, authoritative and plenary.

But is it necessary even to have thus much, in order to secure the authoritative teaching of a Church? Those with whom we have principally to deal at least have taught us not. If one bishop of our Church — if St. Alphonsus Liguori write certain passages, and the rest of the Church make no opposition, and reject and condemn them not, we are told we must allow such passages to be considered as the authoritative teaching of our Church. Be it so: at least we shall have a precedent not without its value for another case; but we are willing to have something more required. While, therefore, we will not allow that the active suffrages of all the bishops are requisite to

give us the decision of a Church, we will be content that some authoritative form should invest such partial declarations, as we would stamp with the weight of the entire hierarchy. Let us put a case. We wish to ascertain what the belief of a national Church is on a given point. Men's minds are greatly agitated on the subject; the people from many sides press for a decision. Some denounce one view as heretical; some the other. The Church is rent in twain, and its teachers proclaim contradictory doctrines. The bishops, as is the case in France and in Spain at this moment, cannot meet to deliberate and consult; but yet, whenever they have occasion to speak on the important subject, they speak one way. They do not, perhaps, seek occasion to speak; but, when the occasion does come, their feeling, their teaching, their warnings, their denunciations, all go one way. Such, for instance, has been the conduct, during the last year, of the French bishops regarding education: every bishop that had a pastoral to issue, spoke on this subject, and the voices of all were in unison. Such is the conduct of the admirable episcopate of Spain at this moment, with respect to the dreadful measures of Espartero's irreligious government, for destroying the authority of the Holy See. Each one raises his voice as best he may; one speaks in a memorial to the Cortes, like the bishop of Tuy; another cries out from his place of exile; a third, perhaps, from his prison. But they are good shepherds; their sheep know their voice, and they follow them. No one doubts which side the Church of Spain holds in this matter; it is evidently that on which its bishops have declared themselves. The silence of the other bishops does not go against this decision; because we know that they would speak out and protest, if they differed

from their colleagues ; it would be their duty to do so if they thought they were misleading the nation ; and bishops are presumed to know and do their duty.

However, let us not be content with even these demonstrations of sentiment. Let us farther suppose, that the primate of the country comes forward to direct and conduct a public act, necessarily involving certain religious views. We will add two conditions to our statement of the problem. First, it shall be an act in which he officially acts as primate — as the first bishop in the episcopate—as its hierarchical chief, representative, and procurator. Secondly, it shall be one in which he alone can act ; that is, one in which individual bishops could not all take a part, so that he must here be their organ. Under these circumstances the primate takes a certain course, which pledges him directly and entirely to a certain side of conflicting ideas. Upon this the rest of the bishops remain silent ; not a remonstrance is made, not a caution is entered, not a thought of dissent is insinuated. We say that then the body has acquiesced in the decision of its head ; the suffragans are with their primate ; the national “ *Ecclesia dispersa* ” has chosen its side. If not, when *can* such a choice be verified ? But, if this be not enough, let us add more. Let us, then, suppose a justification of these views to be published by that primate, and by some very leading bishop in the Church ; and yet no protest, no censure, no hint of difference of opinion from their episcopal brethren. If all this does not fix upon a Church its side, in a controverted case, we fairly give it up, and say that there are no means by which such a conclusion can be reached under ordinary circumstances. In other words, either a Church can have no means of teaching what it holds on a controverted point, when circumstances

do not allow its bishops to assemble, or here we have the most obvious and probable means.

Let us now come to the application. Our inquiry is, whether the Anglican Church can be considered Catholic or Protestant? First, then, we must see what we are to understand by the two terms. By Catholic, *we* of course mean that Church which is in communion with the holy and Apostolic See of St. Peter, and acknowledges his successor in it as the head of the universal Church. But the High-Church theology will not admit this definition; but considers the "orthodox" (that is the separated or schismatical) Greek and Russian Churches, as well as other oriental Churches (though in truth all infested with Nestorianism or Eutychianism), as entering, with the Roman communion, into the composition of the Church Catholic. Of this Church they will maintain the Anglican to be a component part; as "essentially one with all other Churches of kindred origin, both Greek and Latin."^a Protestant Churches all agree in considering to be the Lutheran, Calvinist, and other Churches on the European continent, not in communion with the Holy See, nor belonging to the Greek rite. Now the question is, even taking the Oxford notion of the Church Catholic, "is the Anglican established Church to be considered as belonging to it, and not rather to the Protestant family?" To this question we wish to apply the tests above described.

And, first, how have the bishops, on occasion given, declared themselves? Let last year's episcopal charges speak. Scarcely one, if one, who had occasion to issue such a document, failed to touch, to say no more, on the controversies which divide the Anglican world; and all to a man took the Protestant side.

^a Palmer's Letter to Golightly, p. 7.

Here is a real case, similar to the one before proposed of the French or Spanish bishops. It is not necessary to quote them individually; we referred to them in our last number; we may content ourselves with the complaint of those on whom their censure fell. Dr. Pusey, in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, analyzes these charges; and, though he does not admit that the bishops have properly understood the doctrines of his school, yet he fully shows that they have all condemned them, as far as they did understand them. "Thus I know," he writes, "that the mildest charge which was delivered in the past year; and which does in a very kind way recognise services which we have rendered, yet because the bishop goes on to point out at greater length some, though fewer and subordinate, points which he considers erroneous, has appeared to be a condemnation."^b This alludes to the bishop of Ripon's charge; and the learned writer then goes on to speak of those issued by the bishops of Chester, Winchester, Gloucester, Durham, and Calcutta. The bishop of Durham's charge was not published by himself, but was taken down in short-hand; the bishop of Lichfield did not at all publish his; but, if we are rightly informed, he also sufficiently declared his Protestant views upon existing controversies. Here, then, we have every bishop, who had an opportunity fairly presented him of stating his opinions, taking one side. We could not expect the others to make for themselves occasions; but we must expect them, if they thought their brethren wrong, to throw the counterpoise of their solemn protest into the other scale, and so prevent Protestantism from preponderating in the councils of the Establishment. But not a tongue stirred, not a hand moved; the silent consent

^b Page 49.

of some was added to the expressed sentiments of the rest. Mr. Palmer allows that "the spirit of Protestantism seems undoubtedly to be dominant, both among dignitaries of the Establishment and society at large;" and that "people abound who, though in full communion with the Church, nay, though priests, or rather ministers, or bishops, or even archbishops, yet publicly disclaim Catholicism, and invite, and even urge their brethren to quit the 'Protestant Establishment,' on the ground that it is absolutely dishonest to hold Catholic principles within its pale." "It is not unnatural," he concludes, "for persons to suppose that a Church can scarcely be Catholic, whose rulers do not consistently and unequivocally assert to themselves that holy title, and which is viewed as a mere political establishment of Protestantism by the civil government."^c We think not indeed. It would rather be hard enough, on the contrary, to find a process of reasoning whereby any one could convince himself that a Church, indifferent to the title, would be considered, justly, Catholic; still less a Church in which dignitaries, ministers, bishops, and archbishops, publicly disclaim Catholicism. "But," says Mr. Palmer, "as long as I can reject Protestantism thus publicly, as I now do, as a member of the Church of England, and profess to be merely and simply a Catholic, so long will I continue to pray that I may have grace to continue steadfast in that way of salvation." (P. 10.) In other words, as long as one is allowed to *call himself* a Catholic, and yet not be rejected by that establishment, yea even at the same time condemning in the strongest terms Protestantism—the Church itself may be considered as "intrinsically Catholic." In the sentences immediately pre-

^c Ubi sup. p. 7.

ceding the one just quoted, this fervent deacon had written as follows :—"Certainly I am for no middle ways, as you will understand when I tell you plainly, that for myself, I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations. And if the Church of England should ever unhappily profess herself to be a form of Protestantism (which God of his infinite mercy forbid), then I would reject and anathematize the Church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately as from a human sect, without giving Protestants any unnecessary trouble to procure my expulsion." (P. 9.) But this reasoning will not do. The standard of a Church's orthodoxy must be rated by the minimum, not by the maximum of faith, which she will allow within her confession. The lowest scheme of opinions which she tolerates must determine her character, not the highest. Had, for instance, the body of the French bishops freely permitted any one that pleased to hold and teach Jansenism; had they proclaimed it in all their pastorals;—nay, had they refused ordination to none that professed it, but *had* to some who rejected it, the Church of France would have been Jansenist, even though individuals had continued to hold the truth and denounce error. It is as with a form of government—it may be democratical, although it allows the noble to descend to the level of the people, and thus excludes them not from a share in the state; but a determined aristocracy will not admit the plebeians to sit with the princes and rulers. And so, a truly Catholic Church cannot brook the coexistence of Protestantism within its pale; but a Protestant establishment takes all in,—Socinians, like Hoadley, on one side, and Catholicly-inclined minds, like Dr. Pusey,

on the other. But this very circumstance proves that it cannot be Catholic. Catholicism is homogeneous, Protestantism heterogeneous; the one compact and united, the other vague and loose; the one inflexible, the other pliable and elastic. The one is unvarying in standard of purity, the other admits into its circulation every degree of alloy, yea down to sheer dross. The presence of gold in the base mixture does not redeem its character; this it must draw from the inferior, not from the superior metal — it is a debased compound after all. And the same must be said of that Church in which it is admitted that Protestantism, with all its lowness of standard, its coldness of feeling, its selfishness of principle, is so thoroughly mixed, kneaded, and incorporated, rises to its surface in episcopal manifestations, and penetrates its mass. The bright grains of Catholic truth or feeling which sparkle amidst the viler elements, only excite shame to see them so thrown away and disgraced; they do not stamp upon the motley heap the note of standard purity.

The conduct of the bishops,^d in the Anglican Church, seems therefore to offer us one very clear criterion for pronouncing on its actual Protestantism. But in ancient times, we fancy that there could have been very little difficulty in deciding such a question. There are Churches existing, which the Anglicans admit to form collectively the Church Catholic. There are on

^d [The use of titles or other words which custom, or legal provision, or courtesy, adapts to persons or things, will not be misconstrued by the reader into any accordance of their rightful application in such cases. It would often involve us in a troublesome circumlocution to avoid them; and since these essays were first published, new reasons have arisen for still greater reserve in the concession of ecclesiastical titles, where not rightfully due, to those who are as jealous of their assumption by others.]

the other side certain congregations of Christians, commonly known as the Reformed or Protestant Churches. We wish to know to which the Anglican belongs. This question would, in olden times, have been put, "With which are you in communion?" It is the Spanish and Italian proverb realized:—"Tell me with whom you go, and I will tell you who you are." Yes, with which body of Christians is the Church of England in active communion? This surely is the vital question. Now as to the best means of resolving it.

The communion between Churches does not imply that all their members are in active intercourse, nor that the communion itself should be carried on by daily, nor by even frequent acts of recognition. Anciently, the chief pastor of each was charged with this duty; he was the organ, the instrument of such relationship. The patriarchs communicated with each other; and so long as they did so, the whole of their provinces were considered as partaking in the privilege. In like manner the archbishops were supposed to take charge of a similar duty for their jurisdictions. If Carthage kept communion with Rome, its suffragans were on the same terms. When therefore a metropolitan acts in this matter, he virtually represents the Church. And if that Church, that is its bishops, do not protest against his act, they virtually approve of it, and become parties to it. Now, within these few months, Dr. Howley, who, in certain letters commendatory issued by him to Dr. Alexander, styles himself "Primate of all England and Metropolitan," has clearly entered into certain relations with the greatest Protestant power of the continent, upon a matter ecclesiastical, in the strictest sense of the word, namely, the appointment of a bishop at Jerusalem.

Into this matter we must now go, though obviously

with different feelings from those with which the appointment was viewed a few months ago. We must premise, therefore, that the impolicy, or indelicacy, or folly of the transaction has nothing to do with our present investigation. It is nothing to us just now, whether the scheme of planting a slip from the supposed "branch of the Catholic Church," called "the United Church of England and Ireland," on Sion's holy mount, was, or was not, most uncanonical, and a gross attempt at usurpation; nor whether the idea of sending a bishop, to make up a church of chance-travellers, prospective Jewish and Druse converts, and Anglicanized Confession-of-Augsburg-men, was not chimerical and unecclesiastical; nor even whether the most dignified and edifying way of exhibiting "the spectacle of a Church freed from errors and imperfections—holding a pure faith in the unity of the Spirit,"^e was to send a married bishop, with an infant family prattling round his knee, among the mortified ascetics of the East. Furthermore, it interests us not at this moment to ascertain, which of two reports is true—whether he has been graciously and respectfully received, or welcomed with hangings in effigy and pelting of stones; except that we hope not the latter, both for the sake of humanity, and from personal charity towards a man who has let himself and his family be drawn into this miserable plot; and, still more, because we should be indeed sorry and mortified to see so unworthy a transaction reckon among its incidents even the semblance of a martyr's crown, or the ground which Stephen watered with the first Christian blood, profaned by a mockery of his testimony—in favour, too, of Protestant intrusion. But our present purpose is to sift this affair, with reference

^e Statement of Proceedings, p. 5.

to our inquiry into the Protestantism, or Catholicity, of the Anglican Church.

First, let us look at the conduct of Prussia. It has attempted no concealment. The Prussian government has a rage for *unions*. Whether it be a *Zoll-Verein* or a *Religions-Verein*, a custom-house or a Church-union; a bringing together of financial, or religious, *duties*, all seems to be to its taste. Of the first and more worldly condensation we say nothing—we have no interest in, or about, it. It belongs to the newspapers, and they have sufficiently discussed it. The second touches us most nearly. The late king began to try his hand upon the Protestantism of his own country. He had a motley crew of Lutherans and Calvinists to deal with; and he determined to achieve—what the men who gave them those names never could manage,—to bring them into one community. There were some obstacles, and many facilities. One obstacle was difference of dogmatic opinions on the most important points of religion, such, for instance, as the Eucharist. The counterbalancing facility was, that neither Lutherans nor Calvinists cared much about such things. Terms, under such circumstances, are easily adjusted. The Lutheran asserted something—the Calvinist denied it—the plus and minus quantities were placed opposite to each other, and produced = 0; and this was to be the dogma of the Luther-Calvinist, or evangelical, Church. The doctrine on this subject was not to be decided or discussed, but left open; in other words, there was no dogma on it. Such is the Prussian mode of adjusting creeds; sweep away dogma, and you will soon have uniformity.

There were other facilities. Two suppurated surfaces will easily unite: and so, perhaps, it might not be justly considered difficult to bring together, and

join closely, two religious systems, which rationalism and infidelity had eaten far into, and disposed for being moulded into any shape, of what was considered merely an outward form, useful for political and social purposes. Where religious convictions have pretty nearly disappeared, and faith has been treated only as a philosophy, and the Bible as a classic, and symbols as dead formularies, and ecclesiastical discipline as a department of civil government, and canons as synonymous with the portfolio of a *Ministre de Culte*; a meeting of the state-council may well stand for a synod, and a cabinet-order for canon law. Sects are brought into union as divisions of the army are brought under one commander,—by a royal mandate; and a new religion is created about as easily as a fresh regiment is raised. In fact, by royal mandate, rather than by any spontaneous aggregation, the evangelical state-religion of Prussia was *organized*, or, to speak its official language, received “an historical development;” or, in other words, was instituted and made, out of the conflicting and jarring elements of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Having effected, with apparent success, this first amalgamation, the royal government of Prussia pushed its views still further, and resolved to join this coalition of continental Protestantism, in some sort of league or unity, with the better organized establishment of this country. The project of erecting a joint bishopric at Jerusalem had evidently this in view. The agent employed about it was the same as had been mainly instrumental in managing the former union.

But the Prussian government, as we have already remarked, sought no concealment. Its manifestoes officially announce this intention, as well as other important points. These we will classify.

I. It makes no secret, that in treating with the authorities of the English Church, it treated as with a sister-church, speaking as though on perfectly equal terms. "Accordingly, an union with England, *whose Church, by origin and doctrine, is most intimately akin to the German Evangelical Church*, offered itself as the surest means of attaining so important an end. The proceedings to be instituted for this purpose depended upon the preliminary question, whether Great Britain was inclined to allow justice to be done to the *independence and national honour of the German Evangelical Church*, and to treat this affair *in full harmony* with Prussia, upon the firm basis, that *Evangelical Christianity* should present itself *under the protection of England and Prussia* to the Turkish government *as an unity*."† One is rather inclined to smile at Dr. Hook's tender way of looking at this clear and straightforward statement of the *only* basis on which Prussia condescended to treat with England. He finds a *mistake* in the statement of this document—"the mistake of supposing that an union *does* exist between 'the Evangelical German Church' and the Church of England."

Now the king of Prussia clearly states that he took this as the only firm ground of his negotiation, and therefore we may take it for granted that, as the negotiation succeeded prosperously, the ground was admitted. In fact, we shall have evidence of this: But Dr. Hook thus continues:—"Our view of the transaction, and the view taken by Englishmen, is this: that the primate of England, *regarding with paternal affection* the Protestants of Germany (!) has planted an English bishop on neutral ground, there to enter into friendly relations with them; and the excel-

† Prussian State Paper; Hope, p. 74.

lent king of Prussia *has offered to co-operate* with our archbishop, without being fully aware of some difficulties which certainly occur, but which are not, I hope, insurmountable.”^s All this may be a very charitable, a very amiable, and, moreover, an extremely convenient, view of an awkward business; but as it is not accurate and true, we trust it is not the view taken by Englishmen. What claim have the Protestants of Germany on the paternal affection of his Grace of Canterbury? Who has made him their father in the spirit, seeing that, according to Dr. Hook, “it is not true to state that the Church of England is by origin ‘naturally akin to the German Evangelical Church.’”^h Surely the archbishop does not regard all German Protestants as his children. Moreover, on what semblance of truth is the view founded which makes the “excellent king of Prussia” *offer to co-operate* with the archbishop in a scheme which his majesty expressly tells us he first thought of, first proposed, and was thoroughly prime mover in, from the beginning? Surely this loose way of stating transactions; this twisting round of facts, authentically stated, to gratify theories; this inverting the order of things, to squeeze out of a difficulty, can do little credit to Dr. Hook’s case, and must excite a suspicion that the archbishop’s part in the transaction must be very perplexing, to require such an explanation.

But the Prussian monarch has no idea of any such claims of Lambeth upon Berlin in the affair. He does indeed establish an affectionate link of parental relationship, but he makes it lie all the other way. It is maternity, and not paternity, that he allows; and it is England, not Germany, that is the child; Germany, not England, the mother. For, having insisted that

^s Reasons, p. 33.

^h Ib. p. 31.

English and German "Evangelical Christianity" should present to Paynim eyes the goodly spectacle of "an unity;" in other words, that Anglicanism should be exhibited as one form of such "Evangelical Christianity,"—the royal theologian goes on to describe "the Evangelical Church of the German nation as *the mother of all Evangelical Confessions.*"¹ And, in fact, if Dr. Hook would take pains to inquire into the ideas and feelings of German divines upon the subject, we are pretty sure that he would find all idea of *paternal* solicitude on the side of Dr. Howley, in the transaction between him and their Protestant king, rejected with scornful indignation. For the Germans do and will consider the Anglican Church as neither more nor less than an offshoot of the German reformation; its fathers, like Cranmer, as the disciples of Luther; its perfecters, like Bucer and Peter Martyr, as thorough-going Germans; and its whole occasion, bearing, tendencies, and spirit, as copied from the continent, with a twofold modification, that *they* spared altars and churches, and we spared bishops; and that while they suppressed the latter, we plundered and demolished the former. The very name implies a common origin: both the Anglican and the Lutheran Churches call themselves "reformed;" and one reformation brought on, and guided, the other.

II. The Prussian government treated *on this basis of kindred union and equality*, not merely with the civil power in England, but with the ecclesiastical, and that in the proper manner. We are told that "steps which have been taken *in order to settle this preliminary question* [*i. e.* the presentation of 'Evangelical Christianity' to the Turks 'as an unity'] have had the most gratifying results." Not only the

¹ Hope, p. 77.

government of Great Britain showed a decided readiness to approach the question *upon the grounds proposed, but also the heads of the English Church entered with warm interest into the proposition.*"^k From the "Statement of Proceedings" we learn that "the appointment of a bishop for Jerusalem was proposed by his majesty the king of Prussia, who made it a subject of a special mission to the queen of England, and of a particular communication to the archbishop of Canterbury."^l If we are rightly informed, a correspondence was carried on upon the subject between the king and the archbishop. And we may again remark, that this statement, "by authority," completely contradicts Dr. Hook's "Englishmen's views."

III. "The heads of the English Church" did not repel these overtures with Catholic indignation, nor startle at the notion of carrying on a joint measure on such a basis. For the official Prussian document, after the last sentence which we have quoted from it, thus proceeds:—"There was an *agreement* [between the negotiating parties, the heads of the Church and the king] *in the conviction that the diversities of Christian worship, according to tongues and races, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation, that is to say, in the Evangelical Church, is upheld by a higher unity—the Lord of the Church himself. And that in this unity, to which all diversities refer themselves as to their point of junction, rests the ground of true Christian toleration. . . . By means of a cordial co-operation, directed by this spirit, a distinct bishopric has now been established in Jerusalem, in which all evangelical Christians may find a common support and point of union . . . therewith, however, the German Protestants in particular, vindic-*

^k Hope, p. 74.

^l Page 4.

cate the independence of their Church in reference to their peculiar confession and liturgy." Now here we have some material points set forth. It is plain, for instance, that the English Church is here considered as an evangelical, *i. e.* a Protestant Church. For the object of the new bishopric is described as being to furnish a point of union to *all* such Christians, certain rights being reserved to the Germans; yet the transaction was one common only to Germans and Anglicans. Secondly, it is to be a *point of union* to the two. It is assumed that there can be union between them; and, in fact, provision is made for it in the arrangements about the new bishopric. Thirdly, in all these views, *in this spirit*, there was *cordial co-operation* between the spiritual heads of the English, and the temporal, or rather the sole, head of the German Protestant Church,—the authority which by cabinet-orders makes bishops in it. Mr. Maurice, in his letter to deacon Palmer, admits this view; and considers that, bating the thoroughly German phraseology of "historical developments" and so forth, "the English Church" clearly admitted what we attribute to it,—that "the English bishops did acknowledge a common meeting-point with Protestants, as Protestants, in the confession of Christ, as the head and centre of the Church." This is the obvious meaning of that paragraph.^m Finally, the king of Prussia asserts that, in his negotiations with the heads of the English Church, he did not yield anything, but secured, as we have seen, the rights of the German Protestant communion, in regard to its confession and liturgy. But we think it proper to show the light in which these transactions were viewed by the German Protestants; and how completely they saw in them a clear recognition of

^m Page 53.

equal rights, fraternity, communion, and the perfect espousals of the two Churches, to be the parents of a new "development" or form of evangelical Christianity. The document which will best explain this popular and national view is a well-known article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which, if not official, bears sufficient marks of its being a popular explanation of the wishes and views of the ruling powers of Protestant Germany, in the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian episcopate in Jerusalem. We quote the greater portion of the document as given by Mr. Palmer.

"The establishment at Jerusalem of an evangelical congregation, with ecclesiastical endowments, and by the protection of England and Prussia, under the guardianship of the Porte, shielded against the oppressions to which evangelical Christians have hitherto been exposed in the East, is a germ of Christianity from which great future results may be anticipated: but as at all times a true spirit of Christian activity without has served to quicken the fruits of faith within, so has this foundation in Jerusalem called into life one of the most momentous appearances ever witnessed by Europe. As two parents in their love towards their child enter into a more exalted union, even so the evangelical Churches of Prussia and England, hitherto divided, have, in this daughter Church of Jerusalem, tendered to each other the true hand of union. It is not contemplated indeed that the English Church should abandon her institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England; but the two Churches, by their recent act, have mutually recognised that, in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are non-essential, the union in spirit the essential;—their conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a daughter Church, in which the nomination of the ecclesiastics shall be vested alternately in Prussia and England, in which the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles are recognised as founded in an intimate community of faith; in which the rights of the English and Prussian Churches are to be accepted as the simultaneous expression of one and the same evangelical Christianity. The conquest of Constantine, the fortifying of Paris, the expulsion of a queen from Spain, and a hundred other events that our time has witnessed, may wear a more pompous look, and may, at the first glance, appear of greater importance than this small

commencement of an united evangelical congregation at Jerusalem; but whoever is really acquainted with the affairs of the Levant, will recognise in this unostentatious commencement the germ of a great development. The grain of mustard-seed will be seen to grow up and to shoot forth its branches: nor can the present age show anything more truly great than this intimate recognition and approach to each other of two brothers,—the English nation and the most important race of northern Germany,—nothing nobler than this association of two brothers in the most exalted aim of man. England and Prussia have here found a point of union on which the blessing of God may rest.”—P. 15.

Having thus gathered what information we may, from the German party to the transaction, we may see what light may be thrown upon it by domestic authorities.

Two documents may justly claim to be considered as possessing authoritative weight in this matter; the “Statement of Proceedings by Authority,” and Dr. Alexander’s consecration sermon, preached by Dr. M’Caul, and “published at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury.” Dr. Hook says, that he has “a right to assume that the archbishop has pointed out the mistake of the Prussian government” above referred to.* But we must beg to deny this right, for two reasons. *First*, the Prussian government in that document does not *make* “the mistake,” but only recounts it as having been made in treating with the archbishop on the basis of the two Churches being a unity, &c.; and it assures us that his grace agreed, and acted with cordial co-operation. Therefore he did not see any mistake, or he neglected to point it out. We cannot suppose the king of Prussia so shameless, as to give this statement to the public, unless pretty secure of its accuracy. *Secondly*, the Prussian document was published November 14,

* Page 35.

1841, the archiepiscopal statement on the 9th of December following. Yet this does not correct the error; although surely it was the primate's duty to contradict that account, if erroneous, as publicly as it had been given. We therefore assume, with all deference to Dr. Hook, that the supposed mistake has not been corrected, and in fact that it was not considered a mistake, but admitted as a fact, by the English metropolitan.

The statement gives us the following admissions: that the king of Prussia had mainly in view "the spiritual superintendence and care of such of his own subjects as might be disposed to join themselves to the Church as formed at Jerusalem;" that it was reasonably hoped that the establishment of such a bishopric "might lead the way to an essential unity of discipline as well as of doctrine, between the Anglican and the *less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe*," which of course signifies that the English Church is the more perfectly constituted Protestant Church; that "the *two great Protestant powers of Europe* will have planted a *Church* in the midst of the Eastern Churches;" and that "congregations, consisting of Protestants of the German tongue, willing to submit to the new bishop's jurisdiction, will be under the care of German clergymen, ordained by him." Two conditions are annexed, which deserve notice. The first is, that the Anglico-German congregations will use "their *national* liturgy, compiled from the ancient liturgies." Dr. Hook expresses himself highly gratified by the statement that the Germans have such a venerable liturgy.^p It may therefore be as well to warn others that this liturgy, thus admitted (we may safely ask after what

^o Pages 6—8.

^p Letter, p. 25.

collation or revision?) by the English metropolitan, is the compilation chiefly of Mr. Bunsen, the envoy-extraordinary, sent over to negotiate the appointment of the new bishop, forced on the united Lutheran-Calvinist or Evangelical Church by the late king of Prussia—in other words, the composition of a layman, prescribed by none but the civil power! The second condition is, that the ministers of the new churches should sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and give proof of their having previously signed the Confession of Augsburg. How far these two subscriptions are compatible one with another, it is not our province to decide, nor our present object to discuss. Dr. Hook, whose commentary we are still willing to use, thus curiously escapes from the inquiry. “How far Bishop Alexander is himself bound to hold a confession of faith, which he agrees, under certain circumstances, to enforce; or by what explanations he is, in all points, to reconcile, without evasion, the Thirty-nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession—these are questions to be resolved by his own conscience.”^a To this we leave the matter; no strange one in a Protestant—a most inexplicable one in a Catholic, view of the entire transaction.

Dr. M'Caul's sermon contains some singular theories of apostolical succession; on which we briefly touched in our last number. We have now to deal with his admissions and explanations. From him we gather as follows:—

“It is to be hoped that the bishopric at Jerusalem may become the bond of union between Christians of England and Germany. The Prussian monarch intends to send members of his own Church to Jerusalem to receive orders at the hands of the new bishop, and then to assist in labouring amongst the Jews, or in ministering to

^a Letter, p. 30.

those of their own countrymen who may settle in the Holy Land, subject to the jurisdiction of the new episcopate; and thus in the city of peace, and over the tomb of the Saviour, *the national Churches may join the right hand of fellowship, and commence a communion* which, it is to be hoped, will speedily become universal. That *such an union of Protestant Churches* is as desirable as a reunion with the ancient branches of Christ's Church, can be doubted by none, whose desire for Catholic unity is sincere. The charity of him who would exclude, from the sphere of his sympathies, the *Protestant, though sound in the faith*, and court to his embrace those of whom his own Church teaches that they commit 'idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians,' is not the charity of the Gospel. The religion of Christ carefully marks out the difference between the form, even though divinely appointed, and the substance, which is as unchangeable as God himself. And he is but slenderly read in the Gospel who elevates the former to the rank of the first, or even the second, great commandment, or maintains that sacrifice is more acceptable than mercy. If we truly desire the cessation of all schism, and *the reunion of all Christ's believing people*, we must specially desire that *all those, who have been delivered from the errors of Romanism, may be associated in apostolic discipline, as well as doctrine*, and both be united to those Churches of the East, who join in the same protest against papal usurpation. The bishop of the Church of Jerusalem appears as the first-fruits *of an union* so desirable, the emblem of the hearty co-operation of *national Churches*, in extending the kingdom of God."—P. 15.

We must content ourselves with one more document. In the "Queen's Licence" for Dr. Alexander's consecration, we find the following declaration; that Dr. A. has assigned him Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia, as the limits within which he may "exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the *minist'ers of British congregations* of the united Church of England and Ireland, and over such *other Protestant congregations* as may be desirous of placing themselves under his authority."^r

Here is no concealment of the important fact, that the avowed object of Dr. Alexander's singular nomi-

^r Statement, p. 15.

nation was the cementing together in unity members of the Continental Protestant, and of the Anglican, Church. There is no question of reform or alteration to be insisted upon in the former, as Mr. Palmer would have; but they are spoken of as "*sound in the faith*;" and the entire difference between the two parties seems to be reducible to one of form or discipline. But Dr. M'Caul has forewarned us, in his notes on his sermons, with extracts from another "wonderful document" (p. 16), from "a communication which may be relied upon as authoritative." (P. 7.) It is intimated to us (p. 17) that this is one of the documents connected with the nomination, part of the correspondence between the king (for the document is royal) and the ecclesiastical authorities here. If so, Dr. M'Caul may be presumed to have received full permission to publish his extracts from it, as likely to "rejoice every Christian heart." (P. 7.) The following are the passages given from this document, that have reference to our present purpose:—

"His majesty is resolved to do in the Holy Land whatever may be required of him as a Christian, in order there to render possible a *community of action* on behalf of the Gospel. *The Church of England* is, in that country, in possession of a foundation on Mount Zion, and *his majesty considers it as the duty of all Protestant princes and communities to join the foundation, as the beginning and central point of union of Protestant life acting together.*"—P. 10.

"Should not, in particular at the present moment, this be the loving thought of Him who governs His Church, that in the old Land of Promise, on the stage of his earthly life, not only Israel might be brought to the knowledge of salvation, but that, also, *the different Protestant communities, built upon the eternal foundation of the Gospel*, and on the rock of faith in the Son of the living God, forgetting their separations, *conscious of their unity*, might tender to each other, over the tomb of the Saviour, the hand of peace and concord."—P. 16.

It is now time for us to draw a summary of this

transaction, so as to condense the line of reasoning, which it has suggested to our minds. A Protestant sovereign, then, who expresses inviolable attachment to the Protestant religion of Germany, addresses the heads of the Anglican Church, and more especially its primate, asking them to assist him in the promotion of an object purely ecclesiastical and religious, that is, the appointment and consecration of a new bishop. He makes no secret of the terms on which he treats,—the equal rights of his own Church: he presents as the basis of all negotiations, the unity of the two Churches; and, as his object, the creation of a centre of Protestant unity and co-operation. In all his correspondence he considers the Church of England as an evangelical, or Protestant, Church. Into this scheme the metropolitan fully and cordially enters; he agrees to consecrate a bishop proposed under such condition; he allows, without contradiction, the official publication of documents which assert his assent to them, and his conviction that the two Churches, though outwardly differing, were yet united in the common, higher headship of Christ; in other words, formed but parts of the same Church. And, moreover, he sends forth his new bishop with authority and permission to admit to orders, members of the other Church, who retain both their liturgy and their confession of faith; that is, who remain the same both in practice and belief, on the sole condition of farther subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. In other words, assuming with Dr. Hook that the Augsburg Confession is a “humanly-invented system of theology,” and “much to be censured;” and the Articles “are not a system of theology” (p. 26); the bishop is sent to govern a flock, one part of which will follow the Anglican, the other the Bunsen, liturgy; the

pastors of which will partly be unencumbered by such lumber as an authoritative theological system, and bear no trammels save the light yoke of the Thirty-nine Articles ; the other, farther entangled in the whole complication and definitiveness of the Augustan formulary, bound to teach Lutheranism under an Anglican bishop !

Has not the primate, the first bishop of the Anglican Church, fairly and completely committed himself to Protestantism ; entered into fellowship with Protestants, for Protestant purposes, on Protestant grounds, hearing, without protest, Protestant language spoken to him,—answering in the same ? Has he not put himself into *active communion* with German Protestantism ? And what has his Church said ? What have his brother bishops declared ? Two of them joined in the ceremony of consecration ; the rest were silent, or approved. All have allowed collections for Dr. Alexander to be made through their diocese. Surely had the first bishop of any Church in communion with us so committed himself, the very “stones from the walls would have cried out against it.” Can one conceive a Catholic bishop of any age acting so, without forfeiting his title ? Our inquiry, then, whether the Anglican Church be Catholic, or Protestant, resolved into this form, “with which class of Christians is she in actual and active communion,” seems sufficiently solved. We see her indeed placed in social and religious position somewhat between the two. On the one side is the fair and noble form of her former sister, still sighing and mourning over the infatuation and estrangement in which she has run her latter course ; but still serene of front, majestic of mien, sternly beautiful to the eyes of adversaries, tenderly lovely to the gaze of her many children. The

rock on which she stands seems to grow every year more solid beneath her tread ; the cross on which she leans seems to shine more brilliantly every day — a standard of faith and a beacon of hope ; flowers daily fresh gathered of holiness are scattered round her feet ; martyrs' blood, each year newly shed, waters, to fertilize, her sacred courts ; and bright crowns, for penance and for chastity, for zeal and for devotion, are woven, as new links, into that chain of testimony, which her saintly children have in every age and in every country stretched between her and themselves in heaven. And still she continues, as in olden times, to order the cords of her tabernacle to be enlarged, and its stakes strengthened, because new multitudes are crowding, with sounds of joy, into her precincts ; and here she sees her spark, which had well nigh been trodden out by feet of foes, break out once more into cheering light ; and there the islands that sat in darkness praise God because they have beheld her brightness. She has no need of others :—she would fain win them all, but she may court none ; she will lean over them in motherly caress if they return, but she bends not down to humour their waywardness and caprice. On the other side, is the already decrepit rebel of only three centuries ; bearing stamped upon her features the history of her career, offspring of the loose, coarse, and scoffing mind of Luther, and of the cold, harsh, and heartless fatalism of Calvin ; stripped of all the glories of a Church, with preachers for priests, superintendents for bishops, consistories for synods. No nobleness of thought, no elevation of faith, no tenderness of devotion, is to be traced on her countenance ; no fervent beam of hope in the future destinies of God's Church kindles up her eye. Coldly refining upon every word of doctrine, profanely sifting every

miraculous evidence of love almighty, paring down every goodly fruit of divine revelation by the keen edge of reason to its hardest kernel, and then throwing that away because it *is* hard; till belief in her hands has withered into opinion, duty into expediency, Christianity into an æsthetic system. Chilling, damping, love-killing rationalism broods over her, unless relieved by a scarcely less dangerous human enthusiasm. Now it is between these two that the Church of England has placed herself,—in the *via media*,—somewhat better than the one,—alas! sadly short of the other,—hesitating which she shall greet, to which she shall draw nigh; now weeping over what she has lost, that made her once like her fairer neighbour, now priding herself on what she has retained of ancient beauty and ornament beyond her more degraded companion; and trying how far she can adjust her few remnants and shreds of them, so as best to conceal her present destitution, and appear like her whom she fain would resemble. Now, on either side she seems inclined to stretch forth her hand, first to the one, and then to the other; for she feels herself solitary and desolate. But on the right hand, however she may meet with kind looks of sympathy, of interest, and of hope; however she may see tears of regret shed, and hear prayers for her reconciliation fervently uttered: no sign of recognition is bestowed, no return of proffered fellowship made. She has something to do, which is indispensable, before she can be treated as a friend. But on the left, no sooner is her hand but half held out, than it is caught in warm and hearty greeting, and grasped as if in recognition of ancient intimacy, by one who is proud of the connection, and feels no shame at drawing away to herself, however unworthy, those nobler feelings

which should have aspired to a holier and happier alliance. That greeting has been fully returned ;—the two have pledged their mutual faith and love, as the king of Prussia desired (we shudder as we write it), over the tomb of our Redeemer ; they have declared themselves one — “ a unity,” “ before the Turk,” chosen expressly as the witness of the union ; the community of purpose and feeling has been openly proclaimed between the two sections of “ Evangelical Christianity ” in England and in Prussia ; ecclesiastical communion has been asked and granted between them ; and Bishop Alexander is the first “ bishop ” whose flock is to consist of Anglo-German Protestants.

This is a sad, a miserable, an humiliating spectacle ; and yet we rejoice at it. We rejoice at it, not in a spirit of cruel triumph, but in the spirit of heavenly hope and charity. There surely are some in that Church who will not stand this new thwarting of their expectations, that the Catholic elements, yet remaining in it, would overbalance the grosser parts of error and schism—its Protestant ingredients—and rise gloriously above them. But in vain ! Their whole episcopate is Protestant to the core, bark and pith, root and bough—all eaten into, and hollowed, and hopelessly destroyed by this same canker-worm ; and it is useless to hope for Catholicism from it. Mr. Palmer may plead his individual liberty of anathematizing Protestantism as a heresy ; Dr. Hook may warn us that the bishops without the presbyters do not represent the Church.* In this matter they are plainly mistaken. In *convocation* to vote money, or for legal purposes, the lower house may be necessary ; but, for ecclesiastical objects, they are clearly

* Page 14.

not; not for a synod, nor for judgments on faith, nor for enacting of laws and canons. And still more in relation to intercommunion between Churches, the bishops, and they alone, have power and authority.[†] The whole Church is there in communion where its bishops communicate.

One point only now remains. May not the archbishop, and the bishop of London (the heads of the Church of England) have been deceived, or unwarily drawn into this false step; or, in other words, were they not led to adopt it, without sufficiently adverting to its doctrinal bearings? We might have, perhaps, thought so, but for subsequent manifestations of their sentiments. They have both given proof,—that they do not consider, first, apostolical or episcopal succession as the essence of a Church; so that the Protestant Churches of Germany may be really Churches without it: secondly, that in their opinion most probably they are true Churches: thirdly, that persons ordained by simple presbyters, or not ordained at all, may, under some circumstances, validly administer sacraments. We take the archbishop's views from a sermon on "the apostolical succession," by Dr. Hawkins, at the consecration of the bishop of Chichester, on February the 27th of this year. This is stated on the title-page to be "printed at command of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury." To him it is likewise dedicated, for that very reason. We presume, therefore, that the primate considered its

[†] "Episcopi sunt caput communionis suarum dioceseon, quam cum aliis Ecclesiis conservant, *Presbyterorum vero communio pendet ab Episcoporum suorum communione.* Eam ob causam prohibitum olim erat Presbyteris ne literas formatas aut communicatorias darent."—De Marca, De Concordia, col. 1134.

doctrine wholesome, and meet to be circulated among his flock. After having laid down some presumptive arguments against the *necessity* of the episcopacy or apostolical succession, the learned preacher thus proceeds :—

“ But with us a much stronger presumption against it, although still only a presumption, ought to be the silence of the Church of England. Declaring, in the clearest terms, what she judged *right* for herself, she carefully abstains from asserting that the apostolical order which she preserved is *essential* to the being of a Church. That her services of consecration and ordination are complete, and not ungodly ;—that all her ministers ordained accordingly are rightly ordered and consecrated,—she maintains modestly, but without reserve.” That none but those who are thus ordained, or who have formerly had episcopal consecration or ordination, shall be accounted lawful ministers in the Church of England, she explicitly declares. She is distinct and precise as to the method to be pursued, both ‘ that these orders may be continued,’ and that they ‘ may be reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England.’^x And all this definite and unreserved declaration of what she accounted right for herself, renders the contrast so much the more marked, when her statements concerning ‘ the Church,’ and concerning ‘ ministering in the congregation,’ and ‘ the unworthiness of ministers,’ are so framed and cautiously guarded, that, excluding indeed the ministry of self-appointed teachers (which would be destructive of all order, and overthrow the very nature of a Christian society), they apply to any Church,—and the ministry of any Church,—nay, might even apply to congregations of separatists, who had conscientious grounds for their separation.^y And this we are wont to ascribe, perhaps, to the great charity and moderation of the Church of England. Yet, would it really deserve these excellent names, had the great and good men to whom we owe her Articles and her polity, been indeed convinced that her orders were essential to Christianity, *and episcopacy necessary to the very efficacy of the blessed sacraments?*—*Rather let us say, that they did not declare this doctrine, because they did not believe it to be true ;* or, at the least, that they could not declare this doctrine, because they had no scriptural warrant for asserting its

^u Art. xxxvi.

^x Preface to Ordination Services.

^y Arts. xix. xxiii. xxvi.

truth. 'Christ's Gospel is not a ceremonial law;' that was a position clearly before the minds of our reformers.² But even had the Gospel been a law of ceremonies, so far as it has any ritual or ceremonial, or any other positive institution, still, before we may assert that any positive institution is *essential*, we must have some clear warrant of revelation for our assertion. *This appears to be the true reason why the necessity of any apostolical succession cannot be maintained.* If it be admitted that the whole doctrine of the succession relates not to an eternal truth, but to a positive institution, in its own nature alterable, nothing less than the clearly declared will of its Founder can make it unalterable and essential. But we look in vain to holy writ for any clear warrant for this doctrine. 'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.' 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'³ Were the doctrine clearly warranted by the inspired Scriptures, would divines rely upon texts like these to prove it? As if, because our Lord undoubtedly sent forth His apostles as the Father had sent Him, therefore He gave them a commission altogether like His own, and a similar transmission, and no other, of the same authority must be continued for ever;—or as if, because it is justly argued that the abiding presence of Christ is not promised only to his apostles, but to the Church through them, therefore it is promised only through those who should succeed in one, and one only way to a portion of the apostolic office. Until some authority from holy writ shall be produced, far more express and clear, not merely to prove the use or the need of a Christian ministry (which is not the present question), but declaring that an episcopal succession is essential to a true Christian ministry, and a ministry essential to the efficacy of the blessed sacraments, it is not for us, I apprehend, to be more peremptory in our assertions than the Scriptures themselves, nor must we call that essential or unalterable, which has not been declared to be so by our Lord or His apostles."—Pp. 16—21.

• This is pretty nearly the reasoning of Dr. Channing, in his Discourse on the Church (p. 7). After remarking that a hierarchy was established by the apostles, Dr. Hawkins thus continues:—

"What was good and right under the apostles, nay, as all must

² Preface to the Liturgy (1548). "Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained."

³ Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; John xx. 21.

admit, was *best* for the then condition of the Church, must be good and right still, unless altered circumstances demand a change. But this is widely different from denying the validity of their orders, or doubting the efficacy of their sacraments. Nay, as to the efficacy of the Christian sacraments, although no reasonable person questions the propriety, I had almost said the necessity, of restricting their administration to persons duly appointed; *yet we have no warrant to ascribe their efficacy in any way to the office of the administrator.* The Church of England has, indeed, been sometimes supposed to hold a different language. But whilst she has said, and reasonably said, that 'we may use the ministry' even of unworthy ministers, 'both in hearing of the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments,' because they minister 'not in their own name, but in Christ's,' and 'by his commission and authority;' nevertheless she has not ascribed 'the effect of Christ's ordinance' to their commission, but has stated expressly that the sacraments are 'effectual because of Christ's institution and promise,' though ministered by evil men.^b

"The Church of England, in a word, has not ruled a point of faith beyond the Scriptures; and the Scriptures maintain upon the subject an expressive and instructive silence; and chiefly, which is remarkable, upon the connection of that sacrament with the office of the priest, which has been the most rigidly confined to his administration. 'The cup of blessing which we bless.'—Suppose, what appears extremely probable, that the apostle, when he was present, blessed the cup, or the presiding presbyter in his absence; we cannot infer from this that it might not be blessed by any other. 'We are stewards of the mysteries of God.'—Be it so that 'mysteries' here relate to the blessed sacraments—which is, however, most uncertain—and that none but the presbyter, subsequently at least to the disorders at Corinth, was accustomed to dispense the Eucharist, which is most probable, this does not prove that its efficacy is made to depend upon his administration, and that it may not be dispensed by others. 'Do this in remembrance of me.'—Still less does it follow that a sentence like this addressed by our Lord to His apostles concerning that *commemoration* of His sacrifice, which should be as dear to every Christian as to them, affects the *administration* of the rite by themselves, or by those alone who derive a commission from their successors.^c What therefore, if some of our own, or of much earlier divines, if Hilary or

^b Art. xxvi.

^c 1 Cor. x. 16, &c.; iv. 1 (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11); Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24.

Jerome, or even early councils,^d have dropped incautious expressions, or held uncompromising theories upon the point; or what if Ignatius may appear to have laid it down that there is no valid Eucharist without the administration of the bishop, or of one to whom the bishop has committed the charge; nevertheless, this is not sufficient authority. Even assuming, what I apprehend is extremely doubtful, that they always intended to declare a doctrine, and not merely to establish a point of order; still neither their authority, nor any other inferior to that of the inspired Scriptures, is of force to raise a point of order into an article of Faith."—Pp. 22—24.

Such sentiments and doctrines are all that could have possibly been demanded or desired by the king of Prussia in the English Church. And, if it be not rash or presumptuous to suppose that the archbishop approved of the principles which he commanded to be printed, we can have no hesitation in admitting, or supposing, that he found no difficulty in treating with the Protestants of Germany, as with a Church, in which was true administration of sacraments without a priesthood, and lawful ministers without episcopacy. In fact, the presumption is greatly in favour of this view.

The bishop of London's testimony is still more valuable; both because he speaks for himself, and because he applies his reasoning to the very case of the foreign Protestants. His lordship's three sermons on the Church were delivered during last Lent, and therefore since the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric. In the first, he gives his general view of the Church, with which we have not at present to deal. The second sermon treats of the government of the Church, and is directed to prove that the episcopal

^d See Bingham's *Antiq.* b. ii. c. xx. s. viii.; Ignatius, *Epistle to the Smyrneans*, s. viii.; and the notes in Mr. Jacobson's edition, pp. 414, 415. Ignatius probably was not speaking of the *validity* of the Sacrament, but of Christian *unity* under the bishop.

form is apostolical, and ought therefore to be preserved. The third approaches our subject. After some preliminary matter, the learned bishop propounds the question,—whether their episcopal form of Church-government, “having possessed for 1500 years that characteristic of truth, the being held of divine authority always, everywhere, and by all men, is so obligatory upon Christians, that no congregation of believers, *not* being under this form of government, can be a true branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church? This is a question,” he continues, “of some difficulty.”* We own we do not see it, if viewed *Catholicly*. “*Quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique,*” being supposed, or admitted, there can only be one solution: such a congregation is *not* a true branch of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church. None but a Protestant could hesitate. After making a distinction between Dissenters in England and foreign Protestants, of course to the disadvantage of the former, the bishop thus proceeds:—

“But the members of any one of the other reformed non-episcopal Churches to which I have alluded, do *not* separate themselves from *any* Church; nor, if they quitted their own Church, is there any episcopal Church in their country to which they could unite themselves; and, therefore, as long as their own Church holds the essentials of doctrine, they may continue therein, and are in no sense schismatics. Their own Church may not be in that perfect communion with the Catholic Church, which would subsist, if there were a unity of discipline *as well as of doctrine*: it may be the duty of their Church to desire that unity, and to take steps for its restoration; and it may be the duty of individual members of that Church to promote that happy consummation by all prudent and peaceable methods: but in the mean time . . . I dare not pronounce that Church to be cut off altogether from the mystical body of Christ; and I am sure that none of its *members* are chargeable with the guilt of schism, who do not thwart and impede the efforts of the Church

itself to assimilate its government and discipline to the apostolical model.

“That the apostolical model *ought* to be followed by *every* local Church I have no manner of doubt; but if I find entire branches of the great Christian family living under a different form of government, deprived of the advantages of episcopacy, in the first instance not by their own fault, but through the tyranny and obstinacy of the Church of Rome refusing them those advantages (!); being also in that state of dependence upon the secular power, I cannot consent to speak of those communities as being altogether aliens from the Church of Christ; nor to deal with them as though they were entirely destitute of the privileges which belong to it. I pity and lament their want of some of those privileges; and I pray that *they* too may *feel* that want, and that the great Head of the Church may bring them into the full perception and enjoyment of those privileges; but I dare not *think* of them, still less *speak* of them, as heretics, or schismatics; I dare not pronounce them, as such, excommunicate; and I tremble at the arrogance and uncharitableness which presume to deal out anathemas against those *who deny no one fundamental point of faith*, but who are defective (it may be questioned whether by their own fault) in the form of their government, and, as connected therewith, in the clear and indisputable succession of their ministry.”

—P. 54.

The bishop then goes on to quote the testimony of learned authorities in his Church, to prove that the essentials, though not the perfection, of a Church, may be possessed without episcopal government; and gives instances of her bishops being satisfied with ordination conferred by inferior clergy. For this part of the argument we must refer to the sermon itself. In the course of the argument, “the interdicts and anathemas of hasty and ill-judging men” (Mr. Palmer, we presume), are again reproved, and the bishop concludes his reasoning by the following indulgent, comprehensive, and truly Protestant declaration.

“Yet, although none of the excuses which have been urged for the want of apostolical government in some national Churches can be pleaded in justification of those who separate from our own episcopal

Church, I would not pronounce, even upon *them*, the sentence of absolute exclusion from the Church of Christ, nor declare that they are beyond the pale of salvation."—P. 73.

We think enough has been said, to show how thoroughly congenial to the spirit which prompted the Prussian monarch to ask for co-operation from the heads of the English Church in an ecclesiastical matter, was the spirit in which he was met: how fully justified he was in treating upon a footing of equality with such bishops, and how reasonably we may conclude that the English Church, through them, not inadvertently, but with eyes wide open, entered into religious communion with foreign Protestants, and thus virtually pronounced herself Protestant. Here indeed we ought to close; but, like the Jews of old, we love not to conclude with unpleasant topics, nor in condemnatory phrase. Hope springs up, phoenix-like, from the ashes of deep humiliation, and we cannot but fondly trust that these low alliances of their supposed ecclesiastical leaders, will make many turn their thoughts towards that true Mother Church, which looks indeed upon them with parental affection, and beckons them to her bosom. *There* they may depend upon no man's presuming to brand them with the opprobrious name of "Protestant;" and there they will find the charms and sympathies of an extended communion, unequivocal in its principles, as sweet and glowing in its exercise. As proof that yearnings after such a blessing do exist, we will quote two passages from a recent publication, which we gladly take this opportunity of recommending to our readers; entitled, "Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches, and among Foreign People." By F. W. Faber, M.A. It abounds in fervent and highly-wrought passages,

full of good feelings, though of course not free from many usual prejudices, and misunderstandings of Catholic practice. The speaker, in the following extract, is an imaginary and somewhat fanciful person, called "The Man of the Middle Ages." We need not say that we mean not to agree in all the sentiments of the passage: we are content to accept it as an expression of ripening feelings, and as an augury of brighter times.

" 'Behold!' continued he, raising his voice, while his face kindled with solemn enthusiasm, 'behold, all hearts are turned towards Rome, all eyes fixed upon her in love, hope, fear, and inquiry. Long has her mysterious character been seen, in that men could not feel indifference towards her as towards a common city, but either fond love or bitter hatred has been her portion from every one who cared for the cross at all. The contracted limits and narrow sympathies of national Churches are again being destroyed. Gallicanism, that vile, unworthy, and disloyal child of the selfish Sorbonne, is now scattered for ever to the four winds of heaven; and the fresh waters imprisoned by the salt sea in your own island are bursting down their barriers, with a sound to which all Europe listens. Oh, by the beauty of old Catholic England! Oh, by the memory of the old Saxon saints! I implore you, as a priest consecrating in the shrines of Augustine and of Anselm, to seek daily to feel, and realize, and lean upon the Church Catholic, through and beyond your own national branch; throw yourself, with a bold meekness, into the capacious sympathies and magnificent affections of the Church universal; hide yourself in the mighty beating of her universal heart. Are there none to set you an example, none whose meek humility and love of discipline can correct the vehement and untutored zeal which tempts those who walk in a new path?' 'O, yes,' I replied, 'there are lowly-minded men even in proud England, whose leaning on the Church Catholic is as bold and trustful as your own; we have men still, who walk in our cloisters, singing of the king's daughter, and extolling her golden vesture.'"—P. 623.

"I trust such sweetness may win many among you from a narrow-hearted idolatry of a national Church; for most deep and true, most solemn and most tender, is their love for their own Church, who gaze from the steeples of her beloved street upon the mighty city of

squares, domes, abbeys, palaces, and glistening pinnacles, which is outspread beyond her and around her; and in the centre of that city, like to a most gorgeous citadel, stands the form of old Rome. See, after long neglect, how all the children of the earth, one after another, even those who are not called by her name, rise up and uncover themselves in her princely presence. O ye sons of Rome! ye children of august forefathers! O ye townsmen of the immortal city! wherefore have ye blocked up the avenues to the city of peace, with your new unsightly portalice? Why have ye impeded the high-ways, and broken up the pavements, and left undrained the marshes, that the provincials cannot come? See the whole world burns to fling itself, in one spontaneous wave of pilgrimage, upon the capital.”
 —P. 624.

UNREALITY
OF
ANGLICAN BELIEF.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Jan. 1847.

UNREALITY

OF

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ART. VIII.—*The Scandal of Permitted Heresy, and a Violated Discipline. An Address delivered to the Congregation of St. Martin's, Liverpool, on Sunday before Easter, 1846.* By the Rev. CECIL WRAY, M.A. Liverpool: 1846.

ASSUMING that the Catholics and the Anglicans have been, or have considered themselves, in a state of conflict for some three centuries on matters of religion, a curious change has certainly taken place in their relative positions. Till the other day, it was thought by all who chose to enter into controversy against us, a notable distinction, a real honour, to be able to put the whole heavens between themselves and us. The wider they could show the gulf between us and them, so that they might not come to us, nor we go to them, the more praise they believed they were giving to their own establishment. They were, moreover, always the aggressors; we were put on the defensive.

Now, however, it is quite otherwise. By far the most respectable of those who write in defence of Anglican doctrines, now plainly sail on an opposite tack. They attempt in every way to prove how much, not how little, of Catholic (Roman) doctrine their Church retains; they exaggerate points of resemblance, not

points of difference ; they strive to make their opinions look as Tridentine as possible ; they catch hold of every stray expression in their formularies, or Prayer-book, or Catechism, and build top-heavy theories of faith upon it. In this way, priestly absolution and sacramental confession, the real presence, communion with the Church triumphant, and many other such doctrines are vindicated to the Establishment. For it is thought a great gain to prove, merely that the English Church has not condemned certain doctrines and practices ; and this is even considered equivalent to sanctioning them. We think it needless to refer to examples, or to quote direct proofs. Every one acquainted with the recent controversies, whether dogmatical or liturgical, about the Articles or the surplice, will remember many instances of the small grounds that sufficed, for concluding that the Anglican Church had not rejected, or disapproved of, a given doctrine. And even yet, some unlucky curate is now and then caught in spiritual trespass upon Roman ground, and called to task, not by the owner of the land, but by his own master, the bishop given him by the law. Such has lately been the misfortune, as we shall see, of the Rev. Mr. Bittleston at Leamington.*

We cannot but think, that the more such dreamy theorists are undeceived the better for themselves, and for those whom they lead in their errors. And there seems to us to be one plain and common-sense way of doing this. The readers of this review, and of almost everything which recent converts have written on theology, must have been struck by the frequent use of a word, but lately introduced into religious discussion, in its various grammatical forms.

The noun is REALITY ; the verb to REALIZE.

* [Since a convert to the Catholic Church.]

It is by means of these words that we intend, in this article, to bring the question between us and the would-be Anglo-Catholics to issue. They are the talismanic formula whereby we desire, God helping, to dispel their delusion. But we are aware that these words want explanation; and especially to Catholics, who have had no experience of their contraries (their best interpreter)—of *unreal* doctrine, of *unreality* in religion. We trust, however, that in explaining the terms, as we shall do by illustration more than by definition, we shall show in what way they may become controversial tests.

Strange as it may seem, we can with propriety apply their negative forms to things as solid as stone, and as palpable as a church steeple. The stone altar set up in the round church at Cambridge was *unreal*; the crosses on the gables or spires of newly-erected Anglican churches are *unreal*. One and all the Camden Society's prettinesses and quaintnesses, and mediæval restorations, with their accompanying discussions and essays, were and are, so far as regards Anglicans, an *unreality*. How? it will be asked. Why simply thus: That stonework was real enough to cost a great deal, and almost to sink the society which erected it, like to a millstone round its neck; but as an *altar* it represented nothing, it was a symbol of nothing, it obeyed nothing; it connected itself with nothing true in the minds of beholders, which could at once make them feel it right, and necessary, and full of meaning, that it should be of stone. Ten thousand Protestants may have looked at it, and only wondered *why* there was a stone *communion-table*: it would seem to them *uncomfortable*, cold, unsuited for its purpose, different from what was usual. Perhaps some would like it because it was pretty, others because it looked old, a few more be-

cause it was solid and business-like: alas! how few would enter into the *real* feelings of the question! Probably not one Camden-man, in a hundred regular subscribers, ever got beyond the mere archæology of the thing. Was there one who rejoiced to see an *altar* of stone, because the Church from the beginning celebrated her mysteries upon the slab which covered a martyr's tomb; one who therefore bethought him of the mystical altar from beneath which the souls of the slain for Christ cry aloud? ^b [If such a one there was, how *unreal* his feeling in a Church which despises, carps at, and has destroyed such relics.] Was there one who saw, in this stone altar, the *reality*, of which the symbol, and prophetic type, were in the anointed stone of Bethel,^c in the built-up altar of Moses in the wilderness,^d in the altar of hewn and unpolished stones on Mount Hebal,^e and in the twelve stones built into an altar by Elias on Carmel? ^f one who, considering the whole burnt-offerings offered on these as typical only of the spotless Lamb immolated daily in true sacrifice on the Church's altar, looked on *this* as likewise a reality compared with those, and saw the propriety of carrying out the relation between them, even in material resemblance? Or was there one who more simply and catholicly held and felt, that the altar should be of stone because the Church of old, for the foregoing or any other reasons, decreed, and still enforces the decree, that *sacrifice* shall not be offered up on any altar save one of stone, anointed like that of Jacob, enriched with martyr's relics, like those of the catacombs;^g making but one glorious exception in favour of the wooden altar of the Lateran basilica, as

^b Rev. vi. 9.^c Gen. xxviii. 18.^d Exod. xxiv. 4.^e Deut. xxvi. 5, 6.^f 3 Reg. xviii. 31.^g Cap. xxxi. et xxiv. De Consec. Dist. i.

being that whereon St. Peter performed the sacred rites, according to the Roman liturgy ?

In other words, a Catholic altar *must* be of stone ; a Protestant communion-table *should* be of wood. To make the latter of stone, because our ancient Catholics did, without one feeling or principle which obliged them to do so, is *unreal* : it is making a plaything of religion. If a man were to make himself a crown, however costly, and put it on his head, and think that this made him a king, we should either pity or laugh at him ; we should tell him that, in spite of gold, and jewels, and shape, his crown was not a *real* crown ; and so, in spite of materials and workmanship, the stone altar at Cambridge was no reality.

In like manner the practice, now becoming general, of placing the cross on the top of church gables and spires is no less unreal. It has no meaning in a religion which shows no honour to the cross. A cross so placed speaks nothing to the people ; the passer-by never salutes it with uncovered head ; the clergyman has no "O crux, ave," as he looks upon it : it is an ornament, a finish to a point, and nothing more—a fleur-de-lis, a finial of any sort, would do as well, and mean as much. And the same must be said of the entire mass of Camden restorations : *sedilia* on which no one sits ; *piscinæ* into which no ablution is poured ; candlesticks which never hold a light ; crosses which dare not bear the effigy of Him who gave the symbol its worth ; screens that inclose nothing hallowed or mystical. They are but unmeaning toys, as completely out of place as an open kiosk would be in a Swedish house. It is not long since we entered a Protestant church, built according to the full rules of church restorers. We found there all these appurtenances, and inquired of an intelligent clerk, who showed the

place, what was the meaning of the *sedilia*. He did not know. Did any one sit there? The bishop did in one at the consecration. No one since? No. Then what are they for? "I don't know," was the natural answer. This proved that, as "*sedilia*," the three seats in the chancel wall had no *reality*.

But this is a low standard of the meaning of this term; we will therefore ascend from mere material objects to religious practices; and it will not be difficult to show that the attempt to transplant these from the Catholic, to the Anglican Church, deprives them at once of reality. Let us, by way of illustration, suppose, that a physician were to say, according to the assertion of all his friends, that he possessed a sure, unfailling remedy for a baneful disease—the Asiatic cholera for instance. The disorder, in course of time, assails the town in which he resides, and commits fearful ravages on every side. Rich and poor fall a prey to the fatal pestilence. The physician, through his friends, is still boasted of, as holding the secret of cure. Now surely is the time to test how far he *really* believes himself to have it. Does he proclaim aloud that he possesses it? Does he invite all who are sick to come to him if able, to send for him if not? Does he seek for patients, run to and fro in search of opportunities to heal? Does he instruct all who apply to him, and even all who are exposed to the infection, how to employ his medicine, so that its effects may be secured? And do those who comply with his prescriptions feel that they recover, and regain strength? Let us say that he does nothing of the sort; that, on the contrary, he remains with his arms folded; that, in general, his exhortations to his fellow-townsmen are confined to such common-place instructions as any one else would give, on the fatal character

of the complaint, the necessity of avoiding contagion, and a simple treatment by common methods; though occasionally and very guardedly, he does seem to intimate that he *could* cure, if he chose. But when any one applies to him for this special remedy, he only very sparingly and most cautiously and secretly attempts it. Would any one in his senses believe, that, unless that physician was an arrant rogue, he in his heart and soul thought himself possessed of that wonderful secret—in other words, that he *realized* his own assertions of belief in it?

Now let us apply this to the Anglican, and to the Catholic, Church respectively. Either is the physician; sin is the disease. It has spread like a pestilence—it is almost universal. Each Church says: "I have the power to forgive sins," to heal every one attacked by this plague. Which *realizes*, shows perfect confidence in the belief of holding this power? The Catholic Church loudly proclaims it; from the child at the font, to the dying man of fourscore, she claims all for her patients. She tells them that she can, and she will, forgive them in God's name. Every catechism, every pious book, every retreat, every mission, almost every sermon, teaches and preaches like John, remission of sin. Every condition is definitely stated, every form accurately set down, every circumstance minutely detailed. Her ritual contains the full description of the mode of acting, for physician and patient; her libraries are full of learned tomes on every case that may present itself; her disciples are trained in schools expressly for the purpose of treating each with discriminating accuracy. Every church and chapel has a place for the administration of this remedy, at all hours; the confessional is as visible and intelligible as the font. A child of seven knows.

what it is for ; the prince and the beggar kneel side by side at it (real sickness levels all ranks), and both leave it with equal assurance of cure.

Now for the Anglican Church, we have only to put a negative before each member of the foregoing paragraph, and we have its claims to consciousness of a similar power. She tells her ministers that "whose sins they shall forgive, they are forgiven;" but how, when, where, heaven knows; she does not condescend to tell them. Her friends say: "Oh, certainly she gives us the form of absolution in her Visitation of the Sick, and this is meant to be our guide. The absolution is there to follow confession, *ergo*, in every other case. Therefore confession is not only permitted, but enjoined, by our Church." Contrast *this* proof with the clear, definite, universal, loud, and varied proclamation of the Catholic Church, and see which acts with real conviction of possessing this heavenly power. But the best of it is, that so soon as any of those who say this, venture to act upon it, they may expect to receive such enlightenment upon the subject as the following, which the bishop of Worcester has just addressed to one of his clergy, for venturing to absolve after confession.

"So with regard to Confession: our Church, in the invitation to Communion, certainly recommends those 'whose consciences are burthened, to open themselves to some discreet and learned minister,' but it is equally certain that it discourages the practice of *private* Confessions, except in such cases of *burthened* consciences. This appears, as I before stated to you, from the omission in the second prayer-book of Edward the Sixth (which only is our guide at the present day), of those words which originally stood as part of the rubric, immediately antecedent to the form of absolution, directed to be used in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, 'And the same form of Absolution shall be used in all private Confessions,' which words occur in the first prayer-book of Edward the Sixth, but were *designedly omitted* in the second. But, besides, no one can be

acquainted with the history of the Reformation, without being aware that the abuses of private Confession were among the principal causes of it; and it cannot, therefore, be supposed that our Reformers intended to sanction a practice which, in their estimation, had been so fruitful of baneful consequences, as to justify such a division in the Church. When, therefore, a clergyman, on the strength of the passage in the invitation to Communion, to which I have referred, holds a sort of private confessional in his own house, and admits thereto young females, however careful he may himself have been distinctly to avoid any allusion that could be a cause of offence, yet he thereby opens a door to a practice, in which indiscreet or ill-disposed persons might teach others evil hitherto unknown to them, by questioning them upon those points which have justly given such umbrage in the practice of the Roman Catholic Church; and in so doing, he must surely be considered guilty of indiscretion."

* * * * *

"So also the form of Absolution in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, was probably retained with a view to the ease of those who might derive comfort on their death-beds, from the use of a form to which they had been accustomed. That clergyman is, however, guilty of indiscretion, who upon the authority of this form, and by partial or overstrained statements, conveys the impression to his hearers that he is authorized personally to absolve from sin, instead of simply declaring and pronouncing such absolution to be promised and conveyed through him by God, in the event of our faith and repentance."^h

When a bishop thus chides those who act upon the assumption of power being in his Church to forgive sins, and even explains away the grounds, crumbling as they are, on which the fragile theory reposes, who will say that this Church, as such, realizes the doctrine of forgiveness being with her? No call, no instruction, for the people; no training, no teaching for the pastor; no place, no time appointed for the two to meet—surely all this is incompatible with a real belief in the heart of the English Church, that she is the depositary of so marvellous a gift, so sublime a ministry, so need-

^h Letter to the Rev. H. Bittleston, dated Nov. 17, 1846; published by authority in the *Leamington Courier* of Nov. 28.

ful a medicine, so universal a boon ; a power not given to angels, nor to angel-like men in either dispensation, but reserved to her. It is cruel to believe that she is conscious of such power, and does not use it, and has not used it for three hundred years. It is awful to think that anything calling itself a Church could fold up such a talent in a napkin, and bury it. And yet the only alternative to this is, putting it out to use and interest, which clearly she has not done.

The contrast, however, between the conduct of the two Churches will abundantly show which *realizes* a belief in the power ministerially to forgive sins ; which gives proof of consciousness and confidence ; which carries out these feelings into perfect action, and gives them *reality*.

Passing over many illustrations which we might here introduce, let us rather go on to the more important part of our subject, that which regards more directly dogma, or abstract belief. It is in reference to this, that the two systems are most strongly contrasted. We see in the one every evidence of true, thorough, brim-full, and overflowing conviction of a doctrine ; a conviction which speaks not in set phrase or on given occasions, but which betrays itself in a thousand casual expressions, in words dropped almost unthinkingly ; in gestures, in attitudes, in dumb signs ; which comes out as it were by chance, or rather naturally, where men cannot be supposed to be thinking of theology ; and not only where *men* speak and act, but where children, yea babes and sucklings, lisp thoughts, that seem rather instilled and inspired by baptismal faith than taught by human agency ; in fine, which has become so completely a part of the stock of every-day thought with all, that it comes out unawares, and in such vivid, truth-bearing phrase as

startles one of less lively apprehension and conviction, and seems to him almost profane. This is the character of Catholic belief.

On the other side we find the same doctrine perhaps taught, or said to be taught; but the expression of it is equivocal, balancing between contraries, vague, hazy, and perplexing to disciples, as well as embarrassing to teachers; and the supposed belief in it does not pervade the system, does not show itself in indirect words, but depends upon certain formal (real or imaginary) declarations, perhaps on some dubious phrase, made out by ingenious deductions. It affects only the learned; common minds and common men hardly know it, little care about it; no one acts upon it, or by it, unconsciously, as if it were a first principle, a necessary root of action; it never comes out as it were by accident, never shows itself in homely ways. Such is the character of Anglican, or Anglo-Catholic, doctrines.

The first is evidence of *reality*, the second of unreality. Let us prove this.

As we have done before, we will illustrate this part of our investigation by an example. A Hindoo says he believes in the transmigration of souls of men into the bodies of animals. Now if he really believes, the natural consequences of such belief must be so varied as to give us a good test of its reality. It follows that the soul of a friend, a relation, or an ancestor, may be animating any animal that comes in his way; he must naturally forbear to hurt it; and this he does. But kindness towards our fellow-beings will carry us much further; and it is the soul, not the body, that is the object of real sympathy. Therefore when sick or wounded, the meanest brute will be thought worthy of tender care; for it contains the soul of a fellow-man,

perhaps of a former friend. And this is even so. But further, this will make the taking of animal life, even for the purpose of food, little better than murder; and consequently the believer in this absurd doctrine is content to live on his rice, through all his days, rather than commit so dreadful a crime. Then besides all this consistency, which proves his belief to be so real, that it carries him, without effort, but as by a natural principle, through all these consequences, you cannot take him unawares on the subject, so as to entrap him into expressions at variance with his creed. It is as natural to him as if born with him; he speaks by it, he acts on it, he lives in it. It gives rise to a thousand incidents, rites, and feelings, in his religious, civil, and domestic life. Now, on the other hand, we once knew a German gentleman of education, who pretended at least to believe this doctrine. We say pretended; for it would only be by discussion and formal discourse on the subject, that one could have learnt that he held it. At other times, he would shoot his bird, eat his mutton, or flog his horse, like any good Christian. Who does not see that the one has a *real* belief in the doctrine, and the other only a fancy for, or an affectation of, it?

But let us come to an example of what we have asserted, an example that will make it good on both sides. And we will choose no unimportant one—the doctrine of the Eucharist, as held in the Catholic Church, and as attributed by the High-churchman to the Anglican. To a certain distance we may run the parallel together between them; but after that we shall find but negatives or silence on one side, with an ever-flowing stream of evidences on the other.

I. If any one wishes to know the Catholic doctrine

respecting the real presence of our Blessed Lord in the Eucharist, he can have no difficulty in getting at it. From the penny catechism put into the child's hand, to the ponderous folio of theology over which the scholar pores, and through every intermediate stage of Catholic literature, of whatever country, in whatever language, you find the same clear, explicit definition of our doctrine. You are told that the sacred body and blood of our Divine Lord and Saviour are truly and really *present* in the Eucharist; that He is whole under each species or form; and that the substance of the bread and wine are changed into that body and blood. In other words, and more compendiously; where before were bread and wine, there is in their place Christ our Lord. A presence is thus taught as real and complete as was visible to the eyes of the apostles, when our Lord was on earth.

Now let us look on the other side; and we do not hesitate to say that the Catholic hymn, "*Lauda Sion*," in spite of the trammels of very short verse and frequent rhyme, gives a more clear dogmatic statement of our doctrine, than Anglican Catechism, Articles, and Prayer-book put together, do of theirs. For rather, these only help to dilute and even neutralize each other. The Catechism tells us that the "body and blood of Christ are verily taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and the Articles inform us that this "body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, *only* after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." Out of these two texts, the Anglican has to make out the teaching of his Church on this most vital doctrine, the one on which individual holiness may be said to

depend. So beautifully balanced are the two authorities, so nicely contradictory, that they lead to the holding in the same Church, with perfect impunity, of exactly opposite doctrines. The Puseyite maintains, that his Church teaches as real a presence of our Lord in "the Supper," as the Catholic Church asserts in her "Blessed Eucharist;" the Evangelical, on the contrary, is as positive that there is no real presence at all, but only a symbolical and spiritual one. Now it is true that we have not to deal, at present, with the latter, but only with the former, the easily satisfied believer, who asserts that these two passages blended together, produce a sufficient definition of our Saviour's real presence; but yet we may ask, can any one bring himself to think, that a Church which *really* believed in so awful, yet so sweet, a mystery, in so sublime a combination of might and love, would teach it to her children in so slovenly a way, would put weights so equal into each scale of the balance, as should give it a perfect see-saw motion, if touched; and keep it quiet and level, if let alone? Is not this the proof rather of total indifference, a declaration that each one may take either the positive, or the negative, side, and still be a good churchman? And is this compatible with a *real* belief on one, and that the nobler, side?

But we will let a high authority in this Church speak again; it is a bishop instructing a curate upon the meaning of the definition which forms our first quotation; and what churchman, however *High*, will presume to accuse a bishop of not knowing his Catechism? Thus then writes the bishop of Worcester:—

"So in regard to the *vezata questio* of Transubstantiation; if a

clergyman, founding his teaching upon the passage in the Catechism, that, 'the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the *faithful* in the Lord's Supper,' instructs his people, without qualification or explanation, that when they eat the bread and drink the wine, they actually eat the body and drink the blood of their Saviour, he conveys an impression which, perhaps, he may not have intended, but the result of which is the persuasion, on the part of his hearers, that our doctrine upon this point is so nearly akin to that of Rome, that he who admits the one, may without inconsistency admit the other. You say that you receive this doctrine as explained by Bishop Ridley, and if you always preached it with the qualification and explanation which he uses in the passage to which you refer, you would have nothing to reproach yourself with in this respect; but if you have been wont (as I know is the custom of some clergymen) to preach the doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ being in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper simply and without explanation, you have conveyed a false impression to your hearers of the doctrine on this head entertained by our Church, and have been guilty of the indiscretion of thereby rendering perversion to Rome, on the part of those among them who might be weak and unstable, more easy to them."—Letter, *ut supra*.

The *verata quæstio* of Transubstantiation! As if it were the reading in some Greek chorus, or the mode of solving some strange equation, that was under consideration! A Catholic bishop would as soon think of applying to the Trinity or incarnation this term, expressive of worse than mere doubt, as to the mystery of love.

II. But belief in the real presence must have its consequences. Any one who on earth believed the "Son of Man" to be also the Son of God, must have spoken, acted, dealt, in regard to Him, in conformity with that belief. If we believe the same Holy One to be truly before us in the Blessed Eucharist, can we shrink from similar consequences? The first of these is adoration. Every Catholic child is taught this fearlessly and naturally. Our Divine Redeemer is the

object of adoration wherever He is ; now he is on the altar in the Blessed Eucharist, therefore he is there to be adored.

If the Anglican Church, as her zealous friends assure us, holds equal belief in His presence in her communion, will that belief stand this test of reality ? Let us hear her teaching : "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, fitted up, or *worshipped*." (Art. xxviii.) This is about as cold as ice, a fair damper upon all devotion ; but it is nothing to the horrible, but decisive, warrant at the end of the Communion Service ; wherein apology is made for kneeling at communion, and the following explanation given of the practice. "Yet lest the said kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance, infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and de-praved, it is hereby declared, That thereby *no adoration is intended, or ought to be done*, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal¹ presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the Sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substance, and therefore may not be adored ; (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians ;) *and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here* ; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at once in more places than one."

¹ It has been sometimes remarked, that this declaration is a modern and unauthorized addition to the Prayer-book, dating from 1662. This is not correct. It formed part of Edward the Sixth's second book, A.D. 1552, with one remarkable variation in this place. Instead of "any *corporal* presence," it has "*real and essential* presence." (Keeling, *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, p. 233.) This shows that not only a *corporal* (as has sometimes been said), but any *real* presence was rejected from the beginning by the Anglican Church.

This very business-like declaration does away pretty completely with all notion of the Church, which allows it to stand, without protest, in her authoritative liturgy, sanctioning or countenancing any adoration of the Eucharist. May we not therefore reason thus: "Wherever our Blessed Saviour is, He is the direct and proper object of adoration; but according to the Church of England, there is nothing to be adored in the Eucharist; therefore, according to it, He is not there." And this we think may alone decide the matter of reality in the belief imputed to it.

But we are told that such a conclusion is not correct; and that the Anglican Church will not warrant this adoration, simply because there is no authority, "no ordinance of Christ," for it. Waiving all argument from the declaration quoted above, which gives as a reason for *not* adoring, that our Lord is not in the Lord's Supper, we must really say, that for such nice reasoners, it is well that God has made it a commandment that we love Him. For otherwise they might just as well have refused Him love, on the ground of "want of orders." But surely it needs no new commandment or ordinance, to adore the Son of God, wherever He is, *if* we believe and know Him to be there. Samaritans worshipped Him when on earth,^k and Canaanites,^l without any ordinance for it; and surely Christians who believe him to be "very God of very God," cannot require any more warrant than they. We must conclude that those who so require, cannot, or dare not, realize their belief in His presence, if they have it. It is so weak, indefinite, and undecided, that the fear of idolatry is stronger than it, and prevails.

^k Luke xvii. 16.

^l Matt. xv. 22.

III. If such be the unreality of Anglican belief that it will not face the first natural consequence of real faith, let us try it on another ground. How does each Church speak of this Sacrament and what it contains, when not directly declaring doctrine, but only giving rules and prescriptions about it, or in the actual administration of it? It is true that, in the prayers of the Communion Service, the body and blood of our Saviour are occasionally mentioned as about to be received, but seldom without such a qualification, as leaves it quite uncertain how they are to be received, or if so as to constitute a real presence. Thus: "Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of *bread and wine*, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood." But a clearer instance of this wavering and ambiguity occurs in the act of receiving, as compared with its correspondent act in the mass. In the latter, the priest simply says: "The body [*or blood*] of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my [*or thy*] soul to life everlasting." This intimates at once that what is received *is* the body or blood of our Lord. In the Anglican liturgy, an additional clause is subjoined, which destroys all such assurance. "The body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat *this* in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on *Him* in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." That which is eaten is clearly distinguished from Christ, who is to be fed on in the heart only by faith. And the body referred to, in the first clause, is not necessarily that which is eaten; but the words seem to have reference to the Passion: "The body of Christ preserve thee—but eat *this*, &c."

But carrying this inquiry a little further, let us see

how the rubrics, or directions, in the two liturgies speak, when mentioning the sacred elements. The Anglican Prayer-book says: "And when he delivereth the *bread* to any one, he shall say," &c. "If the consecrated *bread and wine* be all spent," &c. Now, never shall we meet with such terms in the Missal. The use of the words "*hostia*" (literally, of course, *victim*) and "*chalice*" often occurs, but the names of the elements are never employed. But, instead, frequently, the names of the *realities* contained in the sacred mysteries are used. Thus, in the Ordinary of Mass, the communion of the chalice is thus described: "Sumit totum sanguinem,"—"The priest receives the whole of the blood." And in the Good-Friday service: "The deacon opens the ark in which the body of Christ is laid up. . . . He (the priest) kneels, and receives the paten with the body of Christ . . . and he receives the body reverently." Possibly such bold and straightforward terms, which admit of no variety of interpretations, may sound harsh in Protestant ears; but they are most decisive proofs of a *real* belief in our Lord's Presence, and the presence of nothing else.^m

IV. Before we take leave of the Common Prayer,

^m Our old English Liturgies present even stronger passages to the point. Thus in the Sarum and Bangor rites we have, "*Ad corpus... dicat; Ave in æternum sanctissima caro Christi; mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus D. N. J. C. sit mihi peccatori via et vita.*" Again in the York Missal:—"Hic sumat *Corpus*, cruce prius facta cum ipso *Corpore* ante; deinde *ad Sanguinem* dicens, &c."—Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 2nd ed. p. 122. Everything in these texts, and many others like them, proves how fully the ancient English Church agreed with us in our belief. The same may be said of the Oriental Liturgies. Thus in the Liturgy of St. James, published in Syriac by Assemani (*Cod. Liturg. Ec. Univ. tom. v. pass.*), the rubrics always call the elements after consecration, simply "the Body and Blood."

we will notice one more distinction between the two modes of viewing this mystery. Extending our examination beyond the mere liturgy, to prayers and meditations, and "Companions to the Altar," we find on the Catholic side, what is totally absent on the Protestant, a clear and definite view of the personal relation between our Lord and the communicant. "Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et Sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis." Such are the words which the priest uses; and in all the prayers of thanksgiving for priest or people, the thought reigns throughout, that an awful but most sweet communion has taken place between the Master and disciple, more intimate than that of John when he leaned his head upon his Lord's bosom, more akin to the sublime privilege of Mary than to any other grace. Hence the Catholic who, before communion, had ardently addressed his Lord as upon the altar, after it, adores, loves, and speaks to Him, as now truly enshrined in his own breast. Hence those outbursts of affectionate tenderness, that sense expressed of individual favour; that conviction repeated in glowing language, that the very Source of grace is ours, that the body from which virtue goes forth, and whose very touch is consecration, is intimately incorporated into our very being; that the God-Man, with the fulness of His Divinity is appropriated completely to ourselves: and hence that close and familiar converse with God, as no longer worshipped from afar, but actually embraced by the heart which He visits, that form the chief substance of Catholic thanksgiving after communion. And are not all these evidences that we realize our doctrine, that is, act upon it, precisely as we should do if its object came under the senses? that we act towards our Lord *believed*, as we

should act towards Him *seen*, to be present? Of these feelings we find not a trace in Anglican authorized works.^a

V. But now we can no longer follow parallels. For here ends the power of testing the reality of the English Church's alleged belief in the real Presence from her own statements. What remains must be all one side; but the simple negation, on the other, will afford abundant proof of unreality. If the Body and Blood of our Lord exist after consecration, it is clear that their presence does not depend upon the quantity of the elements employed for it. If a hundred communicate where ten were expected, or ten where a hundred, no Anglican can doubt that each receives exactly the same under either circumstance, each portion or fragment of that bread, each draught of that cup affords the same gift as the whole consecrated matter. A belief in the Real Presence, therefore, implies that every crumb and every drop of the elements is more precious and more holy, than anything on earth or in heaven. This belief, as a corollary of the Catholic doctrine, necessarily leads to a reverential treatment of such, even the smallest, particles—a care and anxiety lest any profanation befall them, severity towards those who are guilty of culpable negligence regarding them.

Before going into proof, that the Catholic Church realizes her belief to this extent, we may ask, is it credible that the English Church, if she does believe in the same Real Presence, can have totally overlooked the care of these precious fragments, beyond ordering

^a We of course do not include late works, professedly written on the assumption that the Anglican Church holds the Catholic doctrine, which are generally copies or imitations of Catholic books of devotion.

that what is over shall be partaken of by the communicants in the Church: that nothing should be prescribed by it, in case aught be dropped or spilt? And yet the one seems inevitable, where ordinary bread is used; and the other to be seriously dreaded, where the old and rude partake. We have indeed been told that a certain vicar of High-Church celebrity had adopted the plan of pouring out, on the pavement, the unconsumed wine; which, if true, must appear horrible to every Catholic: that is, on the supposition that he who acted thus really believed that which he left to be trodden under foot, to be the Blood of Christ.

Now let us see how fully the Catholic Church gives proof of her sincere belief in her doctrine, by meeting all its consequences.

1st. She not only clearly proclaims that every minutest particle is the same as the perfect Host, and is to be equally venerated, but she gives the same name to both; the word "particle" being equally applied to the Host given in lay-communion, and to the smallest visible fragment. But in the more lively and imaginative language of the East, the name given is still more beautiful. The minute fragments are familiarly called "Pearls" — the common scripture term for the most precious gems. We will give two examples out of many. In the Coptic Liturgy we have the following expressions—After the division of the Host, the priest "shall take one *pearl* (or particle) of the three above named. . . . When he has done all these things, the priest shall purify his hands within the paten, lest by chance the smallest particle or *pearl* should adhere to them."° Here we see too the carefulness respecting these small fragments. The second

° Cod. Liturg. tom. vii. p. 71.

example shall be from a Greek source. The archbishop of Corinth, asked by St. Luke the Younger (tenth century) how communion was to be received by solitaries, describes minutely its being received under one kind, and thus concludes: "Then thou shalt collect all the remaining particles into a vessel, by means of a linen cloth, using all diligence, lest a *pearl* fall and be trodden on."^p

2nd. The rubrics of the Missal give the minutest directions, what has to be done in every possible case of accident. After the priest has been instructed in the ordinary of the mass itself carefully to collect every particle visible or discoverable on the paten or corporal, these rubrics prescribe as follows:—"If a consecrated Host, or any particle of one, fall on the ground, let it be reverently received, and the place cleaned and somewhat scraped, and the scrapings cast into the *sacrarium*. If it fall on a linen cloth, let it be carefully washed, and the water be poured into the *sacrarium*." (Rubr. gener. x. 15.) "If any of the Blood of Christ [mark the simple word] shall fall; if on the ground or on a board, let it be licked up with the tongue, and the place scraped as much as shall be needful, and the scrapings burnt, and the ashes put by into the *sacrarium*. If upon the altar-stone, let the priest suck up the drop, let the place be washed, and the water thrown into the *sacrarium*. If it fall on the linen cloth of the altar, and the drop

^p Vita S. Lucæ Jun. ap. Combefis. Auctuar. Bib. Pat. tom. ii. p. 986. This expression was used by the Latins also, when speaking of the Blessed Eucharist. Fortunatus (lib. iii. carm. 25) thus applies it:—

————— ut *Corporis Agni*,
Margaritum ingens aurea dona ferant.

This same phrase "*Margaritum ingens*" we find also in Prudentius, though differently applied (Psychom. 873).

reach the second, and the third cloth, let each be washed three times, where the drop has fallen, a chalice being held under it, and let the water be poured as above." (Ib. 12.) Now surely all this care does show a reality of belief in the worth and holiness of what it regards.

3rd. The rubrics just quoted seem to have been copied from the Canons of Theodore of Canterbury: where however the penalties are added, to be inflicted for every negligence leading to the accidents above detailed. These penalties have been incorporated with the Canon Law, and are as follows:—If "a drop of our Lord's Blood" shall fall on the ground, the priest shall do penance for forty days; if on the altar, for three days; and he shall undergo a penance of four, nine, or twenty days, according as the precious drop shall reach the second, third, or fourth cloth.⁴

To an Anglican accustomed to see no account taken of the remains of his sacramental elements, or of accidents that may happen to them, such care and anxiety, and such severity may appear excessive: and he may say that such minuteness is of modern growth, and was unknown in the early Church. Such however is not the case. Tertullian testifies that in his days the Christians were grievously pained ("anxie patimur") if any particle or drop of the holy Eucharist fell on the ground.⁵ Origen likewise says:—"When you receive the Body of Christ, you keep it with all care and reverence, lest any little of it should fall. *For you consider yourselves guilty, and that rightly, if any of it through your negligence should fall.*"⁶

⁴ Cap. xxvii. De Consec. Dist. ii.

⁵ De Cor. mil. cap. iii.

⁶ Homil. iii. in Exod. See many decrees of Councils and other ancient authorities on this subject in Martene De antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus, tom. i. lib. i. cap. v. art. v.

VI. Another natural consequence of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist is the belief in its intrinsic holiness and power of consecration. This may be expressed in another way, as a belief in the Presence of the Person of our Lord. The Protestant doctrine, when it goes furthest seems only to consider the Body and Blood as distinct elements, without reference to the doctrine that Christ suffers no more, and is living, and consequently cannot exist in parts.

1st. When we consider how all Christendom took arms to rescue and worship the "holy sepulchre" in which His sacred corpse was laid, because Its contact steeped in holiness the very rock, we cannot wonder that Catholics should look upon everything that has immediate connection with the Blessed Sacrament, as thereby made holy, and deserving of reverence. Hence the sacred vessels, which are used at the altar, and those linen cloths which touch the sacred Body, are kept with extraordinary care, and are not allowed to be touched by lay persons: nor are the latter washed by them, until a sub-deacon has twice washed them; and the water is poured into the *sacrarium*.

2nd. This same feeling shows itself in another way; by the formal blessing or consecration of whatever has to be employed in the service of the Blessed Sacrament: so that it may truly be considered the source and root of all consecration in the Church. This feeling of the personality of our Lord naturally suggests the thought that the Church is His House; and hence the long and sublime office by which this is consecrated. Then the Altar which is His throne, as well, receives its own still more peculiar and minute consecration. The sacred vessels also must be similarly consecrated; and to prepare for these solemn dedications, of which the holy anointing is

an essential part, another beautiful service is necessary, that of the blessing of the holy oils on Maundy-Thursday.

3rd. Then again this same sentiment leads us naturally to another result — the enriching, to the utmost, whatever is thus employed. The church is decorated, because our Blessed Lord dwells there; the sanctuary is made more splendid, because it contains the Holy of Holies; the sacred vessels are made as rich as possible; nothing but gold or silver is properly permitted for the paten or the cup of the chalice. The tabernacle also will be often richly adorned, where no eye can see it, but that of angels.

Now we know of nothing in Anglican practice or rule, which exhibits any consciousness of the real presence in this sense, or a belief that our Saviour's sacred person communicates consecration, and is to be treated with outward honour. Yet how can that faith be real which does not lead to such results?

VII. This "personal Presence," if we may use the term, naturally implies that our Divine Lord bears with Him all the dignity and pre-eminence which belongs to Him. He is there King, Lord, Supreme Bishop, sole, exclusive, Object of attention and worship. And this conviction, and the feelings to which it gives rise, will show themselves in every way that they can, referably to the humbled and disguised form in which it pleases Him to exhibit Himself. The illustrations which we shall give of this may appear almost trifling; but they will even be thereby more striking, because more natural, and the result of simple conviction.

1st. Within the tabernacle in which the Blessed Eucharist is reserved, no other object, however sacred, is allowed to be placed. It must be kept in a tabernacle,

the Ritual prescribes, "ab omni alia re vacuum."[†] Neither the holy oils, nor the chalice, nor any other thing, however sacred, can be allowed to be placed within the same receptacle.

2nd. As within, so without, the tabernacle must belong exclusively to Him who deigns to dwell within it. Hence, while the Blessed Sacrament is there, nothing else is allowed to be placed upon it; not even a relic of the holy cross, much less the altar-crucifix. For it is clearly unbecoming to make the place of the Lord's own abode merely a base or pedestal for an inferior object. The Congregation of Rites has expressly and strongly reprobated the contrary abuse.[‡]

3rd. When it is exposed to public adoration, no relics are allowed to be placed upon the altar.[‡] For relics have to receive veneration; but nothing is allowed to receive any regard in the presence of our Lord, Who must alone absorb all honour and worship.

4th. It has been doubted whether when the Blessed Eucharist was exposed during Mass (for of other occasions there never was a difference of opinion) the crucifix should remain on the altar, in obedience to the general Rubrics. The question was referred to

[†] Rit. Rom. De SS. Eucharistiæ Sacram.

[‡] We have been often pained to see the disregard shown to this injunction in England, especially in new churches; for it is a most natural result and realization of belief in the Real Presence. We do not know an instance in which Rubric is departed from without a sacrifice of real beauty, which must consist in the outward expression, to its utmost perfection, of the inward beauties of Catholic faith. We may have soon to return to this subject; for disregard of Rubric in our sacred buildings or other accessories to Divine worship, seems to cry out for a check.

^{*} Decr. S. R. C. Aquens. 2 Sept. 1741; Gardellini, tom. iv. p. 278.

the Congregation of Rites at Rome; in permitting either practice, its answer gives the opinion of the great Basilicas at Rome against its being there, in these words: "Supervacaneum enim adjudicant *Imaginis* exhibitionem, ubi *Prototypus adoratur.*"⁷ How clearly do these words realize the belief in our Saviour's personal presence.

5th. We should say something on the beautiful practice of having a lamp ever burning, day and night, before the place where the Blessed Sacrament reposes, if we had not written concerning it in a former article.

6th. It is the rule, in all functions, that when anything is handed to the celebrant, the thing itself and his hand are kissed. But if a superior be present, this mark of respect is not shown. Thus a priest's hand is not kissed in the presence of a bishop; nor a bishop's if officiating before his archbishop; nor an archbishop's, or patriarch's, before the Pope. But in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, no one's hand is kissed, and no mark of respect can be paid to any one.⁸ In whatever dignity any one may be placed, even in that of Christ's vicar, he then stands in the presence of One still, and infinitely, superior. Is not this a true realization of the belief that a greater than the greatest of men is there; by the same form of outward expression as the superiority of the sovereign above his courtiers, however noble, would be shown,

⁷ Ubi sup.

⁸ Dec. S. R. C. 31st Aug. 1793. "Exorta controversia . . . super nonnullis reverentiis seu capitis inclinationibus fieri solitis coram SS. Sacramento publicæ venerationi exposito: S. Congregatio . . . rescribendum censuit: *Nemini deberi reverentiam et amplius.*"—Gardellini, tom. v. p. 147. [The expression *et amplius*, at the close of a decree of a congregation, is an abbreviation for "*et amplius non proponatur.*"]

viz., by the reservation of all marks of respect to him?

7th. In like manner, all blessings which occur in the service, are reserved to the highest in dignity present. A priest does not bless the incense or anything else in the presence of the bishop, nor a bishop before the Pope. But when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, no blessing can be given to anything;* another clear recognition of the acknowledged superiority of One present.

In these two instances the realization of faith takes place by the simple carrying out of a general rule or rubric; acting straightforward and naturally to the recognition of a real Presence of our Divine Lord.

8th. It may seem almost superfluous to give the following example. It is usual for the clergy in foreign countries to cover the head with a small cap (our ancient *coif*), called in French *calotte*, in Italian *zucchetto*, and in Spanish *solideo*, because taken off in honour of God alone. It is not removed from the head even, we believe, in the presence of the sovereign.

* "Episcopus . . . ponit incensum . . . absque benedictione, et sine osculo manus Episcopi."—Cœrem, Episcop. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (On Maundy-Thursday.) "Absque osculo cochlearis et manus . . . Episcopus sine benedictione imponit thus."—cxxxiii. (On Corpus Christi.) It is true that the bishop's ring is kissed when he gives communion, by each one before he receives: but it must be observed, 1st. That the hand thus revered, holds at the time our Lord's sacred Body, towards which the salutation is directed; and 2nd. That this is probably the kiss of peace given to communicants. Hence the deacon and sub-deacon, at a pontifical High Mass, kiss the bishop's face just before receiving communion, with the words "Pax tecum," &c. In the Syriac Liturgy, the expression, "the priest *gives peace* to the altar," signifies that he kisses it. [It is probably in reverence to the same occupation of the hand, that it is kissed after the *Pater Noster*, when the paten is given.]

In Italian this name is given only to the corresponding cap worn by the sovereign Pontiff, because in his presence every one else uncovers. But before the Blessed Sacrament every one, even he, must be bare-headed. Thus is plain acknowledgment made that He who is God is there revered.

VIII. This feeling of the presence of our Blessed Lord, in His real personality—"Christus totus," is expressed in ordinary language by the people in ways, which, the more simple they are, and so sometimes almost startling, the more they evince the full realization of their faith. In English, frozen not a little by a Protestant atmosphere, we are accustomed to speak, even on more formal occasions, only of the "Blessed Sacrament," or the "Blessed Eucharist," and its exposition and adoration. This seems almost to wrap up our belief in mystery; as though the *disciplina arcani* had not yet left us, and we feared to convey to unprepared ears, to which the "*Ephpheta quod est adaperire*," of Catholic baptism, has not been addressed, the full extent and meaning, of our belief in this sublime institution. But the Italian at once speaks of it, so as to express belief in the personality of our Lord in it, when he familiarly applies to it the term *Gesù sacramentato*. The Portuguese to express that the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament is coming in its turn to a church, will familiarly say "Our good Father (*nosso bom Pai*) is coming to His house." The Spaniard hesitates not to use a still stronger phrase. To express that Mass, or any other office, or function, will take place, with the Blessed Sacrament exposed, he will say, it has to be, *con Dios manifesto*,—"with God manifested." Another familiar phrase we will illustrate by a little anecdote.

It happened to us once to be of a party waiting, in

a Spanish drawing-room, for the announcement of dinner. In the *plaza* or square before the house was a parish church. It was pouring rain, yet the bell announced that communion was about to be borne to some person. All were busy, talking in various groups, till one of the little children of the family suddenly exclaimed, "*Sale Su Magestad*," — "His Majesty is coming out," when all was instantly hushed, every one fell on his knees, and remained in adoration till the sounds of the procession had died away. What a simple expression! yet how full of energy, reality, and life! How fully and firmly that child had hold of the whole Catholic doctrine, and how unwaveringly, unflinchingly, was he sure to keep it, while it remained embodied in so brief yet so ample, so simple yet so sublime, a phrase! This is not an uncommon expression among Spaniards. In fact, the ordinary way of stating that the Blessed Sacrament is or is not reserved at a given altar, is by saying, "His Divine Majesty is" or "is not here."

We trust that our readers will now understand what we mean by realizing a doctrine; *i. e.* the acting upon a doctrine as a man does on anything that he really knows to be true; the naturally following it to all its practical consequences, without effort and without restraint, quite as a matter of course. We do not see what more a person could do in regard to the Blessed Eucharist, who should have the evidence of his eyes to our Lord's presence in it, than the Catholic naturally and almost instinctively does. At the same time, we flatter ourselves that we have given ample tests, in the contrasts proposed, for deciding in which Church is really the belief of our Lord's presence in the holy Eucharist. With the variety of demonstrations which we have given of reality of belief, on

the Catholic side, let the reader compare the following summary of "significant ceremonies" enumerated in the pamphlet at the head of our article, as those which clergymen alter, and thereby, according to the Rev. Mr. Wray, grievously interfere with "*the highest act of Christian worship.*"

"In the public service many decent ceremonies, expressly enjoined in canons and rubrics, are omitted: such as *bowing the head* at the holy name, and 'reverently bringing' all charitable collections 'to the priest,' and the 'humble presenting' of these alms, and 'placing them upon the holy table:' and *then*, also, and *not till then*, the placing of the elements on the altar, to be consecrated: and *after consecration*, and *not before*, the covering what remains of them reverently with a fair linen cloth."—P. 8.

Really if the placing of the elements on the holy table after the collection of the alms, and the covering their fragments with a linen cloth after consecration, is all that his Church has done to secure the reverence that a real faith would suggest towards our Lord truly present; and if these are the vital forms, the tolerated neglect of which constitutes the scandal of "a violated discipline and permitted heresy," the poor Church of England has but little to show in evidence of any true belief in a real presence. We might almost defy any unbelieving priest of the Catholic Church, so to mutilate her service, without actually breaking it to pieces, as to remove its pervading evidence of our faith.

But we have said enough on this subject. There are many other topics which we might select for further illustration of our position. We will however briefly touch upon only two or three.

The first is the unity of the Church, as affirmed to be believed in the Creed. Let any one bring the faith of the two churches to the test of reality, and see which truly holds a dogma, in these words. What

does a Protestant mean to say, when he pronounces the words: "I believe in one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church?" Does he profess by this, belief in the Church of England? or in a church composed of all Christian communities? and if so, does it include the Church of Rome? that of Russia and Greece? the Nestorians and Monophysites of the East? Does it include Dissenters? and if so, unbaptized Quakers, Unitarians who deny our Lord's Divinity? Swiss Calvinists and German Lutherans, who call themselves Christians, but follow Strauss or Paulus into the depths of rationalism? Or is it in the Church not of the present day, but of former ages, Bishop Ken's universal Church, before the separation of East and West? and if so, of what period—that of Photius, or Nestorius, or Arius? Or does he believe in an abstract Church of all times and places, a spiritual and invisible body? If so, what *does* he believe in? and what does he believe about it?

Again, what does he mean by *One* Church? One in number? or one in unity? If the former, which and where is the one Church? If the latter, let him tell us what he means by unity. What constitutes its essence? Oneness of doctrine, or intercommunion, or common government, or union with the same centre? If any of these, which is the one Church that has the mark, and in which he believes?

We will not trouble him to tell us what he means by catholic, or apostolic, but shall be satisfied if he will tell us, what he believes in, when he professes belief in "the Church." What means he by "the Church?" Not, of course, in the material church, he cannot mean that; but in what else? in the bench of bishops? or in them and the clergy? or in the houses of convo-

cation, and in nothing till they are restored? or in the bishops of all Christendom? or only in Dr. Pusey's views, or Mr. Bennett's? or in Mr. Simeon's, or the Hon. Baptist Noel's? Then what does he mean by believing *in* the Church? Merely in its existence? or in its teaching? If so, how and when does she teach him? Does he stand close to the Thirty-nine? or does he take the Prayer-book and Homilies in? or does he judge them all by Scripture, and decide for himself? Does he take bishops' charges for part of the Church's teaching? If so, what does he believe in, on recent controversies? If not, when and how do the bishops publicly teach? Then we may ask him, how does the Church enforce or vindicate her teaching? what is heresy, and what schism? what the sin of either? how punished in the Church?

Really, these are all questions necessary to be definitely answered before any sensible meaning can be attached to the article of the Nicene Creed above quoted; yet we have no doubt that it would perplex and worry even a well-educated Anglican to answer them; and if several were asked them, we are sure that we should have, "*quot capita tot sententiæ.*"

But any Catholic child, well instructed in his catechism, would be able to answer them, if the historical names were explained. By the "One Church," he understands at once the union of Churches in communion at the present time with the Holy See. This includes and excludes all that is requisite. The Church is one, by perfect unity in doctrine, by communion, by common headship, and indivisible government. All out of union with its centre are excluded from our belief. We believe all that she teaches, and know how she teaches it. She is an infallible guide; and whoever refuses her obedience is cut off from her, and must perish if he repent

not. The Catholic realizes his faith; it is clear and definite before his mind in every respect; and he at once seizes naturally on its developments, and follows them to their utmost limits. It may be said to be restricted and exclusive; but all faith in the oneness of anything is necessarily so.

Let us, secondly, take the belief in the "communion of saints." How does an Anglican realize it? In what way does he satisfy himself that, by these words, he gives utterance to a definite belief in his mind, embodies an image and idea, which has a clear existence there? but, still more, communion between persons is more than an idea, it is a fact, an action, carried on by some intelligible process or other. We cannot be said to be in communion with the inhabitants of the Carribee Islands, because we read of them, or think of them; but the trader who gives them glass beads in exchange for water and provisions (though the former are worthless, and the latter most valuable), is in communion with them, even when they negotiate at a distance and by signs. How does the Anglican then satisfy his conscience, that, when he professes belief in "the communion of saints," he is stating a belief in something that really can be called by that name? He firmly holds, certainly in practice, that he has nothing to say to the saints, nothing to do with them. We are not, of course, speaking of Tractarians, but of the mass of Church-Christians. His Prayer-book does not direct him on the subject; his teachers only touch on it to warn him against its danger. He is taught to pray and to act just as if there were no saints with whom to be in communion; nay, he probably often hears, that we do not even know where they are till the last day. He must not address them, for he is told they can neither hear nor help him. All

respect, or love, or confidence, or other feeling, whereby communion with holy and beautiful beings must needs be accompanied, are interdicted, as so much taken from Christ, which belongs to Him exclusively. The saints, therefore, neither give nor receive; neither know nor are known; neither can hear, nor are to be addressed, according to Anglican practical teaching. Then, where is the reality of any communion between them and the reciter of the Creed in that establishment? We cannot imagine how he considers himself to declare belief in a reality; for a reality must have an existence; and here we find no traces of any, not even in the imagination.

But with the Catholic the whole is a truth, a substantial, consistent, *real* thing. In moments of danger or anxiety, or in his ordinary prayers, he addresses them just as if they were before him; no more doubting that they can hear him, than he would if they were visible. He feels familiar with them, as though he had known them on earth; he communes with the martyr of the first ages, as with holy men of his own time; reminds him of his torments and his crowns, as if the memory of these were still fresh in our minds, and bids him plead on his behalf with his, and our, Master. Heaven is as our common country; the saints of all ages and of all nations have there their home; and with all who are there, we have present and actual communion. And in like manner does the Catholic treat as a reality what they do for us. He takes it completely for granted, that those whom he addresses, whether individually or collectively, exert themselves for him, and really obtain him blessings. And even farther than this does his realization go. He naturally considers the blessed in heaven as carrying on the work which they loved on earth, and interested in its

safety, or its completion. It never crosses his mind, that nearly two thousand years have elapsed since St. Peter mounted from his cross to heaven ; but he considers him still seated at the helm of his life-bark, that defies every storm ; steering it with unerring skill over every shoal, through every billow, round every rock, letting down his ample net just at the right time and in the right direction, to draw in his marvellous draught of entire nations. Do the inhabitants of Milan think that St. Charles, or even St. Ambrose, is far away from them, and not rather ever most present, watching over their common Church, which both loved so dearly as their spouse on earth ? This is, in fact, but the sentiment expressed so vividly by St. Chrysostom and other ancient Fathers, that the martyrs still hovered over the cities whose tutelary guardians they were, and protected their very walls against invading foes.

Surely in all this (and we omit much that might be added^b) we have the fullest possible carrying out of a real belief, in a real communion, between beings that ordinarily communicate invisibly.

Our next and concluding illustration will be of a more abstract character ; but one that has considerable influence upon devotional feelings, and practice, in the two Churches. We had indeed wished to carry our examination into the belief of the sublimer mysteries of faith, so to have seen how far the Protestant, following the teaching of the Anglican Church, can be supposed to realize his belief in the Trinity, or the

^b As the belief in visions or apparitions of saints, in the miracles wrought by their intercession, or their relics. Even they who may be sceptical on such subjects, or inclined to think that credulity prevails among Catholics, especially the ignorant, respecting them, must acknowledge that the existence of such an easy belief is evidence of the reality of the faith which prompts it.

Incarnation of our Lord. But we own that we shrink from this portion of our subject; for we might be thought desirous of affixing a deeper stain upon that unfaithful witness to the truth, than we have till now imputed. We therefore rather take a subject necessarily connected with those great truths, but coming more within the limits of familiar controversy, and less likely to wound any one's feelings.

The Church of England, in accordance with the Catholic Church, teaches that the B. Virgin Mary was the mother of our Lord, incarnate for our salvation. Does, or can, a Protestant realize the truth of their mutual relationship; in other words, the motherhood of the ever-blessed Mary? Does he, or dare he, contemplate it to its full extent? We ask the question because, again and again, we have heard hesitation expressed about allowing her the fulness of her awful prerogative; we have seen Anglicans shocked at her being called the "Mother of God." Yet they were persons who confessed Jesus Christ to be God. But they divided His person; because they could not realize the idea that she could be more than the mother of man. Now it is not this view precisely with which we wish to deal; for it implies what we have before hinted, inability to realize faith in the Incarnation, the very essence whereof is the indivisible union of the two natures—the divine and human, in only one person. But, supposing this difficulty not to exist, what idea does the Anglican entertain of the character of this maternity? Does it come to his mind and heart, with all the accompanying tendernesses that bind a mother and child, or as a dry, abstract, almost unnatural, relationship? Can he bear to dwell upon the thought, without fearing that it is profane, of the Only-begotten of the Father before all ages being the infant of woman,

however pure ; caressed, nursed, borne, as if helpless, in her arms ; lulled, as if wearied, to slumber on her breast ; fed, as if hungry, from her living stores ; led in His first tottering steps, as if weak, by her gentle hand ; taught to lisp His first accents, as if ignorant, by imitating the sweet sounds of her lips ; smiling when smiled upon, weeping till soothed, swathed and clothed,* and in all things treated as another child ? And can he bring himself to analyze, and contemplate in detail, the emotions which such mutual relations must have excited ; the many strong and inseparable fibres which formed the cord that linked two such hearts as these, when feeling them ; hearts wherein could be no pretence or fiction, and wherein the reality of whatever was virtuous, holy, godly, could have no bounds short of the perfection whereof each was capable ? And what is more deserving of those names, than the love of mother for child, or child for mother ? Between them, therefore, in this instance there must be assumed to have existed such mutual reliance, affection, conformity of will and desire, oneness of thought, identity of feeling, as could not possibly exist between any two other beings, such as may be said necessarily to have blended their two hearts into one, incapable of separation.

But besides this natural tie (if one may so speak of that which is all above nature's reach), the title of mother—which the doctrine of the Incarnation secures to holy Mary, takes in the eyes of a real believer the

* " Vagit infans inter arcta
 Conditus præsepia ;
 Membra pannis involuta
 Virgo mater alligat :
 Et Dei manus pedesque
 Stricta cingit fascia."

Hymn for Passion-tide, R. B.

form of an incommunicable privilege, as regards all other creatures; a solitary prerogative, of which none other is capable, which is essentially ennobling above every possible order of Angelic dignity, necessarily and directly sanctifying beyond the reach of any acquirable holiness, which consequently separates her, and elevates her above every other class of God's best creatures, whether preserved in integrity, or redeemed from sin. It is impossible to realize a belief in the maternity of the blessed Virgin, without thus considering her.

Again, let us view this relationship through the light thrown on it by holy writ. The Catholic will at once see all his conceptions of it justified. Let us view it first in dishonour. To expiate the crimes of Saul and his people, and arrest the famine which they had brought upon the nation, it was decreed that seven of his children should be crucified. They were accordingly crucified "upon a hill before the Lord."

Two of the victims were the sons of Respha; let us see the mother's place at such a scene of agony and of ignominy. "And Respha, the daughter of Aja, took hair-cloth, and spread it under her upon the rock, from the beginning of the harvest, till water dropped upon them out of heaven; and suffered neither the birds to tear them by day, nor the beasts by night. And it was told to David what Respha had done."^d How touchingly venerable is this picture of maternal affection, of that *στοργή* which requires a name of its own; that patient, calm, resigned breast, which endures unsubdued, shame, grief, fatigue, not to speak of the quivering agony of a mother's heart, witnessing torment in the best-beloved — all from that very love.

^d 2 Reg. xxi. 10.

Now exactly such a picture does the realization of the motherhood of Mary place before a true believer's imagination and heart; as he contemplates the closing scene of *her* Son, crucified on a hill before the Lord, for expiation of others' sins. And to what does the comparison lead? Why let the Protestant first bring himself to apprehend, by the standard of nature, the communion of eye and heart, if not of word, which took place between Respha on her rocky seat, and Armoni on his cross. Were the bonds now broken or weakened, whereby his heart in infancy had clung to hers, or did they clasp, and curl around, it more tenderly and more mightily than ever? Did he reject her rights over him, now that all else was dark and dismal, and not feel more than ever a son, when she could so show herself a mother? Did not his last glance seek her there, and was it not as soft as a child's could be? For very humanity's sake, who could have it otherwise? Then change the scene to Calvary; and who will fear to realize there all that has seemed necessarily true on the hill of Gabaa? Surely no one will think it less than blasphemy to imagine, that because our Lord was more, therefore He was less, than Man; that because He was God, He dispensed with the virtues of humanity. On the contrary, we must intensify, to an infinite degree, whatever our judgment, according to the standard of nature, shall have shown to be a necessary result in the other case.

And now let us shift the scene, from sorrow and disgrace to gladness and glory. The Word of God shall again furnish the parallel. Solomon has just been raised to his throne; a petitioner, who has offended him, is afraid to approach him. He accordingly seeks the intercession of Bethsabee, the king's mother. Let

us hear how he addresses her. "I pray thee, speak to king Solomon; *for he cannot deny thee anything* And Bethsabee said: Well; I will speak for thee to the king. Then Bethsabee came to king Solomon, to speak to him for Adonias; and the king arose to meet her, and bowed to her, and sat down upon his throne; *and a throne was set for the king's mother, and she sat upon his right hand*. And she said to him: I desire one small thing of thee, do not put me to confusion. *And the king said to her: My mother, ask; for I must not turn away thy face.*"^a This scene is again a real one; and the king who speaks and acts in it, is the wisest of men, and the particular type of Christ our Lord. It may be said to present to us the scriptural realization of the relative position of mother and son, when the latter is raised to highest honour and power; even though he be of right kingly birth, and she but of much humbler origin, and taken out of low rank. It is in virtue of her *motherhood* alone, that she has a throne set at her royal son's right hand; and that he bids her ask, as he must not turn away her face. Is a Protestant ready to realize his notions of Mary's maternity to the extent that Scripture here warrants us? The Catholic is to the very letter. Which then looks upon her, as though really believing her to be our Saviour's mother, and therefore naturally attributes to her all the distinction, honour, and power of intercession, which this example shows to flow naturally from the title of mother? Nor should we weaken the strength of our case, if we supposed the actors, in both the scriptural scenes quoted, to be the same; and the son raised to the throne, to be he who had

^a 3 Reg. ii. 17—20.

previously seen His mother assert her rights at the foot of His cross.

Whatever, therefore, Catholics may say or do in regard to our blessed lady, it is nothing more than a simple giving of reality to belief in her motherhood ; nor is it easy to see, on what principle bars or limits can be put, to stop the flow of those feelings towards her, which this view necessarily sets in motion. We must either not love her at all, or we must try to love her as her Son did and does ; for His virtues are to be our measure. Now, who can ever reach the affection of such a Son towards such a mother ? Again, she must either have no influence at all, or it must be boundless. If she have a throne anywhere, it *must* be at her Son's right hand ; and if she be allowed to open her mouth, the Son cannot " turn away her face."

In this simple view we have at once the key to all the affectionateness, and all the confidence, which devout Catholics entertain for her. We have, moreover, the explanation of another general rule of a devout life ; that the more holy a person is, the more warm and tender will his feelings be towards her. Perfection consists in the imitation of our Lord's virtues ; the closer the imitation, the greater the perfection. As His love for His mother was doubtless a virtue, and as we are bound to love all that He loved, the nearer we come to Him in this, the more we advance towards His perfection. And as all growth in perfection is general, that is, cannot be in one point and not in another, so must this virtue increase along with every other.

We will only add a few words more ; words which perhaps some Catholic experience can alone make intelligible. The most effectual antidote to the se-

ductions of sense, is perhaps the spiritualizing of their natural tendencies. He who is brought to hunger after, and to labour for, spiritual food, cares little for the meat that perisheth. They who covet treasures in heaven, soon learn "*perituras calcare divitias.*"^f And nothing will more purify the affections of the soul, and make them proof against the taint of a corrupt and sinful nature, than the fixing of them early upon objects which, on the one hand, brook no association with frail and perishable beauty, and yet, on the other, can feed, and fill, and absorb all the power of love. Blessed indeed is the heart of him, "*qui pascitur inter lilia!*"^g Now, there is no other object so able to effect this, as the affection which Catholic devotion — that is, the realization of Catholic faith — inspires for our Redeemer's virgin-mother. It fills the mind with an image of loveliness so pure, so chaste, so ethereal, so transcending all earthly combinations of the beautiful, that all else seems but gross and paltry. For it is the beauty of holiness that it reflects upon the soul, in which there is naught of worldly levity or of remorseful pensiveness, no such mere comeliness as painters or poets can express; but there is that grave and calm sweetness which tells of humility, and meekness, and modesty, and tender-heartedness, and love for all, mingled with that unspeakable majesty and sin-reproving earnestness, which become the mother of a God made man. It is an image which ever comes before the soul, not surrounded with the alluring accompaniments of worldly forms, but enshrined in a soft atmosphere of light celestial, warm and glowing, but too holy to be nearly approached. No carved and gilded frame sets off its

^f "To trample underfoot perishable riches."

^g "Who feedeth among the lilies."

fairness, but cherubs smiling from golden clouds, and gazing in wonder at the miracle of grace, in which heaven and earth first met, surround and adorn it. And then, to make good her title of mother, upon her bosom rests that wondrous babe, with arms expanded, and wide-open eyes, as though to show that every dart of holy affection from our souls must pierce both hearts, and finds not its way to hers except through His. Fill, we say unhesitatingly, the youthful imagination betimes with the chaste love of beauty such as this; and he that bears it will walk through life in safety, treading on the asp and the basilisk of a treacherous and a poison-breathing world. It will prove a charm to foil every spell of this brutalizing land of Circe.

We must now take leave of our subject; though we have by no means exhausted it. We will only remark, that most of the instances which we have given of realization of faith, will serve to show how much this resembles *Developments* of doctrine. In fact, the two are nearly the same, though viewed in different lights. A doctrine may be fully realized, that is, practically exhibited in its consequences, by degrees in the Church; and the process by which it is brought to this is called its development. But neither for a moment supposes, or allows the introduction of a new doctrine.

POSITION
OF THE
HIGH CHURCH THEORY
AT THE CLOSE OF 1847.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW of that date.

POSITION
OF THE
HIGH CHURCH THEORY.

ART. IX.—*Sermons, Academical and Occasional.* By the Rev.
JOHN KEBLE, Vicar of Hursley, &c. Oxford: Parker.

THERE is not in the history of dogma a more lamentable contrast, than is presented by the beginning, and the close, of the High-Church controversy; for, as a controversy, it may truly be considered at an end. A few years ago a knot of ardent, zealous, learned, and devout Anglicans started the generous undertaking, of raising the religious system to which they belonged, to what they considered its becoming standard. They believed it to be debased, crippled, diseased; and they determined to restore it to soundness and health. They felt no confidence in the zeal of their rulers, though they deeply revered their office. They could hope but little from the apathy of their brethren; less from the coldness of their people. Yet they determined to overcome all these obstacles, to win over the bishops, to arouse the clergy, and to enlighten the laity. They resolved to bring back their doctrines and their worship, but still more, the devotion and the piety of the nation, to ancient and pure models. It was a chivalrous, and noble-hearted, resolution, which could not but bring down many blessings on those who undertook it. And they never thought that it was to be carried into

execution by folding up their arms, or biding their time, or rather the time of a possible Providence. They knew that they must work, if they wanted results; that they must begin by sowing seed, if they wished to gather fruit. And generously and vigorously they set to work. All was activity, energy, untiring industry. They employed every tried means of acting on the public mind; the press—daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly; they sent out unperiodical tracts, serials, and libraries; they grasped such extensive schemes as the translation of all the Fathers, and even of the abstruse scholastics of the middle ages. They were busy at college, in convocation, in parliament, in society; and for a time it did look as if the Establishment was astir; and its long stagnant pool seemed moved by an agitation which might be healing. And so indeed it proved to those who early and boldly cast themselves into the perilous waters.

But all this subsided. In many respects the work proved vain, and it was abandoned as hopeless. Its principal agents received a blessed reward; for the grace which they wished to impart to others fell back copiously on their own souls; and they exchanged the barren earth, which they had laboured in vain to till, for the rich soil of the Church, which will yield them fruit a hundredfold. Those who remained behind, and on whom the task of leadership in the "movement" naturally devolved, have abandoned all to which they seemed pledged, have clearly turned their backs on those first principles which guided them; and from the briskness of an extraordinary activity have sunk into a studied inertness, and a satisfied acquiescence, which they would fain persuade us is the truer way to the same end. Anything more pitiable and more distressing, in minds with which one has felt sympathy, we can

hardly conceive. For, to a Catholic, it presents the fearful thought of a grace lost, and the time of mercy allowed to escape, and the awful delusions fallen into, which keep men ever after in a hopeless darkness.

But, apart from such gloomy considerations, the fact is so; and the work before us gives us melancholy evidence of it. Its sermons reach over a long period of time, but with them we have no inclination nor intention to deal. We mean to confine our remarks entirely to the "Preface on the present position of English Churchmen." It is indeed a remarkable document, and may be considered as embodying the last theory of High-Churchism, and the principles by which its guides mean to rule it. "A movement" we can no longer call it; for the theory, if it must have a name, should have one descriptive of stagnation, not of motion; the Dead Sea, not the flowing stream, must be henceforth its symbol. The object of Mr. Keble's Preface may be briefly stated in his own words.

"A dutiful person in the English Church, we will suppose, has in some way been made aware of the sayings and feelings of good Roman Catholics concerning her; and with the fact that some of those sayings meet with more or less countenance in antiquity; or he has come to be greatly impressed with the sanctity and other attractions undeniably existing in the communion of Rome, and the thought begins to haunt him, 'What if her exclusive claim be true? What if it should prove, that as yet I have been living without the pale of Christ's kingdom?'

"How is he to deal with such misgivings? Shall he suppress them with a strong hand, as he would impure or murderous thoughts?"—
P. 8.

Mr. Keble assents to this proposal; and after supporting it by some arguments, proceeds as follows:—

"For reasons like these, a person would not seem blameable, perhaps we might well judge his course the most reasonable of any, who should bring himself to reject all scruples concerning our Church with a strong moral abhorrence, as he would any other evil imagination.

But it is not every one, perhaps, who could bring himself to do so; and many, moreover, being more or less answerable for others, may be bound in charity to consider the special matter of their misgivings, and to be provided with some sufficient solution of them; sufficient, I mean, to direct a simple man's practice, not necessarily sufficient to silence an acute man's objections."—P. 5.

Here, then, we come to the real subject to be treated: how is an Anglican to act, who, troubled by doubts, in himself or others, finds it necessary to face them? Mr. Keble proposes the remedy, based upon Butler's Analogy; consisting of a series of general motives that shall stifle all inquiry, pacify all scruples, and make the anxious one sit down contented, in the very slough of his despond. It supersedes all investigations of doctrine, all weighing of claims, all thought of the past, primitive, or mediæval Fathers or councils, examples of holiness, or saintly teaching; it extinguishes all hopes of a higher standard and of a greater perfection; it substitutes for all these a conviction of optimism in the actual position of the individual and of all around him, which forbids his stirring a step for fear of breaking the charm. The English Churchman, of a peculiar caste, is to consider himself as put exactly in the right place, and there he must stay without thinking of moving, lest he contravene a providential disposition. Our impression, upon reading this theory, was, that we could not better describe it than as a dogmatical quietism,* in which all action of the mental powers is to be suspended in the individual, and his religion is to consist in the passive acceptance of as much or as little doctrine, as much or as little practical observance, as the peculiarity of his situation allots him for his portion. But, before en-

* We have since been informed, that Mr. K. has occupied himself with the works of the French quietists. If so, we need not be surprised at the judgment to which he has come.

tering upon a more detailed examination of Mr. Keble's theory, we must observe, that his preface is written throughout in that kindly, mild, and humble tone, which makes us respect and even love the author, while we deprecate his views. We should, indeed, be sorry to set down one word which could be interpreted as harsh or unfriendly; and still more shall we regret, if any phrase of ours should appear to insinuate a suspicion of his uprightness and sincerity.

We object *in limine* to the use made of Butler's mode of reasoning from the analogy of nature in a matter of this kind. Wherever the argument is directed to draw the mind from a lower to a higher step in religious progress, we may admit this process. But when once we are at the highest point, and have to determine between two sides of a question, purely dependent upon a manifestation of a divine decision, analogy can have no voice, except as further illustrating and strengthening what by other means is known to be true. For example, an infidel may have his objections to revelation removed by proving that they equally apply to natural and self-evident truths; or, by analogies from nature, &c. The Jew may have his difficulties on the New Testament answered by analogies from the Old; and the person who denies any Church government, may be brought to respect it and find it by analogies from both. But a mystery like the Trinity, or a gift like the Eucharist, is so out of the sphere of all human conception and human interpretation, that the attempt to bring in analogy as first and fundamental proof, would be at once profane and absurd. Once prove them, and illustrations may be found in the speculations of philosophers and the longings of the human race. Now, the method proposed by Mr. Keble is to bring the reasoning by analogy into

the dominion of pure faith, and make a series of doubtful and doubting possibilities become the groundwork of action in a matter of eternal import. Throughout, his reasonings are couched in such expressions as, "may it not be?" "is it not possible?" and he himself is sensible of this. For he says:—

"Possibly,' 'perhaps,' 'why should it not be so,' these and other like forms of speech sound strangely cold and unmeaning to young and ardent spirits," &c.—P. 10.

And he defends this mode of arguing as follows:—

"Yet a little consideration will make it obvious, that by thus excepting probabilities and analogies, men are indefinitely narrowing the reach and extent of faith as a principle of action. They are limiting it to a few great and trying moments and occasions, whereas it is clearly spoken of in Scripture, as the mainspring of our ordinary life. For how few, comparatively, are the instances in which men are able to act without any doubt or misgiving at all, or any notion that something may be said on both sides? Now all but such cases, on the hypothesis now mentioned, are taken out of the province of faith."—P. 11.

It would appear, then, that Mr. Keble divides faith between objects of two different classes,—the certain and the only probable. This basis of his whole reasoning we must pronounce uncatholic and false. Faith can only comprise such truths as have been specifically made its objects. In the Catholic Church these are definite and precise. Bossuet, Veron, Holden, or any divine professing to enumerate and circumscribe dogmatic truths, can do so with perfect accuracy. If we suppose a wide region of probabilities besides, which form part of the dominion of faith, it follows that the faith of one person will be wider than that of another; and as the portion which rests on probability will not rest on authority, but upon proofs, it will follow, that each individual will be left to exercise his private judgment upon a great portion of what he believes, as

of faith. Or else he will hold the theory of intuition, and of inward impulses of a guiding spirit, which leads to a no less danger; but which, throughout, seems more akin to Mr. Keble's views.

The admission therefore of analogy, especially from nature, as a dogmatical proof, still more as a ground of satisfaction and inertness, is based upon an erroneous and inadmissible theory of faith. Once allow this to be certain and definite, and free from misgivings (as it is with every Catholic), and there is no room for such a mode of inquiry. Besides, there is no knowing to what extent such reasoning might be pushed. For example, a savage, on being urged to belief in the Trinity, might reply, if capable of Dr. Butler's reasoning, and Mr. Keble's application of it, "that it was 'safer' for him to remain in ignorance of such knowledge; because God had left him so. And as the same Providence which had thus acted in his regard, had withheld from him the knowledge of astronomical truths, which the Europeans possessed, and yet enabled him to be perfectly happy, and skilful in knowing seasons and times without them, so he must suppose that one class of ignorance was as becoming for him as the other, and that some other mode of supplying the one had been provided for him (in his own religion), as it had been done for him in the other." He might indeed be told, that it was "safer" to embrace a system which provided for eternity, than persevere in one which did not. But he might reply, that he believed in a future state, the happiness of which depends upon moral conduct, and not on belief, and tried to order his life for the securing of it. And after Mr. Keble's enfeebling of the principle of dogmatic faith, and his strong advocacy of mere moral grounds of action, in choosing "the safer way," and

his urging of generous or confiding conduct for securing it, we do not see how such an unbeliever could be consistently urged further.

We now come to the main scope of Mr. Keble's preface. It is to show that, whatever amount of argument, or attraction, there may be in favour of the Catholic Church, an Anglican chooses "the safer way" by remaining in his own Establishment. This term, "safer way," Mr. Keble will not allow us to apply to that homely old-fashioned argument, which has led many to serious reflection, and not a few into the Church, viz., that while Hooker and other Anglicans admit our religion to be a safe way to eternal life, Catholic divines do not allow the same privilege to *theirs*; so that a Catholic has his safety confessedly admitted by both sides, and an Anglican bases his, only on the claims of his own. This line of argument, Mr. Keble rejects, as "cold, dry, and hard," as "reminding one rather of a dexterous diplomatist insisting on the literal terms of a treaty, than of a loyal and affectionate son and subject, committing himself unreservedly to the King and Father of all." (P. 15.) And yet our Blessed Saviour has been pleased, more than once, to teach us, that eternal salvation is to be made a matter of calculation, however "cold, dry, and hard" this may seem. He compares it to the work of a man about to build, who sits down coolly to make his estimates, and balance accounts, before he begins; to a king, who before going to war, calculates his strength, and prefers a "treaty" to a conflict. He approves of the activity of servants who put their talents to account, and *trade* with them (a very "cold, dry, and hard" occupation), to make profit by them; nor is there anything in that parable, which authorizes us to conclude, that, if the servant who buried

his money, instead of his irreverent plea, had said: " 'I commit myself unreservedly' to Thee as a tender Master, and trust to Thy goodness to receive back the talent given me, just as I got it," he would have been answered by: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Again, what are innumerable parables, as of him who sold all to buy a pearl; and of the steward who feared to lose his place; and of the woman who diligently counted her money, and searched with broom and lantern for her one lost coin; and of the five prudent virgins, who would not share their oil; what, we ask, are these but so many lessons of activity, prudence, and we might almost say, sharpness, in looking after our eternal welfare; intimations, to use a homely phrase, that "we must have our wits about us," if we intend to work our way to eternal life, among the difficulties and hindrances that stay us? And in that other parable, of the men sent to work in a vineyard, does not the good man of the house (who represents our Lord Himself) "remind us of one *insisting on the literal terms of a treaty?*" In fine, throughout the Gospel, which is the more frequently urged upon us—this unreserved confidence, which precludes all trouble of inquiry, or that prudence which omits no precaution of safety? For the former we do not find any encouragement; whereas the prudent householder who chooses a solid foundation, who watches his house with arms in his hands, who comes in at any hour to surprise his servants, and rewards them only if watchful, who ought to be ever on the look-out for when thieves may come, who has in his stores old things and new to bring into use in proper time, he is the character most frequently put before us, as the type of what we should be in religious matters,—vigorous, active, energetic, persevering, with

every sense awake, and every power stretched, and every nerve strained to the work of salvation. These images are indeed simple and home-spun, drawn from every-day life; but this very fact shows that they were meant to be practical, universal, and to form the **staple** of Christian life. And the epistles represent to us the same character; the reasoning powers appealed to, and the judgment called in to exercise itself even on sublime truths;^b there certainly is no idea in them of that suspension of spiritual animation, to which Mr. Keble's theory would necessarily lead. Nor does there seem to be any ground for supposing, that the Almighty, who has given to man judgment and reason, will not hold him responsible for the use of those faculties, as much as for the right application of every other gift. And if a man be placed in such a position, as that reasoning and judgment are the means whereby he is to be extricated from grievous error, he must be responsible for their right use. Now, short of an infallible guidance, every system may be erroneous; and any theory of religion, which on one side admits of possibility of error, and on the other condemns inquiry, is not only inconsistent, but awfully perilous.

But now let us see the means by which Mr. Keble

^b There is one text of St. Paul, which is constantly brought forward in this sort of controversy, and we see that Mr. Keble employs it (p. 43). It is 1 Cor. viii. 20: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called." This is interpreted to mean, that therefore a man is bound to remain contented in that religion in which he has been brought up. Now it is plain, that if so, to those whom St. Paul addressed, such an interpretation could not have occurred, unless so as to mean, that the Jew was to remain a Jew, and the heathen a heathen; for there were as yet no branch churches. But St. Paul himself explains his meaning sufficiently in the context. "Wast thou called [to Christianity,] being a bondsman? Care not for it." It is very unfair to press this text into the service of the "non-inquiry theory."

suggests that a member of the Anglican Establishment may stave off all inquiry, and mesmerize into a profound sleep his awakened judgment and his alarmed conscience. First then,

“Being by supposition incompetent to decide upon masses of direct evidence, which these systems severally allege, we look to analogy for further help in determining ‘the safe way;’ and we find it altogether confirming the impression to which unbiassed instinct would lead us, viz., that the world being under moral government, the ‘safe way’ in uncertain cases must be that which is most agreeable to the duties we are before certain of. ‘He that is willing to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God.’”—P. 16.

Mr. Keble’s illustration of this principle is, that a man could not receive baptism if he had no means of receiving it without confessing a crime of which he was really innocent. Now this is certainly an extreme case, yet not unprovided with a remedy, in *baptismo flaminis*,—in baptism by desire. It supposes a man called on not merely to break through a duty that is subordinate, but to tell a lie, that is, commit what under *no* circumstances could be allowed. But there is a more practical and intelligible way of putting this principle to the test. Let us suppose a dissenter invited to join Anglicanism, or an Anglican inclined to Catholicity. He knows antecedently his duty to his parents, and he knows that the step will greatly afflict them, perhaps bring down on him their indignation. Is this previous knowledge of a moral duty to suffice for quenching all further inquiry, and making him satisfied that it would be wrong to go further? If not, then the test as a principle for ordinary cases, breaks down. But if even in this case the moral consideration could justify the stifling of all inquiry, then what becomes of the declarations of our Saviour, that He had come to bring not peace but the sword, and to separate a man from his parents, and on the possibility

of love for parents having to be put in the balance against the following or loving Him, and having to be outweighed? Mr. Keble proceeds with another example as follows :—

“Cases again may be conceived affecting practice, in which the seeming logical or historical evidence may tell almost wholly on one side, yet it may be clearly right to prefer the other, by reason of some moral instinct, which comes in and will not let itself be unfelt. Suppose a man’s parent accused of any great crime, let the amount of apparent proof against him be never so overwhelming, none will deny that it is the child’s duty, come what will, to disbelieve his guilt if he can; to give him the benefit not only of reasonable doubt, but of any the faintest and remotest possibility of innocence, and to act accordingly, disregarding all personal consequences. Now this is but one out of a thousand instances, wherein the moral sense is mercifully empowered to correct the errors of the intellect, or supply its imperfections. Few in comparison are judges of evidence, but all may listen to the inward voice, directing them in such matters to the safer side.”—P. 17.

Here is again a palpable fallacy. If the evidence in this case be overwhelming, it is as much so for the culprit’s unfortunate child, as for any third or indifferent party. It could not be any more “an error or imperfection of the intellect” in one than in the other, to come to the same conclusion. The natural instinct, seconded by religious affection, would indeed come in mercifully, to *blunt* the intellect and *deaden* the force of proof; but certainly not to correct it. No one would consider a son an impartial, or fair, nor consequently, a just, judge, in the case of a parent. But to what does this example amount? Why to this, that it will require a greater weight of evidence to convince a dutiful child, than another person, of the parent’s guilt, not that he never can be convinced. For after all, too many children grow up in the sad conviction that their father has justly forfeited his life for a grievous crime. And there may be cases like that of Joas

and Athalia, in which a son may have to consent to act fearfully on that conviction. Applying, therefore, this illustration, as it is clear Mr. Keble intends, to the position of an Anglican, we must conclude, that in proportion to his love for his system, and his filial attachment to its governors, will be the difficulty of convincing him that he is wrong. These feelings, or instincts, will be thrown, unconsciously perhaps, and in various shapes, into the balance against us. But there may be a point at which the scale will turn, and conviction will carry the day against instinct, however respectable. It is when evidence is so overwhelming as to overcome feeling, that the triumph of truth takes place, and those demonstrations of the power of grace in the Gospel dispensation, over the most sacred of instincts and attachments, above alluded to, are exhibited in conversion.

Such are the preliminaries of Mr. Keble's grounds for remaining in communion with Anglicanism, and overbalancing arguments in favour of abandoning it. He now proposes five motives for this purpose, which he himself sums up as follows :—

“On the whole, we have enumerated *five* points, in which the moral sense may come in to determine ‘the safest way,’ whether in aid or in default of historical or abstract reasoning, or in some cases even against it. We may ask ourselves, which of two decisions is more in unison, first, with contentment; secondly, with intellectual modesty; thirdly, with contrition; fourthly, with love of sanctity in others; fifthly, with fear of giving offence.”—P. 21.

These motives will not be thus easily understood. But their application is as follows :—An Anglican, by remaining in his religion, is in the state which best favours the exercise of these five virtuous feelings; by leaving it, he loses in their regard. Any one else joining that system loses nothing of them, but has all

to gain. We must however explain a little more fully what these terms mean.

First, *contentment*. Let there be on one side a great array of arguments, on the other the simple principle, "*quieta non movere*,"—"I am where God has seen fit to place me," &c. The latter ought to prevail "until you discern *unequivocal* manifestations of God's will calling you out of it."—P. 19.

This motive is strong in favour of remaining in Anglicanism, because this, compared with Catholicity, is a homely, humiliating condition, and there is more "generous contentment" in remaining in such a state, than there can be in one more glorious and inviting.—P. 26.

It is not applicable to others (not however Catholics) called to join the Anglican communion—Jews, for instance; because they have to give up nothing, but only add to former belief, while Anglicans to become Catholics, have to give up what they have accounted to be a real participation in Christ.—P. 56.

Secondly, *intellectual modesty*. Religious arguments are weighty and difficult: there is more modesty in not affecting to grasp them—a wise self-distrust, which "is a temper so suitable to us and to our condition, that whatever course implies more of it, has so far a presumption in its favour."—P. 19.

This belongs to the Establishment: because, by becoming a Catholic, a member of it pronounces on many and various propositions decided, under anathema, by the Roman Church, and leaves millions to be saved by invincible ignorance, or uncovenanted mercy.—P. 27.

It does not hold where people are called to Anglicanism: because Jews and Turks, for instance, are not

called upon to reason, but only to receive testimony! —P. 56.

Thirdly, *contrition*. That system is to be preferred which has a tendency “to magnify, rather than extenuate faults.”—P. 19.

This is proved to be applicable in Anglicanism by a curious inversion of argument. The Roman Church, by denying to it sacramental grace, and doubting its baptisms (not its baptism), “assuages a man’s self-reproaching thoughts, with the notion that he has not grieved the Holy Spirit.” Therefore there is more ground for contrition in the English system, where this thought will continue.—P. 29.

It is not found in another religion. For example, a Baptist does not, on conforming, get rid of “bitter remembrances of post-baptismal sin. For it was never any tenet of his, that post-baptismal sin has any special aggravation.”—P. 57.

Fourthly, *love of sanctity in others*. This sufficiently explains itself.—P. 20.

It exists in Anglicanism, inasmuch as, on leaving this, a man is called upon to deny the supernatural holiness of those whom he has loved and revered from his infancy as holy; and moreover whereas, while an Anglican, he could feel “interested in the Saints of the whole Church,” he is required, on conversion, “to cast off all but the Roman.”—P. 31.

It is wanting in other bodies, so that they lose nothing of it on embracing Anglicanism. For, again, a Baptist has accounted holiness only as “a special token from God’s sanctifying Spirit. . . . He has not counted it, as supposing himself a Catholic [Anglican] he would have done, a regular fruit of the Free Unspeakable Gift, vouchsafed in Baptism. . . . In that case, he must have been content to lower his estimate

of it. But now nothing hinders, but that he may still think of it as he did; as of a token of mercy overflowing, an extraordinary favour, over and above the settled dispensations of grace." (P. 57.) Very subtle this; but is it practical reasoning?

Fifthly, *fear of giving offence*. This, again, is sufficiently clear; it is fear of scandal.—P. 21.

It is to be seen in Anglicanism, because one leaving it may have to answer for causing pain, and anxiety, and "wavering of the imagination in prayer" to others; and, perhaps, for unsettling their principles, and leading them to scepticism.—P. 32.

But not in other systems, which have only to change opinions, not principles; so that the scandal is much less.—P. 59.

We have brought together the *disjecta membra* of Mr. Keble's motives or grounds for remaining in the Anglican communion, in the face of arguments, scruples, and almost goadings of conscience. For, if a man can make up his mind to decide the momentous questions which involve salvation upon such grounds as these, we can easily imagine him fearfully racked and tormented before he subside into quiet indifference: although this may be called a generous confidence. We have stated our author's reasoning as fairly as we could: and we believe that our readers will be astonished, and hold it little less than infatuation, in a good and able man, to propose it for general acceptance. We will confine our remarks on these motives within as reasonable a compass as we can.

1. The entire system bears on it the sure stamp of error in religion,—novelty. From the beginning of the Church to the present hour, there has been an unceasing conflict between the ONE Church, as she always called herself, and numerous bodies, which she

considered in error. There have been a number of learned and holy men engaged in arguing on the one side, and no want of ability on the other. And yet, until now—until Butler's "Analogy" has become popular—until Mr. Keble has found that reasoning almost invariably leads to the abandonment of the Establishment, such a simple mode of putting an end to controversy has never been found. Or, if it has any parallel in ancient and venerable times, it can only be in the reasoning of those heretics, who assumed to themselves particular guidance, or claimed marks of Divine favour towards their system. Donatism in what regards "contentment," Novatianism in respect to "contrition," and others, on other heads, might have used similar reasoning. But, certainly, on the Catholic side it has been unknown till now.

2. The reason of this is clear, and bears its own condemnation. Mr. Keble himself acknowledges that it is not a course for the whole Church, but only for the Anglican "branch:" not even for all this, but for the little bough that has sprung from it, under the name of High Churchism. He is treating only of "the line which Divine Providence seems to have marked out for us English Catholics" (p. 24), *i. e.* Anglicans. Then in the next paragraph he narrows this to "the position of an *English Churchman of the Anglo-Catholic school*," which he considers "in many respects peculiarly fitted to form and prove this part of the Christian character" (p. 25), that is, contentedness. We are therefore called upon to admit the startling proposition, that a special mode of satisfactory evidence, before unknown, has been vouchsafed to what is commonly called Puseyism, or particular views in a national (so-called) Church. We never heard anything certainly that sounded more like a

plea for heresy in our lives. It supposes a fractional portion of a system rejected by the rest of the Church, to have been so taken under the peculiar guidance of a superintending Providence, that its followers have been furnished with a special form of evidence, and a particular mode of being convinced, which belongs (at least in equal measure) to none other. This little flock is taken out of the ordinary rules, whereby the minds of men have been guided and ruled, till now, in religious truth; and has received instead, a series of moral principles or instincts, which have to take their place, and make it satisfied with what it has, irrespectively of its being true or false. It alone is exempted from reasoning, or examination of evidence, without the plea of infallibility, or even of certainty.

Now against all this we have two further objections. First, so extraordinary a privilege ought surely to have manifestations, *ab extra*. In other words, the "Anglo-Catholic school" of "the English Church" being so favoured by God, must be intended to draw all that establishment into itself, so as to cease to be a school; and further to gain the whole of the Catholic Church to its communion. Its motto should be, "Fear not, little flock, for it hath well pleased your Father to give unto you the kingdom." It is impossible to imagine a religious section so specially favoured and endowed from above, merely for the sake of those who happen to be already in it; but the same peculiar graces must be meant to extend to others. Our blessed Saviour prayed, not only for his apostles, but for all those likewise who through them should come to believe. A merciful God must therefore wish that many more should partake of the new blessings which He has, in these later days, granted to one favoured body. But how is this to be, unless there are evi-

dences, external to the minds and consciences of the individual, of the existence of this favour? It is true Mr. Keble has put them forth in this Preface, but he appeals, as we shall see, to *internal proof* only: and *experience* is their only test. These cannot exist anteriorly to joining the society.

But since this privilege belongs to the "High Church" school, and every "Low Churchman" is called necessarily to partake of it, let us see how he might or must apply Mr. Keble's own tests. 1st. As to *contentment*, "if there is special merit in remaining in the High Church body, beyond going to Catholicism, *because* the former is so much more unattractive, less splendid in its services, 'a smaller and comparatively disunited body,' &c. (p. 25); there must be still greater merit of contentment in remaining with the Low Church, where all these disadvantages are tenfold greater." 2nd. As to *intellectual modesty*, "how can I pretend to weigh the arguments respecting the sense of subscription and true meaning of the Articles, and the disputes on the Rubric and Prayer-book; how can I unravel the *Catena Patrum*, or pierce the cloud of witnesses, or decide betwixt conflicting charges of bishops? I had better remain 'content with such as I have;' 'I am where God has seen fit to place me,' &c., and therefore I will content myself with what I am." 3rd. As to *contrition*, "I feel that admitting sacramental helps to forgiveness, and seeking the relief of confession, and the comfort of absolution, would in part fill up that depth of sorrow, and diminish that total reliance on God's mercy, which now enter into my grief for sin." 4th. As to *love of sanctity*, "I am now in a position to sympathize with all evangelical Christians, and to rejoice in the success of their missionary labours, and

their awakening of people's conscience: whereas on becoming a High Churchman, I must give them all up, and look on them as heretics and out of covenanted mercies." And 5th, As to *scandal*, "the embracing of Anglo-Catholic ceremonies and doctrines, causes great offence among those of my connection, equal to what would be inflicted by my going over to Popery." A Low Churchman or evangelical Anglican, could thus apply these tests against joining the High Church school of theology, and thus be cut off from the privileges belonging to it, under a special Providence. Now, as has been observed, this system, if so guided, ought to have such external evidence as would draw others to itself.

But secondly, independent of this demonstration for the benefit of others, it should be furnished with such ordinary proof as may be required from every religious system. It should have a ground in clear declarations of Scripture, or in the symbols, or in some decree of a council, or in the Anglican Articles, or in the Prayer-book; or somewhere where men naturally go to learn the grounds of their faith. But there is nothing of this to be had: the whole is based upon Mr. Keble's applications of Butler's Analogy. Surely this is not enough to satisfy people, that such a theory comes of God, or has been approved by Him, so that thereon they may imperil their eternal salvation!

3. But, however, Mr. Keble does claim a divine sanction for his system of motives; and it does indeed grieve us sorely to have to state it. It is another of the many proofs of a popular adage—that "extremes meet." After objecting to himself, that it is easy to select similar motives in favour of any cause, he answers the difficulty in the following over-earnest tone:—

“But really the matter is too serious to be disposed of by any such general remark. Let those who are inclined so to deal with it, ask themselves as in the presence of Almighty God, whether these and other like considerations, *have not indeed been chosen out for their trial, not by any human pleader, but by His Providence, so that they cannot be neglected, or scornfully overruled without profane disregard of Him.*”—P. 23.

We do unfeignedly regret to see this end of the greatest movement in favour of true religious guidance and principle, ever excited in the Anglican establishment. We deplore indeed this verification of past experience, and this terrible proof that there is no “safe way” out of the Church; on seeing those very men, who rose up boldly against the exercise of private judgment, and in favour of high dogmatic principle, now, not only come down to that very judgment, as the basis of religious conviction, but appealing to its exercise by the individual, in that form in which it is most dangerous, and which they would have most strongly reprobated; and making this un-Catholic principle the basis of communion with the Church. For it is clear that Mr. Keble, first, grounds his motives upon a direct manifestation of them by God to the individual; secondly, that he considers such a declaration so certain and binding as that its neglect is a “profane disregard” of God. Now it is through the imagination of course that such feelings or apparent convictions may come; and if we once admit their existence in doctrinal guidance—if we once allow that, in a particular body, God speaks to the individual directly, and gives him his proper motives for belonging to it, making his conviction of its safety depend upon such a communication, we do not see what more the most fanatical Dissenter can desire in the way of concession of his own principles. The Anabaptists of Germany, the Cromwellian Puritans in England, or the Mormon-

ites in America, can desire nothing more. And if we add to this, the species of illumination apparently claimed by, and conceded to, some of the present rulers of High-Churchism, the sort of extra-episcopal, or supra-primatial, jurisdiction exercised unscrupulously by them, and the unfearing assumption of dogmatism and dictation of duty which they practise ; in other words, the bold leadership which they undertake in matters of faith and conscience, we are brought to feel that to the points of resemblance above mentioned, with ancient heresies, we may add a more painful one still in this system, in these indications of practical Montanism. When we consider the wonderful transition of a mind like Tertullian's from the principles of the *Præscriptiones* to the weakness of that delusion, we may be the less amazed at the fall, from the high tone of the "Tracts for the Times," to this miserable appeal to supernatural individual guidance. But we dismiss this distressing subject and proceed.

4. We must further object to Mr. Keble's system, that its illustration is conducted, no doubt unconsciously, by a most complete course of special pleading. Having laid down general principles, they should have been tested by general applications. Instead of this we have particular cases, varied to suit each point, and no others. Thus, for the first two, we have the case proposed of Jews or Turks coming over to Christianity—a very rare and unpractical one, and not calculated to give light on a matter of choice between two systems of Christianity. But they are chosen in part, to make out that "intellectual modesty" cannot hold with them, because they have to yield to testimony, not to demonstration : as though testimony delivered nearly two thousand years ago did not require much the same process for arriving at its certainty, as the

settling of a doctrinal principle. Again, the Baptist is chosen to prove what is perhaps applicable to him alone of all Christians. But the whole argument, it will be seen, is wanting in simplicity, is far-fetched, and not like either a plain, or a safe, way.

5. It must be clear to any Catholic reader, that such grounds as Mr. Keble proposes, instead of inviting any one in communion with the Church, to leave it for "the Anglo-Catholic school," would apply with tenfold strength to him, as motives for remaining where he is. We need not go again through all the points at length; but certainly there is more ground for contentedness where there is so much room for gratitude, which a good Catholic daily feels for his position: there is more religious modesty in shrinking from condemning the Church of the whole world, and from abandoning the Church of the saints, for a partial and local division; there is better hope of contrition where penance is daily preached and regularly practised as a sacrament; there is more love of sanctity, where every day throughout the year the saints are proposed as models and objects of admiration, and the communion of saints is a practical doctrine; and certainly there is more danger of scandal from a Catholic's apostatising, than from a change in any one else; for the latter happens daily and no one thinks much of it; but if a Catholic, especially a priest, abandons his Church, it is talked of, and loudly proclaimed, and he is made a great deal of for a time, by those whom he joins.

But we must not be content with this. The moral grounds on which a Catholic will hold to his religion, independent of theological ones, must have two characters, which are wanting in those proposed by Mr. Keble. First, they must be real and operative, not existing solely in instincts and feelings. Thus, for

example, "love of holiness" must not be merely the affection for the quality in others, but the love of its practical diffusion. A Catholic might say, "I see in my Church a true love of holiness in children, shown by their careful education, their early training in works of piety, the jealous guard over the purity of their minds, and by the multitude of religious orders devoted to their instruction in morals." And looking at what he knows to be the mode of continuing this education in colleges and ecclesiastical seminaries on one side, and at what he may read and hear of public schools and universities on the other, he may come easily to a practical conclusion as to where real "love of sanctity" is to be found. Again, he might consider "love of holiness" as exhibited in the desire to spread its practice among the poor: as, for instance, seeing in every ward of a Catholic hospital an altar and daily mass, and no patient allowed to die without viaticum and extreme unction: observing how diligently and effectually the poorest are trained to penitent confession of their sin, and how they are strengthened with the sacraments at the hour of death. He may further reckon the many appliances of holiness for every class, in "Spiritual Exercises," in missionary preaching, in confraternities, in meditation, in devotions to our Lord, His Passion, and His perpetual presence in the Eucharist, in frequent and even daily communion, in the religious life, and in the countless ministrations of spiritual charity. Surely the possession of all this in a religion must be a far more powerful evidence of "love of holiness" existing in it, and throughout it, than the mere abstract supposition, that an Anglican can love the holiness of a Catholic saint, but a Catholic cannot on principle love the virtue of an Anglican. Nor indeed will this assertion hold.

We are not aware that any Englishman has ever yet pushed the pretensions of his Establishment so far as to put its bishops into competition of holiness with St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis of Sales, or St. Thomas of Villanova ; or any of its clergy with St. Philip Neri, St. Ignatius, or St. Francis Xavier ; its philanthropists with St. John of God, St. Joseph Calasanz, St. Camillus, or St. Vincent ; its holy women with St. Teresa, St. Rose, or St. Veronica. All these have lived in a communion with the Roman Church, which they would not have given up to save their lives ; and true admiration or love of these great characters, implies approbation of the principles which formed them, and these principles were those of the "Roman" or "Popish" Church in their fullest extent, including abhorrence of the very schism which, according to Mr. Keble, now claims them as objects of love. A Catholic, then, who believes that all that they believed and all they did was holy and sprung from a principle of holiness, may truly love them. But an Anglican, who must condemn them in many things, yea, and mostly in the very things which *they* most loved, cannot truly be said to love their holiness. Then again, if these present standards of holiness, on the other side there may be great and amiable virtues, but not more ; and these a Catholic can love and admire in any one ; and he will bear testimony to them in an Anglican bishop, or in whomsoever they may be found.

But further, the evidences of active "love of sanctity" in the Catholic Church, are not confined to the observation of one within its pale, but start up to the eyes of any beholder who stands without. Indeed, they are acknowledged, sometimes they are coveted and envied. Even those who choose to consider them

as the workings of a pernicious activity, bear testimony to their existence. It is not, therefore, wonderful if many, indeed if most, of those who join the Church, are drawn thither by the moral evidence thus presented to them, more than by mere dogmatic conviction. A sister of charity may be but a poor reasoner, and yet she may be a powerful argument. A visit of a priest to a dying man, in the hospital, often converts the tenant of the next bed, though he has not overheard a word. One attendance at benediction of the most blessed Sacrament, has made those who came to scoff, remain to pray and to adore, though there was no sermon. We have heard of the heir to a peerage being converted, merely by seeing his poor Irish countrymen hearing mass exposed to the rain, on the bleak edge of the bog. Such is the working of this moral motive, "love of sanctity," in the Catholic Church—it is a powerful bond to the Church for those who belong to it, and it is a demonstration that convinces, often at first sight, those that seek for truth.

We would gladly go through some of the other grounds suggested by Mr. Keble, and show how much more powerfully they tell in favour of the Catholic Church in both these senses. But we think we are spared this trouble by his own acknowledgments. For at p. 54, he seems to put aside the question of a Catholic's having to leave *his* Church, and the applicability of the five motives to the purpose of restraining him, as not being to his readers "an immediate practical point;" and contents himself with showing, that they are not good ground for justifying the remaining in dissent. But more than this, Mr. Keble seems to acknowledge that in the face of these grounds for fidelity to Anglicanism, there may be an overwhelming

and divine call to abandon it. The following is the passage to which we allude:—

“Now what is the result of such a feeling as this, on a modest and thoughtful mind? Plainly to render a man more easily contented with his place, more willing to hope and wait with patience, as having a right to reckon certainly upon a great deal of unconscious sympathy, and virtual communion in divine offices, on the part of those even who esteem themselves most alienated from him. But suppose the same person once made aware that, in order to stay where he is, he must contradict something which has been held as an axiom by the mass of believers from time immemorial; some rule, so to call it, of the common law of the Christian kingdom, this is surely another case altogether. The providential call on such an one to consider where he is, and why, becomes much more direct; and the possible sacrifice, if as great or greater, yet more evidently worth making.”—P. 63.

What does this mean, but that under given circumstances all the motives and feelings described in the Preface may be overbalanced by some still stronger; and that an Anglican may have a Providential call to sacrifice them all, and embrace what is proposed to him? Now, putting aside this theoretical system of individual Providential calls, apart from the working of grace to second ordinary modes for arrival at truth, this admission destroys, to our minds, the whole theory. For if we really allow the existence of objective truth in religion, a *Providential* call, which draws away a soul from its actual convictions to others directly opposed to them, must be considered a call from error to truth. The supposition of the opposite would be sheer blasphemy. Now if we consider that the movement from Anglicanism to Catholicity almost invariably, and necessarily, involves losses of every sort, in a worldly sense, and puts on new burthens and restraints, whereas almost every imaginable motive conspires with the natural *vis inertiae* of the mind to keep the Anglican in his place, it does not seem diffi-

cult to decide which alone can be the true, and which the simulated, call. The difference with us is this. As an ordinary case, we never feel, or hear of, a call to leave our Church; but all possible motives urge us to stay where we are. We therefore are not called to make this discernment of spirits, and balance between a possible Providential call to remain in the Church, and one to abandon it. But the moment such a conflict is admitted as probable, or even possible, we must conclude that the theory is inadmissible to this extent; that a real call can only be in one direction, and that the call in the other can only be a delusion. Now the rules of ordinary judgments in things spiritual, will give us easy criterions for determining which is one and which the other. The side which self-love, indolence, fear of persecution or ridicule, national prejudices, those of education, authority of those whom we love, dislike of giving offence, pride which shrinks from danger, repugnance to self-condemnation, the side, we say, which these and such-like feelings, naturally, and without further bias, would bear to, and seek to justify, must be the suspicious one; and a "Providential call" which runs parallel with, and seconds such corrupt tendencies, may be well put away as an illusion. On the other hand, symptoms of a "Providential call," which would lead us to become as little children, and learn our catechism over again, to revise our past lives and account our former wisdom foolishness, which would present the cross at every turn and thorns on every footstep, which would "show us only what things we should have to suffer" for Christ's blessed sake—may not only be safely listened to, but may not be safely neglected. And if we are asked, in return, why Catholics may not have equally to go back upon the grounds of their adhesion to the

Church, and make a similar comparison of motives? the reply is simple: "because we do not experience, nor admit, the existence of any such call. We remain where we are, because nothing ever invites us to leave our position. Our pastures are too pleasant for the flock to stray."

We have confined ourselves entirely to the reasoning pursued by Mr. Keble to justify an Anglican for rejecting inquiry, and remaining contented with his own sect, just as he finds it; that is, if he belong to the Anglo-Catholic, or High Church, school. We have totally omitted all notice of a large, and almost detached, portion of his Essay, which ranges from p. 33 to p. 54, because it enters directly into controversy on higher matters — such as the marks of the Church; and if it ever have to be examined, will require a full and separate notice. Perhaps, indeed, some abler hand may undertake the task, though not a difficult one. But there is an observation in the work, which brings us back to the regretful feelings with which we commenced this article. "Neither," writes Mr. Keble, "are providential hints wanting, especially calculated to keep us in our place at this time. The stir and movement for the better within our own walls, as if God had some especial work in store for us, has not quite passed away, as might have been feared." (P. 68.) *Has not quite passed away!* What a melancholy consolation for one who began "the stir and movement," not with a view that it *should* pass away, but that it should live and grow, and gather might. *Ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut accendatur?* Was not this the bold, but sacred purpose of the agitation caused? Was it not to set the whole Establishment on fire, with a holy flame of zeal and love? Was it the principle of *quieta*

non movere? or "What things a man has, with those let him be content," that animated Mr. Keble and his companions in making the movement and stir? And were they right? Then, these maxims on which his present Essay is based, or towards which it converges, are not safe or fit ones in this matter. Were they wrong? Then, how can the continuance of the success of their efforts be a providential hint to guide their conduct? And if that activity, as blessed by God, is shown to be approved, how can a contrary course be now the safest one? We have seen, at the outset, that the movement in Anglicanism commenced by a mental activity and a persevering research, the very reverse of what Mr. Keble now advises. Is it not inconsistent to look at it, at one and the same time, as a providential action in the system, and as opposed to motives based upon providential workings?

But we sincerely hope, that there is now "a movement and a stir" within those walls to which Mr. Keble alludes, which will be a providential hint to many, *not* to stay in their place. While we have been perusing his Preface, there has been excited in the Establishment a turmoil which cannot fail to shake the acquiescence of many in providential positions. Almost at the very birth of this Review, "the Oxford Controversy" on Dr. Hampden afforded us an opportunity of examining into the position of the Anglican Establishment.^c Mr. Keble's "Sermon on Primitive Tradition," now reprinted, presented us another text for an analogous subject.^d We find it strange to see, after so many years, the same characters still before us; but in how reversed an attitude. Dr. Hampden,

^c No. i. p. 250 [p. 8].

^d No. v. p. 45 [p. 105].

whose condemnation by High Church power and vigour, gave us hope of a possible return to vitality in the Establishment, exalted to the episcopal dignity; and Mr. Keble, a teacher in the school that condemned him, fallen to the advocacy of being content with things as they are, that is, as they were before the school arose. We should now, indeed, be sorry to interfere in the personal contest against the Regius Professor's nomination, or discuss his theological fitness for a mitre. Even allowing all that has been written against him, we do not see that sentence of exclusion can be pronounced against him. If the bench of bishops is to be assayed dogmatically, and none admitted to a seat thereon who cannot stand the ordeal, it might indeed prove a hard task to fix the standard of orthodoxy; but Dr. Hampden would have equal right with others to the advantage of its vagueness. This, however, is not the question which interests *us*. The position and the prospects of High Church principles and of their advocates, seem to be prominently brought out by what has occurred. We shall not close the year inopportunately by some reference to it.

At the moment then that we are writing, a great and truly important conflict exists between the civil and the ecclesiastical power in this kingdom. For the first time, we believe, not only in the memory of man, but for a century, the rulers of the Establishment have openly and publicly objected to what they acknowledge to be an act of the supremacy,—the appointment of a bishop. See after see has been filled up by prelates holding every variety of opinion, and no protest was ever made, no opposition ever raised. At length Dr. Hampden, who, less fortunate than other professors of theology, has been censured by the Uni-

versity of Oxford, raises a storm, which presents various interesting points of observation.

The first is the conflict of bishops. Twelve or thirteen occupiers of the episcopal bench unite in an address to the prime minister, calling upon him to pause in his design, and not urge forward the proposed election. In a matter like this; unanimity in that body would have been of the utmost importance. A united episcopate in a matter so nearly affecting the doctrines of which it is the natural guardian, and the authority of which it ought to be the jealous keeper, might indeed have been obviously expected. But one half of the body is silent, and one or two speak boldly in opposition. Surely this looks like a house divided against itself.

The second is, the form of the proceedings. So serious a matter demanded surely some solemnity of ecclesiastical forms. Out of two archbishops, one at least might have headed the opposition, and put his signature to the condemnatory document. Both, however, have prudently refrained from acting. Then, we are given to understand by the documents published, that it is more in their private capacity, than as princes and shepherds of God's Church, that the bishops address the minister of the crown. In fact, as Lord John Russell truly informs them, they do not even take on themselves any responsibility of expressing an opinion, still less a judgment, in the matter; but cast the whole burden on the clergy, giving their want of confidence in Dr. Hampden as the ground of their remonstrance. There is, indeed, a weakness in the mode of proceeding, which has given the prime minister a signal advantage over its authors.

The third point worthy of observation is the tone of every document, whether the joint address of the

bishops, or Dr. Philpott's letter to Lord John Russell. The prerogative of supremacy is fully acknowledged, without the intimation of a remedial power in the hands of the poor Establishment. It is not anywhere hinted, that there is a line of assumption, which the state power must not presume to pass, and a line of duty, which no effort of its will ever induce the bishops to overstep. There is no setting forth of the doctrines of St. Chrysostom or St. Ambrose, on the true character of imperial and of episcopal power, when the two shall clash or be brought into conflict. A gentlemanly, orderly, quiet remonstrance, almost supplicative, from the hierarchy to a lay minister, without one great motive urged, or any argument from the law of God or of the Church, or a long argumentative wrestling with him, on the part of one of the bench—such are the grave ecclesiastical documents which posterity will find to record a struggle on the part of what calls itself the Church of, or in, England, against the unjust exercise of a royal prerogative, similar to what made a St. Edmund or St. Anselm exiles, and a St. Thomas a martyr. But the days of heroes have long since passed away. The spirit of the Cross departs ever with its emblem.

On the other hand, the temporal minister of state deals with the bishops much as he would have done with a corn-law deputation. He seems to consider the matter a fair field for reasoning; and he enters into the arena, nothing loath. He combats them foot to foot—denies, one by one, every position which they lay down—considers himself quite as good a judge as they on the validity of dogmatical decisions of the Convocation—looks upon the whole question as one of prerogative, and intimates an opinion, that not reason, but clamour and prejudice, have raised this

ecclesiastical storm. And on another occasion, more explicitly than on this, he intimates that the Establishment wants still more protestantizing, as though he considered it his duty to blend in just proportions the various ingredients of their religious system, and restore the balance of opposite elements which rule in this most heterogeneous mass. Should the influx of latitude in dogmatic views, now introduced, turn too much the scale, it may become the duty of the prime minister to throw into the other side a bishop of decided Anglo-Catholic principles and feelings, and so further catholicize the Establishment. But we are inclined to believe, that it will be easier to protestantize, than to catholicize, it.

On the whole, the struggle is one that must interest us deeply. On its issue much must depend. If the government yield to the ecclesiastical pressure, it will have given an example of deference such as has not been witnessed since the Reformation; and we can well understand the use that will be made of it. But we do not anticipate such a result. We believe that another heavy blow and sad discouragement, is in store for the Anglican Establishment, which may further undeceive too hopeful minds, and materially alter "the position of English Churchmen."

THE
FOURTH OF OCTOBER.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Dec. 1836.

THE
FOURTH OF OCTOBER.

- ART. II.—1. *The Catholic Church; Five Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Blackburne, on occasion of the commemoration of the Reformation, celebrated October 4th, 1835.* By the Rev. J. WHITTAKER, D.D.
2. *The Duty of contending for the Faith; A Sermon preached in the Church of St. John, Swansea, on Sunday, October 4th, 1835.* By the Rev. HENRY ROXBY MAUDE, LL.B.
3. *The Prevalence of Popery considered; A Sermon preached in Mount Zion Chapel, Tunbridge Wells, on Lord's-day evening, October 4th, 1835.* By B. SLIGHT.

COULD we for a moment conceive the times and seasons of God's appointment, leaving the axes of their unerring revolutions, to interfere in each other's functions; or rather, to descend from a sphere so high above our theme—could we imagine such a tribunal as Lucian has devised for the letters of the alphabet, before which any day of the year might sue its neighbour for trespassing on its appropriated functions—we are right sure that the fifth day of moody November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, would apply for a solemn writ against the fourth day of the preceding month, as having unjustifiably usurped its duties in the calendar of bigotry. It is true, that, for some years, thanks to the good sense and feeling of our fellow-countrymen, the bonfires of that day had waxed pale and faint; Guy Fawkes, with his lantern, had been plucked by the police, as a

nuisance, out of the hands of city urchins; the bells in many places had refused to peal their tones of gratitude, and even the indulgence of immunity from lesson and birch had been, in many schools, withdrawn, for the commemoration of the festival. These were bad symptoms; and something new must be done. Consultation was held, due deliberation was taken, and the sacerdotal caste decided that one great tercentenary cycle of the Reformation was concluded; that, during its course, a full degree of the zodiac had been passed over, by a retrograde movement, so that, consequently, the heliacal rising of the dog-star of fanaticism must, for the next Sothic period, be placed exactly one month and one day earlier,* on the 4th of October. As far as we have an interest in the matter, the change is in our favour. We would rather have the grand festival of Protestantism celebrated as a commemoration of its own principle, by the observance of the day on which its palladium or *ancile*—a Bible without comment, in the vulgar tongue—is supposed to have come down from Heaven, than see its triumphs marked by feast-days of a political character, calculated to perpetuate the evil feelings, which may have once prevailed among members of the same social body. Not that, even here, invidious comparison was intended to be eschewed; for care was taken, that the medal, which commemorated the final translation of the Bible by Myles Coverdale, on the 4th of October, should, on the reverse, exhibit Popery locking up the word of God. But still, the ground of rejoicing, now chosen, was less offensively hostile to us, in its nature, than that which had previously been selected, to arouse the failing enthusiasm of Protestantism.

* The great Egyptian cycle, called the Sothic period, was determined by the heliacal rising of Sirius, or the dog-star.

The calling of a general assembly to a festival of rejoicing, the proclamation of a universal jubilee, the directing of the voices of all preachers, and the prayers of all congregations, to a specific theme of thanksgiving, are offices, one would have naturally supposed, belonging to the highest authority, and requiring a power vested only in the superiors of a Church. But, on this occasion, it was a matter of private responsibility. The bishops slumbered, the Metropolitans took no part, the *Church* was silent; while others, more zealous, deemed them dumb dogs that would not bark, and undertook themselves to raise the new war-whoop of bigotry, from one extremity of the island to the other. Marvels were, indeed, expected from this new combination of the forces and energies of Protestantism. The saints had long languished for some new manifestation of the Spirit; the happy millennium had been expected; the Irvings and the Fabers had prophesied its speedy approach, in the downfall of Popery; yet Popery did not even seem to totter; the land of promise was nearly in possession, but the walls of the spiritual Jericho seemed yet proud and strong. Proclamation went out, that, on the fourth day of October, 1835, being Sabbath, all the tribes should be gathered together in their strength, and should march in solemn array about its bulwarks, bearing with them their boasted palladium; while all the priests and Levites should sound forth their hostile trumpets, and shake, from coping to foundation-stone, the olden walls that rested upon the rock. Long, and loud, and sonorous was the blast, grating at once and grateful to the ears of the zealous; and if, to the honour of our countrymen, there were many parishes where this unauthorized summons was not answered, there were not wanting those, which, in the exuberance of their pious emotion,

anticipated the chosen day, and even prolonged to succeeding Sabbaths, the sweet music of their warlike notes. Nay, not so contented, they even felt themselves called to publish their scores for the benefit of posterity, and of those less fortunate souls who heard not their strain. Of this character are the publications before us.

Let not the reader, for a moment, imagine, that we have selected them from the mass of similar effusions, as though exhibiting eloquence of a nobler order, or learning of greater research, or feelings of a higher standard, or arguments of a more formidable power. The choice, if choice it could be called, has been purely accidental. The pamphlets on our table fell in our way, we know not how, came we remember not whence; they were skimmed over in a few moments, and then cast away; nor would they have been deemed by us worthy of farther notice, had not one or two reflections, that sprung up in our minds after perusing them, appeared to us worth pursuing. In fact, they belong to the ephemera of the times; they are creatures called into existence by a day of accidental warmth, to dance upon the running waters, to flutter over the stream of events, in which they soon must meet their grave. A naturalist may catch a few, and find amusement and instruction in anatomizing them; but, when he has studied a few specimens, he finds them all alike, and too insignificant to repay the minute dissection they require.

The reflections, to which we have just alluded, are obvious and simple, and a few lines will explain them. It is determined, on a certain day, to unite all Protestants in voice and heart, for the commemoration of a certain event, vital to their religion, and containing in itself the practical verification of its essential prin-

iple. The Bible alone, accessible to every Christian, his individual right and possession,—the Bible alone, without an infallible guide, without a dogmatical authority in the Church—such is the basis of Protestantism, in contradistinction to Catholicity. Coverdale is supposed first to have rendered this principle of practical utility, by conferring on this nation a Bible which could be practically used. We waive the inquiry whether the groundwork of the festival be correct, that is, whether the completion of Coverdale's version can be considered the first presentation of an English version to our country: for we wish to make our present investigation an investigation into principles, and are, consequently, willing to assume the correctness of the fact. It is, therefore, proclaimed and provided, that, on a certain day, the great Protestant principle shall be solemnly commemorated throughout the land, and the sympathies of all who acknowledge it, are ordered to be concentrated on a point equally dear to all. It is a subject as important and valuable to the Dissenter as to the Churchman, to the Evangelical as to the High Church clergyman, to the Hierarchist as to the Congregationist. For one Sunday at least, out of the Sabbaths of three hundred years, a unity of object, a harmony of feeling, a sameness of doctrine, a union of charity, an assimilation of thought, will pervade the whole body of Protestantism, and impel it to move, by a common law, in one given direction. At least, were the superiors of our Church, domestic or general, to command the observance of a certain day, as the 18th of January, in grateful commemoration of the blessing of unity bestowed upon the Church, through the authority vested in its pastors, and chiefly in the occupier of St. Peter's chair, we are sure that the same doctrine, the same motives of

thankfulness, the same instructions would be presented in every church and chapel which obeyed the call. There might be richer treats of eloquence and erudition in one than in another ; but the theme, and the feeling, would be but one throughout.

Well, then, was it so with the great tercentenary commemoration of the principles of Protestantism ? Our materials are indeed scanty ; but luckily, the fewer elements of comparison we possess, the smaller the chances of dissimilarity. If, therefore, we shall find, in a few instances, wide dissent, we may well conclude that an extension of our objects of comparison would only still further increase it. We will, however, draw occasionally upon other productions, in date nearly contemporary, and in purpose not dissimilar.

The first consequence, which we should naturally have expected from the character of this festival, would be an accordance in the great principles of the Reformation. But, had it been the lot of any one to hear two or more of these discourses, preached the same day, for the same object, he certainly would have been at a loss to discover, that anything more than the triumph of particular sectarian principles was intended to be commemorated. The vicar of Blackburne, in the vivacity of his zeal, edified his congregation with five sermons on the occasion, and headed them with the pompous title of "The Catholic Church." He stands in the pulpit, with all the solemnity of a minister belonging to a well-endowed Church, to establish her claim to be the *Catholic* Church, and to thunder his withering anathemas against Popery and Papists. He minces not the matter indeed ; he dilutes not, sweetens not, the bitter cup which he thrusts upon his neighbours' lips. Superstition, vice, ignorance, idolatry, infidelity—these are our qualities,

these our possession ; while the church-goers and rate-payers of Blackburne, 5,000, we are told, in number (p. 4), "belong to a pure apostolic Church, as nearly approaching to perfection in doctrine and government, as any that has existed since the apostolic time"! (P. 45.) Then, too, the reverend vicar hath great compassion on "the poor and ignorant Papist," because he must "implicitly receive whatever his priest tells him he must believe, do, and *pay*, in order to obtain eternal life!" Why did he not conclude his sermons by the apposite prayer, which would so justly have summed up their substance and embodied their spirit :—"Lord, we give thee thanks that we are not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers ; as also are *these Papists?*" For, while these arrogant assumptions of exclusive righteousness were thus proclaimed in the parish church, the Catholic congregation was not far distant, learning, we doubt not, from their worthy pastor, to be lowly before God, and meek and charitable towards all men.

The conception, then, formed by Dr. Whittaker, of the principles and feelings, which this commemorative festival should excite, seems to be, that all acrimonious feeling against his Catholic neighbours and fellow-citizens should be stirred up and renewed, that a barrier of hatred and bigotry should be drawn between members of the two religions, and that one should be held up to the other, as a "hideous mass of spiritual deformity and falsehood," as "the patron of ignorance, vice, and infidelity." (P. 72.) Gracious heavens ! And is *his* Protestantism then synonymous with Christianity, with the religion of charity and love ? Was the spirit of the Reformation one of hatred and antagonism, of misrepresentation and falsehood, that it should be deemed duly celebrated, by five mortal

discourses, rank with a festering exuberance of these antichristian and antisocial feelings? And hath the mantle of its founders fallen from Heaven, if it could do no better than warm its inheritors into so unholy a zeal, and animate them only to scatter firebrands of religious animosity among a peaceful and friendly neighbourhood?

For the honour of human nature, we hope that no religion, aspiring to the name of Christian, will recognise, as a worthy solemnization of its principles, a display of such unchristian sentiments. But after all, this "Catholic Church," the beauties and perfections of which have charmed the vicar of Blackburne into so zealous a hatred of Popery, of what does it consist? The call upon men to rejoice in the translation of the Bible, was intended to unite all the tribes of Protestantism in one shout of praise; it was a motive of common joy to all, and all dissentient feelings were to merge in one universal song of gratitude. Dr. Whittaker too gives us, as a reason why the Protestant Churches should be considered the Catholic Church, rather than ours, that "they prevail over a larger space of the globe, (!) and are actuated by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognise, as brethren in Christ, those who are not governed by the same laws." (P. 37.) The "Catholic Church," therefore, consists of Protestant congregations, spread more extensively over the world than the Catholics are, and recognising one another as brethren, though they have different governments. Now, we beg the reader to compare these words with the following passage:—

"Our National Church of England was foremost in asserting the common rights of Christians—among the first to throw off the subjugation of Rome. *Many (so called) Protestant Churches have apostata-*

tized from the primitive faith of Christ, and are now to be found fighting among our adversaries. But the Church of England . . . still exists, still remains the same as she was three centuries since, and still lifts her banner aloft to the nations."—P. 19.

How, we ask, were the hearers of these two passages to reconcile them together? The Protestant Churches are more extensively dispersed over the world than the Catholic, and yet *many* so called are apostates, and fight on the other side. Which are these many? Switzerland we may suppose is one, in consequence of its defection to Socinianism; Protestant France is tainted with the same error, and Germany is deeply involved in rationalism. But the learned Doctor tells us as much. After saying that "it was quite otherwise on the continent, in France, Switzerland, and Germany," than in happy England, he proceeds as follows:—

"And what has been the consequence? *They are all of them, with few, I believe no exceptions, corrupted as to the essentials of Christianity.* The cankerworm of Socinianism, the dry-rot of infidelity, have eaten completely through the whole body, substance, and into the very core of these foreign Churches, which at first were as pure and as scriptural as was our own in the time of Edward VI. . . . Most of these Churches, to which we have made allusion, are chargeable with direct heresy; and are *no more to be considered part of Christ's Catholic Church*, than we have shown the apostate Church of Rome to be."—P. 104.

Once more we ask, in the name of consistency, what and where are the Protestant Churches, that prevail over a larger portion of the world than ours, if France, Switzerland, and Germany, are as little a part of the Catholic Church as we are? England and America, we must imagine, possessed of some mystical ubiquity, compose this universal Church. But still more, we ask, how is Protestantism shown to be Catholic, "by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognise as brethren in Christ those who are not

governed by the same laws," when the very teacher who gives this proof of Catholicity, unsparingly cuts away from the Church immense masses of people, yea, entire nations, who glory in the name of Protestants? Is this a whit more liberal than what is imputed to us Catholics? Such, then, is the spirit with which a learned vicar thought it meet to celebrate the great commemoration of Protestant principles; venting the most unjust and unfeeling abuse against a religion, which he manifestly understands not, and then shutting out, in a series of almost irreconcilable passages, the great bulk of Protestants, who take the Bible alone for their guide, from all participation in the joy of the day, or the blessings of the Reformation.^b Hence it is plain, that, so far from the principle thus celebrated, or the motive assigned, having led Protestants to anything like unity, or an all-embracing harmony, it has only given a ground to the High Church divine, to utter condemnation on all Protestants of another sect or complexion. In short, the great lessons taught to the good people of Blackburne, in commemoration of the translation of the Bible, were, that Catholics were everything wicked, that all continental Protestant Churches were out of the pale of salvation, and that all Dissenters lived in the sin of schism! (P. 100.) There is a catholically liberal spirit indeed!

Well, turn we now to Tunbridge Wells, and let us hear the wholesome instructions breathed by Mr. Slight, upon the same occasion, in Mount Zion

^b Still further must the auditors of these different passages have been bewildered, upon hearing the following sentence in the concluding discourse:—"But so far as the essentials of the Christian faith are concerned, we know that there are no differences of any moment among Protestants."—P. 100.

Chapel. His discourse bears a more stirring title,—“The Prevalence of Popery considered.” Think you that a statistical view of the progress and strength of our religion is here going to be unfolded? Think you that the number of our churches, and colleges, and monastic houses will be stated, and the amount of our clergy, and the zeal of our proselytism and the success of our efforts, set before the world? Then, greatly will you be disappointed. This is not the Popery, whose prevalence Mr. Slight wishes to expose. He has no such narrow views; a few paragraphs despatch us; we are soon put down:—“There was a Church at Jerusalem before there was one at Rome;” *therefore* the Pope’s supremacy “carries its own refutation on the very front of it.” (P. 5.)

But he hastens on to greater things, and celebrates the day, by proving that the Church of England is essentially Popish, and denouncing it as evil. Thus he writes:—

“But it must be observed, there are certain leading peculiarities about these Roman Catholic principles and opinions, which will serve to show, that there is really far more of Popery amongst Protestants, than at first sight they may be disposed to admit, or than is generally imagined. And if Popish views and principles are thus to be found amongst Protestants, will it not demonstrate, that Popery prevails, not only where it is ostensibly the religion of the land, but also where it is not—not only within the pale of the Romish Church, but also without it?”—P. 6.

He then proceeds to give illustrative proofs of “the Popery of Protestantism,” as he facetiously calls it, the first of which is the exclusiveness of some sects, as of that which forms the Established Church, and which looks down upon all Dissenters as heretics or schismatics. “Surely,” exclaims Mr. Slight, “such sentiments ill accord with the free and generous spirit of Protestantism. And what is more, they are plainly

at variance with the lovely principles of the religion of Christ. They may pass current at Rome, but that they should ever be broached and published in Protestant England, and that too in the nineteenth century, is matter of painful regret. The Popery of Protestantism calls aloud for another reformation. Would that some gigantic arm were raised up to shake this cloud-capt Babylon to its base, and level it to the dust !” What already ? After only 300 years, another reformation ? We thought Babylon was a term too venerably applied to us, to be so easily transferred to Dr. Whittaker’s pure apostolic Church. And is this the spirit in which delivery from Popery, through Coverdale’s translation, is proposed to be commemorated ? Is it by exciting hatred of the main support of Protestantism ? Is it by denouncing the Church, which proclaimed the commemorative festival, as equal to Popery in its corruption, and as calling already for another reformation ? Listen now to the following appeal, based upon the passage just quoted :—

“ When will there be a brotherly exchange of pulpits, so ardently desired by many, amongst ministers of various denominations ? When will the clergyman of the Established Church be seen to stand in his dissenting brother’s pulpit ; and the dissenting minister, in his turn, be allowed to minister in the clergyman’s pulpit ?—For my own part, beloved brethren, it would afford me great pleasure to open this pulpit to any *godly evangelical minister* of the Establishment, who will come into it, and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.”—P. 8.

What, exclusive even in this pathetic and liberal appeal ? Is it only to one section of the Anglican Church,—to the “ godly and evangelical,” that the right hand of fellowship is offered by the Dissenter ? Is it not with *all* Protestants, who follow the Bible alone, that, on such an occasion, he will be ready to

fraternize ? But Mr. Slight finds still stronger indications of Popery in the Established Church :—

“Is it not of the nature of Popery to imagine, that the application of a little water to the body in baptism, effects the regeneration of the soul ? Is it not of the nature of Popery to affirm that none but ministers, ordained in one particular form and connection, are the true and lawful ministers of Christ ? Is it not of the nature of Popery that sick and dying people should attach peculiar importance to their receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, before they die, as if the act would serve as a passport to Heaven ?”—
P. 10.

Alas ! who would have imagined, that the summons issued by clergymen of the English Church would have been so answered ! that the commemoration, which they proclaimed, would have been solemnized only by denouncing their Church as co-partner in guilt and corruption with the one from whose dominion they rejoiced in having been delivered, by declaring it to be Babylon, and treating its sacraments and practices as fond and superstitious ! What admirable harmony of principle, and unity of thought, is even the common ground of separation from us calculated to produce among Protestants !

But there yet remains the unkindest cut of all. We have seen the minister of the Established Church excluding all foreign Protestants from a share in the blessings of the Reformation, and involving all separatists from his establishment in the guilt of schism ; we have heard the Dissenter, almost at the same hour, retorting on that Church, as embodying the Popery against which the solemnity of that day summoned men to be on their guard ; we shall now see the hostility, hitherto confined to the besieged and their besiegers, widely spreading itself within the city, at the very moment when its whole energies should be

united against the pressure from without. With a slight alteration we may say

— “ *Iliacos extra muros peccatur et intra.* ”

The third orator on our list, the Rev. Henry Roxby Maude, vicar of St. Olave and rector of St. Martin's, belongs apparently to the Evangelical section of the Anglican Church. We, of course, are not spared in the outpourings of his zealous spirit; and the “Man of Sin” and the “Son of Perdition” are made to stalk forth before the rev. orator's audience, under the hideous and odious aspect of our “forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats!” (Pp. 9, 10.) But he has evidently a pet theory, which forms the basis of some interesting remarks. It is, that all men are naturally Papists: “Every unconverted human being,” he says, “is in heart a Papist. Turn back to the records of Grecian and Roman superstition, and in them you may trace Popery. Look towards the polished infidels of India, and behold them suspended from the hook, or crushed beneath the car of Jugger-naut. Again, turn to the untutored savages of Africa, and the same spirit, under different aspects, will be found to actuate them all.” (P. 11.) Here, at least, is a novel argument in favour of our claim to the title “Catholic;” for it gives our religion universality far beyond what we ever pretended to. For ages, since the days of Julian and Faustus, writers had tried to annoy us by calling us imitators of Grecian and Roman idolatry, and copiers of Indian superstitions. We like the conversion of the argument, and admire the ingenuity, which makes all these nations, and the Africans to boot, right proper Papists. But mark what follows:—

“No; detesting, as well we may, this bias of the human breast, we need not scruple to aver our belief, that, even in this comparatively

enlightened age, too many there are among the ranks of nominal Protestants, who, could they blind their reason to the gross absurdities involved in such profession, would gladly sink into the extended arms of the See of Rome, and surrender the keeping of their consciences to those who are content to make void the word of God through human tradition."—P. 11.

It is not, perhaps, difficult to understand what portion of the Church is here signified, as already impregnated with the salt of Popery; but, to aid our researches, we will call in one who evidently entertains similar views, and is more fearless in exposing them. The Rev. Mr. Bickersteth's "Remarks on the Progress of Popery"^c have gone through three editions at least, and may consequently be supposed to express the feelings of a large class of churchmen, among whom he is numbered, as rector of Watton. We conceive we have a right to place him in the same category as the preceding authors; for he approves, at least, of their doings, in these words:—"The preaching of Tercentenary Sermons, on the 4th of October, 1835, was a commencement of a practice, too important, and too useful to be discontinued." (P. 70.) He is, indeed, a man in whom the bowels of controversial mercy have been wrung dry of all compassion. His motto, like Laud's, is "thorough;" he bewails emancipation; he weeps over the abolition of the declaration against transubstantiation, and the invocation of saints, as "a departure from the principles of Protestantism;" and he upbraids the lukewarmness of those who are lax in preaching that Popery is the "mystery of iniquity, Antichrist," and another personage of the Apocalypse, over whose name modesty generally casts a veil, but on whose attributes and titles the riot of Mr. Bickersteth's imagination or zeal betrays him, more than

^c London, 1836, 3rd edition.

once, into a coarseness of phraseology and of quotation, which, perhaps, has a zest, unknown to us poor sinners, for the palate of the saints. Catholics have been charged with uncharitableness in proclaiming danger of salvation to all that are not in the pale of Christ's true Church; but Mr. Bickersteth leaves no apology requisite for us in future. "The third duty," he tells us, "is to denounce God's wrath on adherence to Popery." And he then proceeds, in a fervid strain, to decry "the spirit of modern infidelity, miscalled liberalism," which proclaims it uncharitable to denounce God's judgments upon millions of our fellow-subjects. (P. 72.) At any rate, he does not incur his own censure. With many protestations of charity, he most feelingly gives us over to ruin and perdition.

We premise this statement, that the character of the writer, whose sentiments we are about to cite, may be properly known; but we must refer those to his book, who desire a rich treat of declamatory and exclamatory abuse, poured out in language which may indeed be the dialect of zeal, but which, to our simple minds, appears not to be written with the alphabet of charity. Suffice it to say, that, in the exuberance which he manifests of the former quality, Popery is pronounced to be worse than infidelity. (P. 5.) But if we are thus placed in the comparative degree of evil and wickedness, what are we to think forms the superlative, and caps the climax of iniquity? Moham-medanism, peradventure, or Heathenism, or Judaism, or Socinianism? Oh no;—Protestantism! ay, the Protestantism of the greater part of his own Church! Listen, reader, believe, and wonder:—

"A Protestant minister asked a Papist why she did not attend the Protestant Church. She replied, for three reasons; because she heard

nothing of Jesus Christ, found no worshipping congregation, and saw no connection between the minister and the people. It is too true, this has been the awful state of many a nominally Protestant *parish church* in our country; and we see in it why Popery has so grown; and *Popery which does hold truth, though it be leavened, is better than such a formal dead Protestantism.*”—P. 66.

The religion of many a parish church, therefore, is more corrupt than even Popery, which is worse than infidelity! After this, let Catholics be blamed for speaking severely or strongly against what they deem the errors of the Establishment, while her own sons thus vie with each other in vilifying all within her pale who differ from their peculiar party. But this is not, by any means, the clearest passage, in Mr. Bickersteth's wrathful effusion, regarding the High Church portion of his brethren. A considerable part of his treatise is occupied in proving that the growth of Popery is mainly owing to a decline of Protestant principles (p. 27), and in denouncing, as unprotestant, the publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (pp. 28—42); and then he speaks of a well-known knot of Oxford divines as “a highly respectable, learned, and devout class of men, the tendency of whose writings is departure from Protestantism, and approach to papal doctrine.”—P. 44.

One, who evidently thinks with the estimable men thus attacked, has stepped forth to confute Mr. Bickersteth,^d and has, in our opinion, succeeded, so far as an imperfect system, approximating to truth, can overthrow a tissue of rant and absurdity. The author cannot, indeed, escape from the foul blot which taints the pages of every Protestant controvertist whom we happen to open, that of calling us by names which

^d Observations on a work by Mr. Bickersteth, entitled, “Remarks on the Progress of Popery.” By the Rev. W. Brudenell Baxter, A.M. Lond. 1836.

have ever been used offensively. He speaks, too, of holding our doctrines up to "public detestation;" and winds up his denunciations by telling us, that our religion is "a mystery of iniquity." (P. 10.) These are, perhaps, propitiatory concessions made by the author; but he satisfactorily answers Mr. Bickersteth's childish and false assertions, that the Catholic religion is Antichrist,—because, forsooth, it denies Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh! He reprobrates, in a tone much more worthy of a professed minister of peace, not only the use of such opprobrious epithets towards us, as the rector of Watton wishes to have habitually in every Protestant mouth, but also, the preaching on themes only calculated to rouse the passions of the mob to deeds of violence. (Pp. 13, 8.) But he clearly sees, as does Dr. Whittaker, that *disunion in the Church* is the cause of the disorganization which seems to threaten Protestantism, a disunion which he acknowledges to be on the increase both in England and in America.—P. 13.

With him we fully agree, though with him we may lament it not. We have endeavoured by a simple, and, we think, a striking process, to show in what manner and to what extent this disunion pervades Protestantism. There seemed to be but one cardinal point, round which all Protestants would centre; but one *oriflamme*, under the wavings of whose sacred symbol, all the scattered tribes of the Reformation would rally, and march in unity of purpose; but one common principle which separated them now, as it did formerly, from the hostile camp, and which, by being universally and simultaneously proclaimed as a watchword, might give a semblance, at least, of harmony and unanimity. It was determined to give to the world the grand spectacle of Protestants in union, for

the brief space of one single day, by declaring that day sacred to the assertion of this one indivisible deed of settlement, in which every sect had an equal share and an equal provision made for its existence: and the result is, that a day was thus found whereon each denomination, as if by common consent, flung its condemnation upon all who differed from itself. Can anything be wanted stronger, to prove that dissent and disunion, yea, strife and bitterness, are essentially mixed up with the first fundamental principle of all Protestantism? We might have even pushed our argument much further, had we thought the subject sufficiently interesting to a majority of our readers. For we could have shown how the preacher of each sect has made use of the occasion to establish his own favourite dogma of Christianity, as the subject of the day's rejoicing, and to propose his own panacea for the acknowledged evils, which have invaded, and the foreseen dangers which still threaten, the fabric of Protestantism. Like the persons mentioned in the apologue, each one recommends the city walls to be built of the material on which his own craft is engaged. Dr. Whittaker wants church authority and control, in matters ecclesiastical; the others require only the preaching of the total corruption of man, and of the all-sufficiency of redemption through Christ; while Mr. Slight, indulging in a flight of eloquence peculiar to himself, exclaims that "the last-named doctrine [the sinner's justification through faith] was the thunderbolt which the immortal Luther hurled at the towers and battlements of Popery." Who does not expect to hear, in the next sentence, the crash of ruin which so mighty a stroke, from such an arm, must have occasioned? We, at least, already saw, in fancy, the turrets nodding to their fall, and the bas-

tions rent and riven by the thunderbolt of this Protestant Boanerges. But listen to the sublime effect of the "immortal" stroke. "It [the thunderbolt] fell on the *toes* of the great image of superstition"—surely it crushed *them* at least?—Oh no: "and they *began to crumble into dust!*" (P. 15.) How correct the aim, and how deadly its effects!

By the remarks in which we have indulged, we do not apprehend that we can have offended men of a moderate and charitable spirit among Protestants; for they must reprobate, as much as we, these ill-judged attempts to get up a no-popery cry, under the cloak of a religious institution, and to place the point at issue between the two religions upon false grounds, supporting their side only by unfeeling calumny and coarse abuse. Against such as assail us thus, we shall always feel it our duty to rise, armed with keener criticism and severer reproof; though self-respect will, we trust, be sufficient to preserve us from falling into their faults, and stooping to the use of opprobrious epithets, or unfair representations. But such as contradict our faith in an honest and friendly spirit, who, in the substance of their statements regarding us, depart not wittingly from truth, who, in their arguments, avoid all tortuous and uncandid logic, and, in their tone and style, violate not the courtesies of society,—such as thus take the field against us, shall find us ever ready to meet them with unvarnished argument, and with a reciprocation of every kindly feeling.

We hesitate not to assert, that the era of excitement and passion in religious discussion has passed away; we can now, thank God, make ourselves heard, and we are willingly listened to by our fellow-subjects. The appointment of days and seasons for the cele-

bration of anti-catholic feelings will no more answer, than did the collection of mobs, in former times, to burn our places of worship, or the later gatherings of men and women in the area of Exeter Hall, for purposes not more holy, and certainly not less incendiary. We are loth to touch upon this theme again, after the full and satisfactory exposure made in our last number ; but the connection between the scenes of that place and our present topic forces it upon us. When we entered that hall, and, casting up our eyes, saw, inscribed over its portal, the expressive name ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΟΝ, as if to indicate a place where brethren love, and are taught to love, we were tempted to feel, in spite of sad experience, a hope, an augury, that justice or charity would at last influence the proceedings of those who had chosen such a motto. We allude, of course, to that meeting which took place shortly after the appearance of our last number, wherein one of the most shameless exhibitions ever witnessed was publicly made. We mean not to enter into any refutation of the false and deceptive reasoning there displayed, for we hold it positively beneath notice ; nor do we intend to dwell upon the farce of pretending that any absent member of parliament would have been heard, when those who were present, and whose profession particularly qualified them to grapple with their assailants, were forbidden to reply. It is not to such things that we mean to advert. It is the shameless effrontery of a second appearance before an assembly of Englishmen, after the cruel manner in which their feelings had been played with on the first occasion, that chiefly excites our indignation. That one individual on earth may have a forehead, proof against the self-inflicted pillory of standing in the face of those who had witnessed his

previous conduct, experience has now proved to be possible; but where he summoned courage to invite those, whom he had made partakers of his degradation, to place their feelings and characters once more under his control, it is beyond our knowledge of human nature to discover. There must be deep stores of unflinching hardihood, laid up in dark corners of the mind, which we hope never to explore. When we recollect the afflicting spectacle of the preceding assembly,* the approximation to savage ferocity in the

* [The circumstances here alluded to will be now in the recollection of comparatively few readers. On the 14th of July, 1836, a great meeting of the Protestant Association took place, of which a detailed account will be found in the *Dublin Review* of the same month. It was remarkable for its concluding act, the effects of which are described in the text. The Rev. Mr. M'Ghee, the orator of the day, produced a document, purporting to be a letter from his Holiness Gregory XVI. to the bishops of Ireland, in which the Pontiff was made to inculcate the most shameless deception. The wretched fiction was the work of the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, and had been put into Mr. M'Ghee's hands late the evening before. He vouched for its genuineness, and excited his audience, by means of it, to a pitch of wild fanaticism.

As these meetings had affected an impartial character, it had been deemed proper to put their pretensions to the test. Platform tickets had been procured for several Catholics, the writer included; and we presented ourselves at the commencement of the meeting, and sent in a respectful note to the chairman, requesting to be heard in reply. A refusal was given, on the ground that none but Mr. O'Connell, or, I believe, Mr. Shiel, who had been challenged, could be allowed to speak on the Catholic side! The party retired, and wrote a protest, which was inserted, as an advertisement, in the next day's principal papers.

Later in the day, passing Exeter Hall, I took advantage of my ticket to ascend the platform, keeping retired; and had the good fortune to hear Mr. M'Ghee begin his extraordinary announcement of the papal letter, and witnessed the fanatical excitement which he raised. While he was reading, an elderly gentleman, with terror depicted on his countenance, turned round to me and said: "Pray, do you know what is the date of this most important document?" I replied: "I do not know; but of course it is a forgery." He

expression of many around us, upon the forged epistle being read, their knitted brows and scowling glances, the deep and half-suppressed growl of execration which fretted in their throats, till vented in a fierce yell of unhuman applause; when we remember the bitter retort, in accents of scorn cast upon us, as we remarked, to one who asked us the date of the document, that a few days would prove it spurious; but still more, when we recall to mind the feverish excite-

stared at me with horror and amazement, and shrunk from me, saying: "You may think so; but I don't." "A few days will show," I rejoined; and, disgusted with this exhibition of Protestant fury, falsehood, and ungodliness, and fearing I should render myself obnoxious by some expression of feeling, I retired. Mr. M'Ghee had mentioned that the pamphlet could be bought at Rivington's, and thither I hied, and having asked, and obtained assurance, that it was sold as a genuine document, I purchased it, and had no difficulty in at once detecting its spuriousness. It followed servilely the forms of the papal Encyclical on the Jubilee, and imitated its translation, by the insertion of peculiar Latin phrases in brackets (I believe the very same). But this imitation was pursued to the extent of entirely proving spuriousness. The Pope's Encyclical had been dated at St. Mary Major's, on the Feast of Our Lady's Assumption, Aug. 15, 1832; and the new letter, by way of seeming accuracy, was dated *at the same place*, on the Feast of her Nativity, Sept. 8, the same year. Now it so happened, that after Vespers of the Assumption, the pope left his palace of the Quirinal, at which he dates from St. Mary Major's, for the Vatican, where he dates from St. Peter's; so that any document, issued on the 8th of September, would have been dated from the latter basilica.

These of course were mere technical proofs, useful to convince those whom the absurd and wicked tenor of the letter itself should fail to satisfy, that it was a forgery.

For the rest of this curious episode in the history of Protestant controversy we refer our readers to the article in the *Review*, already alluded to, of July, 1836. (Vol. i.) But the astounding fact could not there be mentioned, that the rev. passer of false coin had front again to face and address an English audience, in the same hall; and was listened to. This is referred to in the text to which we have appended this note.]

ment of the audience below us, of thousands of females, whose cheeks glowed with a hectic fire, and whose eyes flashed with a frantic glare; when we calculate the pitch of fanatical excitement to which they must have all been raised, and then the consequent proportionate reaction which must have taken place, not merely on the return of good sense to its habitual dominion, but still more on the discovery that they had given themselves up to such unworthy feelings at the bidding of forgery and deceit, we can hardly estimate the depth of self-rebuke and inward degradation which they must have felt, or the swell of contemptuous anger that must have arisen against the man, who first used the cheat, then defended it, and afterwards had courage enough to summon them once more to meet him, and let him juggle them out of their propriety of behaviour, and all their dignity of sentiment. Yet there, in their presence, he stood, unshamed and unshrinking, behind his store of books, even as the juggler behind his cups and balls. And as the latter seeks to increase the amazement of his gaping spectators, by shaking out each time a pellet of larger dimensions, till one of enormous size is produced, so did the reverend trickster seek to astound his audience by similar progressiveness in his marvels. Last year, the object of his attack was a simple priest, poor Peter Dens; and little *duodecimos* issued from his trunk, to the delight of his yet inexperienced auditory. But on the 14th of July, he aimed at nobler quarry; bishops and archbishops were his game, the mysterious box was opened, and out flew *quartos*; bibles without their covers, and covers without their leaves appeared; till Dr. Murray and all his brethren were proved guilty of we know not what, by the quickness with which one was substituted for the

other. We thought the powers of such conjuration were exhausted, and wondered what would next come forth, as he stood once more behind the leathern trunk, that repository whence, on the previous occasion, had issued weapons, which the chairman characterized as drawn from "the armoury of Satan." Well, it opened; and, this time, appeared pregnant with enormous *folios*, almost an entire *Bullarium* hidden in its controversial womb;—for now all inferior orders of the hierarchy were to be overlooked, and popes alone were to be his aim. We ask, what shall we come to next? What treat of sufficient magnitude, whether in the subject or in the instruments of display, remains in store for the next general meeting?—Yes, there is one which would astonish us more than all the past, and would efface them for ever from our memory. Let us have a display of candour and fairness, of liberality and charity; let us have argument instead of declamation, true statements in place of groundless assertions, and then we may own the place to be not unworthy of the name inscribed over its door.

But, to return from this digression; it is a frightful thing to convoke assemblies of men, whether by crowding them into one hall, or by summoning them, as on the 4th of October, to their places of worship, for the purpose of teaching them how to hate. It is revolting to think how a day, the sabbath of God's rest, should have been appointed throughout the land for its inhabitants to meet, and whet their keenest feelings of religious abhorrence towards their fellow-countrymen, upon the book of God's word. It is humiliating to see the principle of faith, the groundwork of religion to a large body of Christians, commemorated only by the most glaring violation of

its first practical commandment,—that of love. It is instructive, however, to trace the essentially disuniting, disorganizing character of this principle, by finding its solemnization lead to such strife and dissension among those who have adopted it. This, for the present, is the point to which we wish to turn our reader's attention; that, if a Catholic, he may bless Providence for having placed him out of such a self-divided kingdom, and exert himself to bring others into the unity of faith; and, if a Protestant, his attention may be drawn to the insecurity of the foundations on which he reposes. If a cranny suddenly appear in the wall of our house, or if fragments of plaster fall from its ceilings, we apprehend danger, and are warned by such symptomatic intimations, to seek a shelter elsewhere. What then should it be, when the walls of a Church are torn and breached by outward attack, and when they, who should serve as its pillars, are seen to rush against each other, and jostle together for their mutual overthrow? Surely, even if there were not so high and holy an authority on the instability of a kingdom and a house thus divided, human calculations would lead us to conclude, that here the government is unstable, and the building unsound.

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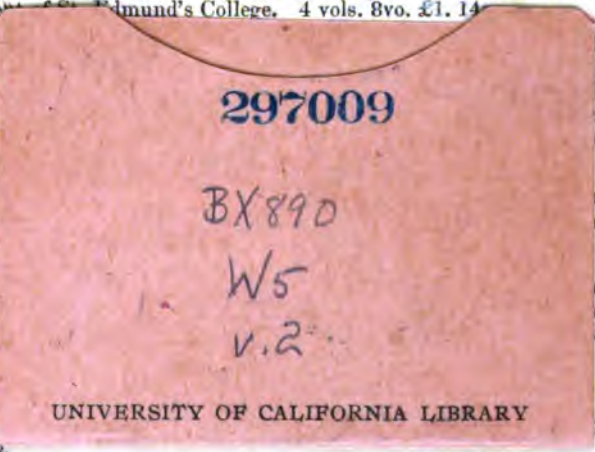
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